

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Italy Breaks With League

"Rome-Berlin Axis" Held Strengthened By New Fascist Move

Culminating a period of over a year of virtual boycott of the League of Nations and its institutions, Premier Mussolini last Saturday announced the withdrawal of Italy from the League, to take effect two years after date, in 1939. This action places Italy, together with Germany and Japan, the other signatories of the so-called "anti-communist" pact, outside the League of Nations.

Such a step on the part of the Italian dictator was long expected. According to diplomatic sources, a number of factors seem to have entered to determine Mussolini's action at this time. In some quarters, it is regarded primarily as a move to strengthen the "Rome-Berlin axis" and therefore undertaken largely under German pressure. In the Nazi press, General Goering has declared that "the whole course of Italian foreign policy follows the line laid down in the recent discussions with the Fuehrer" (Hitler). On the other hand, it is hinted in the British press that the whole move may have been undertaken by Mussolini in order to exert extra pressure upon Great Britain and France for better terms. In London and Paris, it is also suggested that Mussolini's action may be intended to "facilitate" direct negotiations and settlement of outstanding issues, especially the Ethiopian question, with England and France outside of League channels and without League interference. A number of observers see also reasons of domestic policy behind the move.

However that may be, Italy's action leaves the League of Nations more than ever simply the vehicle of Anglo-French diplomacy and a not very useful vehicle at that. Voices are already being raised in influential circles of London and Paris "noting" the death of the League and urging a new basis of Anglo-French policy.

Manufacturers In Anti-Labor War

The National Association of Manufacturers, after a convention whose keynote revolved around "the vicious notion that a man has a right to a job," issued last week a long "program for recovery" reiterating its traditional demands for the open shop and reduction of the living standards of the masses. The program demanded the end of government "stop-signals," that is, the abandonment of all policies which "have the effect of redistributing existing wealth and income instead of endeavoring to produce more national wealth and income." Denied of its flowery phrases, this signifies a clear call to business for a drive to eliminate the undistributed-profits tax and the tax on speculative profits and to shift the tax burden to the lower-income brackets.

The nine-point anti-labor program demanded the open-shop, company unionism, legal responsibility (incorporation) of trade unions, etc.

Most of the convention was held in secret session, especially those discussions concerned with labor relations.

THE A.L.P. CAN STAND ON ITS OWN FEET

By M. PETERS

WITH the vote for the New York City Council finally completed, after nearly a month of tallying, it is possible to sum up the accomplishments of the A.L.P. in the campaign and estimate the extent of support the party has achieved among the masses.

To begin with, a bird's-eye view: the A.L.P., has emerged with 482,459 votes, amounting to 22% of the total vote cast for Mayor. This vote, more than twice the number cast on the A.L.P. line for Roosevelt in 1936, was enough to insure La Guardia's majority, and brought the A.L.P. to the position of third place among parties, holding the balance of power in the city. The A.L.P. has also elected five men to the City Council who will act as a group, led by B. Charney Vladek.

The real importance of the American Labor Party in the working-class districts is hidden in the city-wide totals and percentages. To get a more significant picture of what the A.L.P. amounts to, it is worth while examining the election results in the boros of Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn, where the mass of workers live.

The A.L.P. In The Bronx

In the Bronx, where more than 200,000 votes were cast, the A.L.P.

got 32% of the total, bringing the party up to second place. In the thickly populated working-class 5th and 7th Assembly Districts, the A.L.P. is the biggest party and consequently succeeded in electing an assemblyman from each. In addition, the A.L.P. is in the second place in all districts except the 1st. In the two districts where the A.L.P. achieved first place and elected its assemblymen, the margin of victory was so great that, even without Fusion support—and, indeed, in the 5th A.D., the A.L.P. did not get Fusion support—they could easily elect their own men. The contest for Boro President in the Bronx is significant in revealing the conscious and determined character of the A.L.P. vote. Nagler, the A.L.P. candidate, got 150,257 votes, not quite enough to elect him, but about 12,000 votes more than La Guardia got on the A.L.P. ticket. The reason for this is to be found in the failure of the Fusion party to endorse Nagler, thus causing many Fusion voters to transfer to the A.L.P. line to vote for Boro President. This shows that the A.L.P. has great power of attraction as such, even without the blessing of old-party endorsements. This fact is borne out not only by A.L.P. experience in the Bronx, but thruout the city. Wherever the A.L.P. had an independent candidate, not endorsed

CIO Maps Drive To Aid Jobless

Lewis Issues Call To Affiliated Unions To Act In Crisis; Four-Point Program Drafted To Help Get Employment And Relief

Prompt action to help the nearly four million workers organized in C.I.O. unions meet the challenge of unemployment arising out of the new depression, was taken by C.I.O. headquarters last week in a circular letter issued by John L. Lewis, chairman, and a series of instructions dispatched to all affiliated organizations by John Brophy, director.

Mr. Lewis's letter calls sharp attention to the "new wave of unemployment among American workers" and declares that "the C.I.O., as the main body of American labor, accepts the duty of re-

presenting its people who are out of work." "If the corporations which control American industry, in the management of industry's affairs," Lewis warns, "fail to provide . . . work, then there must be some power somewhere that will go over and above and beyond these corporations . . . and insure the workers the right to live."

The letter of instructions was issued to all local industrial unions directly affiliated with the C.I.O. but copies were also sent to the heads of international and national unions with the suggestion that they follow a similar procedure. The main paragraphs of the letter follow:

"The C.I.O. feels that it is one of the duties of its unions to give all possible help to members who become unemployed. This office, therefore, strongly urges all local industrial unions to establish unemployment committees for the purpose of serving the unemployed members of the union.

"The ways in which the unemployment committee can function are:

"1. Register every man and woman who has been laid off thru curtailment of industrial operations.

"2. Keep an accurate list of all layoffs . . . (and make) reports to the national headquarters on the extent of unemployment in your local.

"3. When any rehiring is done, urge that all laid-off workers be rehired before any new employees are put on. This can be done in cooperation with your local grievance committee.

"4. Represent the unemployed members before public agencies in an attempt to get proper unemployment compensation, adequate public relief or W.P.A. employment. It is highly important that the unemployed union members use the union as the agency for seeing that they are justly treated by unemployment compensation and relief agencies."

The action of the C.I.O. in the present unemployment crisis is of vast significance, passing far beyond the immediate problem itself, important as it is. For it indicates that the trade-union movement, under the leadership of the C.I.O., is beginning to awaken to its responsibility of representing its members and defending their interests on every field of modern industrial life. Only if the unions themselves take up the problems of their unemployed members will it prove possible to avoid a dangerous breach between employed and unemployed, which, in these days of permanent mass-unemployment, represents a serious menace to the whole labor movement. To allow outside organizations to force their way in and "take over" the unemployed and their problems, means to open the way for the de-unionization of the jobless unionists, something that the labor movement can not permit.

The C.I.O. has again shown the way and all trade-union organizations, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike, should follow its lead.

HOMES AND JOBS FOR LABOR

Rearmament or Government Housing

By LYMAN FRASER

BEFORE the economic disaster of the 1930's is overcome, our people are engulfed by a new disaster.

The old misery is renewed. Again workers are being thrown out of their jobs. Thru no fault of their own, they are again losing the right to work and to live.

During these past four months of the newest economic breakdown, more than 2,000,000 manual and white-collar workers have been thrown upon the streets to swell the already large numbers of the unemployed and partly employed. It was hard to find work; it is becoming still harder.

Crisis—Before Full Prosperity

And this newest economic breakdown takes place before the wounds of the depression are completely healed, in the midst of a wretchedly incomplete prosperity.

More than eight years after the collapse of 1929 and after nearly five years of recovery and prosperity, economic activity (average first eight months of this year) was still below the 1929 levels. Unemployment was still around 8,000,000, three to four times as great as in 1929. The small minority of richer people again skimmed the cream of recovery and prosperity. Profits, dividends and larger salaries soared beyond the rise in employment, wages and smaller salaries. While the national income increased 31% in

1935 over 1933, the income-tax returns of \$5,000 and up increased 51% and their total income increased 47%. There were in 1936 around 5,500,000 working-class families (with yearly incomes below \$1,000) and 3,500,000 farming families (with yearly incomes below \$500), twice as many as in 1929, living in poverty moving downward to sheer destitution.

No wonder the people could not buy all the goods and services that our economic resources are capable of producing. No wonder that wretched prosperity is breaking down!

The significant point that must be emphasized is this: Never before did a cyclical recession, after the recovery of prosperity from depression, take place while economic activity was still below the pre-depression levels and with such a large amount of unemployment. That means that this is a permanent economic crisis. If and when the recession is overcome, the new prosperity will still be incomplete, with about 7,000,000 workers still unemployed. But, if there is an inability to restore full prosperity, if millions of workers cannot get the work they want and need, then American capitalism is clearly declining.

The inability of declining capitalism to restore full prosperity was evident in the capitalist nations of Europe before the economic breakdown of the 1930's. Millions upon millions of workers were perman-

ently disemployed. Capitalism was unable to use all its economic resources to provide work, because it was unprofitable; now those economic resources are being used to build up fascism and its new barbarism, to build up increasingly larger armaments for new and more destructive wars.

Rearmament creates more production and work, but it is producing and working for death and not for life.

Government Low Cost Housing Is Labor's Demand

The permanent American economic crisis cannot be eased by business itself. Some other force than the initiative of business is needed to increase economic activity. There is one force, and one only, that can increase constructive economic activity, and that is a large-scale program of low-cost housing subsidized by the government.

There is a tragic need of housing. The majority of the people live in homes unfit for habitation. Private housing enterprise has never built homes for the two-thirds of American families, overwhelmingly of the working class, with yearly incomes below \$2,000. The masses of workers have always been forced to move into homes abandoned as unfit by the more prosperous upper third. Homes were not built for the masses during the building boom of

(Continued on Page 3)

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

"What's Ahead For Spain?"

Wed., Dec. 22
8 P. M.
Center Hotel
108 W. 43 St.

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

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PEACE CONGRESS FOR WAR

THE coming world war casts its sinister shadow before. Under the auspices and guidance of the Communist Party, there recently took place at Pittsburgh a "People's Congress for Peace and Democracy" as the new incarnation of the old and discredited American League Against War and Fascism.

All the documents of the Congress have not yet been made public. But, according to the Daily Worker, which should know, "President Roosevelt's historic Chicago peace speech, condemning the aggressor powers and calling on the democratic nations to quarantine the war-mongering fascist dictators, was the main political note of this Congress."

What is the policy laid down in the President's historic Chicago "peace" speech? As we have already indicated on several occasions in the columns of this paper and as we intend to prove in detail in future issues, it is a policy deliberately calculated to advance American imperialist aggression abroad, especially in the Far East.

Even on the basis of the fantastically inflated figures given in the Stalinist press, it is easy to see that the Pittsburgh congress represents a movement primarily bourgeois and petty-bourgeois in character, with workers organizations in an entirely subsidiary position.

But this only makes our tasks the more pressing and indispensable. The Congress for Peace and Democracy is the first big step of the Communist Party to mobilize labor for war, the first big effort to launch a mass movement in support of American imperialism's program of aggression.

The P.O.U.M. Vindicated

(Statement by Fenner Brockway, in London New Leader, Nov. 26, 1937.) From an absolutely authoritative source in Spain, I am able to report this week news which is good and, at the same time, unsatisfactory.

seven votes to two, to liberate the prisoners quietly one by one. The minority of two was composed of the Communist Party representatives, who wanted the charges to be pressed. They indicated at once that they regarded the matter as a major issue and that it might similarly be regarded by Soviet Russia.

C.N.T. Calls For Unity Against C.P. Splits

(We present below the leading article of the October 15, 1937 issue of the Boletín de Información, issued at Barcelona by the C.N.T.-F.A.I.—The Editor.)

THE Spanish proletariat has understood for some time now that to emerge victorious in the fight against fascism, it must be united. The trade union organizations, C.N.T.-U.G.T., in which the entire Spanish proletariat is organized, formed a pact which, thru the Relations Committee it created, must bring the Spanish proletariat to unity and victory.

The communists, who also speak of unity in all their press, were opposed to the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. coming together. They resorted to every tricky maneuver within their power to hinder it. At first they tried to provoke the C.N.T. into ordering to destroy it by armed force, but the C.N.T. masses understood the maneuver and did not allow themselves to be provoked. Then, they began their maneuvers against the U.G.T. Executive Committee, because it did not want to follow the dictates of Moscow.

They made use of the right-wing elements of the socialist movement. They called a meeting of the National Committee, altho this

of the old American League Against War and Fascism, such as its sectarian character, its petty-bourgeois composition, its inability to make an effective approach to the labor movement, are now completely thrown into the shade by the great fact that the League, in its new form, is no longer opposed to war in any, even the most remote, sense but is, in fact as in intention, a movement to foment war and to open the way for a dictatorial regime virtually indistinguishable in its operations from fascism.

To conclude: communist "unity" consists in calumny, discrediting, dividing and then suppressing the voice of their opponents so that they cannot defend themselves. In spite of all this, the Spanish working class arises out now more than ever: Long live C.N.T.-U.G.T. unity! It is the only way to achieve victory and to overcome all the damage caused by the split.

was against the rules of the U.G.T., and set up a new National Committee and a new Executive Committee. The splitters met in October, in Valencia. The communists, together with the right wing of the socialists, wanted to take over the central headquarters of the union in Valencia, without authorization of the real Executive of the U.G.T.

The communists wanted to enter the meeting rooms by force and take possession of everything that was there, but the real U.G.T. workers would not let them enter. The communists wanted to appeal to the police and thus settle their internal problems with the aid of the armed forces of the state but, when they saw that the U.G.T. workers were determined to defend their headquarters and their interests with weapons in hand, they turned yellow and withdrew the police forces, proceeding to meet in a theatre instead. There, after endless harangues against the legitimate Executive they elected a new one and declared that they were the only ones to speak in the name of the U.G.T. and to represent it. As a result, there are now two Executives: one the legitimate one, elected in 1934, of which Largo Caballero is secretary; and the other, dualist, declared to be the Executive of the U.G.T. on October 1st, under the control of the communists.

According to the figures, some 90,000 workers are with Largo Caballero and recognize only the legitimate Executive of the U.G.T. legally elected, and about 300,000 workers in the unions controlled by the communists and moderate socialists. With the split already accomplished fact, the communists are using every means within their power to annihilate their enemies. As soon as the new Executive Committee was designated, the Minister of the Interior suspended indefinitely the official organ of the U.G.T., "La Correspondencia de Valencia."

As a result of arbitration, the metal and construction workers of Paris have been offered a six-percent raise. This raise by no means offsets the increased cost of living. The trade union leaders have, nevertheless, decided to accept this proposal and have also decided on a 24-hour protest strike without any concrete objective, in an attempt to give the workers a chance to vent their indignation in an inconsequential manner.

CONTRIBUTE TO THE \$10,000 DRIVE

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY French CGT Leaders Suppress Mass Discontent With People's Front

THE mounting dissatisfaction of the workers with the increased cost of living was expressed in the demand of the metal workers of Paris for an immediate stay-in strike. In this, they were supported by the building trades workers. The trade union bureaucracy is doing its utmost to prevent any serious struggles. So far they have succeeded. They are planning to introduce "squads of order" to suppress any opposition at union meetings.

When the Radical-Socialist Congress was only a few days off, Chautemps and Blum came out for the continuation of the People's Front. Chautemps clearly revealed the service rendered by the workers parties to the bourgeoisie in a People's Front government.

"In my estimation it would be dangerous to social peace, and hence contrary to the interests of the nation, to force political parties which have gained the confidence of the working masses and have acted along liberal lines, into opposition at this precarious moment."

As a result of the defeat of the C.P.F. in the cantonal elections, the S.P. has become more critical of the C.P. The socialist answer to the C.P. on the Spanish question was couched in very uncomplimentary terms. The socialist rank and file has also undergone a change of heart towards the C.P. The reason is not far to seek—the crude social-patriotic demagoguery of the C.P. and the Stalin terror in the Soviet Union have repelled the best elements. Furthermore, it must be remembered that members of the S.P. can and do voice their opposition to the People's Front while C.P. members who disagree have no opportunity to express their views and simply drop out. The prospects for a "united proletarian party" in France have disappeared.

The swing to the right on the part of the petty bourgeoisie as a result of People's Front politics is progressing within the framework of the People's Front. Fascism is still in the background. At present, the fascist movement is rent by internal conflicts, the latest outburst being the expose of Colonel de la Roche by Tardieu who disclosed that the Colonel was the recipient of money from the secret fund of the state during the Tardieu and Laval regimes.

"I was glad to have at my disposal a group pledged to order, to be used against the communists," Tardieu testified in court.

And so Tardieu gave the head of the Croix de Feu large sums of money from the treasury upon the recommendation of a "high-ranking military figure." The present scandal was brought to light because de la Roche has not delivered the goods—as yet.

RADICAL-SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN FRANCE

The Lille Congress of the Radical-Socialist Party of France did not materially change the political map. The People's Front line as carried out by Chautemps and Bonnet was endorsed. An attempt on the part of the right wing to split the People's Front was rejected as premature. Herriot's speech was most indicative of the sentiments of the delegates, inasmuch as he expressed the growing concern of the French General Staff with the Mediterranean question, thus revealing a thoroughly imperialist attitude and appealing, at the same time, to the republican majority, that is, to the Flandin section of the right-wing bourgeois parties. The result of the congress was pretty much in line with the sentiment of the petty and middle bourgeoisie as manifested at the recent provincial elections—namely, to pursue a "conservative People's Front policy," as the Paris correspondent of the Frankfurter Zeitung terms it.

As a result of arbitration, the metal and construction workers of Paris have been offered a six-percent raise. This raise by no means offsets the increased cost of living. The trade union leaders have, nevertheless, decided to accept this proposal and have also decided on a 24-hour protest strike without any concrete objective, in an attempt to give the workers a chance to vent their indignation in an inconsequential manner.

THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY • a review

Trotsky on "Mixed" War

THE report of the hearings recently conducted by the so-called "Dewey Committee" on the charges raised against Leon Trotsky in the course of the Moscow trials, makes very instructive reading. The portion of the document that is strictly relevant to the purpose of formally disproving the specific charges of treason, terrorism and sabotage, constitutes but a small part of its more than 500 pages. At the hearings, the questions often wandered far afield and the answers were even more sweeping in their scope. Thus, an opportunity was created for many things to emerge that were not in the official schedule—for Carleton Beals to exhibit his political obtuseness, for the other commissioners to satisfy their curiosity as to Trotsky's theoretical conceptions and to air their own pet doctrines, above all, for Trotsky himself to repeat, expand and reformulate his views on the Soviet Union and world affairs. And it is, perhaps, in this "irrelevant" material that the chief value of the report lies.

Confronted with the almost impossible task of giving positive proof of a negative fact—that is, of proving that he did not do this, that or the other thing—Trotsky scores

1 The Case of Leon Trotsky—Report of Hearings on the Charges Made against Him in the Moscow Trials. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1937.

HOUSING, JOBS AND THE NEEDS OF LABOR

2 That renewed economic activity and its increase of mass purchasing power would increase employment and purchasing power everywhere.

3. And, at the same time, homes would be provided for the masses. But private business enterprise cannot build low-cost housing. It cannot build apartments to rent at around \$5 a room per month, which is what workers can afford to pay. It cannot build dwellings that workers can buy. If the great majority of workers could not afford to buy or rent new homes in the 1920's, they cannot afford it today when unemployment is much greater and incomes much lower. The government must spend to provide homes and jobs for workers.

Reactionary capitalist interests will bitterly object to the government spending large amounts of money on low-cost housing. It will be especially opposed by the speculative real-estate interests, and the bankers, who have never built and cannot build homes for the masses of our people.

Reactionary capitalist interests cry that it is wasteful for the government to spend money on housing. The true waste is the waste of depression and unemployment. During the seven years 1930-36, there was a waste of nearly \$200,000 million in goods and services that might have been produced if prosperity had not broken down in 1929. One-third of that waste of resources and labor could have built decent homes for all the 20,000,000 families that now occupy homes that are unfit to live in. The waste is still going on, and it is becoming worse: the waste of unemployed productive equipment, unemployed natural resources and unemployed labor. That is because high profits have limited mass purchasing power while there is too much idle capital unable to find investment. Tax the profits and the capital and use them to build homes and provides work!

1. Create increasing employment in the industries producing steel, brick and other housing materials.

2. Create increasing employment in the industries producing steel, brick and other housing materials.

brilliantly. After reading these pages, there cannot remain the slightest doubt in the mind of any literate person that the charges and allegations made against Trotsky and the other better-known defendants at the Moscow trials, are just a tissue of not very cleverly concocted falsehoods. Not a shred of "evidence" remains intact under critical scrutiny. On the contrary, this "evidence" is demonstrably shot thru with glaring contradictions, material discrepancies and sheer impossibilities. I need only refer to Holtzman's "rendezvous" in the non-existent Hotel Bristol at Copenhagen, to Romm's "interview" with Trotsky in Paris while Trotsky was actually somewhere else in France, to Pyatkov's impossible "flight" to Oslo, to indicate how completely Trotsky has succeeded in establishing an iron-clad alibi where it counts most. The Moscow trials stand exposed, beyond the shadow of a doubt, as a very brazen tho not very clever political frame-up.

In general, the impression created by Trotsky's remarks at the hearings, as well as by some of his recent pronouncements, is that he has grown considerably less cocksure in his sweeping generalizations about the utter hopelessness of any regeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The wide range of the Stalinist terror in recent months, swallowing up layers of the party and state officialdom that had never had the slightest connection with the Trotskyist or any other opposition, that had, indeed, always been among the most stalwart supporters of the Stalinist general line, seems to have left Trotsky in a somewhat chastened, less absolutely positive mood. On the basis of the conceptions championed by him for so many years, what should have happened in Russia is a mass revolt of the people against the bureaucratic "caste" headed by Stalin. But actually what we see is the beginning of the shattering of the bureaucratic

apparatus thru the irresistible pressure of mass unrest; the ultimate expression of this unrest in and thru the various elements of the bureaucracy, tho necessarily in distorted form; and Stalin's frantic attempt to liquidate the crisis of his regime by means of unrestrained terror against the very officialdom that has always been the bulwark of his power.

It is entirely by weight of the factual material that Trotsky is able to prove himself innocent of the charges brought against him and not by the strength of his political arguments. Here, indeed, he attempts to prove too much and thereby damages his own case. He is not satisfied with demonstrating that the specific accusations of terrorism and sabotage are false on the very face of them; he must needs show that, as a Marxist, he could not possibly resort to such weapons at any time, at any place, under any circumstances. But here he is false to Marxism and not a little disingenuous with his hearers. Take individual terrorism, for example. Trotsky knows, of course, that there were times when the Bolsheviks, as well as certain sections of the Mensheviks, officially endorsed the resort to it as a weapon in the political struggle. At the "unity" party congress, held at Stockholm, in April-May 1906 the Bolsheviks introduced a resolution which I quote in part (with my emphasis):

"1. Expropriations of private property are not permitted at all. "2. Expropriations of state property are not recommended but merely permitted under the condition of party control and the use of the funds for the uprising. "3. Terroristic acts against governmental bearers of power and against active bearers of power are recommended but only under the conditions that: (a) account is taken of the sentiment of the broad masses; (b) the relations in the local labor movement are taken into consideration; and (c) care is taken that the forces of the proletariat are not exhausted in vain."

Commenting on this resolution, Lenin says ("On Guerrilla Warfare," Proletary, September 30, 1906): "The practical difference between this draft and the resolution adopted at the unity party congress consists exclusively in the fact that expropriations of state property were not permitted."

Commenting on this resolution, Lenin says ("On Guerrilla Warfare," Proletary, September 30, 1906): "The practical difference between this draft and the resolution adopted at the unity party congress consists exclusively in the fact that expropriations of state property were not permitted."

The following remarks of Leon Trotsky on the question of proletarian policy in a "mixed" war (a war between the Soviet Union in alliance with one imperialist power against another imperialist power) are taken from the proceedings of the hearings of the Preliminary Commission of Inquiry (the "Dewey Commission") held recently in Mexico. Benjamin Stolberg had asked the question: "What would you say to the French working class in reference to the defense of the Soviet Union? 'Change the French bourgeois government,' would you say?" Trotsky's reply follows (page 289):

"In France, I would remain in opposition to the government and would develop systematically this opposition. In Germany, I would do anything I could to sabotage the war machinery. They are two different things. In Germany and in Japan, I would apply military methods as far as I am able to fight, oppose and injure the machinery, the military machinery of Japan, to disorganize it, both in Germany and Japan. In France, it is political opposition against the bourgeoisie and the preparation of the proletarian revolution. Both are revolutionary methods. But in Germany and Japan I have as my immediate aim the disorganization of the whole machinery. In France, I

have the aim of the proletarian revolution." All this is quite sound and every revolutionary Marxist will agree with it entirely. But how long ago was it that the American Trotskyites and certain Left socialists under their influence denounced us because we made a sharp distinction between the line of policy to be followed in the imperialist ally of the Soviet Union (France) from that appropriate in the imperialist enemy of the Soviet Union (Germany)? In both cases, of course, we reject chauvinism or the support of the bourgeois regime in the war; in both cases, we urge the continuation and intensification of the class struggle to the point of revolution (civil war). But the policies and methods of struggle are quite different and this difference is well indicated in the above words of Trotsky.

We understand that the American Trotskyites are now beginning to revise their views "a little"—having received a gentle hint from Mexico City. Only a few months ago, they branded us as "disguised chauvinists" (France) from the standpoint to which Trotsky now seems to be coming around. We await with interest what the Socialist Appeal will have to say about the whole matter.

It is becoming clear that he has been made into a devil largely to make a case against others—leaders of a new opposition which has grown up against Stalin and his methods among his closest supporters."

If this is true, then we must radically revise our estimate of the Moscow trials as expressed in the editorial statement referred to above. It is no longer of any pertinence to point to the undoubted soundness of the Stalinist general line of socialist construction as against the Trotskyist line. For, at bottom, the Moscow trials were not aimed at Trotskyism at all, no matter what may have been the appearance deliberately created by those who stage-managed the affair. They were aimed at the deeply rooted and growing mass opposition to the historically obsolete Stalinist regime expressing itself thru anti-Stalinist movements among various sections of the soviet and party officialdom. By and large, Trotskyism was dragged in only in order to "smear" the new opposition elements and discredit them in the eyes of the people who had for years been taught to see Trotsky as the veritable anti-Christ. In a word, the Moscow trials were thoroughly reactionary in their political significance and content; they were the initial stage of a thoroughly reactionary wave of terror reflecting the last stand of an outlived bureaucracy fighting tooth and nail to preserve its power and status.

But Trotsky does not see this, refuses to see this. He is still firmly convinced that the Moscow trials and the many hundreds of executions and thousands of arrests and removals that have followed, are somehow a part of Stalin's unremitting crusade against Trotsky and his friends! The disproportion here is almost ludicrous. Dominated by pre-conceptions naturally generated out of many years of bitter political struggle and probably reinforced by certain features of his psychological make-up, Trotsky seems utterly oblivious to what is radically new in the present situation and is therefore utterly incapable of making the necessary shift in orientation. If, as Trotsky says, Stalin is the captive of his own bureaucratic regime, Trotsky is himself undoubtedly the prisoner of his own ideological system!

Which Road Shall the ASU Take?

(We publish below the declaration issued by the Student Section of the Independent Communist Labor League on the occasion of the convention of the American Student Union, to take place at Vassar during Christmas week.—THE EDITOR.)

FOR the past few months, it has become obvious to active A.S.U.ers that the American Student Union is going thru a crisis. This crisis has its roots in the very formation and foundation of the American Student Union. The A. S. U. has never been able to outgrow the sectarian inheritance of its two parent organizations, the socialist Student League for Industrial Democracy and the communist National Student League. The mere fusion of the two radical student bodies, which took place at the Columbus, Ohio, conference in December 1935, could not solve the problem of building a mass American student movement. The combined membership of the N.S.L. and the S.L.I.D. was approximately five thousand at its high point. The present membership of the A.S.U., with two years of existence behind it, is far less than that. A mass student movement is yet to be built in America.

The Student And the Labor Movement

The American student movement has never developed a clear conception of the role of the student in our present-day society and thus the student has been offered no positive perspective at all. In place of this, the student has been offered nothing but a chance to sit in on radical factional struggles within the student movement.

The student body in this country does not constitute a class by itself, or even a distinct section of a real class. The student body as a whole, regardless of its class background, aspires to rise to the level of the middle class. Yet, whatever his aspirations may be, the student cannot reverse the process actually at work within capitalist society, that is, the tendency towards the gradual absorption of the middle-class elements by the working class. The primary task of the American Student Union should be to point out this reality—that the great majority of students upon graduation will find themselves thrown into the ranks of labor. Because of this, and because labor is the only great progressive force in modern society, the A.S.U. must break down the

petty-bourgeois illusions of the majority of the student body and make it aware of its identity of interest with labor.

The A.S.U.'s support of labor must not be confined to theoretical expressions of sympathy but should be given concrete form as aid to specific actions of organized labor—guided by a student-labor coordinating committee. This solidarity should express itself also on the political field—in a labor party. This does not mean the support of "liberal," "progressive" politicians, who use labor as an instrument for obtaining office. The A.S.U. must not "reaffirm its non-partisanship." It must be a frank partisan of the growing labor party movement. A student movement aiding and participating in the growth and development of a genuine labor party, rooted in the trade unions, can build itself into a healthy mass student organization.

The Student and War

No one can approach the war question today, when we are entering upon the Second World War, without an acute consciousness of the gravity of the situation and of the great responsibility involved in formulating a program for the fight against imperialist war. Among the most treasured traditions of the student movement, and of the A.S.U., in particular, has always been its militant struggle against imperialism and war. Today, in our efforts to rally the students against war, we unfortunately find among our opponents not only the imperialist war-mongers but a section of the student movement itself—the Young Communist League.

As an inevitable corollary of its defense of "democratic" imperialism, the Y.C.L. has become the sponsor of discredited imperialistic maneuvers and alliances, dignified by the name of "collective security." "Collective security" means support of and dependence upon agreements and pacts of "democratic" capitalist powers and, consequently, also of armaments and the building up of war machines. In the United States, "collective security" would mean placing our reliance upon the dead Kellogg Peace Pact and the moribund Nine-Power Treaty, which, to mean anything, must be implemented by a strong military force. It is precisely here that President Roosevelt finds his most ardent support in the Y.C.L.—support for a policy which increases appropriations for

the R.O.T.C. and puts over the biggest peace-time war budget the United States has ever known, while slashing N.Y.A. and other relief appropriations. It is no wonder that the Y.C.L. finds itself in outright opposition to, and is intent upon sabotaging, the anti-war program of the American Student Union.

Nothing could be more explicit than the following section of the program of the A.S.U., adopted at its first convention in 1935:

"The present heightened international tension should make us more alert to the peril of American conflict with Japan or other imperialist nations over the economic stakes in the Orient and South America—stakes which are of benefit, as in the case of all wars fought by imperialist nations, not to the American people but to a handful of powerful American financial and industrial groups. The present boldness of fascist Italy and the belligerence of other fascist nations merely reveal that the internal conditions in these countries are most acute. But basic to the present insecurity of peace is the far-flung struggle to maintain colonial privileges and possessions. In these bitter clashes, the American financial barons are directly involved. The approach of another European war hastens the day when these interests will again dictate American entrance—unless they are fought relentlessly now.

"The A.S.U. uncompromisingly opposes the war preparations of our own government. It undertakes to organize the collective resistance of students now against the steps which lead to war and, in the event of war, to the war itself. Education on causes of war is an essential factor in a peace movement. The A.S.U. will, in its educational work, seek to reveal the inefficacy of such 'peace agencies,' as the League of Na-

ALP Assemblymen Map Program

The Assemblymen-elect nominated by and elected thru the efforts of the American Labor Party held their first caucus some weeks ago, in the office of Alex Rose, State Executive Secretary of the Labor Party, at the Hotel Claridge. They formulated a tentative program including legislation on:

1. Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.
2. A housing program.
3. State health insurance laws.
4. To amend the existing old age pension law to begin operation for persons at 60.
5. To give municipalities power to build or acquire electric power plants on a self-sustaining basis without pledging the city's credit, which would otherwise threaten sound municipal finances.
6. A bill proposing the state regulation of fee-charging employment agencies.
7. A bill proposing state regulation of private detective agencies employed in industrial disputes.
8. A bill proposing that the Allied Printing label be required on state printing.
9. And to sponsor all such other legislation organized labor will plan prior and during this legislative session.

tions and the Kellogg Pact, which have so plainly failed in a previous crisis; this failure arises directly from the domination of the League by the governments which are imperialist and which are now utilizing the League to further their own economical aims. The war which we shall be called to wage must be aggressive in character and purpose, and the 'interests' we shall be asked to defend will be those of the few, not of the many. These circumstances demand independent organization and action against war by the anti-war forces of the world, preeminent among which is the organized labor movement."

(Concluded next week)

Housing and Jobs For Workers

(Continued from Page 3)

interests will not oppose government spending on rearmament. The argument will be used that armaments help raise levels of economic activity and make work for the unemployed. Already, there are sinister people who point out that there is no business recession in England or France or Germany because there governments are "helping business" by spending more and more money on armaments. Already, there are sinister whispers that "what this country needs is a good war." Already, relief funds have been used for rearming purposes, while the War Department calls for a bigger army and bigger armaments.

Why should the reactionary interests oppose government spending on homes and favor government spending on armaments? The economics of one and the other are exactly the same. In both cases the government spends, and there must be bigger loans and bigger taxes; in both cases heavy industry is stimulated. The differences are human and social; they express different class interests.

The reactionary interests prefer to spend on armaments because that hurts neither the real-estate speculators nor the bankers nor any other exploiting group. They prefer to spend on armaments because that means huge profits for the Morgans and the Du Ponts and all their tribe. They prefer to spend on armaments because that means more power in the imperialistic struggle for the redivision of the world. They prefer to spend on armaments because that means militarizing our people and making easier the stifling of discontent.

The reactionary interests prefer government spending on armaments, while they oppose spend on homes, because militarism at war create an authoritarianism that today breeds fascism, because a program of rearmament calls in to being the conditions and the mood for the development of an American fascism sworn to protect capital and enslave labor.

Labor wants none of that devil's brew! Labor is unalterably opposed to government spending on armaments and war.

The forces driving toward war are multiplying. They will be strengthened by a depressed prosperity in which levels of economic activity are low. That will create an economic drive for rearmament. The only immediate alternative is subsidized low-cost housing.

An all-embracing struggle against war is necessary. That struggle is being betrayed by an incitement of peace sentiment in favor of war—and imperialism. To depend upon capitalist governments to insure peace means to make war. Those governments follow only their own reactionary interests, as is fully proven by their behavior in Spain and China.

England and France are now preparing a new and final betrayal of the Spanish workers and peasants.

We can depend upon no other force than labor to fight war. That fight must be linked to the concrete needs and struggles of the working class. The demand for a large-scale government program of subsidized low-cost housing is an economic form of struggle against war, capable of being broadened into a general class-political struggle against war and capitalism, for socialism.

Homes and jobs for workers! Upon that basis labor must struggle for a greater prosperity and a greater share in prosperity, must struggle against rearmament and war. Labor demands that our economic resources be used for the constructive purposes of peace and not for the destructive purposes of war. Build homes and not cannon!

A.L.P. Can Stand On Its Own Feet

(Continued from Page 1)

Just 99,972 votes were polled, amounting to 18% of the total in that borough. The A.L.P. did not achieve first place in any of the Manhattan assembly districts and consequently did not elect anyone to the State Assembly there. The A.L.P. is the second largest party in the 1st, 4th and 8th Assembly Districts, which cover the whole lower end of Manhattan, including the slums of the lower East Side where the poorest sections of the workers live. The poor showing of the A.L.P. in Manhattan, compared with Bronx and Brooklyn, is probably the result of lack of proper organization and lack of trade-union leadership in the branches.

In Brooklyn, the A.L.P. got 199,822 votes, or 22% of the total, and proved to be the biggest party in five assembly districts. In three of these districts, A.L.P. assemblymen were elected; in one, the A.L.P. candidate ran behind the ticket and was defeated and, in the other, the A.L.P. did not put a candidate into the field. The story behind this last district, the 18th, has an important lesson for the party. The leadership of the A.L.P. involved in so many "deals," bargained away the right of the branch in the 18th Assembly District to run a candidate against Irwin Steingut, the Democratic minority leader in the Assembly. As a result, Steingut was elected practically without opposition and the A.L.P. was done out of another assemblyman. In that district, the A.L.P. got 28,155 votes, leading the Democrats by 5,000. Such a margin was a sure guarantee of victory for an A.L.P. candidate

and the defeat of Steingut at the hands of the A.L.P. would have done more than anything else to enhance the prestige of the party. There is evidence now that the lesson has been learned and such obviously unprofitable deals will not be repeated. In only one of the districts of Brooklyn, where an A.L.P. assemblyman was elected, were Fusion votes really needed. In the others, as was the case in the Bronx, the A.L.P. was strong enough to elect its man alone.

It is clear now that the American Labor Party is in a good position to elect some labor Congressmen in the 1938 campaign if only it does not tie its hands by making deals, in this case, with the Democrats. The letter that was sent to Roosevelt, reassuring him that the A.L.P. was not in a permanent alliance with the Republicans, is in itself not reassuring. The municipal election campaign, in which the A.L.P. made such a fine showing, proves that the party is strong enough and has a working-class following broad enough to be able to stand on its own feet and carry on real independent working class politics in the next campaign.

MEMORANDUM for You & You & You

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