Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Vol. 8, No. 13.

NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1939.

SEND-OFF

Delegate of the Independent Labor League

International Labor Anti-War Conference

Make Your Reservations Now For Saturday, April 1, at 8 P. M. Rivera Hall, 131 West 33rd Street

Among the Speakers:

MIGUEL PONS and MERI PARDO, Representatives of the P.O.U.M. A Representative of the ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY

LEWIS COREY, JAY LOVESTONE, BENJAMIN STOLBERG, EDWARD K. WELSH, BERTRAM D. WOLFE, CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

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seats for the April 1st sendoff to the international delegat of the Independent Labor League of America. Enclosed you will find

AT FIRST GLANCE

Please make checks payable to WORKERS AGE or Peter Ross

= by Jay Lovestone =

DECISIVE FORCES

TEACE or war in Europe, and hence in the world as a whole, hangs upon the hazard of dice. Without minimizing in the least the vast booty seized by Hitler in his grabbing the remains of what was once Czecho-Slovakia, we do not hesitate to underscore the fact that these very remedies will only make German capitalism sicker. In saying this, we do not at all overlook the real military advantages accruing to the Nazi war-lords as a result of the latest conquests. Yet, nothing has occurred in recent weeks to lighten the burdens inherent in the overriding difficulty confronting German capitalism and epitomized so strikthat "Germany must export or die.

Anent this, one can quote very appositely the Wall Street Journal

"Great Britain, Germany, and the United States are particularly bent on expanding their exports. Such a rivalry is, of course, not a wholly new thing. . . .

The moment it appears that they will expand world trade as a whole and be used in good faith toward that end, capital movements across the ideological frontiers are likely to occur. The eighty million inhabitants of a highly industrial Germany obviously need a gold-credit base as urgently as the Brazilians, if not more so. The bar to their obtaining it so far has been, at bottom, their disposition to identify commercial with politico-military conquest; specifically to acquire markets and sources of raw materials thru forcible annexation of territory."

We rely on our readers to draw the obvious conclusions from this evaluation. Let no one disregard the role of ideological factors, maintained naturally or synthetically, played upon honestly or hypocritically. With all that in mind, history teaches us lots as to past, present and tomorrow's political, military and ideological policies being essentially a reflection of vital economic and commercial interests. We can readily see how millions can and should feel burning indignation at many of the inevitable features of today's world conflict. Yet, we must above all keep in mind the decisive forces evident under the searchlight of history's

MOTHER OF TOTALITARIANISM

A MERICA'S biggest, if not greatest, columnist is Stalin's fellow-band-waggoner. Heywood Broun Hance it would not be set of plant waggoner, Heywood Broun. Hence, it would not be out of place to put at the disposal of our busy and intelligent readers the learned comment of this intellectual giant anent the selection of Cardinal Pacelli to bear the much-prized title, "Servant of the Servants of God" or "Fuehrer of the Papal Kingdom." Mr. Broun thus illuminates:

"It seems distinctly possible that the sweep of fascism has been definitely checked, not by some line of fortifications or airplane armada but by the ballots cast in the conclave of cardinals.

Whenever the Church Militant begins to march, there is no force in the armaments of dictators which can stay its progress."

Poor Heywood! Who sold him this bill of goods which is about as shoddy as his fear, in 1936, that Landon might lick Roosevelt? Well, both "analyses" and prophecies have the same junkshop as their source of inspiration—the Daily Worker. For instance, this sheet proclaimed in a burst of approval and glee after Pacelli's election: "The first words of Pope Pius XII are fittingly of peace. They are a summons to peace."

It is impossible to fathom the fantastic zoology of the Stalinist mind. These devotees seem to have studied how to be ignorant of the most elementary facts of today's and yesterday's history. Of course, we do not charge them with deliberate distortion. Let a sober and intelligent Catholic organ, The Commonweal, tell us what to expect from the new Pope. In its issue of March 17, we are told: "Since the present, newlyelected Pope, as Cardinal Pacelli, played a central part in these and many other similar negotiations (seeking peace and understanding with and appearement of Hitler Germany—J. L.), one can expect him to continue the same policy." Nor is it without interest that, as Time points out, the Pope's choice as Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Maglione, "had a hand in the Hoare-Laval offer during the Italo-Ethiopian War."

It is largely for this reason that Cardinal Pacelli was elevated to the Papacy-to continue along the lines of the status-quo. This may not be the very holiest of inspiration but it is very practical. The Vatican, we must not forget, tho it prays to heaven, conducts its business and operates on earth. In this "practical" sense, do we point to the haste with which the new Pope gave his warmest blessings to Franco and the joy with which he received congratulations from Hitler.

And as to the past of the Ecclesia Romana let us turn to G. G. Coulton, that great scholar of the medieval panorama, who refers to it as

"one of the completest examples of a totalitarian state that history records. It claimed to swallow up and standardize all important variations, so that there should be only one party, that of the state. For this end, almost all means were justified; almost all were employed; and, for many generations at least, they were employed with success

"There is no escaping . . . from the significance of the Pope's claim to a totalitarian state. His Church trumpeted itself as a 'societas perfecta,' with all the implications of earthly states, including military force in the last resort; indeed, the claim is so fundamental that it survives to the present day. Pius IX reminded Bismarck that all baptized Germans, whether Catholic or Protestant, were by Church law papal subjects; and, even in this twentieth century, Roman theologians have republished, with papal approbation, the claim that their master could in justice (as apart from mere expediency) employ force to bring back all baptized Christians be a concession on the part of the Saposs was attacked. It is significant self on the presidency and insists

FDR Moves To Kill **Neutrality**

Pittman Bill Would Take Off Ban On Arms Trade

Washington, D. C. A definite step in the Administration's drive to break down present neutrality legislation so as to give the President greater power in the Anglo-French forces in the coming war, was taken last week when Senator Pittman introduced into the Senate his bill to amend the Neutrality Act. It was understood to have Administration backing.

for the virtual repeal of all neu- ates of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. as trality legislation, with the sale of American munitions on a "cash-and- would be merged, would receive no carry" basis to be permitted without consideration by the Council. The any restraint in the event of war hig problem was said to be the atabroad. Under the existing law, titude to be taken to the "original" there is an automatic mandatory C.I.O. unions which had enlarged war-time embargo on the sale of their jurisdictions since leaving the arms, munitions and implements of A. F. of L. Would the A. F. of L.'s war to belligerents, while other offer to readmit these unions with the A. F. of L. would insist on the supplies, such as cotton and food- out question cover their expanded original jurisdictions and would restuffs, are under a "cash-and-carry"

As soon as Pittman offered the measure, it drew the fire of the Congressional neutrality block. Senator Clark of Missouri announced his opposition to it as "facilitating American involvement in war." The Clark statement also emphasized that his block would oppose any move to give President Roosevelt unlimited power in dealing with

Urge Arms Ban On Bosses

LaFollette Senate Group Hits Corporate Armies

Washington, D. C. "The purchasing and storing of arsenals of firearms and tear-gas and sickening-gas weapons is a common practise by large employers who refuse to bargain collectively with legitimate labor unions," the LaFollette Senate Civil Liberties Committee emphasized in its report made public last week. The committee, headed by Se

LaFollette, recommended legislation to prevent the use of machine guns and "offensive chemical weapons' in industrial disputes."

It reported that employers purchased \$1,255,312 of tear and sickenng gas between 1933 and June 1937 chiefly during or in anticipation of "All of the largest individual pur-

chasers are corporations," the report said, "and their totals far surpass those of large law-enforcement purchasers. During the "little steel" strike of

1937, the committee said, Republic had 552 revolvers, 64 rifles with 1,-325 rounds of ammunition, 245 shotguns with 5,784 rounds of shotgun shells, 143 gas guns with 4,033 gas projectiles, and 2,707 hand grenades.

'The statements of responsible officers of the munitions companies reveal that their business depends of labor disputes and strikes," the report said.

The report included excerpts from letters written by munitions vendors places and jobs. This is clearly inregarding their sales efforts. These included the following statements: ticking" now going on here as well

under way. . . . I hope that this solutions, constitution and credentistrike develops and matures and als have been meeting for days and, that it will be a damn bad one; we in the case of the credentials comneed the money. . . . We are surrounded with strikes, but they are too peaceful to suit me. . . . The committee reported there

were close connections between munitions companies and strike-breaking agencies. Strike-breaking organizations, it was said, have served had not paid dues to the Socialist as sales agents for munitions con- Party for the last twelve months.)

AFL Council Meets On Unity

To Discuss Admission Of C.I.O. Unions As Hitler Pushes On

Washington, D. C.

The Executive Council of the A F of L. met here last week to consider the problems of unity raised at fashioning foreign policy and to aid the joint A. F. of L.-C.I.O. peace committee the previous week and to frame an official policy for the continuation of the negotiations.

It was understood that the C.I.O. proposal for an entirely new feder-Senator Pittman's measure calls ation of labor into which all affiliwell as the railroad brotherhoods jurisdictions or would it be inter-preted as applying only to the juris-coverage of the C.I.O. unions.

Behind the Screen Of Diplomacy

By WILL HERBERG

THE Nazi annexation of Czechogalvanized the "great democracies" nto action. In dispatches from Lon-

dictions as of the time they left the

A. F. of L. Altho no official statement was forthcoming until the end of the sessions, there were indications that

THE SAME OLD GAME

"discarding his umbrella for a gun." According to Daladier, France is Slovakia under the forms of now preparing for a "last-trench "protectorate" has seemingly stand." And President Roosevelt has begun to apply the "methods-shortof-war" policy repeatedly stressed in his recent public utterances. Newspaper headlines are full of these developments, which they have inflated into a "Stop Hitler" movement on the part of the "peaceloving nations,'

don, Chamberlain is pictured as

Anglo-Nazi Clash Grows

BRAZEN HYPOCRISY

Let us not be taken in by newspaper headlines or the glib words with the threat of military invasion of diplomats and statesmen, with whom deception of the people is an to yield in return for the formality essential part of their profession. of a German "promise" to "secure" The official spokesmen of the "great its borders. On the same day that democracies" pretend to be shocked and horrified at Hitler's outright the signing of a commercial treaty seizure of Czecho-Slovakia. This is brazen hypocrisy, for these very same "democratic" statesmen opened the way for Hitler at Munich and German control. pratically invited him to take Czecho-Slovakia in any way he would or could. Chamberlain and Daladier knew perfectly well that they were turning Czecho-Slovakia over to Nazi Germany when they came familiar as a mere commonjured innocence, horror and indignation and expect us to be properly mpressed by it!

capitals of the "great democracies" gonists. France is a faithful second to her British partner . . ., while the sham phrases of the "Stop Italy is chained to the Berlin-Rome Hitler" movement?

TIGHTENING THE SCREWS AT HOME

In the first place, the governments of the "great democracies" are taking quick advantage of the flare-up of universal resentment against Nazi aggression to improve their own position, to enhance their own authoritarian power, to undermine democracy at home, to tighten their grip over the people.

Premier Daladier talks about "defending democracy," but he acts to get dictatorial powers for himself, Philip of the New York Times, in effect be suspended in France dictatorship.

Prime Minister Chamberlain signed by England France, Russia avows, with truly British sighs and and Poland. Not much headway was groans, that "appeasement" has not registered in this direction because been a complete success and "some- Great Britain refused to make any thing must be done" to "stop real commitments on to part. Poaggression." But he is thinking of land balked at signing any declarahis rearmament program. His eyes tion that might irritate Hitler withare actually fixed on the coming out the security of a m. litary pact general elections. Have we forgotten with England in exchange. Soviet (Continued on Page 3)

A.L.P. Pushes Housing Demands Prompt Action

From Legislature

New York City The affiliated organizations of the American Labor Party, trade unions and club units, will wage a determined campaign to force the State Legislature to take action this year on the housing legislation introduced Alex Rose, state secretary of the A.L.P., announced last week.

In his letter to affiliated organizations. Mr. Rose declared: "The economy advocates are out

in full force at the State Capitol this year hammering away for retrenchment in all state activities. They are now attempting to persuade the Legislature to delay action on housing for another year. This drive has developed considerable momenfirmly entrenched in control and him extensive dictatorial powers, to demands, it is vital that a vigorous counter-campaign be throughout the state.

"It is imperative that labor and

France Tries To Woo Italy From Axis

Adolf Hitler scored a number of important victories last week in his imperialistic drive to establish German hegemony over Europe and to make the Reich into a dominant force in world affairs. These developments tremendously increased international tension and greatly accentuated the danger of war.

First came the annexation of Czecho-Slovakia, carried thru with little disguise as a military occupation. Within less than a week, the Nazis acted again and took control of Memel, the Lithuanian port, long the object of German desires. Faced by the Reich, Lithuania was forced Memel was taken, Berlin announced with Rumania which, despite all disavowals, will serve to bring the Balkan state more closely under

"WAR IN EUROPE IS NOW ON!"

All of these developments occurred in the eastern sphere of action but signed the Munich pact; President informed opinion in Europe believed Roosevelt knew it when he gave that Hitler's next big move would Munich his official blessings. Every be towards the West. Perhaps Dannewspaper correspondent, every zig and the extension of control over editorial writer, every journalistic Hungary might occupy the immedicommentator, stressed it until it be- ate attention of the Nazis but largely as preliminary steps for the big place to the average newspaper push westward. Augur, unofficial reader. And now these gentlemen in spokesman of the British Foreign nigh places in Washington, London Office, described the situation very and Paris strike an attitude of in- clearly in the New York Times of March 22:

"Barring actual bloodshed, the What is all this bustle in the Britain and Germany are its protawar in Europe is now on. Great axis. Russia still plays a lone hand and the smaller powers array themselves according to their political interests, possibilities and sympathies. . .

> "The plans before [Hitler] . . . all under three heads: first, the development of German expansion towards the Southeast . . . as a preliminary move . . .; second, the opening of immediate discussion of Mediterranean problems . . .; third, placing the colonial problem in the front rank. . . .

To counter these threats, Great powers which, according to P. J. Britain tried to initiate a "Stop Hitler" movement last week, London Slovak conquest, in which it was foluntil M. Daladier sees fit to permit lowed by Paris, Washington and its resumption" and which John Moscow. The English and French Elliott of the New York Herald- ambassadors were recalled home. Tribune aptly compares to the But the main effort of the British Bruening regime in Germany "which | Foreign Office was directed towards against "further aggressions" to be Russia asked for a conference of anti-Hitler powers and a definite oledge of support by Britain and France should Germany attack it. These commitments London was quite unwilling to make and, altho Russia may sign, the "Stop Hitler" movement did not get very far last

> Anglo-French diplomacy acted in another direction as well, in the direction of trying to strain, perhaps ven break, the Berlin-Rome axis at its Italian end. Mussolini's dissatisfaction at getting nothing while Hitler was grabbing everything in sight was manifest after the Czecho-Slovakian coup despite the official statement of the Fascist Grand Council in support of Germany. Last week, tentative approaches were made to him by Premier Daladier for a "peaceful settlement" of the Italian demands in the Mediterranean. One of the big reasons why Hitler was contemplating turning westward was that by so doing he could satisfy Mussolini and preerve the axis.

Taking advantage of the crisis, Premier Daladier pushed thru the tum. With the upstate Republicans French Chamber measures granting lending a receptive ear to their the point, indeed, of virtually abolishing parliamentary government conducted until November. The first use Daladier made of these powers was to decree the increase of the working progressives swing into action im- week in war industry to 64 hours mediately to stop the slaughter of and in railroads, mines and numer-

CIO Auto Union Faction Torn by Rivalries **Fighting Rampant Before Convention**

where the leading union offices are

(Special to the Workers Age) Detroit, Mich.

dicated by the pre-convention "poli-"Wish a hell of a strike would get as in Cleveland. Committees on remittee, not even a chairman has been chosen because the committee is deadlocked 5 to 5 as between Communist Party supporters and Socialist Party backers of the Reuther brand. (The latter, by the way, boasted here a few days ago that he

concerned. The starting line is well Unless John L. Lewis exercises an packed but all except two are not mean that "parliamentary rule will refused to recognize the Czechoron hand or menacingly waves his to be taken seriously. They are runmoney bags over the heads of the ning interference for some other contending factions at the coming candidate rather then making the in a large measure on the existence convention of his automobile-work- run themselves. In this category ers organization in Cleveland, the must be put the candidacy of Frank confab is liable to break up into a Tuttle, whom Walter Reuther is most disorganized scramble for using as a stalking horse. The West | paved the way for Adolf Hitler's obtaining a four-power declaration Side local, dominated by Walter Reuther, is distributing thousands of Tuttle buttons in an attempt to corral sentiment against the former leaders of the union and then engineer a last minute switch to Walter Reuther, if that move should become propitious. The leader in the "turn-the-rascals-out" campaign is William Marshall, president of Chrysler Local 7, a close ally of Walter Reuther in all the faction battles in the U.A.W. His followers are flooding Cleveland supporters with celluloid pins in the form of a little broom on which is inscribed Nor is the situation any better the slogan: "U.A.W.-C.I.O. LET'S CLEAN HOUSE AT CLEVE-

Unity Talks May Bar Wagner Act Change

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD Washington, D. C.

Lewis has made clear to F.D.R. that power than the C.I.O. there will be no peace if the A. F. for amending the act will cease if C.I.O., as well as a concession on

implication has some foundation in

The internal situation in the La-

presidency are Richard Frankensteen and R. J. Thomas-the former the part of the A. F. of L. That this backed by the Communist Party fact is clearer every day as news contingent and their fellow-travel-THERE is considerable reason for of trouble within the C.I.O. comes ers, the latter by the more conserthinking now that the Wagner to light. Unity on a sound basis now vative forces in the union, mainly Act will not be amended at this ses- is going to be unity at a time when the late-comers from the Martin sion of Congress. Behind the scenes, the A. F. of L. has more bargaining camp. Mr. Thomas has declared here of L. is allowed to force thru its bor Board is improving. The staff U.A.W. head." If this is true, then

amendments. Furthermore, a good and procedures are being tightened the convention, contrary to all C.I.O. case has been made for the view- up. Less of the erratic actions which protestations that the autonomy of point that much of the agitation were excused or condoned a year their U.A.W. has not been infringed, ago are now permitted. Stalinist in- will merely serve to rubber stamp a the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. can get fluence seems to be on the wane, lot of decisions previously arrived at together on a sound basis. Natural- altho it is probably merely running behind closed doors by two or three y, this proposition, for the purposes for cover. There is much concern leaders of the C.I.O. Mr. Frankenof A. F. of L. consumption, has been about the investigations of the Dies steen has indignantly denied that so stated as to imply that this will Committee. Last year, only David the C.I.O. has already committed it-(Continued on Page 2)

that "C.I.O. heads have already designated him as their choice for

Mr. Marshall's campaign is also

nterpreted here as part of Walter

Reuther's strategy of getting away

sufficient votes from the old leaders

to swing himself into the saddle, or

at least to build a large enough

block which he may then use to

drive a hard bargain in terms of

The leading contenders for the

concessions along job lines.

(Continued on Page 2)

New York Office Workers Navy Bill Menaces Labor Leave CIO for AFL

Local 16 Splits in Revolt Against Stalinist Rule

and Professional Workers of Ame- mittees," and "the denial of reprica, Local 16, a C.I.O. affiliate, met resentation on the executive board on March 20, at the Manhattan to large sections of the member-Center, and voted 475 to 24 ship." The validity of the union's to leave the organization and af- recent election was challenged. filiate with the A. F. of L. thru its Bookkeepers, Stenographers and NEW CONSTITUTION Accountants Union. Represented at the meeting were office employees of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Workmen's Circle, the Union Health Center, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Labor Committee for Palestine, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the Administrative Board of the Dress Industry and more than sixty other groups.

INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE REPORT

The report of the investigating committee which had been previously appointed to study the situation ir Local 16 and to make recommendations, was delivered by Anne Gould, employed in the settlement department of the Dressmakers Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U.

In adopting the resolution, introduced by Miriam Silvis, an employee of the Cloakmakers Joint Board, the meeting rejected the plea of Peter K. Hawley, president of Local 16, who assailed the A. F.

its oath to serve the membership by placing the interests of the Com-

The resolution charged the officers ganization "subservient to a 'party a halt to the Stalinist wrecking line' incompatible with trade-unior needs of the office workers" and with pursuing a policy "which deterred workers from joining and also alienated bona-fide trade unions and progressive organizations whose cooperation was absolutely essential

to the growth of the union." The administration of Local 16

New York City. | crimination in the filling of jobs FIVE hundred office workers, by the union's employment buro, members of the United Office the 'purging' of all appointed com-

CONDEMNED

"A new constitution is now being adopted which legalizes the most drastic curtailment of trade-union rights, going so far as to make mere expression of opinion a crime, and is a measure obviously designed to perpetuate the present administration in permanent control," the resolution declased.

The accusation was added that 'constructive efforts" to change conditions prevailing in Local 16 "and to bring some aspects of sane trade-union activity and responsibility into the organization were met by ridicule, intolerance, character assassination and baiting" of those whom the union officials "regarded as political critics and opponents," all of which "brought resentment, disharmony and strife into the ranks of the union."

In presenting her report to the meeting, Miss Gould declared that the recommendation to quit Local 16 and join the A. F. of L. had no connection with the strife between of L. as "undemocratic" and had a bearing solely upon the condictatorial" and denounced the B. ditions in Local 16. She pointed out, the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. but S. & A.U. of the A. F. of L. as a however, that Local 16 was not the first office-workers local to suffer at 16 as a "sorry failure as a trade union," attributing this to the fact "that the union was captured by an organized machine which violated its oath to serve the memberation."

The resolution condemned Local to suffer at the hands of the Communist Party. Almost a year ago, Lewis Merrill and Harry Bridges attempted to dismember Local 34, San Francisco. They failed to destroy the local be cause the members acted to save it by placing the interests of the Communist Party above those of the by joining the A. F. of L. It should be mentioned that the C.I.O. leaders in Washington were apprised of the situation but failed to step in to call

GENUINE UNITY SOUGHT

"We are recommending disaffiliation from Local 16 because we have come to the conclusion after longer tolerate the state of affairs was also charged with "intimidation established in the union by the all other necessary steps to carry marked by gag rule, wholesale agents of the Communist Party," threats, filing of false charges, dis-

"We reiterate our stand for genuine unity in the labor movement for which we have been fighting within Local 16 for the last two years and which efforts we intend to continue. Instead of wasting our time fighting the communists in control of Local 16, we now intend to free ourselves for the task of organizing office workers."

A letter addressed by Mr. Hawley to David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., asking that officers of the ladies-garment union oppose the move away from Local 16 was read at the meeting, together with a reply from Fred E. Umhey, U., rejecting the request on the interference with the right of the employees to organize in a union of their own choosing and would be contrary to the national and state labor relations acts as well as to union ethics. The reading of Mr. Umhey's letter was cheered.

In supporting the report and resolution, Albert Epstein, a memher of the committee in charge of the meeting, pointed out that events in the past two years had established the soundness of industrial unionism to the point where it has practically ceased to be an issue dividing the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. He criticized the super-centralized organization of the C.I.O. which placed control of the C.I.O. unions into the hands of a small group and which permitted interference in the internal affairs of affiliated international unions. He placed great stress on the importance of autonomy and democracy in the trade-union move-

the resolution to leave Local 16 were Mazie Vladeck, daughter of the late B. Charney Vladeck and now secretary to Councilman George Backer; Alma Di Nola, an employe of Local 89, of which Luigi Antonini, vice president of the I.L.G.W.U. and state chairman of the American Labor Party, is manager; Leonard Bright and Ernest Ettlinger. Harry Denerstein,

from the Workmens Circle, was

chairman of the meeting.

The committee which had organized the meeting was empowered bitter experience that we can no to arrange for the transfer of the members to the A. F. of L. and take out the recommendations approved by the meeting.

By H. OGUZ

New York City THE readers of this paper will rea call that recently there were several outbreaks of revolt in the unemployed movement which the Stalinists thought they had safely under their control. The backbone of the revolt was made up of the chauffeurs and the building-trades mechanics. The Stalinists provoked an early split in order to get rid of the 'uncontrollables" by firing Henry Rourke, the mechanics-local organizer. The split resulted in the establisment of the New York Unemployed and Project Workers Union, an independent, non-Stalinist organization with a membership of 5,000, of which the chauffeurs and mechanics

The main work of the mechanics union consists of handling of comtions. As wages and hours are delegates, alleged to be chosen on election after the courts had ruled. standardized by the federal govern- the basis of good-standing memberment, the struggle is primarily as ship only, are declared to represent to getting work and what kind. not less then 340,000 members. This About a hundred such complaints is the latest figure to come out of and grievances a week are being the Fort Shelby Hotel, headquarters handled and, where union action of the C.I.O. faction. But the finanalone is sufficient, such cases are settled satisfactorily for the membership. On some projects this union claims. Mr. Addes states in his reproject administration.

As to the outside activities of the inion, there is a vigorous struggle every year, when the federal budget is under consideration or W.P.A. cuts are contemplated. Then the organized W.P.A. workers have to fight for their jobs. Delegations are Washington. This year, on January 18, a delegation of H. Rourke, J. Wicks and M. Goldstein were sent to Martin. voice the position and protests of the organization. They were given a three-day hearing. A week later, they reported back to a joint membership meeting of the chauffeurs and mechanics unions. After the report, it was decided to merge both unions into one, under the new name of "Allied Automobile and Construction Workers Union" so as to fit it to the public-works program. It was further reported that conferences were being held between the New York organization and independent unemployed groups in other states for the calling of a national conference in Washington in May for the launching of a national independent or-

Read — Spread WORKERS AGE

By B. R.

GRAVE peril to the interests of A organized labor lurks in a bill (S. 1677—H. R. 4678) sponsored by the Navy Department and introduced in Congress by Senator Walsh and Congressman May. It is the labor press if it criticized the army military-disaffection bill which has come to life again, and whose provisions are well-known to organized labor, for it fought successfully against the passage of similar legislation in 1935. The dangers still exist since the provisions of the new bill are practically identical with the

1935 version. The bill provides:

"That whoever advises, counsels,

ful orders of a superior, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or by imprisonment for not

more than two years, or both. . . . Organized labor is historically opposed to "gag" measures of this type or navy. It would interfere with the drive to war in this country freedom of speech since no one could criticize the actions of the National Guard in strike situations, to cite one example.

It was precisely this kind of "gag" measure that was denounced in 1920 by Samuel Gompers as sheer "destruction."

Organized labor needs to remember certain facts about this legisla- facto (after the deed is done) cenurges or solicits any member of the tion. The bill goes far beyond the army or the navy of the United | provisions of the war-time Espion- | of motive or intent in the publishing States to disobey the laws or regula- age Act. Under it, freedom of speech or distributing of anti-war material tions governing the army or the would face a greater hazard than in would not be a factor in the crime, executive secretary of the I.L.G.W. | navy or to disobey the lawful orders | all our peace-time history. Agitation | and the jury, regardless of any of a superior, or whoever publishes for pay increases in the army or for present danger to society, could find ground that this would constitute or distributes any book, pamphlet, better conditions for soldiers and a defendant guilty if the utterance paper, print, article, letter or other sailors might become criminal on the might result in "disaffection." writing which advises, counsels, part of civilians. The bill could be urges, or solicits any member of the used to prosecute citizens who to organized labor. If labor is to army or the navy of the United protest against the use of the Na- protect its rights, a concerted effort States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, or to disobey the law-

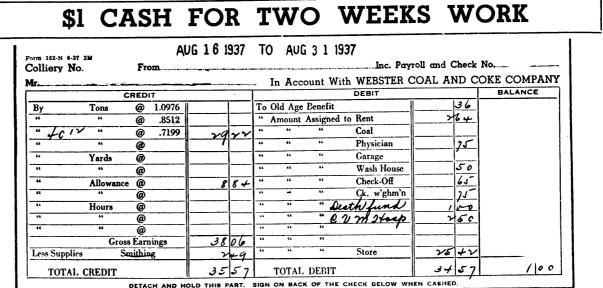
New York I.L.L.A. Maps Anti-War Program

Urges Labor Action Against Armament

N energetic campaign against A certain immediate aspects of was set under way last week by the New York District of the I.L.L.A. Three resolutions, dealing with the Barkley amendment to the air-

and to all who oppose the use of troops in strikes. The present bill would create in effect an ex-postsorship of the press. The innocence

The bill presents grave dangers



This typical pay envelope shows how company deductions made a Cambria, Pa., coal miner's gross earnings of \$35.57 shrink to \$1 cash. Note the long list of charges, especially those of the company store (where prices are usually much higher than outside), the various medical fees (for grossly inadequate service) and even a charge of \$1 a month for use of the wash house.

Jobless

By LEE McDOWELL

(Concluded from last issue) WITH all its limitations, its inadequacies, its complexity in calculating benefits, the law Actual representation will be could work fairly well, had the administration been wisely set up. However, the procedure set on January 1, 1938 was one bound to promote confusion. Instead of scrapping this procedure when it was discovered to be inefficient, all kinds of palliatives were tried, more complex procedures introduced to correct the previous confusion and, in spite of amendments to the law on April 1, 1938, confusion has reigned more and more supreme. The proportion of delayed payments has risen from 49% in February 1938 to 73% in December 1938, and these figures give no inlication of the number of weeks and nonths insurance checks have been delaved.

The main cause of all this confusion is the super-centralized control of all insurance accounts and checks at the Buro of Insurance Control in Albany, with no control by the local office, where the unemployed worker files his application. During the first six months of 1938, workers were allowed to certify by mail that they were still eligible for checks while the local office where they were required to report once a month knew nothing of the number of checks they might have received. This procedure was instituted despite the disapproval of the State Advisory Council on Unemployment Insurance, appointed by the gov-

ernor to advise the administration. It is common knowledge that thousands of dollars in benefits went to employed workers, not because these workers were guilty of delibe-Insurance Control did not catch the only did the administration ignore stops on employees records sent to vouchers still remains with the Buro office's hands are tied when checks are delayed. All the local office can only from buro heads. do to force action on cases is to send to Albany one of the many special Placement and Unemployment Inclaims, with further delays resulting marks of workers who receive their if Albany has received too many special forms.

CENTRAL CONTROL?

determination of benefit rights. present suffering.

New York City | plane-expansion bill, the war-referendum amendment and the rearmament budget, were adopted unanimously by the District Council. Other branches of the I.L.L.A. are urged to do likewise and also to take steps to get labor organizations to act along similar lines.

WAR-REFERENDUM **AMENDMENT**

WHEREAS Senator LaFollette and Representative Ludlow have introduced into the Congress a bill petitioning an amendment to the United States Constitution to grant the right of the people to decide, by referendum vote, whether this country shall be plunged into a foreign war: and

WHEREAS, such a referendum vould grant the people the right to decide directly on the most important issue facing the world today and affecting their very lives; and

WHEREAS such a referendum would defend the democratic rights of the people against the increasing and dangerous powers of the President in the field of foreign policy;

WHEREAS such a referendum would constitute a serious obstacle to the plans of the war-mongers and imperialist jingoes of this coun-

WHEREAS this bill has been endorsed by numerous trade unions, farmers organizations and peace

THEREFORE be it resolved that The New York District of the Independent Labor League supports wholeheartedly the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment;

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the parties concerned.

AGAINST ARMS EXPENDITURES

WHEREAS the Administration in Washington has begun a campaign to expend billions upon armaments;

WHEREAS the vital social needs of the nation are being disregarded in the national budget, money being poured into the business of building an imperialist war machine of destruction; and

WHEREAS work relief, housing, schools, national health, public construction, etc., are being reduced to divert all public funds to rearma-

WHEREAS an armament economics is not the road to recovery but creates a false and feverish prosperity at the expense of the labor and farm groups and is soon inadequacies, its complexity followed by economic collapse and misery for millions; and WHEREAS developments in Eu-

rope show that rearmament is an outstanding aspect of the race to

THEREFORE be it resolved that The New York District of the Independent Labor League of America strongly opposes the rearmament policy of the government; and Be it further resolved that copies

of this resolution be sent to the parties concerned.

FOR BARKLEY AMENDMENT

WHEREAS the Barkley Amendment to the Army Air Expansion Bill (H. R. 3791) provided that airplane contracts could not be granted by the government to firms violating the Wagner Act; and

WHEREAS this amendment was opposed by the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States

(Continued on Page 3)

After this has been completed, the local office can keep an adequate record of waiting and compensable weeks, issue vouchers for each compensable week, and stop the account after the worker has gone back to work. This is possible and is being done in other states. The only reason it is not being done in New York State is the stubborn resistance of the heads of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance. Professor Herman A. Gray, a member of the Advisory Council, has testified to this effect at the hearings of the joint legislative rate fraud but because the Buro of committee. He pointed out that not the advice of the Advisory Council it by the local office and instead con- but it also often ignored the rulings tinued to mail out certifying cards of the Unemployment Insurance Apto these workers, who did not un- peal Board, which functions indederstand that these were excess pendently of the Division to pass on checks. Late in July, a system of the grievances of employers and emweekly reporting in the local offices ployees. Instead of using the Appeal for certification of unemployment Board rulings, the administration and signing of voucher cards for applied the rulings only in the inchecks was instituted. This was an dividual cases in which they were improvement, in that now the local issued. The administration has also office could explain the status of consistently ignored the suggestions their claim, as far as waiting and of the employees of the Division for compensable weeks and checks re- improving the service. This is ceived were concerned. However, the especially true of Milton Loysen, the initiative for the issuance of check present director of the Division. Mr. Loysen has announced to the union of Insurance Control and the local of civil-service workers in the Division that he will accept suggestions

The situation in the Division of forms used in delayed and disputed surance is best expressed by the reinsurance checks after several months of delay and after they have obtained other employment or gone back to work: "Sure, I can use this check. But why didn't I get it when There is no logical reason for this I was really flat?" Unemployment central control of insurance checks. Insurance in New York State has

Unity Talks May Bar Wagner Act Change

Frank Howard's Washington Letter

(Continued from Page 1) that Saposs is definitely not under before it is too late. Because these the influence of the Stalinites. Now important issues are involved in that the Stalinites are about to be such appointments, I give what some attacked, one hears much less from consider too much space to them. them against Saposs.

Chalk up one point for your correspondent and 628 points for Win- good as mine or Secretary Hull's. chell on the correctness of our We know (Hull does not) that war prediction re Douglas getting the is inevitable sooner or later as long Supreme Court appointment. (Walt- as we have this g.d. system of ours. er is about 627 points ahead of me The question is when will it strike. in guessing correctly in other cases.) If F.D.R. had his choice tonight, the It is simply a matter of knowing the right people down here and hoping that the Great White Father will not change his mind since he last talked with the "right people." sely sincere in this business and He does sometimes

Jerome Frank will probably be appointed S.E.C. chairman. At least, the left New Dealers are pulling for him. At this writing, I cannot predict his appointment as definitely as I predicted Douglas's appointment but it is politically important to consider what forces are there will probably not be war this at work in such a situation. Last | Spring. However, I warn you, Hitler, week, I said Frank was considering | Mussolini or a thousand and one inresigning. If he is appointed S.E.C. cidents could change my guess chairman, he will not resign because within twenty-four hours. This is he is intelligent enough to know that evidence of the unpredictability of this will signify that F.D.R. is the times in which we live. Truly determined to hew to a left line in now one minute may be the essence respect to the questions of planning, of a thousand years as a thousand strict regulation of financial in- | years in other periods have signified terests and labor. It will also be a no more than one minute in history. reward for a known opponent of The tempo of change has been "collective security." It will greatly speeded up terrifically during these strengthen the Ezekiel-Frank axis last few weeks and during February as over against the Arnold-Federal Trade Commission entente, the conflict of which groupings I described last week.

Douglas will be an ardent New Dealer on the Supreme Court but he Department officials and newsis not as ardent as Jerome Frank and not as able. Frank was respon- The analysis follows: Stalin and F. sible, for instance, for the recent D.R. would like to fight now and get court rejection of all amendments to it over with. Chamberlain and the Cohen-Corcoran child, the bill Daladier are putting on a good show which created the Securities and Ex- but don't want to fight while Stalin change Commission. Arthur Krock in last Tuesday's New York Times, as well as the Times editorial on position. They might defeat Hitler Douglas, points out this recent action as the only thing the Wall Street middle-of-the-roaders have against Bill Douglas. They are justified in their reaction because they carefully prepared these rather the other way around. In changes and were assured that they would be taken seriously here. note for the so-called "democracies" Actually, they were thrown in the to seem to be attacking Hitler, waste basket very quickly. But they rather than defending themselves blame the wrong man. It was and their friends? What kind of a

Jerome. It wasn't Bill. If Frank is not appointed, it will mean one of two things: (1) Frank is a little bit different from fighting couldn't stomach the pro-war policy | béfore "democratic" Czecho-Slovakia of F.D.R. and refused to take the was dismembered. All these inchairmanship; or (2) F.D.R. listened decisions equal no declaraction of to Farleyites who are frantically war immediately.

lurging him to "appease" business

Your guess as to whether we will have war this Spring is about as United States would be at war with Germany and Italy (preferably not with Japan at the same time.) I consider the President to be intenanxious to destroy fascism while preserving international capitalism but, as V.I.L. one said, we don't have such an instrument as a sincereometer. His sincerity, earnestness and popularity make him more

dangerous, in this respect. If I had to guess I would say that it was to be compared only to the

fastest airplane. My guess is based on interviews with numerous newspaper men, embassy attaches, congressmen, State mongers who feed the columnists. is so anxious to fight and Hitler seems to be in such a precarious for all time and the social revolution might take place. Furthermore, Stalin is not quite so enthusiastically anti-Nazi these days; he is equally anti-British. F.D.R. is pushing him addition, wouldn't it be a hell of a slogan would this be, "The War to Save King Carol and Rumania?" It

Independent JoblessGroup the C.I.O. big wigs. Regardless of the Makes Gains

form the biggest section.

CIO Auto Union Faction Chaos in N.Y. Torn by Rivalries Insurance

Fighting Rampant Before Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

Regardless of the campaign to (Windsor, Canada). purge all officers, launched by Messers. Reuther and Marshall, the probably be about 119 locals representation will be probably be about 119 locals representation. likelihood is that they will be forced senting less then 100,000 goodto line up behind the candidacy of standing members. How many small up Mr. Thomas. There is some talk to groups from other locals may be the effect that, if the Communist listed as having "official" delegates Party finds Mr. Frankensteen too from their locals, there is no way hot a candidate to put over for the of telling now. presidency, it may reverse itself and

run Addes for the presidency. Observers close to Cleveland state | DRIVE that whatever the outcome for leading offices may be, at least eight the discard. Prominently mentioned for retirement are Morris Field, Fred Pieper, Walter N. Wells, Russell Merrill, Charles E. Madden, Delmond Garst and Loren Houser. Some lists also include the three Board members from Ohio.

INFLATED CLAIMS OF MEMBERSHIP

Claims as to membership to be cial report just issued by George Addes is sufficient to disprove these membership for a period of 18 months prior to the call for the autonomous basis. Cleveland convention, i.e., prior to the split of the organization, was 197,800. A most impressive figure, considering the long period of mass unemployment, but thoroly disproving the bloated claims of Mr. Lewis sent to the W.P.A. Administrator at and Thomas, since this figure also includes the big section of the membership now claimed by President

Inaccurate also are the statements relative to the number of locals which have voted to go to Cleveland. The highest figure for locals to be in attendance is 174 but a careful check-up produces only 146. Checking against the official minutes ship. At best, the C.I.O. has minor-

(Union City, Ind.). In addition, 9 of the locals listed tion. In question are Locals 259 it was a "Martin conspiracy" to dis- needs is the first application for the insurance, but as future reward for (New York); 14 (Toledo); 15, 281 credit his faction and himself.

and 415 (Detroit); 349 (Hibbing, that he has the inside track with Minn.); 319 (St. Louis, Mo.); 215 (Santa Monica, Cal.); and 502

MARTIN BEGINS

From Detroit, President Martin declared that an intensive organmembers of the International Board ization drive was about to begin in of the Thomas faction are slated for the Flint and Pontiac area to make every worker a good-standing member of the union. This campaign, he said, would have his personal attention for about a week. Mr. Martin turned down a proposal coming from the C.I.O. faction for a consent election in the Chrysler plants to determine a collective-bargaining agency. declaring that court decision in the cases now pending must precede any action along the lines of consent represented in Cleveland have been elections; otherwise it might beplaints on discriminations or demo- anything but temperate. Convention come necessary to have another

NEW W.P.A. BODY LAUNCHED

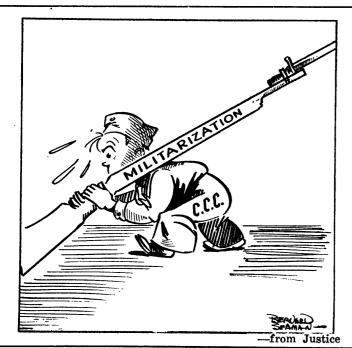
A new organization was launched here last week known as the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers Union, with William B. Taylor as provisional chairman. The organization was originally an auxiliary of has shop stewards accepted by the port that the average dues-paying the U.A.W. but has now struck out for itself on an independent and

> It will be a national organization taking in both W.P.A. and unem ployed workers from all industries and crafts. Its immediate basis i made up of thousands of automobile workers previously associated with it in the W.P.A. auxiliary. An attempt will soon be made, it was stated, to bring together all existing local unemployed organizations operating outside the Workers Alliance.

ELECTIONS IN DODGE LOCAL

Dodge Local 3 (Detroit) has just announced the results of its election for local officers. Tho it had gone of the Detroit convention, on the for the C.I.O. faction at previous Cleveland rolls we find 18 locals meetings by a very heavy vote, the which were represented at Detroit results showed better then 40% of by a majority vote of their member- the vote recorded for Frank Reid. former president of the local, a ity groups in these locals. The fol- Martin supporter. In addition, the lowing are the 18 locals in question: Martin forces charged that whole-Locals 425 and 501, (Buffalo); 11, sale fraud had been resorted to. (Toledo); 51, 142, 203 and 572, (De- Upon challenge, it was discovered troit); 156, 581 and 609, (Flint); that almost two thousand ballots 362, (Bay City); 159 and 592 (Pon-cast for Richard Frankensteen, Mortiac); 584, (Saginaw); 146, (Ander- ris Field and a brother of Frankenson, Ind.); 265, (Evansville, Ind.); steen, had been fraudulently made 815, (Connersville, Ind.); 494, use of. The official printer of the local identified these ballots as counterfeit. Elections in the Dodge local were defunct at the time of the are conducted by mail and these split in the organization and there- fake ballots were returned in the fore are not entitled to representa- mails. Mr. Frankensteen stated that All the Buro of Insurance Control come to be looked upon not as job

GETTING THEM YOUNG



Jobless Youth in Shadow of War

Militarization Plans Hit CCC and NYA

not militarized in the ordinary sense

of the word, their training is such

that they are about 85% prepared for military life. The 300,000 boys

now in camp, and the 2,000,000 who were trained before them, could be

turned into first-class fighting men

These bills in Congress, therefore,

rations for the coming imperialist

war. No time must be lost in com-

Behind the Screen

Of Diplomacy

bating these efforts at every step.

dozen times in the past. And, in

this, he will, of course, have the

rity;" that's what Anthony Eden is

his stricturers and reproofs, pre-

sumably in the name of "interna-

Loyalist Spain!). But the pro-Ad-

ministration New York Post head-

Leaders Would Give Roosevelt Freer

the sanctimonious phrases serve

to destroy the Neutrality Act, to

defeat the LaFollette war-referen-

dum proposal, to expand armaments

even beyond the present record

levels, to concentrate increasingly

arbitrary power in the hands of the

President in the field of foreign af-

fairs, on questions of war and

But there is another angle, even

more important at bottom. Hitler is

TURNS WEST

POWERS ASKED FOR F.D.R.-

ines the same day:

good-faith" (after having

Munich and strangled

"WIDER

there for.

tional

blessed

at almost an instant's notice."

By EDWARD CARROLL | was admitted by the Army and Navy PRESIDENT Roosevelt is quoted by John T. Flynn (New Republic December 14, 1938), as having lic, December 14, 1938) as having C.C.C. camps. So far, they have been said: "Armament is not only neces- able to keep military training out sary but it will create widespread employment. Look at Germany. found it easier to proceed with their There is not an idle man in Ger-plans under cover. The Workers Age many. They are at work in the armament industries." Recent man- Fechner, national C.C.C. director, as ifestations of the Administration's immediate plans for the millions of unemployed youth make it clear

that, in spirit at least, the quota-

tion is absolutely accurate.

MILITARIZING

THE N. Y. A.

Plans to convert the National Youth Administration into an adjunct of the armaments project are are no accidental bits of legislation; being rapidly pushed, especially to they are the goal of a deliberate meet the large demand for pilots and effort by which the Administration mechanics created by the new plans has sought to direct the idle energies for enlarging the army air force. of unemployed youth into its prepa-The New York Times of February 1 reported that "the American Federation of Labor and the N.Y.A. exchanged pledges of mutual cooperation today respecting the Administration's rearmament program insofar as it might concern the training of young men to meet the need for mechanics." "Our interest," said Aubrey Williams, director of the N.Y.A., "was in the vocational and apprentice part of the program, especially in reference to the Administration's new armaments poli cy now being discussed."

Likewise, Administration plans to train pilots for future service were announced towards the end of last year. Of great significance at this time is the reaction of the American Student Union congress to this move. Typical of its open jingoism, Part 7 of the A.S.U. "peace" resolution "welcomes the announcement . of an experimental program in the training of student pilots and the appropriation of \$100,000 for this valuable assistance of Anthony purpose. . . . We believe that it Eden, that Sir Galahad of the Ameshould be an integral part of the rican apostles of "collective secu-N.Y.A. program." Needless to say, the genuine anti-war youth movement, in convention at the National Youth Anti-War Congress at Columbus, Ohio, at once condemned this dangerous step and laid plans for combating it in the country's schools.

MILITARY TRAINING IN THE C.C.C.

The extensive efforts of the militarist forces to make the C.C.C. an open branch of the army, and a per- Rein to Deal With Dictators." Thus manent one as well, will be realized if certain bills in Congress are ap- largely as a smokescreen for a drive proved. A New York Times report dated February 1, states that "growing sentiment in Congress favoring provision for some form of military training for the 300,000 enrollees in the C.C.C. found expression today concurrently with the start of a movement to make the C.C.C. a permanent institution." Thus, a bill in- peace. troduced by Senator Thomas of Utah making the C.C.C. permanent, is matched by a similar move on the part of Rep. Richards of South Carolina, "which would require that all C.C.C. members, except war veterans, have six hours of military training a week." Unless pressure is brought to bear to halt these moves, another important victory will be won by the war-mongers.

In its early days, popular pressure did succeed in keeping the C.C.C. relatively free of military control, as

Timely Pamphlets

PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION by Jay Lovestone

WHERE WE STAND: Pro-

LABOR by Jay Lovestone ...

NEW HOPE FOR WORLD

POPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE

WORKERS AGE BOOK SHOP 131 W. 33rd Street, New York

Private Investment Drop At Heart of Crisis

End of Capital Expansion Marks Permanent Decay

By JAY LOVESTONE

WE have never deviated from our conclusion that the best yardstick in economic vital statistics is the ability of private capital to find profitable fields of investment. From this point of view, we have repeatedly stressed that, in its general trend, capitalism in the United States is at best stagnating. Hence, all the tirades against government "pump-priming" are either just that much piffle or hypocritical electioncampaign manouvering.

Were it not for these "shots-inthe-arm" administered in the last six years to the capitalist economic machine, the latter would today be in an infinitely worse condition, tho in a long-range sense its trend would not be different. We raise this entire problem once more because within the next six months, the funds appropriated by Congress for business subsidies and relief expenditures will be exhausted. Will private capital itself be able to go forward? Will the government have to step in again to serve as state capitalist, banker, manufacturer, merchant and broker in order to give capitalist investor?

Because of the declining posprivate capital into new enterprises involving a substantial degree of risk, has been considerably reduced. It is primarily for this reason that of January 1, 1938, quoted Robert we have seen this flow deflected "into government, state and munisaying: "While the C.C.C. men are cipal securities." More and more is venturesome private capital being replaced by staid state capital. Not until and unless this trend can be reversed will there be any real recovery in capitalist economy. It is our contention that basically this trend cannot be reversed in the United States and therefore we see the uneven, jittery, uncertain economic situation largely kept going by artificial government respiration.

> Welcome light on this pivotal problem is shed by the last annual report of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Here we learn that railroads and public utilities are no longer large absorbers of capital

NEW CAPITAL FLOTATIONS (DOMESTIC) MONTHLY AVERAGES

and that within the last decade the some more adrenalin, as it were, to investment practises of financial inthe ever-failing heart of the private stitutions have undergone a radical change. We are told, for instance, that, between 1921 and 1928, com sibilities for profits, as well as the mercial banks invested, on the falling rate of profit, the flow of average, about \$700,000,000 a year in private corporate securities; but between 1928 and 1934, these banks reduced by about 65% the total value of such investments on their part. Within the last decade, on the other hand, we have witnessed commercial bank holdings of direct and guaranteed government obligations leap in value from four to fourteen billion dollars. The rate of growth of mutual savings-bank deposits has been declining and their investments have been almost exclusively in government securities. Except for very

31

of insurance companies. The extent and the depth of government penetration into and absorption of economic life are further revealed in the following: An everincreasing proportion of the country's savings is now turning into funds administered by the federal But we regard the methods of fightgovernment thru postal savings, old-age reserve accounts, civil-service and railroad-retirement funds and unemployment-insurance trust then the influence of pacifism and funds. The last five years have seen a total investment of \$17,000,000,-000 in government securities as by Fenner Brockway in meeting the against a net increase of only \$1,- critical situation has, on the whole, 100,000,000 in the investment in been quite sound. Brockway, the

high-grade private securities, this

has also been the investment policy

campaign speeches and fireside chats rolled into one Magna Carta of futile promises and sterile hopes.

Bronx A.L.P. Calls

Distinguished speakers will address four seminars on housing, public health, W.P.A. and consumer needs at the American Labor Party, Bronx County, Conference on Legislation and Consumer Needs, Sunday March 26, 10 A. M. to 6 P. M., at Elsemere Hall, 284 East 170 Street.

The program follows: Housing: A. L. Colloms, U. S. Housing Authority; Langdon Post, ormer chairman, Municipal Housing Authority and Tenement House Commissioner; chairman, Former Assemblyman Nathaniel M. Min-

Public Health: Dr. Kingsley Roberts, Buro of Cooperative Medicine: Assemblyman Robert F. Wagner, Jr.; chairman, Mrs. Hattie K.

Hodson, Department of Welfare: Helen K. Harris, National Youth Administrator, New York District; chairman, City Deputy Controller Samuel Orr.

Consumer Needs: Donald E Montgomery, Consumers Counsel, U. S. Department of Agriculture: Maximilian Mencher, secretary, N. Y. Department of Markets; chairman, Judge Matthew M. Levy.

The chairman of the entire conference will be Esther Friedman. Other speakers will be Councilman Salvatore Ninfo and Michael J. Quill.

United States in the "democratic" imperialist front. Anglo-French imperialism is very

much afraid of war, not so much on military grounds as because of source at our command to keep (upheaval and social revolution) that war today would brewing in Europe and the Far East. bring in many parts of the world, The basic policy of the Roosevelt including Europe. Great Britain, with its far-flung empire, is particularly vulnerable. That is why London and Paris have been ready to yield concession after concession to Hitler-as long as the concessions did not strike too close to home. But even now that Hitler is turning westward, they will very likely try "appeasement' again, whatever may be the phrases with which they are now filling the air; only a few days ago, let us remember, a British delegation was "discusan Anglo-American block against sing trade arrangements" with they add on March 20, "is going to Japan in the Ear East, is making Germany. On the other hand, it order to block the war plans of the are politically not good enough to in our power to avoid such an be the drive to partition Africa. And determined and not altogether un- should never be forgotten that in Administration.

37 **Problems of Political**

Letter of the I.L.L.A. to the German C.P.O.

al policy sent on December 19, 1938 by pletely and entirely with you, the the Executive Committee of the I.L. more left the socialist, the more L.A. to the leading committee of the dangerous he is. We have for years first part of this letter appeared in the and naturally we cannot accept its ast issue.—Editor.)

(Concluded from last issue) LL this applies with redoubled A force in relation to the present crisis in the I.L.P. created by Maxton's declaration in Parliament. We are, of course, thoroly opposed to this declaration and to the ideas which it represents. We regard these ideas as a serious danger to the party. ing this danger that you advocate and recommend as also quite dangerous-in fact, as tending to strengreformism in the I.L.P. On the other hand, we believe the policy adopted private corporate securities-by all secretary of the party, immediately ade his position plain; the New These dry facts and drab Leader ran articles and other mafigures reward the student with far terial clarifying the standpoint of more accurate guidance as to the the party; in the party ranks, a dis-

enemy and this tactic you justify by **ILLA Anti-War Drive**

or expel Maxton. Yet that was obvi-

ously your objective and the ob-

British comrades following the line

of the I.C.O., and events show it.

Furthermore, you seem to have fixed

on Fenner Brockway as the main

(Continued from Page 2) Chamber of Commerce and the War and Navy Departments: and WHEREAS this amendment is necessary for the protection of la-

bor's rights, already being suspiciously overlooked in the atmosphere of war preparations: and WHEREAS the aforementioned amendment was withdrawn due to the pressure exerted by anti-labor

groups:

THEREFORE, be it resolved that The New York District of the Independent Labor League protests this attempt to undermine labor's rights as guaranteed by the Wagner Act and urges reintroduction of the said amendment; and Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the par-

this situation of permanent tension and strain, the breaking point may come when least expected. War is a possibility at any moment.

In the long run, there is no way out of this intolerable situation except by putting an end to imperialism, "democratic" and fascist alike, by putting an end to the capitalist to act by majority vote. If it ever such an International Center. To atsystem of which predatory imperialism is the fine flower. Only socialism can bring peace to the world. This general truth, however, vital

and significant tho it is, does not absolve us from straining every re-America out of the war that is now Administration is to take advantage of the widespread hostility in this country to Hitler and his works in order to entangle the United States in such a net of economic and diplomatic relations as to make our involvement in the next war almost inevitable. But the great masses of the American people don't want selves in a position where you might increasing difficulties, we agree on war and will support any move have to accept a decision they make so many basic questions despite our reasonably promising to keep us out without your approval. But, if that present differences, that it would be of war. The big problem before us is your conviction, then again why very unfortunate, to say the least, if today is to organize this sentiment talk of forming a new International our relations were to be interrupted and to mobilize it for prompt and Center with them? What is the use or broken. We can assure you that effective pressure at Washington in of the whole comedy? And, if they we are determined to do everything

Reorientation (We conclude below the communica- | all the old Zinoviev arguments to the tion on certain problems of internation- effect that, so long as he is not com-

> conclusions today. A course such as' this must inevitposition to Maxton's views is made to imply splitting the party and disrupting it by an old-style heresyhunt, then many sincere I.L.P.ers who may really disagree with Maxton will be forced to stand by him, so to speak, out of consideration for the unity and welfare of the party. In our experience, this has generally been the case and we would not be surprised if it turned out to be so in this situation as well.

QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL CENTER

4. Now as to the question of international organization. In one of workers, and particularly to the Left your letters you state that, now that the S.A.P. is out of the London ruti" Special attention is also not Buro, the I.C.O., as a body, is ready to ask for affiliation on two conditions: (a) that you will be bound social, economic and political policies cussion was initiated. The problem only by those decisions of the Lonof the land than do all the election obviously was so to strengthen the don Buro with which you agree and party politically and ideologically for which you vote; and (b) that the S.I.A. (C.N.T. relief.—Editor). that a similar incident could you reserve the right to act indepennever occur again. The problem was dently at all times in every way. You emphatically not to split the party also state that you believe in the necessity of a "closer concentra- striving to obtain a definite solution tion" on the basis of the principles to the problem of the fighters and ective you have urged upon the of Marxism-Leninism and the experi-their dependants from Spain who ences and lessons of the Comintern have lost their homes and who do (that is more or less as you put it). We disagree with this standpoint from a number of angles:

(a) In the first place, as you al ready know, we are of the opinion that the proper thing is not for the I.C.O. to try to affiliate to the London Buro as a body but for the I.C.O. to dissolve and its constituent groups, together with the constituent groups of the London Buro, to unite in a new international organization. We have already explained our position on this point in a previous let-

(b) We simply cannot understand the conditions you place for affiliation. How is it possible to affiliate to any international organization and yet refuse to recognize its decisions as binding on you unless you approve of them? Is the I.C.O. to be in a privileged position in this respect or are all affiliates of the world are you going to find those London Buro to have this extraordinary privilege? If you have so little political confidence in the Lonthat an International Center should socialist (communist) International. there will be nothing left for us to ment itself. do but to disaffiliate. But certainly, we cannot start off building an International Center on such a basis.

ter, it seems to us, stems from your we ourselves do not consider them apparent conviction that the elements in the London Buro are not continued political collaboration and really and truly revolutionary socialist groups and are not likely to wards reaching a common standpoint become such. They are just "centrists" and therefore "hopeless." And therefore you cannot put yourbegin the formation of an Interna- eventuallity.

How the Spanish Militants Escaped

International Aid Saved the Refugees

By L. N.

London, England. TT is now possible to give a picture of what transpired during the last three weeks on the French-Spanish frontier and the work among the Spanish refugees. It would have been imprudent to have given information earlier, as the very people whom we were helping would of Spanish comrades were saved have been in greater danger.

In the early days of February, when the crowds of homeless refugees were streaming up the foothills of the Pyrenees, the frontier was closed. Women and children who had walked from Barcelona, with practically no food, wounded soldiers incapable of further resistance, who had plodded during the weary days and the wearier nights, arrived to find that their one hope of safety was closed against them. History was on the verge of such a tragedy as would have made St. Bartholomew's Eve fade into insignificance. It was the exodus of a people. Behind were thundering the engines

of death. The tide welled upirresistible. It was then that the frontier was opened, and every road and even every mule-path saw the unending pilgrimage. Our French comrades of the P.S.

O.P. and some Spanish and British comrades were waiting on the French side of the mountains, and, night after night, literally hundreds from certain death. Many were found wandering in the snow, others were rescued from the roadsides. Three farms were taken over, rest-houses and first-aid stations were immediately established in all the vilages; from Cerbere to Bourg-Madame, and more than 500 comrades of the P.O.U.M., in addition to hundreds of other revolutionary workers, were saved. There was no distinction.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

The organization which was responsible for this work was the International Solidarity Fund for the help of Spanish refugees. In addition to the aid-centers, hastily improvised, three lorry-loads of clothes and shoes were sent to the frontier.

It is a splendid tribute to the work of our French con rades to learn that thous nds of the Spanish refugees are now actually living in the homes of the French workers. This is real proletarian solidarity. Workers and peasants, who have little themselves, share it with the Spanish workers who have nothing.

The greatest problem which remains is that of the comrades who are in the concentration camps in France. These camps are simply German Communist Opposition. The rejected this whole line of argument huge prairies surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers. In these camps, the life of the prisoners moves on thru hunger, fatigue and ably strengthen the position in the illness. There is no proper accomparty of precisely the influence you modation for sleeping, and men, woare so eager to eradicate. For, if op- men and children are herded together without a roof over them.

> It is for this that we are straining every nerve to assist our French comrades in their work in getting out of the camps the greatest possible number and taking them into the homes of the workers. It is only here that they will find rest and peace.

When comrades are taken out of the camps by the International Commission, it distributes them in small groups to all parts of France. As mentioned above, help is not limited to the militants of the P.O.U.M. It is freely extended to all Spanish ruti." Special attention is also paid to the members of the International Brigade, Italian and German antifascists, and pacts of mutual aid have been entered into with the other relief organizations, such as

Our International Commission desires to complete its work by not desire to become a source of responsibility to their comrades in France. For this reason, there have been founded three agricultural colonies in Southern France, in each of which 150 comrades will find means of supporting themselves. Other colonies will be formed inmediately funds will allow, and an international loan is going to be floated among the workers for this purpose.

Our duty is clear. We are having our own financial difficulties. Prudence appears to demand that we should concentrate on it. We should do this; but behind prudence there is the clear, ringing call to us of men and women who have dared all for socialism, and to this call we shall listen and respond.

tional Center, where in the wide who are?

(c) We also disagree on your idea of a "closer concentration." We are don Buro that you think it is likely not in favor of centers within cento make decisions which it will be ters. If we agree to participate in impossible for you to accept on prin- the establishment of an Internationciple, then why not say so and drop al Center, we are going to do our all talk of affiliation? We cannot utmost to make that center into the share this viewpoint. We believe foundation of a new revolutionary be based on the full autonomy of the Furthermore, we think that the 6affiliated sections in their own affairs point program adopted at the Paris but on those subjects that are within | Conference in February contains all its competence and jurisdiction, the of the principles of Marxism-Lenin-International Center must be able ism necessary for the foundation of comes to a point where it will be ab- tempt to go beyond that, as a matter solutely impossible for us to go of irreducible program, would be a along with a decision of the Inter-grave mistake, in our opinion, Furnational Center because it violates ther political maturity must come our fundamental principles, then with the development of the move-

It it obvious that there are important political differences between us. How grave they are and how Your whole attitude on this mat- | far-reaching, it is for you to judge; such as to exclude the possibility of mutual discussion with a view toon the disputed questions. We have worked together closely for so many years in the face of such vast and

gram of the I.L.L.A. 5c. NEW FRONTIERS FOR

SOCIALISM: Resolutions of the Paris Conference 25c

by Charles Vincent.

looking westward. After Czecho-

Slovakia, Memel, control of Rumania and domination of Hungary probably thru some sort of "voluntary" arrangement, are on the listbut the main drive is towards the West. All signs indicate that soon the scene will shift in that direction. towards the Mediterranean and colonies, perhaps even Switzerland. In another African towards part of this paper, Augur, authoritative spokesman of the British Foreign Office, is quoted as stressing the probability of Hitler's next move being directed against England and France: that this view is shared in informed circles at Washington is indicated by Pearson and Allen in their "Washington Merry- | sia, for years tied hand-and-foot to | Go-Around" column. "Exactly the the "democratic" front, is now same preparations are going on in | beginning to break away and to look the Mediterranean," they point out on March 19, "as before Munich and before the Ethiopian War. Detachments of Italian troops are sailing regularly for Africa and are concentrated within striking distance of French Tunis. German submarines

have turned up at Italian ports. Ger-

man troops are in the Tyrol ready

to reinforce the Italian border

against France." "The 'real works','

Significance of the "Stop Hitler" Mo the squeeze play this time will be how Stanley Baldwin deliberately against Great Britain and France. deceived the British people as to his The march into Czecho-Slovakia was foreign policy in order to win the merely a curtain-raiser . . . Both general elections in 1935, after Hitler and Mussolini are preparing which he promptly went back on all to put the screws on France-from his pledges? Chamberlain is prepar-North, South and Southwest-and ing to work the same little trick Hitler may be demanding Alsaceagain—as it has been worked a Lorraine before it is all over.'

The "great democracies" were all for "appeasement" (at someone les's appeasement Legislative Meet else's expense) when Hitler was looking East, when they hoped they could manouver him into an exhausting war (a nice "limited" war, of course) with the Soviet Union, President Roosevelt follows with in which both combatants would destroy each other for the greater glory of Anglo-French imperialism. But now that their own imperialist loot is at stake, that their own colonies and possessions are in danger, things begin to take on a different aspect. They will, of course, still try to divert Hitler, to turn him towards the East again, to buy him off for another period and, above all, to strain the Rome-Berlin axis by making some sort of deal with Mussolini. But the elevated philosophical detachment that Chamberlain exhibited over Munich is no longer possible. Today, London and Paris can see a good deal of use in a "Stop Hitler" movement, even in a declaration or a conference, if only as a bluff-pro vided nothing is done to commit Anglo-French diplomacy too far. It s not a question of the "reconstitution" of the "democratic front' against fascism, which has never existed; it is essentially a shift in the policy of Anglo-French imperialism in the face of Hitler's

WAR POSSIBLE

threatening moves.

AT ANY MOMENT What will happen during the next month, during the next week, is more uncertain than ever, Two gigantic imperialist coalitionsneither, however, without its own internal antagonisms-are arrayed against each other, the one composed of authoritarian states, the other of "democracies' whose democracy is rapidly giving the "chaos" way to authoritarian dictatorship under the stress of social conflict and war preparations. Stalinist Rustowards a possible rapprochement with Germany (especially if Germany's next move is towards the West), altho it is by no means willing to burn all its "democratic" bridges behind it; it is therefore continuing to play a double game of diplomacy, a game of watchful waiting, as Duranty puts it. The Roosevelt Administration, out for

New York City

Schwartz.

W.P.A.: Commissioner William

successful efforts to line up the

Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Wednesday by the Workers Age Pub. Ass'n. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor Editorial Board: Lyman Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, George F. Miles Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

VOL. 8. WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 1939. NO. 13

JOBLESS RELIEF IN DANGER!

FOUR hundred thousand disemployed workers, victims of capitalist decay, are now threatened with dismissal because the deficiency relief appropriation for W.P.A. is being blocked in Congress. The most serious crisis in relief has existed since the 1936 elections—a crisis increasingly aggravated by the armaments economics of the Administration and the factional opposition of the Republican party. Right now the big problem for labor is to make heard its voice demanding the passage of the emergency appropriation of \$150,000,000. But that doesn't settle the question by a long shot. The real issue is much larger and of a long-range character.

The general trend in both old-line political parties is to cut down relief and change its character. The Republicans agitate for this constantly. They are playing with relief as a weapon against the Administration, rallying the dissident Democrats for an anti-New Deal drive, with any eye on 1940. But equally important is the opposition of the Administration itself to the maintenance of work-relief projects—hitherto one of the most significant contributions of the New Deal to the problem. This is signalized in two ways. First, in conformity with the demands of big business for "less waste" and "efficiency," the Byrnes Committee issued a report which, while recognizing the permanency of unemployment, proposed the complete elimination of W.P.A. This is a constant and growing danger-for the elimination of work-relief projects opens vistas of the further overcrowding of the labor market by three or four millions, the tremendous cutting of living standards and the demoralization of large sections of the population thru minimal cash relief.

But this danger becomes even more striking when viewed ir relation to the Administration's drive to war. For while Roosevelt makes a great to-do over his championship of the \$150,000,000 emergency relief fund, he calmly "forgets" that his budget for the A of the Red Army. Stalin confiscal year 1940 calls for the cut of a billion dollars from the relief tinues to purge its revolutionary fund—exactly what has been added to the armaments budget! soul. As part of this effort, he has This is the real tip-off as to government economy: slash relief, replaced the old internationalistincrease the arms budget, and work towards the elimination of Leninist Red Army oath with the W.P.A. altogether. Such demoralization would be of specific value nationalist-Stalinist oath. The New in obtaining human material for the battalions of death.

What is necessary now is to gather all possible forces to push tellingly: "The new oath for memthru the emergency relief appropriation. Then let those forces bers of the Red Army and Red Navy, become the starting-point of a powerful, sweeping drive against announced yesterday, differs markthe proposals contained in the 1940 budget. Let the more than edly from the oath which has been two billion earmarked for an aggressive imperialist war be diverted in force heretofore and which Red by the people to their real needs: for adequate relief, for housing, for schools, for national health.

A GOOD STEP FORWARD

ANTI-WAR sentiment in this country is primarily isolationist. It is sentiment rooted in the conviction that the best way of keeping our country out of war is for us to "mind our own business" and "tend to our own garden," avoiding foreign entanglements at all costs. The sentiment is a healthy one in its intense the former oath began, I, a son of hostility to the aggressive imperialist spirit animating the warmongers and "collective-security" apostles of all stripes. But it is also a narrow one, restricted in its outlook, unclear as to the true causes of war, distinctly limited in its notion of how the danger of war is to be fought most effectively.

America Out of War Congress should make a conscious effort to pass beyond these limitations. We refer to the recent resolution adopted by the governing committee of the K.A.O.W.C. to the and the worker solution and people, my solution and people, my solution and the worker solution of the disintegra-

"That we exchange information and establish friendly relations with groups working against war in other lands and declare our readiness to cooperate, as far as possible, with all organizations having similar aims in their own countries to those of the K.A.O.W.C., including movements with similar aims in lands where the anti-war movement is outlawed and underground."

This resolution reflects at least the beginning of a realization that the struggle against war is essentially international since the zation of all races." In this contrast, forces making for imperialism and war are international. It is a sign of a growing kinship between the anti-war movement of this of the evolution of the Red Army country and the anti-war movements abroad, including the underground movements in the fascist and semi-fascist countries. It stresses the feeling that a sound "isolationism" is really a determination to "isolate" this country from all forces making for in- SOCIETY volvement in war but is by no means incompatible with the closest and friendliest cooperation with all movements anywhere fighting in the same cause, engaged in the same struggle for a warless

The K.A.O.W.C. has taken a big step forward along the right road.

CCORDING to a New York Times report dated March 7, the New A China Daily News, official paper of the Chinese Communist Party, has "editorially condemned the use of terrorism against the Japanese and their Chinese 'puppets' by loyal Chinese in Shanghai."

Really, the Chinese should know better. The only ones it is quite proper to assassinate, they might learn from Stalin, are Old Bolsheviks, Trotskyites, Bukharinites and revolutionaries generally!

First with the Labor News!

Here's one reason why You must have

WORKERS AGE

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

order to bring them into line."

New York Times, March 13.) "Sources close to the Presi- "At the conference, it was

dent have revealed to me that reported, the President . . . used F. D. R. stands ready to put on a big stick' in the form of a disthe heat if there is any attempt tinct threat that peace must be to evade the issue [of unity] or made if the labor movement is to refuse to unite. This in- to escape from something worse formant having said to me, 'It than war. What that something is labor peace or else!', I asked is, he did not indicate. . . . Whewhat 'or else' implied. I was ther this [the President's action] told that the President thought will involve some form of drathat it would be sufficient to matic appeal to the rank and threaten to reveal to the rank file over the heads of their leadand file and the general public ers was not apparent.... Some, the names of labor leaders however, felt that what the standing in the way of unity in President may have had in mind was that, rather than allow the

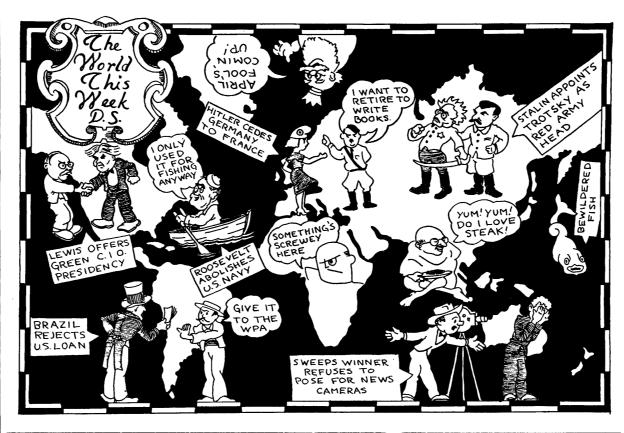
conferences to fail, he would

make a final personal appeal."

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The Red Army: Mirror of **Soviet Society**

A Review of Eric Wollenberg's Penetrating Study

By ALBERT EASTON

THE RED ARMY, by Erich Wollenberg. Secker and Warburg, Lon-

FTER destroying the best heads York Times of January 5 reported Stalin's New Year resolution quite ly phrase by phrase, each May Day in Red Square.

"The new oath emphasized Soviet patriotism, which the Soviet regime has been endeavoring to foster by every means in the past few years, and omits the word rebolution, which underlay the old oath. The new oath begins, 'I, a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,' whereas the toiling people, citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,' and included a pledge to 'direct my every act and thought toward the great aim of the emancipation of the toilers.'

ernment!' "

To this story we might add one other phrase contained in the old oath as recorded in the book under discussion: "I pledge myself to . . spare neither my strength nor my life in battle for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and for the cause of socialism and the fraterniwe have a resume of the book and

ARMY AND

Every army reflects the political constitution and the whole order of society prevailing in the land to which it belongs. An understanding of the Red Army, therefore, gives us the key to an understanding of the economic, political and social system of the Soviet Union in every phase of its development. No adequate account of this unique military machine has, so far as this reviewer is aware, yet been published. The present account is by one who served n the Red Army from 1921 to 1936. Judging by this volume, the author s an independent revolutionary socialist who is thoroly familiar with conditions in the Soviet Union and has intimate knowledge of the Red Army and its leading figures. It is surprising that Marxists have not written more extensively, not only upon the Red Army but also on armies in general, for Marx very correctly stated in a letter to Engels: "The history of the army brings out more clearly than any-|shelter in churches.—Editor, Workthing else the correctness of our conception of the connection between the productive forces and social rela-

The book contains far too many fruitful conclusions for us to be able to deal even casually with all of them, or adequately with any one of them. Nor will it be possible to do more than to mention a few of the heroes of whom he paints such triking portraits.

If the collective hero of the book s the Red Army, then Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky is its individual protagonist, with Voroshilov as his antagonist. From the account by the author, supported by the expert opinion of Pilsudski, one must conlude that in this upright and brilliant commander the Red Army had both its Red Napoleon and Red Chevalier Bayard.

In the conflict between Tukhachevsky and Voroshilov (who was merely Stalin's tool), we have represented not so much a personal rivalry but fundamentally a conflict over the way the Red Army was to be created and the uses to

which it was to be put. As Trotsky | could have defeated the foes from tendencies in the Red Army and that ness, poverty and war-weariness? his and his clique's opposition to the We deprived the Entente of its solextreme forms, such as a decision to success we have ever achieved former Czarist officers (even those their numerical and technical superiwho had become Bolsheviks), we can appreciate their hostility to Tukha-shown by the workers against imchevsky. This decision was their perialist governments." Again a young lieutenant of the Czarist well have learned. Guards to the command of the First Red Army. Members of Voroshilov's clique threatened to shoot the 'Guards officer," whereupon Trotsky issued an order, countersigned by Lenin, to the effect that insubordination against officers appointed by the Revolutionary War Council would be punished with the utmost severity.

solved into its component parts. old workers cell in order to emerge new-born so to speak, to join the new army. The catastrophe in Spain has once more written in letters of blood and illuminated with the flames of its disaster the great lesson that the workers serving in the old army are "incapable of taking it over and making active use of it for their own purposes."

WHY SOVIETS

It would be a grave blunder to believe that the Red Army alone

25 YEARS AGO

MARCH 22 - 29. 1914 ARCH 22, 1914. — 3,000 more March 23.-Mother Jones arrested at Walsenburg. She was removed

March 23.-From New York Times editorial: "All the trouble (the efforts of the unemployed to obtain ers Age.) can be stopped now by a few determined policemen with heavy clubs who know that the will of the people is behind them. If it is allowed to develop, infantry, cavalry and artillery may be needed.'

March 24.—Pancho Villa, at the head of his army, fights his way into Torreon, Mexico.

is in progress. The crews of 12 street cars are suspended.

March 25. — Col. Seely, British War Secretary, resigns over sending of troops to Ulster. Government decides to send troops "where they have no social affiliations."

March 27. — Frank Tannenbaum sentenced to serve one year in prison for "invasion of New York churches." Also fined \$500.

March 27.-25,000 men dropped forcing retrenchment.

puts it: "For our task of construc- within and without. Lenin realized ting the Red Army, we had to ex- this very clearly and declared to the ploit Red Guard formations and 7th Soviet Congress: "What is the regiments of the Czarist army, miracle which enabled the Soviet to peasant leaders and Czarist generals. carry on two years of obstinate war-In fact, we created the army of all fare, first against German im-the historical materials at our perialism, then deemed omnipotent, disposal." If we bear in mind that and later against Entente imperial-Klim Voroshilov fostered guerilla ism, and this despite our backwardcentralized army authorities and diers. The victory we won when we more especially to the employment forced the withdrawal of English and of military specialists often took French troops was the most decisive ignore all commands issued by against the Entente. We vanquished answer to the appointment of the lesson that anti-fascist Spain might If international working-class

solidarity saved the Russian revolution from defeat, then it was only natural that the Bolsheviks and the leaders of the Red Army should want to show their appreciation of their brothers in foreign lands, not only thru cables of thanks but also thru bullets of lead against the im-If Tukhachevsky was only one of perialists. The first effort of a "revolution from without" resulted the 314,180 military specialists of in the Polish war which ended in the old army who served in the latest for the Red Army Trotsky tion of the army instead of reform- curate analysis of the problem in ing it by means of a democratic his work on military doctrine: "In permeation. Trotsky gives the the great class war now taking place, answer to this question when he military intervention from without points out that the old army had to can play but a concomitant, cobe first reduced to atoms and dis- operative, secondary part. Military intervention may hasten the denou-Every soldier, workman and peasant ement and make the victory easier had first to return to the place of his but only when both the political concivilian occupation and reenter his sciousness and the social conditions are ripe for revolution. Military intervention has the same effects as a doctor's forceps; if used at the right moment, it can shorten the pangs of birth, but if employed premature ly, it will merely cause an abortion.'

There is an authentic account in this book, scrupulously documented of Trotsky's role in the Red Army And since this reviewer is politically in opposition to him, he wishes to make clear that, in estimating Trotsky as the organizer of the Red Army, he accepts entirely Lenin's enthusiastic exclamation to Maxim Gorky when the latter mentioned the hostility shown by certain Bolsheviks to Trotsky: "Show me another man who could have practically created a model army in a year and won the respect of military specialists as well. We have got such a man! We have got everything!"

Erich Wollenberg is no follower troops sent to Ulster, Ireland. of Trotsky's political line. He criticizes him for the superficial analogy he makes between Bonapartism and Stalinism and ridicules from train en route for Trinidad, Trotsky's Quixotic efforts to create Fourth International without first having any sort of base for it.

In a section dealing with the latest levelopments in the Soviet Union, the author expresses the belief that the Tukhachevskys, Gamarniks and their friends had actually planned a "palace revolution" against Stalin but repeatedly postponed it on account of the misgivings that the emporary internal disorder caused by the overthrow of Stalin's dictatorship might be exploited by imperialism in general and the German and Japanese in particular. March 24.—Buffalo carmen refuse But the most hopeful part of their to run cars carrying troops to the strivings, before they were executed, Gould coupler works where a strike was the program of the "Communist Opposition" which revolved around the restoration (one should say establishment) of Soviet democracy.

There are many fruitful suggestions to be found in this valuable study. Marxists should not fail to read this short, informal and interesting volume, for, as the author indicates: "The center of gravity of Soviet home defense has shifted from the military to the political sphere, History, therefore, has once claim that drop in earnings was become the essence of the political from other political groups and organizations.

Talking It Over:

How to Fight War

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

WE are giving our column this week to a letter by D. Benjamin. It was sent by him to the branches of the Independent Labor League of America but I am sure that it will interest all our readers and give them valuable ideas as to how they can carry on the urgent struggle against America's being militarized and driven into war.

March 14, 1939.

EAR COMRADES: Anti-war work must be considered our political activity Number One. We call upon every branch to show initiative, to apply, on the basis of local conditions, the following proposals.

WAR-REFERENDUM AMENDMENT

1. The LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment has been introduced in Congress. The Gallup poll indicates that 60% of the people favor the referendum principle in spite of the terrific pro-war propaganda unleashed by the Roosevelt Administration (supported by the Republicans Landon and Stimson and by the Stalinists). In spite of the veakness of the measure (containing the policy of the Monroe Doctrine and "defense of the western hemisphere," a basic policy of American imperialism), we must nevertheless do all in our power to get appropriate resolutions adopted in favor of the referendum proposal in all organzations possible-trade unions, labor-party organizations, cooperatives, farmers organizations, fraternal organizations, youth clubs, city federations of labor, students organizations and anti-war organizations.

ARMAMENTS DEVELOPMENTS

2. Watch armament developments closely. Answer any and every bill introduced in Congress for increased armaments with a campaign in your organizations and locality for its defeat. Many important measures have already been passed. We must be alert for many more moves on the part of the Administration. Go beyond this-demand from Congress increased appropriations for relief, housing, education, old-age pensions, etc. Show in your arguments, speeches, resolutions, petition and letter campaigns, the organic connection between the trend toward armament economy and the cutting down of appropriations for social services. Especially in the unions, tie up the fight for more relief and social insurance with the struggle against military appropriations. In this way, you will be bringing the issues close to home, in a way that the workers will under-

3. April 6th marks the twenty-second anniversary of the entrance of the United States into the last world war. Your local Keep America Out of War movement might organize a mass meeting symposium, conference or some action drawing the necessary lessons from that occasion and intensifying the campaign against American imperialism's preparations for the next war. Raise the question in your union or organization and see if you cannot arrange an educational meeting for the occasion, with appropriate speakers, etc. Try to get some K.A.O.W. or other anti-war speaker invited. In New York City, a mass meeting is being arranged for this date, preceded by a mobilization conference on March 24-25.

IN LATIN AMERICA

4. American imperialism is moving fast to strengthen and consolidate ts position in South America. The new agreement with Brazil extending \$120,000,000 in short-term and long-term credits, the plan to support with gold the Central Reserve Bank of Brazil, linking up the basic money unit of Brazil with the dollar, the offensive to free Brazil from the barter economy with Germany, indicate the real character of the "Good-Neighbor"

At the same time, a proposal by Senator Pittman, head of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and by Representative Bloom in the House, that the United States build more ships in its navy yards for Brazil and other Latin American nations, received the endorsement of the State Department, thus adding another step for the tightening of Amer-

ican imperialism's hold and its "hemisphere-defense" policy Simultaneous with these moves, we see the United States selling planes to France and England, to the value of 12 million dollars during fighting and administrative branches of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves to have been the only member of the Red Army on August 15, leaves 15, American imperialist policy, especially of the Roosevelt Administration of "collective security" on the part of the so-called "democratic" countries

against the dictator countries, especially against Japan. In order to be free to move, President Roosevelt proposes, thru his spokesmen in Congress, that the neutrality laws be repealed. Roosevelt wants to have full power and discretion in the important field of foreign policy, freedom of action for his pro-war policy and a vigorous defense

of American imperialism. 5. There are other danger signals. The War Department supports the National Association of Manufacturers for the repeal of the Barkley amendment to the Air Expansion Bill. This amendment would prohibit the award of any contract under the national-defense program to a person or company found to be interfering with collective bargaining or other rights of the employees. Under the guise of protecting national defense, an important move is here being made to undermine the National Labor Relations Act. Of course, the War Department wants to be free to get the necessary equipment and weapons without any labor trouble or interference. The employers have already succeeded in getting the amend-

Also consider the bill introduced by the Navy Department which would impose a fine of \$1,000 or two years in prison for "inciting disobedience to military orders or regulations. It is on questions of this kind that we want members, branches, dis-

tricts to act, to have their organizations take appropriate action. Branch executives should get in touch with their members to have appropriate resolutions introduced. 6. Are you using the Workers Age in your anti-war propaganda and

activities? Every issue of the enlarged Age has plenty of excellent material on this subject. By selling the Age, getting subscriptions, increasing you bundle orders, canvassing at mass meetings, you are helping to carry on vital anti-war activity. You should consider the Age, its various articles and editorials, as direct messages to your branch which should be discussed either for educational purposes or with the view of securing definite action.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION

7. The K.A.O.W. has decided to establish friendly relations with antiwar movements and organizations in other countries. This is important as it provides the beginnings of cooperation between the anti-war movements in various countries, the beginnings of the carrying thru of a spirit of internationalism in that sphere. It also means a tie-up with the underground illegal movements in fascist countries, a step that should prove of great moral value to those fighting in fascist countries.

8. The I.L.L.A. has helped, and is helping, in the organization and unification of the international forces fighting against war. We refer to the formation of the International Workers Front Against War. Among the organizations participating in this movement are: The I.L.P. of Great Britain, the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France (P.S.O.P.), the Party of Proletarian Unity of France (P.U.P.), the P.O.U.M. of Spain, the C.P.O. of Germany ,Der Funke (Spark) group of Germany, the Union of Revolutionary Forces of Belgium, the Group Proletariat of Czechoslovakia, the Archio-Marxist party of Greece, the Federation of Revolutionary Socialists of Holland, the Workers Revolutionary Socialist Party of Holland (R.S.A.P.), the Swedish Socialist Party, the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists), the Hashomer Hatzair of Palestine, and the Appeal group of Indo-China.

International conferences were held at Geneva on September 12, 1938, and at Brussels on October 29-30, 1938. A congress of the above listed organizations and additional ones is scheduled for April-May of this year. The I.L.L.A. is sending a delegate.

9. Our members should know that the anti-war work done in this country has had repercussions in Great Britain. On January 22, 1939, the No-Conscription League was organized in a conference in London. Present at the foundation conference were: 119 delegates from cooperative organizations; 34 delegates from trade councils, trade unions, and local labor parties; 55 delegates from I.L.P. branches; 72 delegates from the Peace Pledge Union and peace societies; 2 delegates from the Scottish Socialist Party; and a number of delegates from miscellaneous organiza-

10. On January 21, 1939, the Anti-Imperialist Center was established in England upon the initiative of the I.L.P. and various colonial movements fighting against British imperialism. Present at the conference were: 52 delegates from colonial organizations and the Indian Seamen's Union; 22 delegates from labor parties, trade unions and trade councils; 10 delegates from cooperative organizations; 71 delegates from I.L.P. by New York Central Railroad on more caused the military problem to branches; 45 from pacifist organizations; 4 from Left Book Clubs; and 19

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT