

NEXT WEEK:

STRUCTURE OF AFL UNIONS

by D. Saposs and S. Davison

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

STALIN IS AN APT PUPIL

EVERY student of revolutionary struggles—and, of course, every active participant in such struggles—knows very well that “the rules for a man’s conduct in time of revolution are not the rules of ordinary life.” We repeat this self-evident truth merely to dispel some of the demagoguery now employed in defense of Stalin’s criminal misrule in the Soviet Union. Overpaid and would-be-paid agents, and just simply misguided followers of the Russian terror regime, are now seeking to bolster their defense of a whole series of vile assaults against socialism in the U.S.S.R. by distorting history. Arakustain’s and Krivitsky’s damaging exposures of the travesty on the proletarian dictatorship in Russia have driven such weeds as the New Masses to blossom into history—synthetic, to be sure.

Today, the great Russian working-class revolution is being horribly distorted by the personal dictatorship of a twentieth-century Genghis Khan. However, this revolution is still very far from finished—either at the hands of the Stalin bureaucracy or in its process of progressive development. The dynamics of this social revolution are far from exhausted. Progress, we must never forget, is not in a straight line or on a smooth path. But trial and error against proletarian revolutionists can never be synonymous with trial and error in social and economic policy. In stressing this, we do not at all overlook the fact that we are dealing here with a situation which is not peculiarly Russian in its entirety.

On the occasion of conflicts which were of far less social import, historically outlived regimes in England resorted to frame-ups and “trials” in order to maintain themselves in power. Take the conduct of James II in the so-called “glorious” or “sensible” revolution of 1688-9 as described by the English historian, G. M. Trevelyan:

“The trial of the Seven Bishops, the greatest historical drama that ever took place before an authorized English law court, aroused popular feeling to its height. The sight of seven prelates of blameless character and known loyalty to James (five of them were afterwards Jacobites!) entering the Tower as prisoners and standing in the dock as culprits, showed as nothing else would have done that the most revered and the most loyal subjects in the land would be broken if they refused to become active parties to the King’s illegal designs. If the Bishops suffered, who could hope to escape the royal vengeance?”

Tempting as it is, we are not going to draw mechanically any historical parallels with the Stalin “trials” and purges. The Bishops were acquitted. We called upon history merely to show that Stalin is no more original or any more an inventor than was Ignatius Loyola. Here we deal with two infamous imitators and enhancers of the technique of ruthless reaction. Even so steadfast a sycophant as Walter Duranty was recently compelled to confess that:

“The Russian people can stand more of that sort of thing than most nations, but it is idle to deny that the purge left a bitter taste, not so much from its severity but on account of its injustice” (New York Times, May 28, 1939.)

Yet, tragic as present trends in the Soviet Union are, affairs there are still far from having reached a stage of definite crystallization. History is still to render a verdict on Stalin and his hangers-on. That verdict will be more just, but can hardly be as severe as the penalties imposed by Joseph the Terrible.

DECAYED TO THE MARROW

TO us, government ownership and socialism are not identical. The police systems of our big cities are certainly government institutions, but in spirit and substance they are the very antithesis and anathema of socialist enterprise and relations. Nevertheless, we cannot refrain from noting the tantrums into which many staunch defenders of American democracy are now being thrown by the extension of government activities in industry and finance. Tho this extension is on a capitalist basis and inspired by a desire to save capitalism as a socio-economic system, it is condemned as “socialism” by those who are, historically speaking, myopic. Instead of considering Roosevelt as their most intelligent and resourceful leader in many a decade, they brand him as a revolutionary.

But one point is interesting to note in these inane outbursts. The captains of biggest business and industry who denounce government spending of millions in the processes of production frantically acclaim government pouring of billions into the manufacture of instruments of destruction—or so-called “national defense.” It would be futile to ask why the difference in attitude. To pose this question is to answer it—and, we fear, also to insult our readers. Whether applied to the production or destruction of things, industry still remains industry.

In drawing the attention of our readers to the hypocritical cries of many big-business people against certain types of government spending, we don’t want to give the slightest impression that we have any faith at all in Roosevelt’s reform program as a means of definitely solving or even substantially alleviating the countless ills afflicting many millions of American workers, farmers and urban middle-class folks. F.D.R.’s much-vaunted program of social reform has failed to bring recovery of the fatally sick capitalist economy, let alone remove the need of socialist struggle against and overthrow of capitalism as an outmoded and historically useless social order.

Not even the combined noblest intentions of Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt can obliterate certain unchallengeable truths: America’s private capitalist industry and investment are decayed to the marrow. Hence, our army of more than ten million permanently unemployed; hence our army of billions of unemployed dollars; hence, our growing armies of destruction on land, sea and in the air. Alongside of the astronomical figures representing the cruel human deficits and social unbalancedness piled up in these fashions, the President’s latest \$3,809,000,000 spending program appears picayune and insignificant.

Europe Today: A Continent in Torment and Despair

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE other day, Paris, the world’s fashion center, opened a new sort of show. “What To Wear in War” was the exposition put on by the National Defense Ministry. General Gamelin offered the most favored model in a two-piece yellow (or green) oil-skin suit. Premier Daladier picked the popular accessories—a gas-mask, mittens, rubber boots, portable fire extinguishers, flashlights, waterproof head-dress, and cans of anti-gas powder.

So realistic was the show that even uniformed troops on holiday-leave gaped at its starkness. Here were 15-millimeter anti-aircraft guns spitting 20 shots of hell a minute at a range of 42,650 feet, 8-millimeter machine-guns firing 500 shots a minute at a range of almost a mile. Sirens, sand bags, artillery, dugouts, listening and lookout posts lent the proper setting to civilization’s latest fashion show.

And not to be outdone or accused of insufficient loyalty to its ally, London turned one of its most important sections (Chelsea) into a laboratory for testing plans to cope with air raids. More than 5,000 took part in a mock air raid.

THINGS AT THE MELTING POINT

This is the Europe of today—in anticipation of and in preparation for the Europe of tomorrow, or perhaps even of tonight. No purveyor of demoralizing alarms, no orgy of talk, no storm of scares—single or combined—can present an exaggerated

It Depends on YOU..

THERE is always the danger that an appeal for aid, repeated week in and week out, may become a mere routine and so lose all its effectiveness. Readers may become so accustomed to seeing it somewhere on the front page that they tend to pass it by with a careless glance and with even less thought. It’s just one of those things!

But let us assure you that our financial crisis is not just routine. It’s there every week, all right, but every week it comes as a new emergency, increasingly urgent, increasingly intense. Every week we’re face to face with the same ultimatum: If enough money doesn’t come in on the appeal, the next issue of the Age can’t come out!

That depends on YOU and no one else because we have no one else to depend upon. We have no rich “angels” here or abroad. We have only you to look to for aid and support in this desperate emergency—you, our readers and friends in the labor movement!

Will your aid be forthcoming in time to enable us to get out the next issue of the Workers Age? To ask this question is to answer it. WE MUST GET OUT THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE AGE. Every cent you can spare now is worth double if you send it in PROMPTLY, WITHOUT DELAY!

Annexation Of Danzig Is Expected

After several days of confusion and diplomatic maneuvering, it became fairly clear last week that when Germany gets ready to take Danzig there will be no real opposition forthcoming from England and France or from Poland either, for that matter.

In the House of Commons, all efforts to get the government to give assurances on Danzig failed. Government spokesmen took refuge in the statement that the British “pledge” applied only to a “clear threat” to Poland’s independence, which presumably the German seizure of Danzig would not be. According to the London press, Poland and Germany began secret talks late last week on the Danzig situation, with Poland adopting a “cautious” attitude so as to “avert a conflict.”

From all indications it seemed that the German annexation of Danzig would take place by the Nazi-controlled Danzig Senate officially declaring that city to be part of the Reich. This would be accepted as an accomplished fact at London, Paris and Warsaw and the annexation would be complete. It is also said that Poland would receive certain “considerations,” perhaps of an economic character, from Germany. Meanwhile, Danzig was being quietly taken over by Nazi forces in various guises. Agents of the Gestapo were in virtual control of the police power in the city, while S.S. men from Germany were said to be in possession of all key positions.

Well-informed sources in London suggested the following developments in world affairs in coming months:

1. Hitler will get Danzig.
2. Hitler will get some of Germany’s “lost” colonies.
3. Mussolini will get Djibuti and concessions in Tunisia from France.
4. An “arrangement” in the nature of a “divvy-up” will be reached between England and Japan in the Far East, at least for the time being.

Last week, Soviet Russia again rejected another English draft of the languishing Anglo-Russian mutual security pact. In Paris, semi-official spokesmen “doubted” whether anything would ever come of the Moscow discussions.

Senators Join To Save Neutrality

Washington, D. C. Thirty-four members of the Senate served notice on President Roosevelt last week that they would fight any effort to modify the present neutrality law with its drastic ban on shipment of arms to warring nations.

The group, headed by Senators Nye, LaFollette, Borah, Clark and Johnson, issued a statement opposing the Administration’s foreign-policy proposals after an hour-and-a-half meeting in the office of Senator Hiram Johnson, one of the Senate’s staunchest isolationists.

The statement made it plain that the 34 were ready to filibuster, if necessary, to block the President’s plan of “revising” the neutrality legislation in the direction of his “collective-security” program.

The statement follows: “We are unalterably opposed to the repeal or modification of the present neutrality law prohibiting the sale or exportation of arms, munitions or implements of war to nations engaged in war. We are against any discretion being lodged in the hands of any Chief Executive to determine an aggressor or aggressors during any war abroad.

“We believe in the real neutrality of our nation in case of any armed conflict. “We are determined to maintain our position by every honorable and legitimate means at our command.”

With a solid opposition of 34 Senators, the Administration would be powerless to stop a filibuster. On another front Mr. Roosevelt was able last week to recoup his losses of the previous week. By a vote of 49 to 39, the Senate approved the continuance of the President’s dollar-devaluation authority for another year. The House of Representatives had already done so before the July 4 adjournment.

In addition, the Senate decided, acting on the report of the conference committee of both houses, to set at 71.1 cents an ounce the Treasury price of silver. It was this concession to the silver block that made it possible for the President to regain his devaluation authority.

Washington, D. C. The Senate Judiciary Committee acted last week to place the pro-

A.F.L. Extends Strike Against WPA Wage Cut

Hillman Appeals For Labor Unity

Declares Lewis’s “Pessimism” on Peace With AFL to be Unwarranted

New York City.

As reported in this paper two weeks ago, a distinct rift has developed between Sidney Hillman and John L. Lewis, outstanding C.I.O. leaders, on the question of unity with the A. F. of L. An editorial in the current issue of Advance, official paper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Mr. Hillman’s organization, brings out into the open the difference of attitude that was already noticeable at the recent meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Committee in Washington, where Mr. Hillman virtually alone spoke up for unity while Mr. Lewis declared that peace with the A. F. of L. was “impossible.”

Among the significant paragraphs in the Advance editorial are the following: “Contrary to impressions that were conveyed by the press reports of this matter, negotiations have not been broken off. Members of the Amalgamated are keenly interested in bringing about peace between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

“The Amalgamated is committed, by its convention decisions and by its entire course of action in this matter, to the proposition that unity of the trade-union movement is essential to the realization of the movement’s industrial and political aims.

“C.I.O. President Lewis and Vice-President Murray, in their review of the situation (at the C.I.O. Executive Committee sessions), were pessimistic of the possibility of effectuating peace. C.I.O. Vice-President Hillman did not see the development in quite the same light and he expressed himself as being rather hopeful of an eventual reunification of the forces of organized labor. . . . The indicated difference in the appraisal of the situation relates to the practical and immediate aspects of the situation.

“The C.I.O., of course, and the Amalgamated as part of it, holds it as a basic truth that unification of the movement, if it is to be of lasting value, must rest upon the recognition of the principle of industrial unionism. The Amalgamated will, in the future as it has in the past, do all it can to bring about unity with that basis.”

Hillman’s open, outspoken stand for unity, in the face of Lewis’s “pessimism,” is meeting with wide approval in the ranks of labor, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike, where Mr. Hillman is generally regarded as a decisive factor in bringing about the resumption of peace negotiations between the two federations.

In Washington, it was said in well-informed quarters that some move towards the resumption of negotiations, perhaps emanating from White House circles, would be made in the near future.

The A. F. of L. reminded the C.I.O. last week that it was still waiting for the latter’s promised notification of the resumption of peace negotiations. The A. F. of L. weekly news service, in its editorial column by Philip Pearl, said: “The last conference was held on April 4. The next day Mr. Lewis telephoned to Matthew Woll and said that negotiations would have to be postponed indefinitely, because he expected to be tied up with coal strike meetings and hearings on Wagner act amendments. Mr. Lewis promised to notify Mr. Woll when the C.I.O. committee would be ready to meet again with the A. F. of L. We are still waiting word from Mr. Lewis. We wonder if it will ever come.”

“The Administration was by no means unhappy about the vicious relief bill passed by Congress recently, with all the slashes it prescribed and all the hardship it works for the unemployed. Most newsmen commented on the surprising lack of pressure put on by F. D. R. in behalf of his W.P.A. and relief program, especially as compared with what he has done and is doing to defeat his war-referendum plan or to push his program of “revising” neutrality. [See the editorial “Doublecrossing the Jobless,” in the Workers Age of July 1, 1939.—Editor.]

What’s the answer? Undoubtedly 1940 politics casting its shadow before it. F.D.R. was not unhappy at the way Congress voted on relief because he hopes to be able to use this vote against the Republicans and the Garner Democrats next year. This is the explanation. It just shows that everything now

Green Calls Meeting of Union Heads

Building and construction trades unions of the A. F. of L. initiated a growing wave of strikes on W.P.A. projects in many parts of the country last week in protest against the abolition of union wage scales on these projects decreed in the 1940 relief act passed by Congress last month. As the strike movement got under way, President Green of the A. F. of L. summoned more than 100 presidents of international unions in the Federation to meet in Washington “to organize all the political and economic strength we possess in an effort to prevail upon Congress to amend the W.P.A. act.”

In New York City, close to 75,000 workers left their jobs on W.P.A. at the call of the Building and Construction Trades Council of the A. F. of L., representing 125 Federation affiliates. The strikes were spreading to every construction project in the city and were apparently almost 100% effective. In Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, Toledo, Detroit and San Francisco, similar strikes were under way, with the number of workers out growing from day to day. Altogether it appeared that over 150,000 men would be out by the end of the week.

All of these strikes had as their purpose to get Congress to take quick action to modify the relief legislation so as to guarantee prevailing wage rates on W.P.A. According to the provisions of the present law, every worker must put

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FDR “Not Unhappy” at Relief Slash Act

Frank Howard’s Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

The Administration was by no means unhappy about the vicious relief bill passed by Congress recently, with all the slashes it prescribed and all the hardship it works for the unemployed. Most newsmen commented on the surprising lack of pressure put on by F. D. R. in behalf of his W.P.A. and relief program, especially as compared with what he has done and is doing to defeat his war-referendum plan or to push his program of “revising” neutrality. [See the editorial “Doublecrossing the Jobless,” in the Workers Age of July 1, 1939.—Editor.]

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is geared to 1940. All other considerations take second place, definitely.

The committee which is trying to have Congress act favorably on the Wagner-Rogers bill to admit into this country 20,000 German refugee children put on a very interesting broadcast from the Mayflower Hotel on Sunday night, June 25. Burgess Meredith and Katherine Hepburn donated their services for two skits, which were very patriotic but which lacked specific reference to the bill and the job of getting it passed. If Senator Wagner, who was present, had spoken a few words, inviting support or criticism by mail and telegram, it would have been a much more successful promotional venture. I urge you to place close attention and see if the President will put on even half the heat in behalf of this bill as he continues to put on Congressmen in the interest of changing the Neutrality Act. If he does, I promise you, I will be the first to thank him. Here is a step which our “great democracy” could take, without cost, but which there is a good reason to believe it will not take.

Congressmen Warn of War

Washington, D. C.

Any future war in Europe will be a struggle for power and wealth and not of principles, three members of Congress told a luncheon meeting of the People’s Lobby here recently. They declared that under no consideration should the United States take part in a European war. “Definitely England and France do have much at stake in this hour,” (Continued on page 3)

logic of events is far more ruthless and inexorable than the keenest logic of men. The decisive factor of the present world situation can no longer be evaded or hurdled: German imperialism has become so powerful and is making so many encroachments in the world market that Great Britain can no longer make any substantial concessions to the Nazi empire—even in the interest of peace being prolonged or war being postponed. With the economic foundations of “appeasement” strategy pretty nearly gone, the day of helish reckoning can not be far off.

(This is the first of a series of six articles by Jay Lovestone on “Tomorrow’s War.” The second, “War—When and Why?” will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

ept and conservative British Labor Party has been advised and allowed by Chamberlain to call for mighty resistance to the war plans of the government—in Germany.

Europe has come to the conclusion that only by preparing for the worst might it hope for the best. All the broken hopes and battled aspirations of millions only symbolize a state of mind accepting war as inevitable. Nothing that the most fantastic imagination can conceive should be ruled out in such an atmosphere.

CAVEMEN OF 1939

I shall never forget the Sunday morning in mid-April when President Roosevelt’s billet-doux to Hitler and Mussolini was made public in Paris. The people were more than ever gripped by fear and, as it were, seized by hope; gas-masking children and sandbagging homes took on a furious pace; and so did mortifying beautiful parks by digging them full of so-called air-raid shelters. How symbolic of present day capitalist civilization with its skyscraping pinnacles of technical progress that humanity should be rushing back into caves for safety and escape from this very progress! But the cavemen of 1939 are far more helpless than the cavemen of old. The enemy of today is infinitely

more savage and destructive. Thus, a French friend of mine wrote me: “The world is getting sadder every minute. I have just been measuring my face crossways and upside down too, for my gas mask!” This was in Paris in the Spring, a Spring whose mounting fever could be measured only inaccurately in such morning headlines as “Liner Paris Afire With Twenty-Five Million Francs Worth of Art Works”, “Hitler Returns to Berlin For Birthday”.

HISTORY’S MOST CROWDED HOURS

Approaching this midsummer of madness, the British Ministry of Health has budgeted for some 200,000 casualties in the first twenty-four hours of warfare. Let no one forget that nearly one-half the population of England lives in its seven leading cities. Likewise, no one dares to forget that the element of the incalculable is greater in war than in any other human or rather inhuman activity. Every one has a feeling of being overwhelmed by a disastrous, unending avalanche of affairs and events. Litvinov goes, conscription comes, May First passes out unnoticed, Poland prepares, Mussolini bellows—never a let-up, it seems, in history’s most crowded hours. Yet in the midst of it all,

France appeared quiet. And when Frenchmen are quiet, they are really agitated!

But let no one be deceived, for never could any one afford it less—and never was it as difficult to avoid deception. Many times, in going thru the continental press or listening in on its broadcasts, I had a feeling it would take language at least a generation to recover from the abuse to which it has been subjected, especially in the last four hours. All too often, one’s ears and eyes can not dodge such political shibboleths as “good faith”, “friendship”, “collective security”, “appeasement”, “peace”, “national defense”, “humanity”, and “progress.” In reality, almost everything in politics is now described by its opposite. For example, the official German news agency declared that the conquest of Albania “coincides with the letter and spirit of Italo-Albanian friendship of 1927, and is characteristic of Italy’s deep sympathy for the Albanian people.”

BANKRUPTCY OF “APPEASEMENT”

Obviously, nations must nowadays be on guard against “sympathy” being declared upon them. More and more it appears that “peace” plus “sympathy” equals war. In this sense, millions have been reduced

to awaiting hopelessly the outbreak of general “sympathy” in Europe. This is so, whether Danzig will or will not be the signal for the major powers cutting each others throats. Why? The economic basis of Britain’s “appeasement” policy is practically gone, the Chamberlain remains as the helm and continues to serve just as loyally as ever the same British imperialist interests he served at Munich and before the doublecrossing of Czecho-Slovakia. The umbrella-bearing Neville is merely a symbol of the bankruptcy and the end of this policy of “appeasement”. In behalf of German imperialism, Hjalmar Schacht made similar efforts at “appeasement”. He also failed, but he has already gone out of the picture.

Then, of course, we must not lose sight of the fact that Great Britain went thru similar stages and moves in 1914—to avoid decisions and to manoeuvre for position. Twenty-five years ago British imperialist policy also had its Czech phase. It was planned diplomacy and not mere muddling that then led England to offer Austria the occupation of Serbia’s capital, Belgrade, as a guarantee for adequate punishment of the assassins of the archduke.

However, economic forces have their consequences ineluctably written in the logic of events. And the

Gulf Seamen Must Affiliate to AFL

New Gulf Paper Reflects Lack of Clear Line

(As we go to press, the National Maritime Workers Union convention at New Orleans, which began on July 1, is still under way. At preliminary sessions, eighteen delegates, representing the Gulf District, walked out because the Curran-dominated credentials committee barred the leaders of the Gulf District from the convention. A full report of the N.M.U. convention will appear in an early issue.—Editor.)

By JACK SODERBERG

THE Gulf District edition of the Pilot, organ of the Gulf District Committee of the National Maritime Union, is out. On its front page, it carries a "Five-Point Program Adopted by Gulf Membership" and these are the points around which the Gulf organization is to be rallied. Of course, from the point of view of the N.M.U. constitution, the publication is illegal and will no doubt be so declared by the New York headquarters, dominated completely by Stalinists and Stalinist stooges. The paper itself represents an attempt of a long-gagged membership to make its voice heard. There are many interesting and revealing statements in the paper but what I propose to deal with here is not so much the journalistic angle as the lack of a decisive program for the Gulf organization.

FIVE-POINT PROGRAM

Point 1 in the five-point program informs us that "it is essential that we immediately start to publish a Gulf District newspaper . . . to counteract the propaganda machine built up by the Communist Party . . ." Point 2 deals with steps to be taken to vacate from office in the Gulf District any official who is known to be dominated or taking orders from the Communist Party. Point 3 calls for an agents conference of the Gulf branches to set up an emergency committee for the purpose of consolidating the Gulf into "a compact body to carry on the fight against the shipowners and gain wages and conditions aboard ships." Point 4 deals with the appointment of organizers for the Gulf and, Point 5 decides "that all funds, dues, assessments and any other income be retained by the Gulf for the purpose of running the union here until such time as the organization on the Atlantic Coast is put back on a democratic basis."

Point 1, of course, is one of the most important issues. For a long time, anyone in the union who dared stand up and express an independent opinion—and, in this as well as in all Stalinist-controlled unions, an independent opinion is one not previously blessed by the party—was dumped, slugged and generally made to toe the line. Finally, in desperation, the Gulf membership have issued their own publication.

STALINISTS BITTERLY HATED

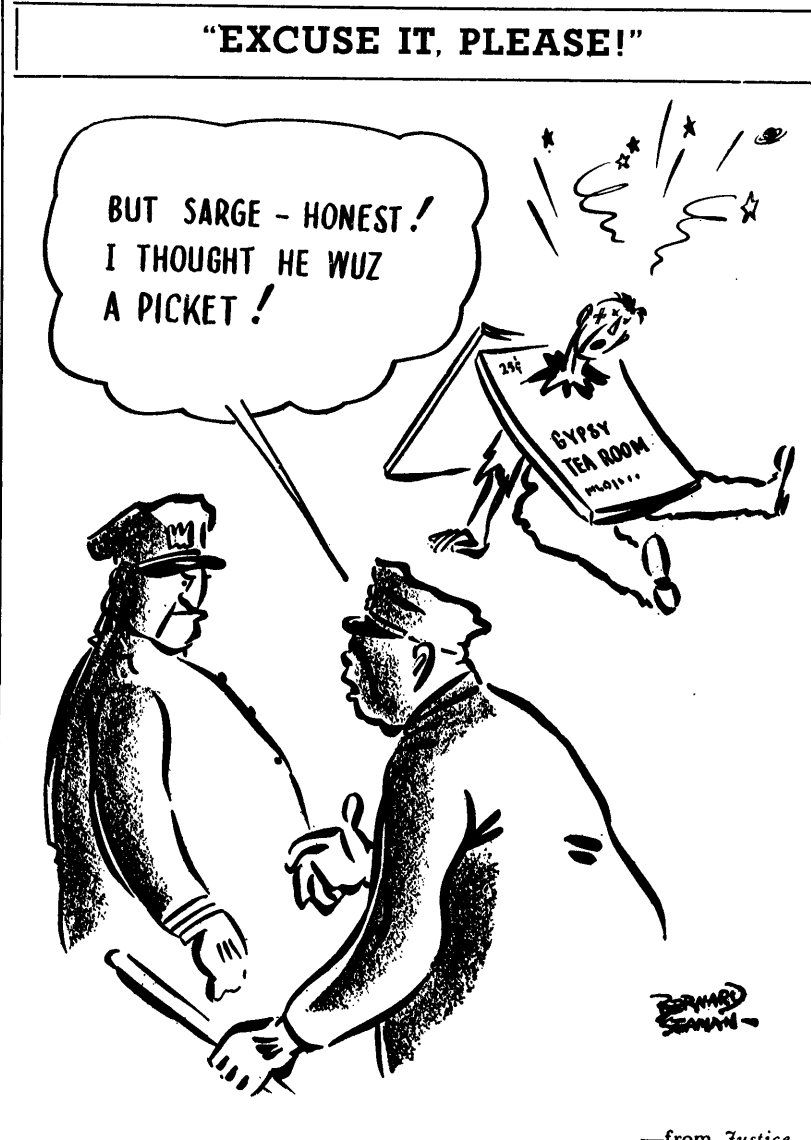
Point 2 indicates the extent to which the hatred of the Stalinists has spread thru the ranks of these seamen. The very mention of the Communist Party in the ranks of the union today has the effect of a red cloth in front of a bull. The domineering tactics of the Communist Party, their utter disregard for all decency and all rights of the membership, have finally brought the matter to a point where scores are about to be settled. As far as the Gulf is concerned, the days of the domineering commissar have come to an end. It is a point well taken.

Points 3 and 4 are, of course, natural events to follow the decision made, but in point 5 there is a definite clash with the N.M.U. constitution, which makes it mandatory upon the Gulf to remit a certain per-capita to New York. For that matter, point 1 also clashes with the constitution.

What the Gulf apparently has failed to take into consideration is the possible expulsion of the district by the National Council and the resulting chaos to follow—unless steps are taken now to prepare for such an eventuality. It is for the Gulf membership to decide now what such steps should be and in what direction they should lead. This, it appears, it has failed to do at this time. Apparently, the Gulf labors under the illusion that the steps already taken will make the commissars stop and take stock of themselves and eventually return to the rank and file the control of the union. If that is the belief of the Gulf, I can only say that past lessons have been no lessons at all, and past experiences have taught them nothing.

That this is the case seems to be borne out in point 3 of the "Statement of Policy" printed on the back page of the Gulf paper. Point 3 states: "The supporters of this edition of the Pilot are unalterably opposed and will unequivocally fight any attempts to split the ranks of the N.M.U. or to set up a new union." I think that this is, to say the least, unsound advice, and advice emanating from a mind which fails to understand the situation at the present and neglect to take into consideration what the eventual result of the Gulf move will be. For, certainly, no one is going to believe that Stalinist commissars now controlling headquarters and directed by The Mink and Hudson, are going to allow the Gulf to run practically independently, handle its own dues, sign its own contracts, hire and fire its own organizers, etc. etc. That is why I say it is a most unsound ad-

vice and events will prove just how unsound it is. No, what the Gulf membership must now do is as plain as the day is long. There exists another organization on the Atlantic Coast as well as in the Gulf—the Seafarers International Union, to which is affiliated that militant, fighting union on the West Coast, the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The S.I.U. has been in the field less than a year and already each and every contract signed by this union on the coast as well as on the Gulf is a contract guaranteeing the complete closed shop. This is something the N.M.U. has not been able to accomplish as yet. To the contrary, it has succeeded in losing companies and ships, mainly because the controlling Stalinist agents would not allow the rank and file to turn to advantage the militancy which was the moving factor in establishing the union some two years ago. (Witness the recent deplorable fiasco of the tanker strike, a strike which, against protest of the rank and file, was choked in hot oil, because it is the policy of the Communist Party to day to support the Administration in its attempt to rebuild the American merchant marine as an auxiliary to be used in the coming war, and nothing must stop this rebuilding program, not even the crying need of the seamen they claim to represent. The Communist Party was the sell-out agent in this in-



—from Justice

stance just as it has been the sell-out agent in many other instances and will continue to be as long as it is allowed to control the destiny of the seamen.)

And so, the Gulf membership must now seriously consider what they are going to do when the C.P. cleanup squad goes to work with its purges and expulsions that are bound to follow in the wake of the revolt—that is, bound to follow as long as the Gulf membership allows itself to remain within the N.M.U. and consequently under the control of the commissars. Steps must be taken now to prepare the way for a complete transfer of the whole district into the S.I.U. in a body, leaving the Stalinists to stew in their own juice. And have no fear, there are branches on the Atlantic Coast that are ready to kick out the commissars and follow in the wake of the Gulf once that district has taken the decisive step.

CAN'T REFORM THE N.M.U.

To speak of "reforming" the N.M.U. as some sources seem to do is just so much baloney. You could no more reform the N.M.U. in the death-grip of the Stalinists than you could reform the Communist Party itself. It is always well to hesitate once, twice and three times before taking steps that will split an existing organization. However, where we are faced with the prospect of remaining under the control of an outfit that is fast degenerating into a mere dues-collecting agency, an instrument for jingo patriots, the playing of an unscrupulous political machine, making it impossible to function as an economic organization, then there must be no hesitation. The course of the Gulf is clear: complete organizational break with the commissars and the immediate opening of negotiations for the purpose of eventual affiliation with the Seafarers International Union.

World Trade Union Center Meets at Zurich

IFTU Acts to Bar Russian Unions

Zurich, Switzerland. THE eighth congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, meeting here last week, defeated the British proposal to renew the invitation to the Russian trade unions to affiliate. The vote was 46 to 37.

British trade-union spokesmen raised the issue in a plea made by George Hicks, but their attitude impressed observers as little more than lukewarm and almost as much opposed to the inclusion of the Russian unions as in favor of it. The main argument seemed to be that admission of the Russian unions would be in line with the spirit of the proposed Anglo-French-Soviet pact. The British stand was supported by the French, Norwegian and Mexican unions.

The opposition was led by Robert J. Watt of the A. F. of L., who stressed the point that the Russian unions were not genuine, free trade unions at all, but really government organizations. He was strongly seconded by spokesmen of the Dutch and Belgian federations.

The congress also endorsed the action of the General Council of the I.F.T.U. when it broke off negotiations with the Russian unions last year. Here the British unions voted for, the Mexicans against, while the French and Norwegians abstained.

The congress authorized the creation of an additional vice-presidency for a representative of an overseas country. According to reports, William Green was being considered for this post.

British Leaders Reverse Their Stand, Would Admit Russian Unions

By E. R. London, England

THE British trade-union leaders have changed their minds and now they are in favor of admitting the Russian unions into the International Federation of Trade Unions, the so-called "Amsterdam International," which is at present located in Paris. The British Trade Union Congress has adopted this position and will raise the question at the I.F.T.U. congress in Zurich towards the beginning of July.

A year and a half ago, you will remember, this question was widely discussed in the ranks of the international trade-union movement. At that time, Leon Jouhaux, head of the French C.G.T., sponsored the entry of the Russian unions, and Walter Citrine, general secretary of the British T. U. C., was the chief opponent. Nothing came of the move then, largely because the Russian unions refused to join unless certain conditions they stipulated were granted, and these conditions were so outrageous that the entire matter fell thru without coming to a test.

And now Walter Citrine is going to propose that the Russian unions be brought into the I.F.T.U. Why the change? In what way are Citrine's arguments of eighteen months ago any the less valid today? No explanation, no answer!

Can it be that Mr. Citrine's sudden affection for the Russian unions has something to do with the Anglo-Russian pact negotiations now under way? Eighteen months ago, official Britain looked with marked disfavor on Soviet Russia and somewhat on the British T. U. C. leaders couldn't see the Russian unions with a telescope. Now Chamberlain would like to have Soviet Russia as an "ally"—to do the dirty work for Anglo-French imperialism—and Mr. Citrine feels his heart warming towards the Russians. Not that I suggest any direct connection, but the coincidence is curious, to say the least.

But Mr. Citrine is not going to have smooth sailing at Zurich, as far as I can see. The Belgian trade unions are opposed to Russian entry; they have already sent out a declaration to that effect. So are the Swedish unions, and I presume you know that the A. F. of L. would promptly disaffiliate from the I.F.T.U. if the Russian unions are admitted. The Danish and Swiss unions are also opposed, although they are said to favor "closer relations". It will all come out at Zurich in a few days.

There is a deeper issue involved in the question. Can the Russian unions, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as genuine unions? I don't see how. They are plainly and definitely government institutions, departments and agencies of Stalin's totalitarian dictatorship. They are no more free trade union organizations than are the Nazi Labor Front in Germany or the fascist "syndicates" in Italy. If the I.F.T.U. is, as it claims to be, a world federation of independent, free trade unions, the Russian unions certainly don't belong in it.

I think that in this estimate of the Russian unions I am in agreement with the viewpoint of the Workers Age, which, made a similar analysis some time last year. [The reference is to the editorial, "The Fate of the Russian Unions", in the Workers Age of September 17, 1938.

AFL Calls Strikes Against WPA Cuts

(Continued from page 1)

In 130 hours a month for his "security wage," which in the case of skilled construction men is about \$82 a month. Heretofore these men worked only enough hours to earn the wage at prevailing (union) hourly rates. The union wage rates have now been done away with and the men frequently have to work twice as long for the same total wage as they did before. The A. F. of L. unions are also greatly concerned lest the breakdown of union rates on W.P.A. have an unfavorable effect on the maintenance of union wage scales on private construction jobs.

W.P.A. strikers in New York City were threatened by Administrator Somervell with mass arrests and prosecution on felony charges under

his interpretation of a section of the relief act. Col. Somervell's threats, however, made little impression on the strikers or the unions conducting the walkouts. Within a few days, Somervell was forced to retreat and to repudiate his own threats.

In Washington, leaders of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department conferred with W.P.A. Commissioner Harrington, but to little effect. Col. Harrington insisted that he was powerless to act and only a modification of the law could make possible the resumption of the payment of prevailing wage scales. From Col. Harrington's office came the order that W.P.A. workers out for five consecutive days were to be dropped from the rolls and lose their jobs. In New York City, Public Welfare Commissioner Hodson supplemented this threat by announcing that those dropped from W.P.A. rolls for refusing to work at the reduced rates would not get home relief. This lead was followed by relief authorities in many parts of the country. In the press a terrific hue-and-cry was raised against the W.P.A. workers and their unions for daring to "strike against the government." Despite all this, the strike wave kept gaining momentum.

In Congress, a movement developed among some members for revision of the new relief act so as not only to restore prevailing wage rates but also to mitigate in some manner the forced 30-day "vacation" of all those on W.P.A. for eighteen months, amounting virtually to the wholesale dismissal for an indeterminate period of hundreds of thousands of men and women without any regard to need. Senator

Where to Buy Workers Age in Harlem

- Landerson, 111th St. & Lenox Ave., NW
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- Brown, 127th St. & Lenox Ave., SE
- King, 135th St. & Lenox Ave., SE
- Thompson, 135th St. & 8th Ave., SW
- Bell, 140th St. & 8th Ave., SE
- Howard, 145th St. & St. Nicholas Ave., SW
- Wigderson, 296 W. 145th St.

Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

FOR the close student of trade unionism the determination of the exact strength of the trade unions at any given moment is no easy or simple task, as Leo Wollman made clear in his "Ebb and Flow of Trade Unionism." Much more difficult has it become since the rise of the C.I.O. when membership figures are considered in the nature of state secrets. An additional difficulty is the frequent substitution of the number of members in the union, or the number of members paying dues by the number of workers "covered by contracts." In all cases, the latter figure is naturally much more substantial but has little relationship to the total number of workers in the union and even less to the number paying dues.

The membership of the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. is easily determined. The A. F. of L. announced recently that it is receiving per-capita payments for approximately 3,750,000 members. That this estimate is fairly accurate is evidenced by Edward Levinson, now a C.I.O. retainer. In an article in Harper's recently, he sought desperately but vainly to disprove the then A. F. of L. claim of 3,600,000. But he succeeded only in shipping off a mere 15,000 or so—itsself indicating the high degree of accuracy of the A. F. of L. claim.

But much more difficult is it with the C.I.O. The claim of 4,037,877 was first made at the C.I.O. founding convention in Pittsburgh in November 1938, but what was the origin of the figure arbitrarily attached to each listed organization? To that there was no answer except in one or two cases, as in S.W.O.C. and T.W.O.C., where, we learn many months later, the reference was not to membership at all but to workers under contract.

In a few cases, a check has been possible and this may provide a possible clue to the relationship between the official claims of the C.I.O. and the records or reports of the C.I.O. affiliates. We give below the comparative figures. The letter at the extreme right in parenthesis indicates the source of the membership figures:

	C.I.O. CLAIMS (NOV. 1938)	MEMBERSHIP
Textile Workers Union	450,300	150,000 (a)
Int. Ladies Garment Workers Union	250,000	250,000 (b)
United Automobile Workers Union	381,200	170,200 (c)
United Office & Professional Workers of America	46,575	13,600 (d)
International Fur Workers Union	45,345	19,992 (e)
Amalgamated Association of Iron Tin and Steel Workers of America	8,435	8,462 (f)
Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers	24,709	10,000 (g)
United Mine Workers (including District No. 50)	667,333	428,593 (h)
Amalgamated Clothing Workers	252,620	200,000 (i)
Steel Workers Organizing Comm.	525,612	200,000 (j)
Totals	2,652,129	1,200,847

- (a) Based on representation at Philadelphia convention, May 1939.
- (b) Withdrew from C.I.O. prior to Pittsburgh Convention of C.I.O. in November 1938.
- (c) Membership claimed by C.I.O. faction at its Cleveland convention, March 27, 1939. The actual membership now is very much smaller.
- (d) Payments to C.I.O. as reported in financial statement to its convention in Washington, D. C., May 18-22, 1938. Membership has since declined.
- (e) Based on payments from local unions over a period of 24 months as included in report of International Executive Board to union convention in Atlantic City, N. J., May 7, 1939. Per-capita payments to C.I.O. show membership of only 15,955.
- (f) Payments to C.I.O. reported at Pittsburgh convention April-May 1939. This, of course, does not include S.W.O.C.
- (g) See minutes of national convention, September 9-12, 1938, Camden, N. J. No per-capita was paid to C.I.O.
- (h) See convention proceedings January 25—February 3, 1938.
- (i) Report at C.I.O. Executive Board session, June 1939.

SLANDER!

In reply to letters in the press charging that the Stalinist administration of New York's Local 54 of the United Shoe Workers Union accepted severe wage-cuts, Nathan Rosenberg, a member of the Executive Board of that local, replies:

"Last year, we accepted a wage reduction of 2% to 6%, and not more, only in a few shops. And this year, we accepted a wage cut of 10% also only in a number of shops."

In the eyes of Mr. Rosenberg, a mere 16% wage-cut clearly establishes the constructive character of the local's Stalinist leadership and provides a "crushing" refutation of the charges of the progressive critics of the administration.

ILLA Asks for Joint Action Against Coughlinites

(We publish below a communication sent recently by the New York District Committee of the Independent Labor League of America to the New York committees of the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.—Editor.)

June 26, 1939.

Socialist Party
Socialist Workers Party
New York City
Dear Comrades:

It is not necessary to point out the menace of the Coughlin movement and the methods that that movement is employing against labor organizations, their meetings, etc.

We, therefore, wish to propose that the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Inde-

pendent Labor League of America conduct joint open-air meetings in selected parts of the city and thus counteract the threat and the attacks of that movement. With our joint forces, it should be possible to carry on some effective propaganda against the Coughlin movement and its interference with labor's rights.

I would suggest that representatives of the three above-named organizations get together to work out the details. Please let me hear from you, if you agree with the above proposal and when your representatives can meet with the others.

Fraternally yours,
D. BENJAMIN
For the New York District Committee, I.L.L.A.

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Bosses Use Terror Against Labor, LaFollette Reports

By ARTHUR GREEN

A startling story of persistent and menacing violations of the civil liberties of workers in labor relations is told in the findings presented by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, after extensive hearings and investigations. These findings are summarized in the May 1939 issue of the Monthly Labor Review, a publication of the U. S. Department of Labor.

The violations of the civil liberties of the workers have arisen principally from a labor relations policy hostile to the free organization of unions and collective bargaining with them. This policy has found expression most significantly in four ways: (1) The widespread use of labor spies by employers, particularly the industrial espionage service supplied by commercial detective agencies; (2) the use of strikebreakers, particularly those furnished by commercialized strikebreaking and strike-guard agencies; (3) the use of private police in the field of labor relations, often resulting in brutality, bloodshed and the usurpation of public authority; and (4) the use of industrial munitions and the accumulation of large private arsenals in connection with labor disputes.

LABOR ESPIONAGE

Previous to the hearings and investigations of the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, evidence of the work of undercover agents in spying on workers was fragmentary. Hearings held by the committee and the extensive documentary evidence collected by it revealed labor spying as a grave menace to the rights of workers to organize and to take advantage of the civil liberties granted by the Constitution. The committee found that the work of labor spies has been directed most significantly toward obtaining for employers information regarding employee interest in unions, and regarding the membership of labor organizations. Closely related has been the work of labor spies in obtaining information regarding the political or economic views, or activities of employees or prospective employees and of the officials or members of labor organizations. The use of such information in connection with the status of workers has been a grave form of infringement of civil liberties, including the rights of free discussion and independent judgment.

STRIKEBREAKING SERVICES

The committee uses the term "strikebreakers" as meaning persons who, during or in anticipation of a labor dispute, are hired to replace regular workers and are offered compensation, in any form, at a rate higher than that paid regular employees. The committee found that a significant form of strikebreaking was connected with the employment of strikebreakers in such manner as to indicate an intention to cease or to transfer the operations of the plant when in fact the employer had no such intention.

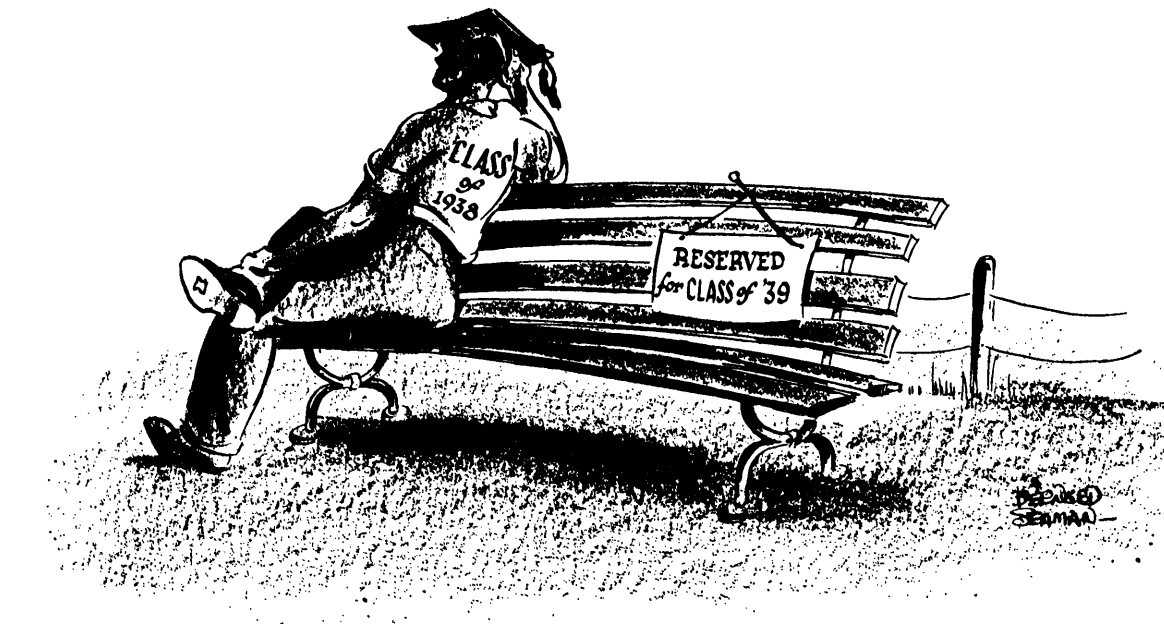
The committee's report on strikebreaking services deals mainly with the services rendered by detective agencies and employers associations. An extensive occupational class has grown up for strike work, usually in the service of these organizations, but members of this class sometimes offer their services directly or set out to recruit their fellows for strike jobs. There have been three main types of strike services. Strikebreakers in the narrow sense of the word are commonly understood to be persons who temporarily replace striking workers. In most cases, strikebreakers have not been qualified employees but have been, as frequently advertised by strikebreaking agencies, industrial shock troops with which to break strikes and cause the strikers to return to work.

In addition to strikebreakers as thus narrowly defined, guards or watchmen, usually armed, have been used extensively to protect strikebreakers, regular workers who remained at work (scabs) or plant property. Such guards have usually been strangers both to the controversy and to the locality although they have often been deputized as local police officers. Men who offer themselves as guards in strikes have formed a more or less distinct occupational group.

A third type of outsider employed to render special service in connection with strikes has included persons engaged to mingle, under various disguises, with persons engaged to mingle with strike employees or with their families or with townspeople. They have variously represented themselves to be strikers or strike sympathizers or salesmen. Thus the connection between employees of this type and their employers has been concealed. Such persons are known in the strikebreaking trade as "missionaries" or "strike missionaries" or "street operators."

The three types of services have frequently been furnished by the same agencies. Although they represent specialized functions, they have had a single purpose, namely, the breaking of strikes. "Like industrial espionage, these strike services are weapons for the employer in his battle against the recognition of organizations of his employees. Thus, united in purpose, these services can be most profitably organized and offered by agencies or associations specializing in the practices of anti-unionism.

The committee found evidence of



—from Justice

Stalinists Condemn Selves In Manouever at AYC Meet

Introduce Resolution Denouncing "Communist Dictatorship"

(Special to the Workers Age)

THE American Youth Congress, widely known as a Stalinist-controlled "innocents" group, spent most of the time of its convention here last week in a series of ludicrous and grotesque manouvers to prove its deep devotion to democracy, its 100% Americanism, its abounding loyalty to the Roosevelt Administration, and its intense horror at all "subversive" ideas. But somehow it didn't come off, and the American Youth Congress closed its sessions in greater confusion than ever, with the Communist Party, or rather the Young Communist League, which operated for the C.P. in this field, the laughing-stock of the whole affair.

The use of strikebreakers and strikeguards in the records of almost every state or federal investigation of a major industrial dispute, extending back as far as 1882. However, the third type of strikebreaking service, that of the "missionaries," seems to have developed in its more extensive and characteristic forms during recent years.

One of the gravest aspects of the situation has been the commercializing of these various services, rendering them available to employers upon call.

Company-police systems have had a long history. They have been particularly prominent in those industries that have remote or isolated locations, such as mining and lumbering. In some instances, private policing has been necessary for protection against thievery and vandalism. The committee, while recognizing these circumstances, pointed out that in carrying out even these functions, private-police systems are created to defend the interests of the employer.

The concern of the committee, in relation to private-police systems, was primarily with their use as an instrument of labor-relations policy. The committee's report is confined mainly to analysis of the activities of private police and deputies in Harlan County, Ky., and of the company police of a single corporation outside of that area. It is stated, however, that evidence in the possession of the committee and the N.L.R.B. described in the report were not exceptional. Certain general conclusions are stated regarding the consequences of the use of private armed guards as employers agents in labor relations. These consequences affect gravely not only the civil rights of workers but also the maintenance of public peace and safety, the operations of the economic system, and the functioning of government.

The Senate committee, in its study of labor espionage, found that spying was closely related to the use of strike-guards and private policemen and that all three types of service involved the ultimate use of force. In its study of these services, the committee learned of the extensive use of firearms and chemical munitions and therefore turned its attention to the character and effect of industrial munitioning. It was found that the use of munitions was particularly prominent at critical periods in the course of the relations of certain companies with their employees. The largest purchasers of industrial munitions were almost invariably employers hostile to collective bargaining.

The committee found a large assortment of "ingenious devices ranging from baseball bats to steam lines

It all centered around the question of the A.Y.C. "creed," that is, the statement of principles (if any). The Y.C.L. faction had brought in a "creed" committing the Youth Congress to defense of the Constitution, to the seeking of progress "only within the framework of the American system of government" and to opposition to "all forms of dictatorship." But this was not enough for some of the "democratic" Popular Front allies of the Stalinists, who decided to put their partners on the spot. And so they introduced a draft "creed" of their own condemning "communism because it is opposed to the principles of a belief in God, the inviolability of human rights, private ownership of property and internal peace," and including in this condemnation "Nazism and fascism" as well. This resolution was supported by a group of conservative youth organizations, headed by Murray Plavner of the Youth Council for American Democracy and Alfred M. Lillenthal of the First Voters League.

This put the Stalinist stage-managers of the convention in a tight fix. Hadn't they been parading for years as the champions of religion, private property and "internal peace"? On the other hand, the substitute "creed" was obviously a hostile move, aimed directly at them and their domination of the A.Y.C. So they began executing their first manouever on two fronts. First, they denounced the insurgents as "fascists," "Coughlinites" and what not. Then, Carl Ross, speaking for the Y.C.L., got up and declared the "creed" amendment to be "innocuous" (!) but opposed it because it threatened to bring intolerance into the youth movement. (The Stalinist purgers protesting against intolerance was a sight to make the gods weep—or laugh, let me assure you!) The vote was taken; the Y.C.L. draft was carried overwhelmingly; and then, when Mrs. Roosevelt in her address to the convention went out of her way to praise the "creed," everything seemed all right.

ANOTHER MANOUVER

But it wasn't. In the first place, fourteen of the 135 participating organizations promptly bolted the convention, and, although an attempt was naturally made to pooh-pooh them as being mere "paper" organizations and amounting to nothing, it all left a bad taste in the mouth. Furthermore, it turned out that there were quite a number of delegates remaining with the Youth Congress who agreed with the point of view of the bolters but had fallen for the "Coughlinites" propaganda or for some other reason didn't want to follow them. And so the Stalinist stage-managers arranged for their second big manouever. They got a number of "fellow-travelers" and stooges, headed by Joe Lash of the A.S.U., James B. Carey, the C.I.O. official, and Molly Yard of the A.S.U., to introduce a resolution in their own names (that is, not committing their organizations) specifically regarding the opposition of the A.Y.C. to "all forms of dictatorship, regardless of whether they be communist, Nazi, fascist or any other type, or bear any other name," while at the same time according "full freedom of speech and discussion to all young people, regardless of race, creed, religion or political label, whether Republican, Democrat, socialist, communist, fascist or any other. . . ."

Remember this resolution con-

demning "communist dictatorship" was introduced by people acting upon the "suggestion" of the Young Communist League strategists at the convention! And it was passed unanimously, with one abstention by somebody from California. In unanimously recommending this statement, the resolutions committee had taken care to stress that it was not in contradiction to the Stalinist "creed" adopted the day before. And when the vote was over, Gil Green, secretary of the Y.C.L., got up and stated that the resolution did not apply to his organization or the Communist Party because "communism does not stand for dictatorship." The Young Communist League supports the resolution, being opposed to all forms of dictatorship.

FIGURE THIS OUT!

At this point, many a veteran delegate had to admit himself completely baffled at the ins and outs, at the twists and turns of the intrigue and manouevering that was going on before his eyes. First, the convention, at a signal from the Stalinist stage-managers, rejects a resolution condemning "communism" and endorsing private property, although one of the Y.C.L. leaders calls this resolution "innocuous." And then, the Young Communist League brings about the introduction and passage of another resolution condemning "communist dictatorship," a resolution which the Y.C.L. secretary publicly endorses and insists does not refer to his organization or to the Communist Party! At this point, we gave up. Standing on your head and kicking yourself in the face is a trifle compared to such gymnastics.

The fact is that ordinary standards of meaning and integrity in the use of words have no significance as far as the Stalinists are concerned. They will endorse, approve and sign any document, even a document in which they themselves are denounced by name—nay more, they will themselves instigate the introduction of such a document—if necessary in their game of capturing, dominating or controlling. To talk of principles in connection with such people is just a waste of breath; even words have lost their meaning. The nearest thing they resemble is the police spy, who is all things to all men, just so he can get his dirty job done.

BREAKDOWN INEVITABLE

As for the rest, the A.Y.C. convention was of little consequence. The regulation pro-Administration resolutions were adopted, of course. From the reports at the convention, it was quite impossible to tell what the A.Y.C. really represents, but it certainly isn't a very impressive force from any angle. Furthermore, there is good reason to believe that the trouble is just beginning and that all the grotesque gyrations of the Stalinists at the convention will not help in the long run. The dissolution of this Popular Front will proceed as inevitably as the breakdown of Popular Frontism has proceeded in France and elsewhere.

Congressmen Warn of War

(Continued from page 1) said Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. "But neither nation considers the cause of democracy to be the stakes. Each entertains as cause number one the saving of their own imperialism."

Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado declared that America must decide what war it shall wage, whether it will be "a war to end poverty in her own land or a war dealing with real estate boundaries, bitter industrial rivalries, commercial ventures and selfish imperialism of long standing in contentious Europe."

"She cannot win both a foreign war across the Atlantic and a domestic war against poverty because a foreign war would increase do-

The Voice of Socialism and Democracy A Refugee In France

(These paragraphs are from a letter of a veteran anti-fascist fighter in the Spanish civil war. He is now interned in a French concentration camp. —Editor.)

Camp de Gurs, May 30, 1939.

I WANT to give you now a short report about the conditions in our camp; I suppose you have heard something about it already.

The monotonous life which we have been leading for many months behind the "islands" with barbed wire enclosures is utterly intolerable even without considering the facts I am going to tell you. The moral depression has taken the form of psychosis and three of our comrades have actually gone insane.

But the actual "terror" of the camp is the political pressure which is artificially put upon us and which is poisoning our life in a way you cannot even imagine. This concerns especially the "international" camps.

The Stalinists have succeeded in seizing the lead and the controlling functions and are misusing it in a shameless and impudent way for their political purposes. Full administrative power has been accorded to them by the French "Communist Party" just as if they were still in Spain and as if they still had tanks and machine guns at their disposal.

From the 1,200 inmates of the German-Austrian "island," a great part are embittered and nourish a well-founded grudge against the communists. I don't want to waste your time with long descriptions, but even the tenth part of the facts I have seen and experienced myself would be sufficient to supply the most complete picture of human bestiality. Absurdity, stupidity, brutality and especially bloody violence are used against excellent, devoted men, very often well known for their bravery. It is a characteristic that for the greatest part, the victims are not political adversaries of the communists, but members of their own party, many of them not yet even expelled.

Not all people are reacting in the same way. There are firm characters—especially those of the opposition—who remain anti-fascists. Others are giving up, and are applying for return to Germany; most of them are Austrian communists, who never experienced Nazi terror and who, on the other hand, have not had any political education. Every week, groups of them are accepted back into Germany.

I want to speak now about the "Ninth Company," i.e., about Barracks 4 and 5, where about 1090 communists are staying who have never had anything to do with the communists. It is against these comrades—about 500 in the German camp and somewhat less in the Italian camp—that the bestial hate

of the communists is directed. They declare, as if it were a matter of fact, that in this company "Gestapo agents" are to be found!

But the facts happening here are worse even than the lies. A Stalinist censorship has been created; letters are intercepted; food is withdrawn from the "Gestapo agents" for days. Parcels addressed personally to members of the Ninth Company by the Comité de Coordination have been intercepted; the names upon the parcels have been changed and the parcels have been distributed among others.

The darkest feature relates to the sending to Mexico of the "Internationals." It is known in Paris that the C.P. has actually sabotaged the possibility for thousands of international fighters to lead a life worthy of men among friends in Mexico, among the most upright friends of Republican Spain during the war? The C.P. has had the audacity to put before the Mexican

government the condition that an autonomous territory should be assigned to the Internationals and when this was rejected, the C.P. propagated the false news that the Internationals would have to colonize a fever-ridden district. As a result of this, many comrades are afraid to go to Mexico. The Communist Party seems to prefer that all the comrades of the International Brigade become fortification workers in North Africa, if only it can maintain its control. And this is the important point. In Mexico, as in all such countries, the people would leave them, partly because they would be tired of their policy, partly because of the conviction that the political regime in Mexico is ten times better than the Stalin regime. People would discover that they had been kept in ignorance about actual events and constantly deceived. Furthermore, several of the Stalinists, the persecutors and the hangmen, really fear personal vengeance.

"Yes, dictatorship! But this dictatorship consists in the way in which democracy is employed, not in its abolition. It consists in vigorous, determined intervention in the established rights and economic relations of bourgeois society, without which the socialist transformation cannot be effected. This dictatorship must be the work of the class and not of a small, leading minority in the name of the class. That is, it must take every step with the active participation of the masses, subject to their immediate influence; it must stand under the control of unlimited public opinion. . . ."

* In the same issue of Les Volontaires, Roger Collois makes a reasoned, philosophic argument for a "hierarchical order . . . in which some command and the rest obey" as the proper regime for communism!

In the same issue of Les Volontaires, Roger Collois makes a reasoned, philosophic argument for a "hierarchical order . . . in which some command and the rest obey" as the proper regime for communism!

French SP in Policy Crisis

By G. SIMONS

(Concluded from last week)

ANOTHER reason why Blum lost influence in the party in the interval between Montrouge and Nantes was the flirtation with the Stalinists which Blum had started during the last few months before the congress. The Paul Faureists came out with strong criticism of this collaboration with the Stalinists and this criticism won them great sympathy among the members of the Socialist Party.

In Nantes, a resolution forbidding membership in organizations connected with or influenced by the Communist Party was adopted by an overwhelming majority after a sharp discussion. Now Paul Faure and the other top leaders of his faction were never friends of the Communist Party regardless what the policies of this party happened to be. But the important feature of the present situation is the change in the attitude of the rank-and-file members of the S.P. towards Stalinism and towards collaboration with it. In 1934, the leaders of the Socialist Party were reluctant to collaborate with the C.P., while the rank-and-file pressed them to form a united front with this party. Now the rank-and-file feel only disgust and contempt for the Stalinist party while the most reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party are defending collaboration. In Nantes, the advocates of close collaboration with the Stalinists were—besides Zyromski, who is known as a Stalinist stooge—such ultra-reformists as Dormoy and Solomon Grumbach. It is very interesting to note that the craziest ultra-leftism of the days of "social-fascism" did not discredit the C.P. in the eyes of the S.P. membership

as much as its utterly unprincipled policy of the Popular Front with its combination of outstretched hand and stab in the back. The fact that the most outspoken reformists, the open social-chauvinists, are now the promoters of close relations with the C.P. because this party has become the most provocative agency for chauvinist propaganda among organized workers—this fact is a significant proof that the Stalinists form today the extreme right wing of the labor movement.

The reason for the compromise concluded at Nantes was that neither Blum nor Paul Faure had a clear majority at the congress. Blum had about 50% for his line; the other 50% were for Paul Faure, for the advocates of a "synthesis" and for two other groups who went farther in their pacifism than Paul Faure. Previous to the congress, the Blum faction had tried to eliminate Paul Faure from his post as general secretary of the party. For this purpose, they decided by a majority in the leading committee of the party that his political, or as the French say, "moral," report should not be submitted to the membership of the party, and when Paul Faure sent it around in his own name, they declared that this was a violation of discipline unheard of in the history of the party. The congress of Nantes decided to hear Paul Faure's report and then approved it. The sense of this vote was that Paul Faure was confirmed in his position as boss of the party apparatus. Now Paul Faure will try to use the Blum faction in order to strengthen his position, while Blum relies upon his influence in the daily paper of the party and hopes that the development of the general situation will improve the chances for his openly chauvinist position.

The further development of the situation within the Socialist Party does not depend upon whether its leaders want to maintain the unity of the party or not. It is not so difficult to elaborate a "synthetic" resolution but hitherto no method of producing "synthetic" political situations has been dis-

covered. The political situation which the French S.P. will have to face will be not an artificial one but a real one, which will put on the agenda all the uncomfortable problems of the pre-war period which at Nantes the party leaders tried to drown in equivocal formulas. The instinctive opposition of the rank-and-file members to war preparation and its social and political consequences is bound to continue.

We have already pointed out that Paul Faure and his group are something less than consistent fighters against social-chauvinism. Actually, they share most of the principles of the open social-chauvinists. Even the pacifism of the Paul Faureists is of a very thin kind. The big hero of peace and the prophet of disarmament for them is nobody but Franklin D. Roosevelt. Outside of the Paul Faure faction, there are two other groups in the S.P. that are better pacifists than Paul Faure, but these groups, because of their pacifist program, are also reformist and not revolutionary.

The crisis inside the French S.P. shows that among the rank-and-file membership there is a lot of dissatisfaction with the policy of support of war preparations. On the other side, the crisis shows that as long as the discussions on war preparation and war remain within the framework of the S.P., they cannot exceed the limits of reformism and lead to a consistent revolutionary opposition to imperialist war. That means, on the one hand, that only an independent revolutionary force is able to give the dissatisfied Socialist Party members a constructive program of class struggle and, on the other hand, that in spite of all difficulties and of the regression of the international labor movement, the independent revolutionary forces united in the International Revolutionary Marxist Center (the French section of which is the P.S.O.P.) have real opportunities of mass work, which ought not to be underestimated.

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The committee found evidence of

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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A MIGHTY POOR CASE

THE social-democratic New Leader, we all know, is a strong advocate of the policy of "collective security," that is, of American intervention in the imperialist conflicts of Europe and Asia on the side of the "democracies." It is therefore strongly opposed to the present neutrality law and just as strongly in favor of the Administration-sponsored Bloom bill, which would "revise" neutrality in about the same way as the National Manufacturers Association would like to "revise" the Wagner Act.

The line of argument employed by the New Leader in defense of its position is of special significance, for it shows to what disreputable dodges the champions of "collective security" are reduced in their effort to make any sort of case. We quote from an editorial in the New Leader of June 24:

"The new neutrality bill before Congress (the Bloom bill—Editor) would largely do away with the present pretended neutrality law which plays into the hands of the fascist dictatorships, which helped General Franco destroy Republican Spain, and which has materially aided Japan in her war on China . . . The old act . . . has enabled Japan to get vast quantities of scrap iron and steel to kill hundreds of thousands of Chinese men, women and children."

Does not the New Leader know that the present neutrality law itself contained no provision at all covering civil wars and that it was at President Roosevelt's direct, peremptory demand in January 1937 that a special joint resolution was adopted applying embargoes on the export of arms, munitions and implements of war to Spain? Does not the New Leader know that a leader of the "isolationist" or neutrality block in the Senate, Senator Nye, approached Secretary of State Hull about a year ago with an urgent appeal that this joint resolution be rescinded and the embargo against Loyalist Spain lifted, and that Secretary Hull refused with a degree of violence most unusual in him?

In other words, does not the New Leader know that not the neutrality act was responsible for the strangulation of Loyalist Spain thru the embargo but the special resolution rushed thru Congress at the demand of the White House and kept in force at the insistence of the State Department—all in order to keep American policy in line with the fraudulent "non-intervention" policy of the British Foreign Office?

Does not the New Leader know, furthermore, that the export of scrap iron and steel to Japan is made possible not by the present neutrality law but precisely by the refusal of President Roosevelt to invoke this law? Were the law invoked, as "isolationist" spokesmen have been urging, and were the President to include scrap iron and the like on the proscribed list, as he has the right and the duty to do, Japan would not then be able to receive any aid whatever from the United States for its war on China.

Notice, then, the curious logic of the "collective-securityite" New Leader:

The Spanish embargo is enacted by a special joint resolution at the express demand of the President and is retained at the express insistence of the State Department. But what of it? Blame it on the neutrality act!

Japan is able to obtain material assistance in this country for its war on China only because the President refuses to invoke the neutrality law and use the power he has under it. But what of it? Blame it on the neutrality act!

When the advocates of "revising" neutrality in the direction of "collective security" have to fall back on such dubious stratagems, do they not thereby confess that they have no case at all that can stand examination?

"RALLY ROUND THE FLAG, BOYS!"

"ALL members of the Workers Alliance," the New York World-Telegram reports in its June 29 issue, "will take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution. . . , according to an announcement by Willis R. Morgan, president of the W.P.A. and home-relief workers organization. 'The idea,' he said, 'is to answer those who charge we are subversive and against the government. We do not want any who have mental reservations or who cannot take the oath conscientiously.'"

If the Workers Alliance can do this, how long will it be before the Stalinist-controlled Teachers Union of New York will drop its opposition to "loyalty" oaths for teachers and even come out directly in favor of such oaths? If "subversive" elements are such a menace among the jobless, can they be allowed to run loose among the teachers and the innocent, impressionable school-children? Here's a job for the Stalinist patrioteers, who seem determined to outdo the professional Red-baiters in their contemptible activities.

Let the Workers Alliance try to stave off inevitable dissolution by turning itself into a super-jingoist, heresy hunting outfit. It will do it no good. It will only hasten its end and leave the field clear for the building up of a real organization of the unemployed, not a W.P.A. "company union" such as the Workers Alliance actually is; an organization concerned with the problems and needs of the unemployed, not with their political beliefs or their "loyalty" to the Constitution.

STALINIST REFUGEE-BAITING

(We publish below the main paragraphs of an editorial in the May 28, 1938 issue of Hoy, the official paper of the Communist Party of Cuba.

It is only necessary to add that the editorial in Hoy was written on the occasion of, and therefore for the purpose of justifying, the refusal of the Cuban government to admit the steamer St. Louis with its cargo of Jewish refugees in spite of the fact that most of those on board held landing permits issued by Cuban consular officials in Europe.

Is it not time for Jewish and anti-fascist public opinion in this country to call to account these Stalinist hypocrites and double-dealers, whose hearts "bleed" for the poor Jews in the columns of the Daily Worker and the Freiheit but who in Cuba eagerly join in the hateful campaign against Jewish refugees.—Editor.)

"WE considered as logical and just the refuge our country gave the Jews persecuted by the horrible governments of Germany and Italy. As a liberty-loving and democracy-loving people, we considered it our duty to contribute our share to the relief of all persecuted who were in need of our country's assistance. Consistent with the position, we urged the government to realize this in proper time and form.

"But we now consider as very just, very Cuban and very patriotic, the tendency of our people to demand the prohibition of excess immigration, because the miserable condition of our country and the great increase of unemployment do not permit the addition of new masses of immigrants. It is most correct that the Cuban should demand not only protection and the right to work on our island, but also the greatest vigilance so that workers, no more than employers from foreign countries, do not penetrate and consume our meager capacities for production, labor, commerce and employment. For this reason, we have supported and now support all possible methods for limiting immigration of any class whatever. Basing ourselves on this premise, we hold that in general the government should close the doors of Cuba against any sort of immigration coming to Cuba.

"The nationality and origin of the immigrants are not important. Our possibilities for immigration are exhausted and we cannot permit the admission of new groups. We know the difficulties faced by the Jewish people in Germany but we also know that we have done our duty. It is now the duty of other democratic countries, who are perhaps in better economic circumstances, to open wider the doors of their countries for the victims of barbaric anti-Semitism."



Ernst Toller: Victim of Frustration of Ideals

The Poet Was Shattered With His World View

By WILLI SCHLAMM

(These paragraphs are from an article, "Ernst Toller's Last Hours," by Willi Schlam in the Jewish Frontier for June 1939—Editor.)

A couple of hundred people took leave from Ernst Toller in New York, fifteen feet above the noise of Broadway. It was apparently unavoidable that the two or three officials of associations of German literary emigres should read the texts that they seem to have ready for such occasions. They spoke of the banner that would be carried on after the man had fallen; they mentioned the legions of brave fighters and other allegories. In addition, Toller was given to understand, while laying in the coffin, that his suicide was a great political error.

In general, it was said that nothing of great consequence had happened and that the instigator of the misfortune, Hitler, would receive his retribution at the hands of the united revolutionaries, such as the speakers, for example. Then, Sinclair Lewis spoke. This real poet and real American uttered a few human sentences and he restored the dignity of a house in mourning. Simply, he spoke the truth. He spoke not of the deceased, who had no more interest in it, but to the living who sought to escape it even then. He said that his friend Toller had departed because his nerves were more refined and not coarser than the nerves of those who were present. He said that his friend Toller had died not only because of Hitler's Germany, but also on account of the vileness of some "democracies" and of Stalin's Russia. Indeed, Sinclair Lewis spoke the truth at the coffin of Ernst Toller.

Toller was very earnest about the stirring words that he himself wrote concerning freedom, peace and brotherhood. He was so much in earnest about socialism that in the end he resigned from all existing socialist parties. This man did not have the least capacity for cynicism, and fortunately he knew nothing of "Realpolitik." But without these prerequisites a socialist has a hard time, nowadays, in finding a warm corner in one of the officially registered "Weltanschauungen."

Toller portrays in his last drama the conflict between a religious person and this world of ours, and I believe that he was driven to it by

an inner need and not by any literary scheme. The road from "Masse Mensch" to "Pastor Hull" was the political path of sorrow of a political poet who took every step with earnestness and honesty. When he put his trust in the Bolshevik revolution, he conceived of more than Stalin later fulfilled. When Toller agitated thruout the world for the cause of Madrid and Barcelona, with a flaming zeal that is characteristic of his kind, it was impossible for him to doubt the absolute, complete and translucent goodness of that cause. But after the splendor of the Bolshevik revolution came Stalin, and after the fall of Barcelona, one could not help noticing the unclean hands that played a part therein. What

became of the longing for freedom, the humanitarian solidarity, the liberating dream of socialism? Ernst Toller, who had never shirked any difficulties in life, was deeply shaken when he saw one moral value after another decay and crumble not only in the enemy's camp, but in the world of his own belief. None of the old principles remained in place; everything suddenly turned into falsehood. On the ruins of such a cataclysm, the scholar, the ideologist, the politician, might make a strenuous effort to build a new edifice; but the poet, whose creative power was nourished by a naive faith in an unshakable system of values, was shattered together with his world view.

Bosses Use Terror, LaFollette Reveals

(Continued from Page 3)

and charged wires. There were pistols and revolvers ranging from .22 caliber target pistols to heavy police and army-type service revolvers. There were rifles, shotguns, machine guns, and submachine guns, with a large variety of each of these types of firearms. The inventory of one company included five tripods and two gun cradles for its eight army-type machine guns. For these various types of firearms, large quantities of munitions were kept readily available. The committee found evidence of large stores of various types of tear gas and sickening gas, and in one important case a much more deadly gas, chlorpicrin. The weapons for dispersing gas were adaptations of to cope with the limitations of street fighting. The devices included long-range gas weapons. This is true in spite of the fact that the sales manager of one of the companies that handled such weapons stated that "there is no long-range projectile in existence that does not carry a hazard of hurting somebody when it is fired.

The ordinary types of tear gas and sickening gas are peculiarly adapted, the committee pointed out, to the dispersing of groups of people by means less likely to alienate public opinion than is the use of firearms. Gas weapons were described by the salesman of one of the companies as "multiplied manpower." This salesman claimed that 12 trained men properly equipped with riot sticks. The exercise of constitutionally guaranteed rights of freedom to conduct uninterrupted meetings and gatherings in public and private places, and the exercise of the lawfully guaranteed rights of organization for collective bargaining is possible only when free speech and free assembly are maintained. During the period of intensified organizing campaigns undertaken after 1933, the exercise and maintenance of civil liberties, especially free speech and assembly, were connected most vitally with trade union activities.

In its study of the extent of industrial munitioning, the committee was unable to make a comprehensive inquiry but it found that more than 300 industrial concerns had registered the purchase of machine guns and submachine guns during the period from shortly after the World War to the time of the committee's inquiry; and there was evidence that registration under the National Firearms Act of 1934 was incomplete. Poison gases in several forms for industrial use and the equipment that goes with them had been sold principally for use in labor disputes. Approximately half of the sales of gas weapons were to industrial employers, the other half being to public authorities. Gas munitions were sold in almost every industrial community of the country and in almost every state of the Union. Arrangements for the sale of gas apparatus were made by manufacturers

with agencies and individuals that have supplied employers with other anti-union services, such as the hiring of undercover operatives and strike-guards.

One of the gravest aspects of the industrial munitions trade, the committee found, had been the effort of sales agents of the companies to establish business relations between themselves and officials of local government.

"In some instances examined," the committee stated, "there was strong evidence of collusion between salesmen and the public officials, either for the purpose of increasing public purchases of munitions or relaxing the enforcement of applicable state laws. In other cases, police officers became salesmen for the gas companies. The tendency of such a relationship to result in overzealousness on the part of local police in the use of gas during strikes, is obvious."

The hearings and report on industrial munitions are summarized by the committee in the form of three general observations:

1. The possession and use of industrial munitions by employers is the logical end of a labor-relations policy based on non-recognition of unions—in opposition to the spirit of national labor laws. The principal purpose of such weapons is aggression. Their use results only in violence, embitters industrial relations and hampers peaceful settlement of industrial disputes.

"2. The maintenance of arsenals of industrial munitions creates bitterness on the part of employees and disrupts normal, peaceful labor relations. Their use invites retaliatory violence.

"3. Beyond their effects on striking employees, industrial munitions jeopardize public peace. Their use threatens the physical safety of citizens not involved in the industrial disputes in which they are employed. Further, and more important, their irresponsible use constitutes usurpation of public functions.

Following up on the extensive hearings and investigations and conforming in general to the recommendations of various earlier agencies, the members of the committee on March 28, 1939, introduced a bill for eliminating the "oppressive labor practices" connected with industrial espionage, strikebreaking, private police, and industrial munitioning. This bill is certainly several decades overdue. It deserves the support of all sections of the population interested in the preservation of civil liberties in the United States.

The job that the LaFollette committee has done so far has proved to be a most valuable one. But the task is only partly accomplished. Only a few of the "oppressive labor practices" of employers have been uncovered and very little, if any, effective legislation passed. The work of the committee must go on. It is gratifying indeed to note that both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. have placed themselves on record in support of the continuation of the LaFollette committee and its very valuable activities.

Talking It Over:

The Reader Talks Back

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE standing title at the head of this column ("Talking It Over") was chosen for two reasons. First, it was meant to imply a certain reasoned tone of discussion. Too often has the radical movement fallen into the habit of bludgeoning; of examining the source rather than the viewpoint, the objector rather than the objection; of denouncing rather than seeking to learn or teach, be convinced or convince.

Second, it was the hope of this columnist, that in one way or another the readers would talk back, and to some extent they have.

When we wrote on "Stalin as Novelist" and the curious resemblance between his technique of purge for ruling his party and that used by one of Dostoyevsky's characters in his novel, "The Possessed", several people wrote in to inform us that the novelist had modelled his anti-hero on a real person, the warped and monstrous revolutionary, Nechayev. As often happens in conversations in which there is genuine give and take, the columnist in this case got more than he gave his readers, for the letters opened up a fruitful avenue of study of the pathological aspects of the Stalin regime, to which we shall return on another occasion. Those interested can find a brief account of the matter in Franz Borkenau's interesting and informative anti-revolutionary book, "The Communist International" (on p. 24). The book itself is well worth reading for the light it throws on the secret history of the Comintern. A much fuller and richer account of the Nechayev system can be found in Max Nomad's "Apostles of Revolution", where a whole chapter is devoted to it.

SOCIALIST UNITY

A number of letters have come in on the question of socialist unity, addressed in some cases to this column, more often to the paper as such. Many of these have already been printed, and more will be. Incidentally, it was the readers who started this discussion, and in the end, I suspect, will finish it.

A most curious contribution to the discussion of this question came from Max Shachtman, a "colleague" who runs a column in the Socialist Appeal. Shachtman regards the whole discussion by our readers as (1) "pathetic"; (2) "hypocritical" and "fraudulent"; and (3) a devilish maneuver "instigated and encouraged" by "Lovestone: Trickster." As to the first, it must be admitted that there is something a bit pathetic about the need and desire for unity, given the present divided and disintegrated state of the socialist movement in this country. As to the second, the readers who wrote in and are still writing in, are the best judges. As to the third point, they can also judge whether they were "instigated" and "encouraged", but whoever did or did not instigate and encourage, it could hardly have been Lovestone who happened to be in Europe at the very time when the letters began to come in and learned of the whole discussion only on his return. However, each man discusses the necessities of the movement according to his lights, and Shachtman's attitude on socialist unity, like that of Trotsky leadership in general, is hardly a surprise.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

ONE letter which we have been holding for a long time, puzzled what to do with it since it is too long to print, is from Martha Holt, and deals with a column we wrote on "The Curse of Anti-Semitism." Much of her lengthy letter (it is even equipped with footnotes and a glossary) is devoted to an expression of fear that the writer is "departing from the principles of Marxist science" because he did not, in his brief comment, "give an analysis of the economic and social structure of Jewry at the different stages of the development of western society", nor relate anti-Semitism "to the differences in the economic and social structure of Jewry in the different countries at different periods of history", nor analyze the economic role of the Jew in present-day Germany, nor the class divisions in American Jewry, nor among the Jews in Palestine, nor among the Arabs, nor take up the role of feudalism and capitalism and the Grand Mufti and the fellah in Palestinian Arab society. It took Miss Holt as much space as our original column just to tell us what we "left out", and of course, she had no space left over to make those analyses herself. Will it reassure Miss Holt any to learn that the Workers Age has taken up these questions at one time or another, and that no steady reader of this paper is ignorant of the fact that there are Arab fellahs and effendis and a Grand Mufti?

Miss Holt is also exercised to see such terms as "poor Arab" and "well-to-do" and "poor Jew" in place of terms like "bourgeois" and "proletarian." We can only seek to placate her by explaining that one of the aims of our paper, and of this columnist, is to avoid difficult, technical jargon where commoner and more accessible terms will do just as well. In the column in question, they were not terms which would do "just as well", but, we thought, better. Thus "poor Jew" includes ghetto artisans, petty tailor-shop owners and tiny storekeepers and "Luftmenschen" and beggars as well as proletarians among the Polish Jews, and was so intended.

But one objection of Miss Holt's brings us to something of more importance and to the heart of her concern for our Marxist purity. She was horrified to find that we admonished the well-to-do Jew to learn something from German and Italian experiences, to learn that he cannot play with fascism just because it is to him agreeably anti-labor, without bringing on other forms of reaction, including anti-Semitism. We hope it will reassure Miss Holt to learn that some of the "better-off" Jews have come to realize this and are even contributing money to underground Germany. Or will it reassure her any to remember that Marx often warned against regarding all other classes than the proletariat as "one reactionary mass", or that Lenin's writings are constantly explicit on methods of dividing the bourgeoisie and alienating any possible sections from confidence in the reactionary program of the finance oligarchy? If we are "departing from the principles of Marxist science", we are at least in good company.

Since Miss Holt's rebuke this impenitent sinner has several times addressed further warning to non-proletarian as well as proletarian Jews against driving for war in this country, admonishing them that they would thereby strengthen and give color of justification to anti-Semitism, and that, sowing the winds of war, they might reap the whirlwind of pogroms.

ABOUT SPAIN

FINALLY, we have been holding some letters on the Spanish civil war. One from a reader who signs himself, "Very Old and Very Confused Radical", raises some interesting political questions which I have answered personally. One of them was a request for proof that "Russia demanded the outlawing of the Spanish proletarian revolution in exchange for war supplies." Since we answered the letter, proofs have been multiplying in the writings of Krivitsky, Araquistain and others, and Largo Caballero is reported to be at work on a book which will tell the entire inside story.

The other letter on Spain, from a reader in Nashville, Tennessee, contains the following illuminating summary of the reasons for the defeat in Spain:

"It is terrible," he writes, "to think of the heroic struggle against great odds that went for naught. I hope something has been learned that may be of value in the next struggle. At least the Spanish workers didn't take it lying down. I believe the chief factors in the defeat of the workers are these:

"1. The government of the Popular Front. It failed to act before the uprising came, and its weak policies failed during the war. It seemed to be more interested in holding on to private property than crushing fascism.

"2. The arms embargo of the so-called 'democracies', including the U.S.A.

"3. The influence of Russia and the sabotage on the part of the communists—counter-revolution.

"4. The failure of the anarchists, C.N.T., P.O.U.M. and the workers to realize that they had power and that the government was incapable.

"5. The failure of the workers to seize Seville when they could have done so."

P.S. We hope that in the future, workers writing in to "talk it over" will indicate whether they wish us to use their names or not. Wherever possible, we should prefer to, as it adds more interest to the discussion.