

NEXT WEEK:
THE A.L.P. AND THE
STALINISTS

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

WHY THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION . . . by Julian Gorkin . . . page 4.
HOW CAN SOCIALIST UNITY BE ACHIEVED? . . . page 3.

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

WHAT PRICE IMPERIALIST "FRIENDSHIP"?

IN the coming weeks, rivers of ink will be spilled in the British and American press to get across how much the two countries love each other, how they always did have a community of interest and ideals, and how it can never be otherwise. That's all part of the gigantic war preparations.

Of course, between the working classes of these as well as of other lands there is no conflict of interest. Particularly, between the British and American working people is there much in common.

Yet, despite all the planned efforts to harness American imperialism as a partner of British imperialism in the next war, occasionally there will out the more than latent antagonism between the Wall Street and Lombard Street ruling classes in the international arena. In the influential British Contemporary Review for May, we are treated by George Glasgow to a revealing outburst along these lines:

"We are not so clever. We make blunders in diplomacy. The children of our land go to cinemas and are impregnated with the morals and technique of American gangsterdom as their daily entertainment. That is one of the financial results of Great Britain's squandering a country's reserves and America's taking the resultant opportunity for a virtual financial annexation of Great Britain. These American films are a factor of tremendous consequence. Every minute somebody socks somebody on the jaw. They all carry coshers (blackjacks.—J. L.) up their sleeve and gats in their hip-pocket as the normal accoutrements in civil life. Motor cars fitted with machine-guns are shown as the normal police technique. We shall pay, are already paying, for this sort of education vouchsafed to our children. It is one of the results of the last war. . . ."

"It was probably a first-class blunder on our part in 1914 to accept battle. Peace at any price would have worked out at a much smaller price than we have in fact paid (and not finished paying) for victory in war. And we wholly failed to achieve the purpose of victory in war."

In this frantic cry there are some notes that merit serious attention. Nowadays, obviously, there is no love lost even between friends in international politics. It is true that in the 1914 battle between German and British imperialism for world hegemony, neither won. Yankee imperialism came out on top then. There is more than one good reason to expect repetition of such an outcome in the next world conflict. This is just what rankles many British Empire defenders and it is a ranking that is bound to have tremendous political consequences in the turbulent times ahead of us.

ON THE EDGE OF DISASTER

AT this moment, the clouds hang heaviest and darkest over Danzig and the Corridor. That does not necessarily mean that the storm will come there first. In judging European or world politics today, we must keep two ideas foremost in our minds. Just because enemies are enemies, it does not mean that friends are friends. Then, today more than ever must we not forget Bethmann-Hollweg's remark in 1914: "Not kennt kein Gebot."—Necessity knows no law!

It is with these ideas in mind that I hasten to underline the fact that there is not a single country in Europe that does not live on the razor edge of decision and disaster. Take the case of the Swiss. Surely Switzerland has been on terms of warm friendship with Germany. Yet, this little land has recently fixed the age limit of its reserves at sixty, decreed mobilization of women for national service, turned its heavy industry into armament production, and divided its entire people into four main defense lines. Why?

The authoritative Berlin publishing house of geographical works, Mittler and Son, recently got out a handbook called "Air Navigation." Its author is none other than Captain Soemichsen. It bears an introduction by Marshal Christensen. In defining the geographical structure of Germany, Captain Soemichsen includes the Alps between Aare and Hungary, the Upper Rhine, the Spuegen Pass, and the valleys of the Aare, Reuss and Upper Rhine. Mind you, this is no kindergarten caricature but a map made by a leading member of the Military Aviation School in Berlin.

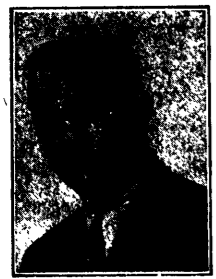
Furthermore, in the January issue of Rosenberg's National-Sozialistische Monatshefte, the Nazi expert on foreign affairs treats us to an analysis of Hitler's conception of neutrality. We are told that neutrality is nothing but an anemic democratic illusion based on free speech, free assembly, etc. Here Switzerland gets special but not such honorable mention. Emphasis is laid on the fact that according to the Nazi Weltanschauung, everybody is hostile to Hitler until he is taught by the Fuehrer just how to be friendly, kind and gentle. This, of course, instantly singles out the bulk of the influential Swiss press which denounced the Nazi course in the September crisis over the Sudeten.

But there is every likelihood that Germany will not be the only one to consider Switzerland as anything but neutral. Military necessity will determine in this and in all other cases the virtues in French foreign policy.

Lovestone Returns, Will Speak June 1

Will Describe Europe's Mad Plunge to War

New York City. JAY LOVESTONE, who has just returned from abroad where he attended the congress of the International Workers Front Against War as well as the conference to establish a new international center for revolutionary socialist organizations, will discuss the most vital aspects of the present European crisis at a public meeting on Thursday, June 1, 8:00 p. m., at Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street.



Jay Lovestone

During his trip, which took him to a number of countries of western Europe, Lovestone had the opportunity of conferring with outstanding personalities in the labor and socialist movements and of observing the work of important organizations, thus getting a clear, first-hand picture of the general state of affairs in the ranks of labor. He will present a realistic picture of the world situation in terms of the clash of rival imperialistic ambitions in Europe and Asia, laying special stress on Hitler's next moves, on the real character of the Anglo-French diplomatic game and on the role of Stalinist Russia in world politics.

In the light of this critical international situation out of which a world war may come at any moment, Lovestone will describe the efforts of

Lewis Hits FDR's Slash Of WPA

Demands Appropriation For Minimum Of Three Million On Work Relief

Washington, D. C. A demand that an average of 3,000,000 W.P.A. relief jobs be provided during the next fiscal year, as against the 1,000,000 that Administration officials estimate it will be possible to give under President Roosevelt's request for a reduced appropriation of \$1,750,000,000, was made last week by John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O.

In a letter to Representative Edward T. Taylor, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Mr. Lewis set forth what he said were five basic points "to make effective the full benefit of full employment on the W.P.A."

These points were listed by the C.I.O. leader as follows:

"1. W.P.A. jobs for all unemployed and willing to work, without the degrading means test.

"2. Recognition of the right of W.P.A. workers to organize.

"3. W.P.A. jobs fitted to the needs and skills of unemployed workers.

"4. All projects to be socially useful and productive, including housing, slum clearance, flood control, schools and hospitals, health, cultural and white collar work, vocational training.

"5. Wages sufficient to maintain an American standard of living and to prevent reduction in union standards."

Jews Curbed In Palestine

The British government made public its new policy for Palestine last week. This policy, contained in a White Paper, aims at limiting Jewish immigration to 75,000 over the next five years and at the end of that period to freeze the situation so that the Jewish population will remain approximately one-third unless the Arabs agree to further immigration.

The White Paper also speaks of an "independent State of Palestine" as an "ultimate objective" but it is made plain that Great Britain will in all eventualities retain control of the land thru a protectorate.

Tremendous resentment was voiced in Jewish circles thruout the world against this policy which is regarded as a brazen repudiation of the Balfour Declaration. It was clear that just as British imperialism had once tried to win over and make use of the Jews thru the Balfour Declaration promising them a "homeland," so now it was making a play for the Arabs in order to counter Nazi and Italian propaganda in the Near East. Palestine remains as it has been since the war, a pawn in the hands of British imperialist diplomacy.

It is to be hoped that this experience will have a sobering effect on the masses of the Jews and help them see the true nature of British "democratic" imperialism. Perhaps it will help make those sections that have been infected with the war spirit lose some of their enthusiasm for another crusade for "democracy" led by British imperialism.

the revolutionary and internationalist sections of the labor movement to unite their forces on a world scale and to build up an international labor front against war. Thru these efforts, a new International Revolutionary Center was recently established and the International Workers Front Against War considerably extended and strengthened. Lovestone was a delegate to both conferences and will present to his audience a vivid, first-hand account of the proceedings and results.

The June 1 meeting will obviously be one of the most significant gatherings of the year. No New Yorker alive to the great problems of the day can afford to miss it. Tickets are 50 cents in the reserved section and 25 cents general admission.

Powers Make Ready for New Clash

Russia Still Maintains Ambiguous Stand; Nazi Move On Danzig Seen

A state of relative calm prevailed in Europe last week as the rival imperialist camps marshalled their forces and prepared the ground for another major clash in the very near future. Soviet Russia's position in the general scheme of European relations remained as ambiguous as ever.

Anglo-French imperialism extended its so-called "peace front" against the Axis powers by including Turkey in the network of alliances it has been trying to build up in recent months. On the other side, Hit-

(Continued on Page 2)

Saving the British Empire

SENATOR Pittman, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said American silver had been used during the World War to prevent a revolution in India at a time the British faced a heavy German offensive. "Senator Pittman said German propaganda forced a run on banks in India by natives who sought silver for rupee notes. To meet this and prevent a possible revolution, Senator Pittman said, the United States melted down 250,000,000 silver dollars to be recoined as rupees and sold the bullion to Great Britain under the Pittman Act of 1918."—from a Washington dispatch of the Associated Press, dated April 29, 1939.

Miners Win in Soft-Coal Fight

Southern Resistance Is Crumbling; Troops Sent to Harlan to Aid Bosses

Only a small group of southern soft-coal operators, mostly concentrated in and around Harlan County, Ky., held out last week against the United Mine Workers after the great bulk of the industry had bowed to the demands of the union and signed the closed-shop contract presented to them by John L. Lewis. In Harlan, the operators, backed up by over a thousand National Guardsmen sent by Governor Chandler, defied the U.M.W.A. and made a desperate but futile effort to restore

open-shop conditions thruout this notorious district.

The settlement of the six-week-old bituminous stoppage came when 15 out of 21 operators associations in the key Appalachian area declared themselves ready to renew their agreements with the union for a two-year period and to include in the new contracts provisions recognizing the U.M.W.A. as the sole bargaining agency and conceding the closed-shop. Thereupon, 260,000 of the 320,000 miners in the Appalachian soft-coal fields were sent back to work. In the fields outside the Appalachian area, similar contracts had already been signed by the operators and the men returned to the pits at the same time.

But the southern contingent of the Appalachian operators were not yet ready to come to terms with the union. Their six associations refused to go along with the bulk of the Appalachian operators. Instead, they determined to open their mines by force if necessary and to resume operations on a non-union basis. In this they were greatly aided by Governor "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky who put at their disposal large bodies of National Guardsmen with orders to help open the mines and prevent effective picketing, shooting to kill if necessary. The situation was extremely tense and it was generally feared that "Bloody" Harlan might live up to its reputation once more.

Before a few days were up, however, the resistance of the southern die-hard group of operators was already beginning to crack. The Virginia association, accompanied by a number of others, signed up so that at the time of writing only the Harlan operators were holding out and there were signs that they too would soon surrender. The victory of the United Mine Workers would thereupon be complete.

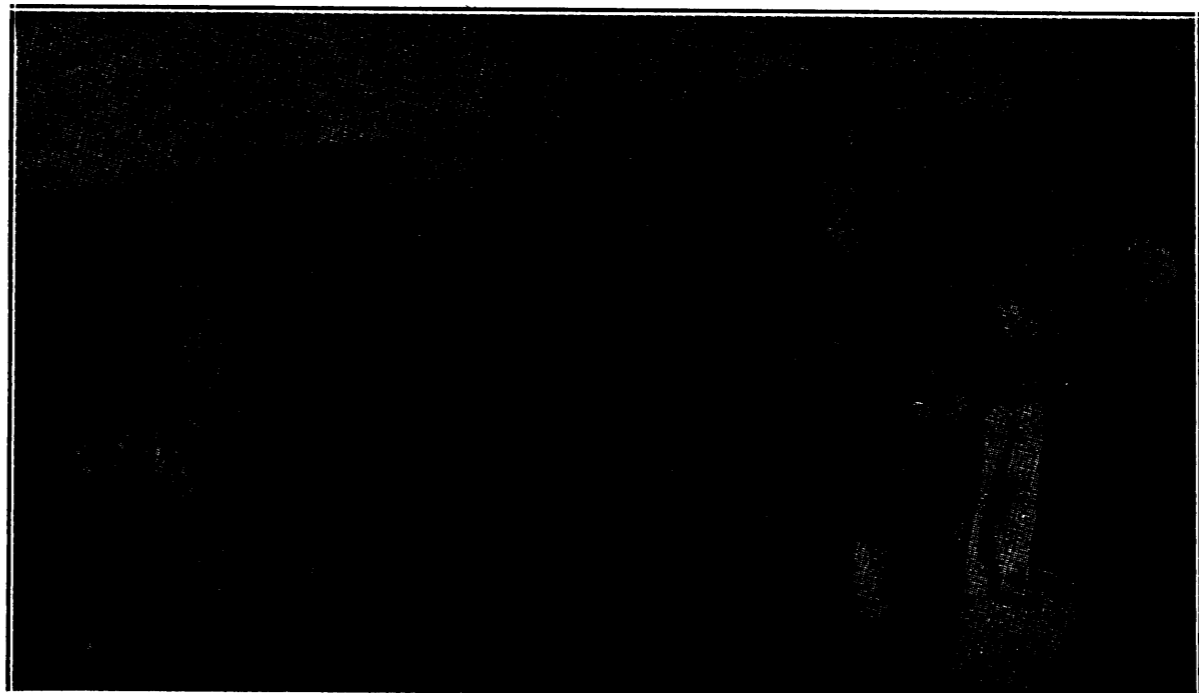
An interesting aspect of the whole situation, which is giving the miners and their leaders much food for thought, is the fact that the U.M.W.A. met with the greatest hostility in the three states under Democratic control, Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky, states in which the administrations had been elected with the support of the miners union. (This is especially true of Governor Chandler of Kentucky.) In these states, the locked-out miners were refused unemployment relief in spite of their great need. Yet in Pennsylvania, under a conservative Republican administration, such relief was forthcoming. The miners are beginning to see how little party labels really mean in the present situation and how little reliance can be placed in old-party politicians who parade as "friends" of labor and gain office on the strength of such pretensions.

indication here that he will not have this chance in 1940.

What is worrying the New Dealers much more than Farley's trip is the growing bitterness of the fight between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Now that John Lewis has won a big victory for the U.M.W.A. in the mining industry, the A. F. of L. officials are more bent than ever on amending the Wagner Act, defeating F.D.R. in 1940 and a thousand and one other acts that add up together to very dark if not darkest reaction. As the Workers Age has made clear in its analysis of the movement to amend the Wagner Act, the A. F. of L. Executive Council is as blind as a bat in these efforts. The Council is literally cutting off its nose to spite its face. The only hope is a united labor movement and the Administration is still determined to use political pressure, rank-and-file C.I.O. and A. F. of L. revolt and any other means to bring this about before the end of the year. The chances of achieving this objective are how-

(Continued on Page 2)

"DEMOCRACY" IN HARLAN



National Guardsmen, called out by Governor Chandler, take over control of Harlan, Ky., to aid anti-union operators to run their mines on an open shop basis.

Launch Fight Against Totalitarianism

Movement Includes Noted Personalities

New York City. The formation of a committee of writers, artists and educators, pledged to defend intellectual freedom in this country against the attacks of totalitarian forces, was announced last week by Dr. John Dewey, world-famous educator and outstanding American liberal. It will be known as the Committee for Cultural Freedom.

The committee, Dr. Dewey said, would function as a central organization in building protective armor around democratic principles against destructive influences in America, and in providing defense to individuals and groups victimized by totalitarian practices.

As its first official act, the committee made public a manifesto in which appeared the warning that the rising tide of totalitarianism thruout the world was "washing away cultural and creative freedom along with all other expressions of independent human reason." Never before in modern times, it said, had the integrity of the writer, the artist, the scientist and the scholar been threatened so seriously.

"Under varying labels and colors, but with an unvarying hatred for the free mind," the manifesto said, "the totalitarian idea is already entrenched in Germany, Italy, Russia, and Spain. There intellectual and creative independence is suppressed and punished as a form of treason. Art, science and education—all have been forcibly turned into lackeys for a supreme state, a deified leader

and an official pseudo-philosophy.

"It threatens to overwhelm nations where the democratic way of life, with its cultural liberty, is still dominant. Even in the United States, the beginnings are all too evident—in the emergence of local political dictators, the violation of civil rights, the alarming spread of phobias of hatred directed against racial, religious and political minorities. Ominous shadows of war are gathering in our own land. Behind them lurk dangers not only to a free labor movement but to a free culture.

"We, therefore, call for the formation of a Committee for Cultural Freedom, an organization independent of control, whether open or secret, by any political group, pledged to expose repression of intellectual freedom under whatever pretext, to defend individuals and practices anywhere, to propagate courageously the idea of untrammeled intellectual activity."

Among the ninety-six members of the committee, in addition to Dr. Dewey, are Louis Adamic, Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Sutherland Bates, P. W. Bridgman, Paul F. Brissenden, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Robert C. Brooks, V. F. Calverton, W. B. Cannon, Rudolf Carnap, John Chamberlain, John L. Childs, George S. Counts, Countee Cullen, Merle Curti, Dr. Walter Damrosch, Elmer Davis, Ned H. Dearborn, Max Eastman, Irwin Edman, Edwin R. Embree, Abraham Epstein, Morris L. Ernst, Edna Ferber, Abram Harris, Herbert E. Harris, George W. Hartmann,

FDR Third Term Boom Out in Open

Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

Washington, D. C. WALTER WINCHELL will have to take a bow to your weekly letter writer. The Washington Times-Herald for Tuesday May 16 contains as Walter's first item that F.D.R. will run again in 1940. It is true but we told you so some weeks ago. Don't take too seriously all the writing regarding Farley's trip to the West Coast being a build-up for his own nomination. I can definitely state that the President has reason to expect the Postmaster General to support him and is losing no sleep nights worrying lest he not do so. This doesn't mean that Farley would not like to find a way to get into the White House himself, despite Mr. Roosevelt. However, there is every

Henry Hazlitt, John Haynes Holmes, Sidney Hook, B. W. Huebsch, Inez Haynes Irwin, Horace M. Kallen, William H. Kilpatrick, Suzanne La Follette, Robert H. Lowie, Ferdinand Lundberg, Eugene Lyons, Benjamin C. Marsh, Nelson P. Mead, Ernest L. Meyer, Wesley C. Mitchell, David S. Muzzey, Henry Neumann, Jesse H. Newlon, H. A. Overstreet, Walter Pach, John Dos Passos, James Rorty, Leonard Q. Ross, Morrie Ryskind, J. Salwyn Schapiro, Willi Schlamm, George S. Schuyler, John Sloan, Benjamin Stolberg, Norman Thomas, Dorothy Thompson, William Carlos Williams and Helen Woodward.

Heil the King!

THE King and Queen of England will soon be here. Soon we will witness the revolting spectacle of Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, politicians who on the Fourth of July are wont to orate about "our democratic institutions under which all men are equal," of bankers and industrialists and preachers and college presidents who are accustomed to sing smug hymns to "America, free from distinctions of caste or aristocracy"—soon we will see this whole crew bowing and scraping and crawling before the annointed heads of the British Empire! Soon thousands of troops will parade, tanks clatter thru the streets and air armadas fly overhead in what the newspapers will undoubtedly describe as "a military display of unparalleled magnificence," by which the President of our great democratic republic will welcome King George the Sixth, by Grace of God King of Great Britain, Ireland and the Dominions Beyond the Sea!

Well, the grotesque antics of our "democratic" snobs and toadies

concern us very little. And by this time we are already used to the martial displays of our "peace-loving" President. What concerns us is the hidden motive behind this whole clownish Mardi Gras. What concerns us is the sinister purpose behind the royal visit to this country.

For, make no mistake about it, the King and Queen are coming here with a purpose and that purpose is not to bring palpitations to the hearts of dowagers and debutantes or to gratify the mean, royalty-worshipping instincts of our native American belly-crawlers. The purpose is to help pave the road along which millions of our American youth will be sent to death and destruction in the coming world war!

The King and Queen are coming here ostensibly to "cement Anglo-American friendship." Actually they are coming here to create favorable sentiment for an Anglo-American war alliance under the name of a "union of democracies." They are coming here to ensure American assistance in preserving the British Empire, which rests upon a system of terror and oppression from which even Hitler could learn. They are coming here, just as in 1915 and 1916 so many English notables came to this country, to make propaganda for American involvement in war on the British side.

When you see the countless pictures of the King and Queen in the American newspapers, when you read the hushed, ecstatic descriptions of what Their Majesties wear and what Their Majesties eat and what Their Majesties say, think of the endless lines of khaki-clad soldiers going abroad to Europe or Asia to die for the greater glory of Wall Street and the British Empire. Think of Ulster, forcibly cut off from the Irish nation and subjected to a police dictatorship that would not be out of place in Berlin or Rome. Think of the scores of millions of colored people in Africa, downtrodden by the white masters, without rights or privileges, virtual slaves in this, the twentieth century. Think of India and the denial of self-government to a great people. Think of the massacres of native populations, of the air bombing of native villages, of the concentration camps for natives who preach the "sedition" doctrine of freedom and democracy. Think of what the British Empire means in terms of exploitation, oppression, enslavement.

Think—and determine to KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR no matter how much big-business imperialism in this country and the professional propagandists from abroad may try to drive us into it!

WPA Union Wins Two Big Victories

Cooperates With Teamsters Union in Fight

(Special to the Workers Age)
 Detroit, Mich.
THROUGH militant action and labor solidarity a lay-off of 3,000 W.P.A. workers in Detroit was averted last week when a picket line of the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America prevented the W.P.A. from moving district headquarters out of the rent-free G.A.R. Building to a new location in Highland Park.

Aided by the powerful Teamsters Union, whose drivers refused to go thru the picket line to move the office equipment, the W.P.A. union held up the moving for a day with its protest against wasting W.P.A. money on expensive new headquarters. Before the W.P.A. was allowed to move, it was forced to agree that the 3,000 would not be laid off.

Again cooperating with the Teamsters Union, the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America by a series of militant moves defeated an attempt to lock out 25,000 W.P.A. workers and to force W.P.A. labor to break a strike of union truck drivers.

The situation was this: Truck Drivers Local 247 of the Teamsters Union was refused collective bargaining with two limestone companies, 300 drivers who were working for W.P.A. street and alley paving projects. It had organized the companies 300 drivers who were working 12 to 14 hours for three or four dollars a day. It wanted a raise and a union contract for the drivers. The companies—Michigan Limestone and Chemical, a subsidiary of U. S. Steel, and Inland Lime and Stone, a subsidiary of Inland Steel—refused to negotiate a contract.

The Teamsters Union struck the companies for two days and stopped deliveries of limestone to W.P.A. Materials ran out and 7,000 men were sent home, with the prospect that 18,000 more would be jobless within a short time.

Stepping into the situation, the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America told W.P.A. authorities that its members would support the teamsters strike and refuse to handle limestone trucked by scab drivers. The W.P.A. union also tried to help settle the strike by getting Judge George Murphy of Recorders Court to act as mediator between the Teamsters Union, the companies and W.P.A.

Within a few days the Michigan Limestone and Chemical Co. accepted a closed-shop agreement with the Teamsters Union, providing for an increase in wages, and the Inland Lime and Stone Co. promised to negotiate a contract shortly and meanwhile not attempt to make deliveries on W.P.A.

Thus the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America scored its second big victory on W.P.A. within a week, a victory which was made possible only thru militant action and the solidarity of labor.

Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

(Continued from Page 1)
 ever, very slim. If the New Dealers do not succeed, they fear, with good reason, that the A. F. of L. may support a Republican candidate in 1940. This action would probably not be taken by the Executive Council but the biggest section of the A. F. of L. would be officially on record for Dewey or whoever gets the nomination.

AN IMPORTANT INVESTIGATION

The most important hearing in progress here—next to that on the Labor Board—is the hearing being conducted jointly by the S.E.C. and

What Is C.I.O. Membership?

THE dues-paying membership of the A. F. of L. is approaching an all-time high, according to Secretary Frank Morrison. Today the Federation has a per-capita dues-paying membership of 3,752,000, a figure exceeded only once in the past, in 1920, when the war-time spurt lifted membership payments to 4,078,400. This would mean that the A. F. of L. has more than made up for the loss of a million members in 1936 when the original affiliates of the C.I.O. were ousted; over and above that million, the Federation has gained another million.

How about the C.I.O.? How does the C.I.O. compare in membership? That is difficult to say. The 4,037,877 claimed at the Pittsburgh convention, without any confirmatory financial statements, is little more than wishful guess-work. There are some observers, such as Paul Mallon, the well-known political commentator, who place its dues-paying membership well below a million. At any rate, at Pittsburgh, in not a single case was the membership of a listed affiliate computed on the basis of per-capita or dues payment. The Textile Workers Organizing Committee provides an interesting example. At the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O., it was listed as having 450,350 members. This was in November 1938. Just recently, in writing about the coming T.W.O.C. convention, the Daily Worker reported that the T.W.O.C. had 213,000 workers "under contract," plainly not all members of the T.W.O.C., mind you; certainly not all dues-paying members. On May 8, the C.I.O. News reported that the "T.W.O.C. has already brought more than 200,000 textile workers under union contract."

What, then, is the membership of the T.W.O.C.? Surely less than 200,000, if that is the total number of workers UNDER T.W.O.C. CONTRACTS. And what proportion of these pay dues?

This condition may not be representative of the C.I.O. as a whole. But how can we know anything when no reliable and authoritative figures are ever published? The persistent refusal to publish such figures, against all traditions of American labor organization, certainly does not indicate much consciousness of responsibility to the labor movement on the part of the top leadership of the C.I.O.

the Temporary National Economic Committee dealing with the reasons why money is not being invested, or, as the President puts it, "why a large part of our vast reservoir of money and savings have remained idle in stagnant pools."

In a special letter to the committee, Roosevelt continues by asking these specific questions:

"Is it because our economy is leaving an era of rapid expansion and entering an era of steadier growth, calling for relatively less investment in capital goods? Is it because of lag, leak and friction in the operation of investment markets which prevent the normal flow of savings into non-productive enterprise? These are questions for your committee to answer. I know of no more important ones in the country today."

The committee is calling a long list of Wall Streeters to testify. Their testimony should reveal what the best minds of capitalism can say today about some of the seeds of destruction at work within their system. Peter Nehemkis, Jr., brilliant counsel of the S.E.C., is stage-managing this exhibition in an able fashion.

DOGGING HIS FOOTSTEPS



—from Justice

Some Problems of The New Unions

Disunity of Labor Multiplies Hardships

By PHILIP TAFT

(These paragraphs are from the remarks made by Philip Taft in a discussion of industrial relations at the recent annual meeting of the American Economic Association, as reported in the American Economic Review, Supplement, March 1939.—Editor.)

NEW unions may be defined as those labor organizations which have been formed since the latest upsurge of unionism beginning with the N.R.A. Some of these are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, tho the majority are affiliated with what is now the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The problems of the new unions in the American Federation of Labor concern mainly the federal locals that have been organized in response to the demands of the workers in the mass-production industries. Their internal difficulties arise chiefly because they are surrounded by powerful craft and semi-industrial unions who have nominally pre-empted certain trades and occupations and are always ready to assert their privileges and their rights.

Many of the external problems are common to unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O. In addition, some important special problems exist. A number of the new unions operate in industries dominated by large aggregations of capital. Labor organizations had not been allowed to gain a foothold and consequently the workers have not had the time to build the institutions and develop the leadership indispensable for the efficient and orderly functioning of unions.

In many cases, firms recognizing labor organizations for the first time have refused to grant any advantage to union members in hiring which might encourage or compel the workers to support the union by regular payment of dues. This has created situations—where even in cases where the union has been selected as the collective-bargaining agent, it is unable to collect sufficient dues and assessments to maintain its administrative staffs. Unless these new unions are to remain in a virtual state of dependence, they must devise methods and techniques to compel their members to pay their dues regularly. In this endeavor, they can expect little assistance from the employers. A complicating factor in this regard is that many of the new unions operate in low-wage industries where even low dues may be a burden not easily borne.

FACING THE BIG CORPORATIONS

The new unions also face the difficulty in that their members are employed in many instances by large corporations. A large union is only the more powerful when it faces small and scattered employers. The superiority of large numbers of union men when facing a single or group of large employers is open to serious question. Even the losses incurred by a large employer may be proportionately greater for a large than for a small employer, they can be more easily borne by the large one. In contrast, the financial strain upon the union is very great, and the financial outlays by the union may average, in a strike of the magnitude of Little Steel, close to \$100,000 a week. It means that such strikes become extremely difficult. This is where the new unions are more vulnerable than the smaller craft groups. Moreover, the absence of exclusiveness has some serious drawbacks in this connection. A limited or exclusive union could improve the position of its members, at least in part, at the expense of other workers. Under conditions where all are organized, this becomes impossible.

Some of the new unions have also assumed that wages were closely linked to the price structure and have attempted to prevent any pressure for lowered prices in fear of their repercussions on wage rates. . . . It seems an error for the unions to use their political power to aid in the maintenance of monopolistic prices.

The new unions are also discovering that the skilled workers are not anxious to join with their unskilled fellow-workers in one organization. Labor Board elections indicate that

Prospects of Cooperatives In America

An increasing share of American retail trade is likely to be carried by consumers cooperatives in the near future, according to a study, "Cooperatives in the U. S.—A Balance Sheet," published recently by the Public Affairs Committee, New York City.

The pamphlet was prepared by Maxwell S. Stewart, editor of the Committee's pamphlet series, based on the Report of the Inquiry on Co-operative Enterprise in Europe and recent reports from various government agencies.

Increased business for the co-operatives is seen despite the fact that American co-operatives face a series of special handicaps as compared with the European co-operatives.

Among those listed has been the competition afforded by the American chain store, with its economies of bulk buying, and the difficulty of coping with magazine and radio advertising for trade-marked brands not carried by the co-operatives.

The system of retail distribution in Europe, where the co-operatives have been particularly successful, is described as "generally inefficient and in some regions . . . almost archaic." Even today, "multiple" stores are strong only in England; much of the trade elsewhere is in the hands of small, inefficient units which cannot undersell the co-operatives.

Such advantage as the American chain store had had, however, has been largely if not completely lost as a result of the recent federal and state price-maintenance laws and anti-chain store legislation. Figures are cited to show that the ratio of costs to sales is now as low in the consumers co-operatives as in the chain stores.

"Given efficient management, . . . we may expect the co-operative movement to undergo a rapid growth in the United States," the pamphlet concludes. "Nevertheless, many people will doubtless remain hostile or indifferent. Small merchants and business men are likely to oppose the co-operatives even tho it is not clear that existing merchants have ever been seriously injured by co-operative enterprise. The wealthy will not be interested because the savings will seem relatively unimportant. And it will prove difficult to enroll any considerable number of the very poor, despite the fact that co-operation would mean more to them than to any other group.

"The difficulty of getting participation from these groups may prevent the complete fulfillment of the co-operative ideal. But it will not prevent its growth. The movement has already demonstrated tremendous vitality, and has shown that within certain areas—yet to be fully defined—it meets a genuine need."

ILP Holds Annual Conference

War Attitude, Labor Party Tie Debated

(Concluded from last issue)
On Monday afternoon, the conference was asked to consider a second reference back of the Parliamentary Group report on the grounds that speeches made by McGovern on Palestine were not party policy.

Jack Huntz deplored the attitude which McGovern had put forward. He maintained that party policy was quite clear. It stands for the liberation of all oppressed peoples and is opposed to the mandate system. British imperialism took the mandate in Palestine because of strategic considerations in the Mediterranean.

The reference back was seconded by Reginald Reynolds, of Wimbledon, who read extracts from speeches delivered by McGovern.

In reply, McGovern defended his action by stating that the Jews were the most persecuted race at the present time, and he would fight for their rights everywhere he could. He complained that the quotations from the speeches had been torn from their context.

The reference back was defeated. An emergency resolution on Palestine appealed for unity between the Arab and Jewish working masses to meet the situation left by the failure of the recent London Conference.

The resolution was moved by Brockway, who said that the disillusionment among both Arabs and Jews in Palestine must be transformed into a united movement against British imperialism, Jewish capitalism, and Arab feudalism. He indicated that practical steps were being considered to help bring this about. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

AGAINST THE NATIONAL REGISTER

On the motion of Woodall (Bristol), a resolution was carried unanimously viewing "with grave concern the attitude of the T.U.C. and the National Council of Labor to rearmament and the National Register." The resolution called upon the workers to organize in the localities for the repudiation of this attitude. It also defined the attitude of the I.L.P. towards the No-Conscription League, declaring that the

Greetings from

Dressmakers

- Luther Burton
- A Friend
- A Sympathizer
- W. Smith
- C. Howe
- Dave Lefkovits

Trend in State Labor Elections

New York City.
IN more than one-fourth of the 135 employee elections conducted by the State Labor Relations Board in the first year and a half of its existence, a majority of the workers said they did not wish to be represented by any union, according to a statistical tabulation published in The Industrial Bulletin, official journal of the State Labor Dept.

Thirty-seven elections resulted in a victory for no union. A. F. of L. affiliates were victorious in 54 polls, C.I.O. affiliates in 28 and "independent" unions in 16. A total of 7,808 votes was cast for A. F. of L. groups, 7,726 for C.I.O. unions, 3,657 for "independent" organizations and 7,456 against all unions.

The compilation, which covered the period from July 1, 1937, to December 31, 1938, was made by Louis Goldberg of the W.P.A. workers-education project.

Pocketbook Union Balks Dualists

New York City.
THE International Ladies Hand Bag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L., was granted a temporary injunction last week by Supreme Court Justice Julius Miller of New York, against a dual group consisting of Stalinists and allied elements in New York City.

The injunction restrains the dual group from misrepresenting themselves as officers of the International Union, from collecting dues from any International locals, or from attempting to negotiate with employers in the name of the International.

The controversy between the International Pocketbook Workers Union and the dual group in New York City arose in connection with a special convention which the International held in February in Jersey City. The Stalinists and their allies opposed the calling of that convention and did their best to sabotage it. Nevertheless, the convention did take place, and nearly all local unions were represented.

A special trial committee, headed by the convention, heard charges against and have negotiated with the International—Phillip Lubliner, vice-president; Harry Gevertzman, treasurer and corresponding secretary; Ossip Wolinsky, adviser; and Ben Feldman, General Executive Board member. The trial committee found them guilty of violation of the constitution of the International and recommended that they be removed from office. This recommendation was sustained and approved by the convention. The convention then elected other officers in their place.

The removed officers have, however, continued, since the convention, to represent themselves as officers of the International Union. They have attempted to collect dues from local unions and have negotiated with employers in the name of the International, thereby injuring its interests.

Powers Make Preparations

(Continued from Page 1)
 ler and Mussolini finally decided to transform their "anti-Comintern pact" into an outright military alliance but this did not by any means eliminate all possibility of friction between the two ends of the Berlin-Rome axis. The Reich Foreign Office also made some slight headway among the Scandinavian countries by getting Denmark to accept conditionally its offer of a "non-aggression" pact; Norway, Sweden and Finland, however, replied that they did not feel such a pact "necessary" in view of their "traditional neutrality."

But the key to the situation remained Russia. Moscow again refused to accept any Anglo-French offer of alliance that did not include full reciprocal guarantees in the form of a hard-and-fast military pact applying to the Far East as well as to Europe. It did not seem probable that Britain would be willing to give such guarantees, especially in view of the ever-present possibility of a resumption of "appeasement." Chances for a definite alignment between Russia and the "democracies" were regarded as rather slim. From all appearances, it seemed far more likely that the Stalinist regime would play an "isolationist" role in the coming period, avoiding firm ties with either of the imperialist blocks.

Little was said about Danzig last week but informed quarters were certain that some move in this direction would be made by Hitler within a very short time.

fying the immediate demands of the party.

PARTY ORGANIZATION

A resolution proposing that the Parliamentary Group should be bound by the decisions of a committee consisting of the chairman, the secretary, a representative of the Group, and two N.A.C. members not M.P.s, was defeated. J. Carmichael and F. Brockway urged that M.P.s when elected to the N.A.C. must have the same right to be elected on any committee as any other member.

A resolution in favor of an internal discussion bulletin was carried. John McNair reported on the preparations made.

The most interesting points arising from amendments carried to the party rules were: (1) a strengthening of the rule relating to trade-union membership so that it reads: "All members shall be members of a trade union if eligible," instead of "should be"; and (2) a promise from the N.A.C. to consider immediately how the youth movement association with the party can be strengthened.

On the paragraph in the N.A.C. Report, Brockway gave interesting particulars of the development towards a strengthened International Center, assuring inquiring delegates that the basis, so far from being watered down, would be strengthened and made more definite.

C. A. Smith was elected chairman of the party and the following National Administrative Council was selected:

- Chairman, C. A. Smith; Treasurer, F. W. Jovett; National members: James Maxton, Fenner Brockway, W. Ballantine, J. Carmichael; Divisional members: David Gibson (Scotland), Tom Stephenson (N. East), Percy Williams (Yorkshire), Tom Reed (Midlands), George Johnson (East Anglia), Jack Hammond (London and South), Fred Berriman (South-West), Emrys (Lancashire), Bob Edwards (Lancashire).

At its first session, the N.A.C. elected John McNair general secretary of the party and Fenner Brockway political secretary and editor of the New Leader.

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by DANIEL GUERIN

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How Can Socialist Unity Be Achieved?

Workers Age Readers Give Views on Vital Problem

An ILLA Member Writes:

New York City.
Editor, Workers Age
 It is now almost a year since there appeared in these columns an article by the writer in which I appealed for the formation of a block of revolutionary, anti-imperialist political organizations tending toward the unification of American Marxists in a single party of socialism. After many months had passed, letters coming to the *Workers Age* showed that this appeal had not fallen upon deaf ears. It is not any sense of possession over this idea for it belongs to all who sincerely believe in it—but rather out of a conviction and clarity can bring action that I am prompted now to review the resurgence of the unity sentiment as indicated by these letters.

LOST WITHOUT UNITY

I call for unity because I feel that without it we are lost. Do we really believe that we are on the verge of the second world imperialist holocaust? And if so, where are the forces that can withstand the war terror of American "democracy," aided and abetted by the Stained Imperialists? Are we confessing anything when we say that our organization—the I.L.L.A.—would be ineffective in its struggle even if it succeeded in surviving through the difficult years of the war? And are we stooping to factional invective when we charge that the Socialist Party and S.W.P. would be likewise unable to survive and to lead an anti-war struggle in time of war? These are the questions that we must face.

Our forces are weak—our tasks are many. We must look to new forms, new movements. We must cease the magnification of real or unreal differences among the three organizations that agree (no matter how much the S.W.P. denies it) on basic questions. The American workers need and have room for only one movement with a revolutionary program against war, one movement that is anti-imperialist, one movement that rejects the reformism of New Deal "communism." Three such movements bring confusion, and fail in their totality to reach the strength that could be attained by one. They dissipate energies, force, funds in an interminable struggle. Each falls separately and together they fail as a disunited group to be important enough in the life of the American working class to begin to attract workers by the thousands. Separately, they will be unable to withstand the rising tide of chauvinism and to carry on the struggle so that when mass illusions are dissipated and disillusion sets in following the misery and deprivation of war, the millions of youths, veterans, widows and workers who thought they would profit by war will not be left leaderless, will not inevitably give themselves up to new betrayers.

I do not wish to imply any belief that unity is a cure-all, some sort of panacea that will be a short-cut to the revolution. I do not believe in any inevitable success of the unified party. But I do believe in the inevitable failure (at least for our generation) of a revolutionary movement that is not unified.

DIFFERENCES AND OBSTACLES

Nor do I feel that we should bury differences. All I ask is that we bury past differences those that have been nullified by time and experience and history. I am as much opposed to the I.L.L.A. and the S.W.P. quarreling over the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial (which the I.L.L.A. completely misjudged) as I am over the sectarian failure on the part of the S.W.P. to understand the war-referendum movement or the labor-party movement. I leave this to the historians of the American revolution. Let us realize that on the first count as on the second, there is today an approach to agreement, a basis for discussion which in time can lead to agreement.

There are genuine obstacles (and artificial ones) to unity. Unfortunately, the only real obstacle is an organizational question, one of paramount importance—international affiliation. You cannot have a single party affiliated to three hostile world federations; and, in these times, it would be almost as bad to have it affiliated to none. The three American groups whose merger I favor have three different international centers—the Second International, the Fourth International and the London Bureau. We of the I.L.L.A. are convinced that within the London Bureau are today found (and in the future will be found) the best genuine parties of international proletarian solidarity. We do not believe they are "perfect" parties. Unlike some, we do not consider our leaders to be infallible gods of the revolution; nor have these parties been created in our image. But if hope cannot be lodged in the P.O.U.M., the I.L.P. and the P.S.O.P., where shall we look? To the "national-defense" parties of Blum and Atee? Or to the helpless, insignificant adherents of the Fourth International in Paris and London, as ineffective in the class struggle as they are (and are) essentially "coor-

SWP Member Writes:

Los Angeles, Cal.
 May 6, 1939.
Editor, Workers Age:
 I wish to commend the policy of the *Workers Age* in stimulating the discussion articles on socialist unity which have been appearing for the past year. In the main, the articles have expressed a viewpoint which I am in agreement with. However the idea that all that stands in the way of unity is the Trotskyites in general factionalism should be corrected. The real difficulty lies in the personal enmities of the leaderships involved. United-front action with unity as a perspective should do much toward developing a rank-and-file movement for merging. With the war and the revolutionary situations sure to come in its wake, it is high time we got together to build a strong working-class party in this country. It may be too late, but it is certainly our duty to try. Somehow, the prospect of finally coming together in concentration camps to discover we have no principled differences does little to bolster faith in our ability to lead an American revolution. We must cease existence as isolated sects and get our message to the masses before some Messiah appears who can convince them that social security is obtainable thru fascism.

ARTIFICIAL OBSTACLES

I mentioned artificial obstacles. It is in that light that I regard the remarks recently made here by Comrade Thorpe. He wrote: "I feel that until such times as the S.W.P. removes its spots (Trotsky and Shachtman) then unity with that group would be of little value to the revolutionary movement." To speak of "unity" with a group but not with its leadership is a rape upon the English language; it is the misinvention of the Stalinist unity of "third-period" days. It is a reflection of precisely the factional, sectarian approach that makes Trotsky and Shachtman—and rightly so—obnoxious to Comrade Thorpe; but now this same sectarianism is reflected in the outlook of Comrade Thorpe himself.

We have always been for "unity" with any group of workers—even Stalinists—upon repudiation of their leadership. When we speak of revolutionary unity today we mean precisely the opposite—a fusion of parties and groups, and a new collective, unified leadership. And what will become of our unity movement when we have disunited not only Trotsky and Shachtman, but Lovestone because he helped to split the Socialist Party in 1919 and is therefore anathema to some socialists; Wolfe, because he carried on the ideological struggle against Trotskyism when he was the American representative on the E.C.C.L.; Norman Thomas, because he fought against communism and in defense of socialism when the latter was the reformist movement and the former the revolutionary one? Such an approach is the logic of Comrade Thorpe's position.

Trotskyism will be a danger to a unified movement—but also a boon to it. The Trotskyists would go into the new party believing it to be a happy-hunting-ground for recruits to faction; they would only half-heartedly believe that the party could ever succeed and become acceptable to them; they would resist assimilation and tend to function as a party within a party. They would also bring an unwavering opposition to reformism and imperialism. They would be necessary because their forces are needed; there is no room for two separate and competitive socialist (genuinely socialist) movements just as there is no room for three, except that to travel from three to two is a progression on the road to one.

Trotskyism will have to learn—and we will have to teach them. Is Comrade Thorpe afraid he cannot do it? But the Trotskyites learned in Spain—Nin and all, and Nin above all! They will learn in America—Shachtman and all, and we hope, Trotsky and all!

Our time is short—our needs are never more urgent! I appeal to leadership and memberships, to adherents and sympathizers—let us work toward socialist unity!

More than that, I concretely propose that the next convention of the I.L.L.A. pass a resolution stating its favorable attitude toward socialist unity; that it issue a ringing appeal to every genuine socialist to work in that direction, and that it instruct the incoming Executive Committee to work unceasingly for and to take the first practical steps toward the rebirth of a mass revolutionary movement in America thru the unification of all socialist forces into a single party. We are as much in need of a new hope for American socialism as we were of a new hope for world socialism!

EDWARD SAGARIN

A Chicago Reader Writes:

Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Workers Age:
 DOES it occur to those fond of their own particular version of revolutionary Marxism that their disunity makes the pathway of reactionary forces the easier? Lo and behold, the big thinkers like Sokolsky and J. B. Matthews point out that the radicals cannot achieve unity amongst themselves although they want to run the nation. The disunity among radicals is due to their own arrogance about the unquestionable rightness of their own views on all political and economic subjects. Therefore, it is impossible, so each group feels, for it to work with a group having different views. There is only one possibility of success for such a line of thought. That is, one section may hope to become so powerful that some day it will not need the aid of any others. The chances of any present-day American radical party achieving that position is small.

In order to be a greater force against the spread of fascist ideas, it is absolutely imperative for American radicals to get together on common aims. This can only be accomplished if there is a willingness to sacrifice sectarian ideas in order to permit action which is

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ALLEN THOMAS

The present state of radicalism adds to the strength of reaction and conservatism. Radicals should know what to choose.

CARL PETERSON

Another ILLA Member Writes:

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age
 I THINK the recent letters printed in the *Age* on socialist unity express the desires of the great majority of the members of the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the I.L.L.A. I can see no valid reason why there should not be unity, and the various objections raised by some of the writers seem to me to be petty and irrelevant. You may say that it is easy to write that there is nothing to prevent unity, that it is easy to simply cry "Let's have unity," but that it is not so easy as it seems. To these I say

Ezekiel Plan Strives For Abundance

But Wants to Preserve Capitalist System

By ECONOMIST

THE fantastic paradox of our present economic system is becoming increasingly notorious as the country staggers from crisis to crisis, from recession to recession; want and distress amidst plenty, factories closed down and millions in enforced idleness while great masses of people lack precisely what the idle men and machines might produce could they somehow be gotten together. Socialists, who for years forecast precisely such an outcome, attribute the dead-end at which we have arrived to the fundamental fact that modern highly integrated, large-scale, collective production can no longer be operated thru the institutions of the capitalist system of private ownership and production for profit. A new socialized economy based on production for use must be installed before it is too late. In fact, it is either advance towards socialism or precipitous decline to chaos and disaster!

But there are many serious economic thinkers who, tho they recognize that our present economic system has broken down, believe that it can be restored to healthy functioning without the elimination of its essential capitalist character. They want to make the economic machine work under a capitalism that is modified but is still capitalism.

Perhaps the most significant, fruitful and persuasive of these thinkers is Mordecai Ezekiel, economic adviser of the Secretary of Agriculture and a man of high standing in his profession. In his recent book, "Jobs for All," he outlines a project of planned economic expansion whereby this country could utilize its resources to maximum effectiveness within the general framework of the capitalist system. This plan, known as Industrial Expansion, is being widely discussed thruout the country and has already been embodied in several pieces of legislation now before Congress.

MAIN FEATURES OF THE PLAN

Perhaps the most striking thing about the Ezekiel Plan is that it categorically rejects the fundamental starting-point of New Deal economics: recovery thru the artificial

* Jobs for All Thru Industrial Expansion, by Mordecai Ezekiel. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939.

Save America First!

"WHILE Americans have been looking anxiously at the practices of the totalitarians abroad, danger continues of totalitarianism at home. Nearly sixty bills have been introduced in the present session of Congress infringing in one way or another traditional American civil liberties, particularly for recent immigrants. Mr. Dempsey of Texas wants all aliens deported who advocate 'any change' in our government; this might apply to the Child Labor Amendment or any New Deal proposal. The Dempsey bill has actually passed the House of Representatives. Mr. Hobbs of Alabama would intern all aliens non-deportable because of the refusal of any government to accept them. This, of course, would mean concentration camps for persons accused of no crime, who are unable to leave the country thru no fault of their own. This bill, also, has been passed by the House of Representatives. Mr. Starnes of Alabama and Mr. Borah of Oklahoma would exclude aliens from relief, without caring whether they starved or not. Mr. Arons of Illinois would deprive aliens of most of their civil liberties. Mr. Wheelchel of Georgia would prohibit all immigration of every kind, refusing to permit the entry even of an Albert Einstein or a Thomas Mann. Americans who are friends of democracy thruout the world would do well to give some attention to the threats against it in measures like these, right here at home."

—Editorial in New Republic, May 17, 1939.

that anyone can find matters which seem to prevent unity, but on examination they are small, mean and trifling. The real obstacles to unity are the "little Lenins," the "theoreticians" and the "true followers of Marx," who have no difficulty in sitting down and building a piddling difference of opinion into an insurmountable mountain of "fundamental misconception of Marxist-Leninist tactics."

I think the various political groups, seemingly hopelessly split on "theory" and "tactics," can learn a great deal from the two major political parties of the United States, the Democrats and the Republicans. Both of these parties have their "left wings," "centrist" groups and "right wings," and there are many variations and differences even in these three basic groups. But do you see any splits, any cries about "enemies of the nation" or "renegades"? Instances of this are few in the history of either the Democrats or the Republicans, and where it did happen, the breach was healed in a short time and the insurgents accepted back into the fold.

I see no reason why all the groups which have socialism as their goal cannot unite in one party, a party in which they would have the right and freedom to expound their own ideas of organization, tactics, etc. but which would be united in the fight against capitalism and war.

I do not believe in a monolithic party. I do not think a monolithic party is suited to the task in this country. Furthermore, I am inclined to believe that a severely disciplined party is not the type of party which will achieve any great importance in American political life. I think a more or less loosely organized party, with the utmost of inner democracy, is the type of party which will attract the American worker, which will enable us to elect our candidates to offices and positions where they will attract the attention of the people, and who will be

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS, by Daniel Guerin. Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1939. \$2.00.

DANIEL GUERIN, a member of the executive committee of the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party, has contributed a most enlightening work to the growing literature on the nature of fascism.

The author has undertaken to examine the nature of fascism as it has revealed itself in Italy and Germany or as it is indicated by trends elsewhere. As a result, there emerges a significant and authoritative analysis of the outstanding reactionary phenomenon of our times. Especially enlightening is Guerin's account of the fundamental conflict within fascism between the plebian masses, whom it has lured into its ranks by means of its anti-capitalist demagoguery, and the real purpose of the movement, which is to preserve capitalism against the socialist aspirations of the labor movement. This conflict, which gave Nazi Ger-

many its June 30th, reflects the evolution of fascism from its popular, pseudo-"radical" origins, accentuating the "socialism" in "national-socialism," to the bureaucratic apparatus freed of much of its mass base and increasingly indistinguishable from a military-police dictatorship.

Fascism arises as a plebian movement, a movement of middle-class masses victimized by capitalism and alienated from the labor movement. Much space is devoted in this book to a valuable discussion of labor strategy against fascism at the various stages of its development towards power. Once fascism has triumphed, its underlying purpose becomes undeniably clear. Whereas, on the road to power, fascism plays upon the discontent of the masses and launches demagogic attacks upon capitalism, once in power it moves quickly to aid big business. The economic devices it uses, the author stresses, are not essentially different in kind from those used by the "democratic" capitalist countries, tho they may differ in degree.

The corporate state, which served as an ideological rallying cry for the "radicals" of the fascist movement, displays most clearly the transformation of fascism to the plebians, the adherents of the "second revolution," corporatism means domination and control over the employers within the joint organization. But the fascist regime, true to its historical mission, turns on these plebians and purges them. Once the "radicals" are gotten rid of, the employers grudgingly listen to a "safe" plan for corporatism: the corporate structure which gives the employers double representation in every organizational unit, and which permits merely the superficial contact of top fascist leaders with the employers.

This is but one indication of the basic tendency of fascism to lose its mass character, to become more and more a monstrous, oppressive military-police machine directed primarily against the workers. But it functions, too, against the small peasantry (its promises to break up the estates vanish upon coming into power), against the shopkeepers, the small investors, etc. Even the big employers have to pay tribute but it is relatively small compared to favors received, both in the way of suppression of the labor movement as well as opportunities for favorable financial manipulation. Then, too, it is the big employers who constantly drive to destroy the plebian mass character of earlier fascism.

There is one serious shortcoming in Guerin's work and that is his analytical scheme whereby fascism becomes the voice of big business in a literal sense that so-called light industry is actually regarded as the social basis of capitalist democracy. The practical implications of this theory are enough, I believe, to reveal its errors. Schleicher and Brüning are, according to it, assumed to speak and govern for light industry thru a policy of social reform! It is true that Guerin is not much troubled by his own theory once he has stated it; indeed, it is never heard of after Chapter One. But, because it is the first chapter, and because Dwight Macdonald's strange "Americanization" of it forms the introduction, I hasten to assure readers that the book is very well worth reading beyond the first fifty pages.

Aside from this unfortunate section, Guerin's book is undoubtedly one of the clearest and most thorough Marxist analyses of fascism yet to see print. Further, on such questions as the "inspirational" power of socialism in these its days of darkness, the problem of combating the mysticism and nationalism of fascism, or the nature of modern propaganda, Guerin has a great deal of value to say.

New International Center Formed

Revolutionary Socialists Combine Forces

London, England.
 THE delegates who attended the conferences in Paris recently in connection with the new International Revolutionary Marxist Center, the International Workers Front Against War, and the British and French Centers Against Imperialism, sat for five successive days thru sessions beginning at ten o'clock in the morning and ending after midnight; but at the end, despite their fatigue, they must have felt it worth while. The enlarged International Center was successfully established; the International Front Against War worked out its policy in detail; and

the British and French Centers Against Imperialism planned joint work on a big scale.

NEW INTERNATIONAL CENTER

The new revolutionary Marxist center, based on the class struggle, rejection of the Popular Front, opposition to all imperialist war, cooperation with the colonial masses, and the other points already reported on, replaces the International Bureau and the International Communist Opposition, and brings in sections which have already adhered include the Spanish P.O.U.M., the Italian Socialist Party, the Greek Communist Party, the I.L.P., the Independent Labor League of America, the German Communist Party Opposition, the Swedish Socialist Party, the Palestine Workers Party, and a number of European and colonial groups. The French P.S.O.P. and the Dutch R.S.A.P. will consider their affiliation immediately.

In the Autumn, a world conference will be held to give the Center permanent form. It will be preceded by a thorough discussion of the leading political issues of the time thru the publication of analyses of the following subjects, followed by the distribution of a discussion bulletin:

1. The lessons of the Spanish revolution (including working-class dictatorship and democracy and the revolutionary front).
2. The fight against war, fascism and imperialism.
3. The character of fascism.
4. Soviet Russia.
5. The colonial question.
6. The basis and tasks of the International Center.

The provisional constitution requires that the affiliated parties shall be based on inner democracy and that they shall carry out international decisions applying the accepted principles of the Center. Whilst mutual fraternal public criticism is encouraged, the parties are invited to refrain from working thru fractions inside other parties.

INTERNATIONAL FRONT AGAINST WAR

The International Front Against War already includes the French P.S.O.P. and the Dutch R.S.A.P., in addition to the parties adhering to the Center, and a number of further groups. The discussion was accompanied by valuable remarks on cooperation with the trade-union movement and the colonial peoples movements.

The session devoted to the colonial question revealed the intense determination of the masses to win their national and social liberation and their utter disillusionment in the good faith of the Social-Democratic and Communist parties. The Front Against War and the new Center will win their confidence only by bold action. The French and British groups presented a statement which was enthusiastically endorsed by the conference. It protests vigorously against any proposal to hand about colonial territories between the imperialist powers and declares that the colonial peoples will not take part in war until they have won their national and social liberation.

A French Center Against Imperialism has been formed similar to the British Center representing the colonial peoples movement in North Africa, the Near East, and Indo-China. The two bodies decided to collaborate in preparing a declaration to be signed by colonial organizations in all the empires. Efforts will be made to form centers for the struggle against American, Belgian, and Dutch imperialism.

accumulate more capital in order to make still more profits. But obviously a point is reached sooner or later where profits can no longer be realized without a substantial increase in the volume of consumption; without this increase in consumption, profit declines and therefore production does also. It is no use suggesting that wages be raised from the outset, for that would only reduce profits at once and check the process before it is fairly started. There is only one way of escaping from this dead-end and that is for the capitalists themselves to consume an ever-increasing proportion of their growing profits. But that would mean putting a stop to accumulation; it would be expecting the capitalists to stop behaving as capitalists.

This contradiction is hardly touched by the Ezekiel Plan. Let us assume, with Mr. Ezekiel, that in the first period under Industrial Expansion, both profits and wage incomes increase. Then accumulation of capital will also increase in a corresponding measure and the point will eventually be reached where the rate of profit will begin to fall notwithstanding the larger consumption

(Continued on Page 4)

scientific sabotage" hits much closer to the mark. If this is the case, no amount of appeals or persuasion will be able to get from the business community the voluntary cooperation upon which Industrial Expansion indubitably depends. The whole thing will soon go to pieces, if it ever gets under way at all, or else lead to fascist-like forms of state capitalism that Mr. Ezekiel would be the first to reject.

Why does planned abundance run counter to the interests of the business community? Because capitalist production is production for profit, not for consumption. If capitalists make increased profits, they ac-

cepted by the government to hold the balance even between capital and labor, or for that matter between industrial, business and farming interests, is sheer folly. For example, the problem of fixing prices and production quotas for specific industries would involve a tremendous economic-political struggle, since, under the impulse of the profit drive, each industry would strive to get as high unit prices and to expand as much as possible at the expense of the others. Nor would the allocation of total output among specific firms within an industry be any easier. As long as the private-profit motive predominates, such conflicts of interest are inevitable, and as long as such conflicts of interest occur, the government will in the long run be impressed to serve the interests that are economically most powerful.

Reviewed by M. S. M.

CAPITALISM AND ABUNDANCE
 But the economic fallacy involved in the plan is even more fatal. Planned abundance is not to the interest of the capitalists as a class, nor to that of the dominant groups within the capitalist class; Veblen's "con-

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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THE VICTORY OF THE MINERS

CONGRATULATIONS are certainly in order to the United Mine Workers and to John L. Lewis for their big victory over the soft-coal operators, most of whom they forced, after a tie-up of the mines lasting six weeks, to sign on the dotted line and to bow to the union demand for official, written recognition of the closed-shop system in the industry. Thus the U.M.W.A. has emerged from one of the most difficult situations ever to confront it with its control over the industry unimpaired, perhaps even strengthened in relation to the operators.

There are certain aspects of this six-weeks struggle and the victory in which it culminated that are of special interest in the present labor situation. The entire controversy, it should be remembered, was not over wages or hours or conditions of work; these had been agreed upon early in the proceedings by simply continuing the standards then in force. The whole fight was over putting the closed-shop clause into the written contract, where previously it had been simply a verbal understanding, or alternatively to eliminate the strike "penalty" clause from the old agreement. In essence, therefore, the U.M.W.A. was fighting a defensive battle, a battle to preserve a past achievement and to put it in a form in which it would be secure and safe from tampering. The importance of the victory is not thereby diminished, of course, but in no sense can it be regarded as marking a significant advance of the union to new ground.

Why did the U.M.W.A. have to fight so hard to preserve what it had already gained and enjoyed for years? Because a new factor had entered on the scene, the A. F. of L.'s Progressive Miners of America. Not that the P.M.A. was new as an organization; but new it was as a serious challenge to U.M.W.A. control in the coal fields. It is indeed a startling feature of the present labor situation that the weakest and most insignificant A. F. of L. union should have proven to be a serious worry to the strongest C.I.O. affiliate, the mighty U.M.W.A., a worry against which the latter felt it necessary to secure itself by guarantees written into its contracts with the operators!

Even more deserving of thought is the fact that the whole crisis would probably never have developed had there been unity in the labor movement. Had labor been united, had there been no challenge from any rival union, the U.M.W.A. would have had no compulsion to demand that the verbal understanding on the closed shop be put into written form and the operators would have had as little reason to refuse this request if made. It was only because the U.M.W.A. feared the invasion of the P.M.A., while the operators hoped to turn this inter-union conflict to their own advantage in undermining union control in the mining fields, that the bituminous deadlock came into existence and continued for six long weeks. Here as elsewhere, the divided condition of labor's ranks and the aggravated civil war arising out of it must bear full responsibility.

We have already indicated in these columns that we do not regard the A. F. of L. tactics in this situation as either far-sighted or in harmony with the best interests of labor. But we must stress again that in such a situation no amount of sermonizing or appeals to reason can be of any avail. As long as there is open civil war in the ranks of labor, narrow, ultimately self-defeating considerations of immediate tactical advantage are bound to be dominant on both sides. The only answer is peace and unity!

MIRACLE AT MIAMI

A STRANGE event took place in Miami two weeks ago. There was a hotly contested municipal election. Usually Negroes don't vote very much in Miami, as they don't in most other southern cities. But this time it was different: "All the usual K.K.K. methods were used," runs the account in one newspaper. "Warning fires were lit. Burning crosses dotted the country. Cavalries of automobiles went thru the Negro districts, with warning signs. A Negro was hanged in effigy, with the placard: 'He Voted!'"

But the Negroes voted anyway. In fact, five times as many Negroes voted as ever before in a Miami municipal election. What happened? We continue the newspaper report:

"Police Chief H. Leslie Quigg of Miami gave personal assurances to the Negroes that they would be protected in their right to vote. Special police squads were ordered to duty. Negroes turned out in numbers."

What was behind it all we do not know. Probably the local Democratic machine was split and one gang needed the Negro votes to beat the other gang. And so the Negroes voted.

To the New York Post, from which we have been quoting, this all goes to show the superior virtues of American "democracy" where "hate is a private industry, not a government monopoly. . . . It is fought, not encouraged by the law." But if Miami proves all that, what is proven by practically all the rest of the South where Negroes are robbed of the franchise and barred from public activity by the very forces that are sworn to uphold the law?

What is proven, the Post to the contrary notwithstanding, is that the responsibility for the disfranchisement and the political and social degradation of the Negroes thruout most of the South lies directly at the door of southern "law and order"; that in the South, and in many parts of the North as well, "hate" and racial discrimination are openly sponsored, encouraged and protected by the government. And so it will remain, despite all freak Miami elections, as long as government in the South remains the agency of the reactionary vested interests who thrive on the brutal passions of racial hatred and "white supremacy."

BUT the chief reason the Soviet regime is anxious to raise champagne production is to give the big money-makers, such as 'Stakhanovites' and the upper-bracket engineers, something on which to spend their surplus earnings. Most staple consumer goods, such as clothing, textiles and the like, are now unobtainable or almost so, and the only way in which big earners can receive commodities in return for their work is in luxuries. It is a sort of 'let 'em drink champagne.' Thus writes Harold Denny in the New York Times of May 15.

As Molotov so well put it at the recent C.P.S.U. congress, the Soviet Union is now ready "to pass from the stage of socialism to the stage of full-fledged communism."



Why the Defeat of the Spanish Revolution?

POUM Leader Hits Course Which Led to Disaster

By JULIAN GORKIN

TO Trotsky and the Trotskyites, the P.O.U.M. is a centrist party. He had to classify us in some way so he classified us as centrist. On what does he base this classification? Principally on the two following facts: first, that we signed the electoral pact of February 1936, and that during the months from October thru December, we participated in the government of the Generalidad of Catalonia. By these acts we apparently contracted a grave historic responsibility, inasmuch as we, along with the Popular Front, contributed to the sacrifice of the proletarian revolution. Our process of growth apparently counted for nothing, nor our "ultra-leftism" nor our systematic attacks upon the Popular Front, Trotsky, like the Pope, is infallible. When he has once pronounced sentence, there is no room for discussion or appeal.

I have no interest in polemizing against Trotsky, nor do I think such polemics will lead us anywhere. Like all sincere revolutionists, I owe great respect to the man of 1917, the great collaborator of Lenin, and solidarity with him as a victim of Stalin. Our party manifested this respect and solidarity in October 1936, by asking refuge for him in Catalonia under the protection of the revolutionary proletariat. But it is some time now since I have come to the conclusion that Trotsky no longer has any role to play in the international labor movement. His advice, his warnings, his criticisms have been of no use to us at all in the course of the Spanish revolution. Fortunately, Stalinist propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, we never paid any attention to Trotsky's advice or criticism.

On the other hand, the sentence of our judges in Barcelona is politically much more just and much more important than the completely sectarian opinions of Trotsky. The sentence of the judges shows that our party is the only one that has not betrayed its principles, the only one that has fought consistently for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for socialism.

THE RECORD OF THE P.O.U.M.

How? Let us see.

Everyone knows that the creation of the Workers Alliances was on the initiative of our party and that in them we played a central role. Maurin, aided by Bonet and Nin (Nin belonged at that time to the Communist Left), was the secretary of the Workers Alliances of Catalonia. I was secretary of the Alliance of Valencia; our militants, altho small in number, led in Asturias and were the leading spirits of that heroic region.

October 1934 was the work of the Workers Alliances. After that, we continued fighting, with all our energy for the preservation of these Alliances. The Stalinists and socialists liquidated them to form the Popular Front. Our party denounced the Popular Front from the first day—as an opportunist product of the seventh

25 YEARS AGO

MAY 17-24, 1914
MAY 20, 1914.—Major Hanrock of Colorado National Guard testifies that he ordered the machine-gunning of strikers tent colony at Ludlow.

May 18.—Captain Carson says strikers property was carried off by National Guardsmen after burning of Ludlow tent colony.

May 20.—At closing session of Reichstag, social-democratic members remain seated after the Kaiser's address and during the ovation for him by the rest of the house.

May 22.—Suffragettes riot in theater with King and Queen present. Call King a Russian Czar.

May 24.—Stokers and stewards win strike on liner Vaterland after its maiden voyage to New York.

JULIAN GORKIN, one of the best-known figures in the Spanish working-class movement, was among the founders of the Spanish Communist Party but broke with it almost a decade ago along with Maurin and other outstanding Spanish revolutionists to found the organization that later became known as the P.O.U.M. In the P.O.U.M. he occupies a position of great authority and responsibility, particularly in connection with the party's international relations.—Editor.

congress of the Communist International. Thanks to the Popular Front, the bourgeois Republicans, who had almost completely disappeared from the political horizon, once more regained leadership of the masses. Our Party exerted one more effort to avoid it. On November 4, 1935, seeing the imminence of elections, we proposed to the Socialist and Communist Parties the organizing of a Workers Front. Such a front of the three proletarian parties would have had the support of the large masses of the U.G.T. and of the C.N.T. If the question should arise of a temporary alliance with the Republican parties, such an alliance would have to be made on our terms, based on a revolutionary-democratic program and on a majority of the working class, capable of fighting for the realization of such a program. But the Socialist and Communist Parties sacrificed the Workers Front for the Popular Front; they accepted the moderate program of the Republicans and handed them the majority of positions. We had to pay very dearly for this political blunder—for this political crime.

The Spanish proletariat was face to face with two urgent problems: The need for forcing reaction from power and the necessity of returning to the battle-front the 30,000 revolutionary prisoners of October. Everything standing in the path of these two necessities was counter-revolutionary. The P.O.U.M. could not present itself alone at the elections. This would have been exceedingly unpopular, and especially since in addition, it would have assured the victory to the right over the left, at least in the provinces of Catalonia. Our party would have been destroyed in the eyes of the masses. It would have been proof of suicidal sectarianism, and so we signed the electoral pact. And we were correct. We have nothing to regret.

What was our attitude before the masses? We did not propagate nor did we carry on the politics of the Popular Front. On the contrary, we were its severest critics. We denounced it as the politics of impotence. The line of our arguments was the following:

"The Republicans, in power for a second time, will commit worse mistake than the first time. We are faced with the dilemma: revolution or counter-revolution, socialism or fascism. If the proletariat cannot solve this dilemma, trusting aside the Republicans and the reformist leaders of Stalinism, the latter will inevitably lead to fascism."

REACTION AND THE POPULAR FRONT

And thus it was. In the period which runs from the elections of February to July 19, 1936, the Popular Front not only showed itself incapable of preventing and smashing the fascist-military rising, but it actually helped it by placing the reactionary generals in strategic positions of command on the peninsula. Spanish reaction, and behind it, international fascism, understood only too well that the impotence of Parliament and of the Popular Front government would lead rapidly to the revolutionary radicalization of the Spanish proletariat, following the footsteps of October 1934, and that the dilemma of Socialism and fascism would then be resolved in favor of Socialism. The reaction was

therefore extremely eager to wrest the leadership from the proletariat and it entered upon a kind of "preventive counter-revolution." In the important sections of the country, this was converted into revolution, thanks to the political maturity of the proletariat. If the authorities of the Popular Front had not sabotaged the action of the proletariat in certain provinces, fascism would have been rapidly stamped out in all of Spain.

The Popular Front continued in power after July 19. Only one party opposed it with all its energy—the P.O.U.M. We accused the Republican parties as the most responsible for the fascist-military rising; it was the working-class that defeated it in one part of Spain, and who carried on the struggle against the rebels on the battle-front—not in the name of bourgeois democracy but in the name of the socialist revolution. In opposition to the Popular Front, we felt it necessary to build a completely working-class anti-fascist block—to strive for conquest of complete power and the organization of a proletarian state on the ruins of the bourgeois state. We refused to make concessions to the petty-bourgeois parties and we hastened our political break with them, while we were seeking an alliance in active struggle with the petty-bourgeois masses, especially with the large peasant masses, invaluable and essential allies for the realization of the democratic revolution and its transformation into a socialist revolution.

But the P.O.U.M. was a minority force. And what was the attitude of the majority forces of the proletariat?

SOCIALIST POSITION IN SPANISH POLITICS

The most important of these was the Socialist Party, strongly and firmly supported by the U.G.T. From the day the Spanish republic was declared, the Socialist Party constituted the central force of Spanish politics. Without its active aid, the Republican parties would have been reduced to complete impotence. And that force, that dominant position, Spanish socialism swung in favor of the consolidation of the bourgeois-democratic republic, and therefore against the proletarian revolution. In the Socialist Party, after the experience of the first two years of the Republic, there existed a profound crisis. The majority of the party and the youth were instinctively searching for the road to Marxism. This was apparent in October 1934. But the leader of the Socialist Party, Largo Caballero, trained in the school of opportunism, was incapable of pointing out that road. He was altogether incapable of clear thinking. In place of channeling the party crisis into a progressive, political and revolutionary development, he frittered away its energies in absurd legalistic conflicts. Left socialism, under Caballero, led an existence of complete impotence and its most lamentable defeat was inevitable.

Stalinism certainly knew how to take advantage of this complete disorientation of the Left socialists, of the inveterate opportunism of its leader. Stalinism made Caballero serve as the instrument for diverting the anxiety for radicalization of the socialist masses towards political opportunism and counter-revolution, which disguised itself under the hypocritical slogan of abstract "unity." Under the cloak of Marxism, Stalinism raised its head in the Socialist Youth and the Catalanian Federation of the Socialist Party.

(Continued in the next issue)

1. The Workers Alliance (Alianza Obrera) was an extensive working-class united-front movement initiated by the P.O.U.M. in Barcelona in 1933. It spread until it included the socialists, the U.G.T. and important sections of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. (anarcho-syndicalists). The Stalinist party, then still in the ultra-left stage, denounced it as the "local point of all reactionary forces" and the "only alliance of counter-revolution." It was the Workers Alliance that led the Spanish masses in the great struggle of October 1934, for which see the next note.—Editor.

2. In the Fall of 1934, when the Leroux government was being arranged with the fascist leader Gil Robles as its "Minister of War," the Workers Alliance prepared a general strike which, in the first days of October, developed into an armed revolt in Asturias and elsewhere.—Editor.

Talking It Over:

More About Unity

by Bertram D. Wolfe

RETURNING to the vexed and urgent question of socialist unity with which I occupied myself last week, I call the attention of our readers to the fact that the number of letters on the subject addressed to this paper is still increasing. On June 1 at Hotel Center, Jay Lovestone will report on a conference held by quite diverse parties and groups for the formation of a new International Center. Among them are organizations quite wide apart in a number of matters. But they came together because they agreed on the following:

1. Class struggle as against class collaboration.
2. Rejection of the People's Front as practised by the Second and Third Internationals.
3. Favoring of a workers front, which can and should make agreements with organizations of the middle class on the basis of such aims as they have in common, but without limiting the independent class action of the working class. (Compare the K.A.O.W.C. in this country.)
4. Struggle against war in peace-time and in war-time and rejection of all forms of "social-patriotism" and "civil peace" and all theories of "unity of the nation" against the "unified enemy."
5. Support of the struggles for freedom of the colonial people and oppressed minorities.
6. International aid to the Russian workers in defending such social conquests as still remain, and in reestablishing and extending proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union.
7. Recognition that a proletarian revolution requires the abolition of the capitalist state machinery and the substitution of the temporary rule of the workers (proletarian dictatorship) with the preservation of proletarian democracy—that is, dictatorship only against counter-revolution and the restoration of capitalism.

It seems to me that these aims should be concretized and applied to the American scene and that all organizations or individuals agreeing on these fundamentals should be able to unite in a common organization or in a block or center to bring about closer unification. The problem is to break thru the barriers of routine, inertia, cliquism, petty factional interest, and pessimism that stand in the way. What this requires at this stage is some means and place of clear and comradely discussion. That is why the editors of this paper have opened their columns to these letters, but that is not enough. Papers of all socialist and radical groupings should do the same. Those who refuse to, thereby indicate their attitude. . . .

ON THE SEVEN POINTS

THE seven points I mentioned above are not of equal importance to the American movement. The first five points are of more immediate practical significance here, I think, than six and seven. Thus, I have long felt that there is not much sense in repeating an abstract slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union." If the United States does not enter into a war against the Soviet Union, nor aid those in a war with it, the slogan is a mere comforting declaration of faith. Moreover, it is apt to be misinterpreted as a declaration of "Defend the Soviet Union as it is." If the United States should go to war against the Soviet Union, naturally it would be our duty to try to prevent capitalist restoration or imperialist conquest there. If ammunition and supplies are shipped to countries at war with it and seeking restoration of capitalism or imperialist conquest, it would be a duty to try to prevent such activities. If there should arise other practical situations the slogan could be formulated and applied in still other ways. But as a mere slogan repeated in season and out, it is more like a creed, dogma or litany formula than a genuine objective of struggle. For the Stalinists and Trotskyites who are really world factions built up as extensions of rival Russian factions, it must be repeated like a prayer. For the rest of us, the main duty of the moment is to learn from the Russian experience both what is defensible and indefensible there, and as concrete occasion arises to help the Russian workers defend what is worth defending and get rid of what handicaps them and the workers of other lands.

As for point seven, while we are not now in a revolutionary or immediately pre-revolutionary situation, we must so conduct our day-to-day activities that they further the goals involved. And the concrete embodiment of this aim lies at present principally in the first five points, and in other specific activities in the field of the class struggle here.

WAR AS THE ACID TEST

TO my mind, the most important test of all is point four. He who will continue a genuine struggle against war in war-time, becomes, even if he does not fully understand it, a fighter for putting an end to the war by the workers taking power into their own hands, themselves dictating a just peace and reorganizing the world on a basis which would make future war impossible. That is why Lenin invited the opponents of war in all lands, even including anarchists and syndicalists, to the constituent sessions of the Communist International. It is my feeling that if we should get into a war, all old lines and loyalties would immediately become antiquated. We would break with our closest comrades if they went pro-war, and join with those who had never been close to us, if they agreed with us on the decisive question of continuing a genuine struggle against war and war-makers and the war-making system. But the burning question just now is: Can we not move towards such unity now, while free discussion of the problems involved is still possible?

BLOCKS ON CONCRETE QUESTIONS

THERE are, of course, steps in the direction of greater unity short of actual unification. They are easier to achieve, and more urgent. Thus, it has been possible for the S. P. and the I.L.L.A. to form a block for their common struggle to keep America out of war. The result of the block has been a mass organization embracing powerful farm and labor groups, pacifists, liberals, many members of the Social Democratic Federation, etc., and in it, the socialists and we have worked on the whole harmoniously to develop an autonomous labor section, an autonomous youth section, to combat certain illusions of some of our allies, and to develop a constantly better program for the much larger Keep America Out of War Congress on whose governing body we form but a small minority. Such progress as has been made has been accomplished by discussion and conviction not by intrigue, "capturing" or "putting things over." So much the sounder.

Then there is a loose block (more a common understanding than a block) between the S.P., and some members of the S.D.F., and the I.L.L.A. to work together to keep the labor-party movement labor and not "people's front." This is all to the good, but has not gone far enough.

Next, there is need for a block to preserve democracy and autonomy in the unions, to prevent Stalinist manipulation at orders from a C.P.U.-ridden party, and to bring about unity of the two big labor centers. The failure of the Socialist Party to carry out a consistent line in the auto union has hindered this development.

HOW ABOUT 1940?

WE are approaching 1940. It is my personal opinion that it is high time we set to work to prevent the presidential election from being carried on in such fashion that the labor movement endorses the war-mongering administration of Roosevelt-Lehman-LaGuardia, or falls by reaction, into the likewise militaristic-imperialist Republican camp. We must find some way to make the super-arms, the cutting of relief, the growing reaction, the schemes to involve America in war, into the central issues of the campaign, and to find a labor standard-bearer of whom we can say: "A vote for — is a vote against war." Who will work with us in a block to arouse the American people against war during the coming presidential campaign?

But again my column space is exhausted, but not the problems of unification.

(Read the letters on unity on page 3.—Editor.)

Ezekiel "Abundance" Plan

(Continued from Page 3)

of the workers. (This increased consumption, it should be remembered, operates not merely to raise the demand for capital, but also to increase costs—two opposite effects, tending to cancel each other out.) Thus, the larger volume of capital will yield a continually declining rate of profit. Inevitably a time will come when this development will make itself felt in a refusal of the capitalists to cooperate any longer—and there you are!

The fact is that we have here two interests in sharp opposition to each other—the interest of the capitalists

in profit and the interests of the mass of the people in abundance. These interests are irreconcilable. The fundamental conclusions of this critical discussion are obvious. No scheme of large-scale economic planning for abundance is possible unless, first, the clash of selfish private interests is eliminated and the government comes to represent the great body of the laboring and producing community; and, second, the grip of private profit over the most decisive sections of our economy is broken thru some form of socialization.

But that is socialism!

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