

## Labor and Spending

By Lyman Fraser

**B**BUSINESS is waging war on the government spending more public money for relief.

Business is asking the government to spend more public money to help those corporations which need financial assistance to survive.

No, there is no contradiction. Business is not opposed to government spending if the money is spent directly to help business; it opposes only the spending that directly helps the unemployed.

Labor must call the bluff of business. Labor must demand that government spend more—as much as is necessary to prevent hunger and distress.

Business stoops to all sorts of tricks in its campaign against relief. Thus, the United States Chamber of Commerce opposes adoption by Congress of the new relief program because, it insists, government spending cannot end the depression and only private business enterprise can end it.

But private business enterprise got us into the depression, which now for eight years has been multiplying poverty and misery. And private business enterprise has been unable to get us out of that depression.

Capitalist apologists argue that government spending has not ended the depression. That is true—partly. But the recovery movement that started in 1933, unlike the recovery in previous depressions, began in the consumption-goods industries and was the direct result of the government creating purchasing power by spending on relief. When net government spending was cut down practically to zero in the last six months of 1937, recovery went into a tailspin and crashed into a new recession, which has now become a real depression.

But the theory behind government spending was in itself only partly right. It was right in recognizing that, in this depression, an extra-economic force was necessary to start recovery. But it was wrong in assuming that, once business was stimulated by government spending, industry would move still further upward of its own momentum and spending could stop. The answer to the theory was the new recession.

For a fundamental economic change has taken place. Capitalism is declining as its capacity for expansion is limited and investment and profit opportunities steadily diminish. Hence an extra-economic force is necessary to make up for declining capital expansion, and, under capitalism, that means government spending. And, since the crisis is permanent, a permanent program of spending is indicated.

But labor must demand that government spending cease being mere relief. It must cease being mere haphazard spending in the nature of occasional shots in the arm. Labor must demand that government spending base itself on a comprehensive program of economic and social betterment—spending not only to provide work but, in addition to work under union conditions, spending on homes and other improvements that will raise mass standards of living.

Such a program will strengthen labor, strike hard blows at reaction and add to our social wealth.

And, if reaction opposes the program, then labor will recognize that the struggle must go beyond capitalism—that, if economic and social betterment cannot be realized under capitalism, it can and will be realized under socialism.

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 19.

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1938.

5c a Copy

## LaFollettes In New Party

### Brands The Old Parties As Bankrupt; Labor Attitude Vital

Speaking at Madison before a crowd of 5,000 including many political visitors from other states, Governor Philip LaFollette, in his own name and that of his brother, Senator Robert M. LaFollette, last week called for a new political alignment in this country and the formation of the National Progressives of America, the starting point for a new party in the 1940 elections.

This decisive step came as the culmination of sharp and, in the last few weeks, loudly voiced dissatisfaction on the part of the LaFollettes with the growing conservatism of the Administration policy in the present depression. Special criticism has been directed against the President's thoro'ly inadequate "spending" program and the whole philosophy of restriction of production ("economy of scarcity") on which the New Deal is based.

As proclaimed at the Madison rally last week, the basic platform of the Progressives includes the public ownership and control of money and credit; the "right to work"; "modernization of government" while guarding against "dictatorial abuse"; security founded on "a definite, decent annual income for all"; and opposition to "coddling" or "spoon-feeding" the American people." In its form and essence the platform is a modernized version of classical American populism. It is expected that a de-

(Continued on Page 2)

## Roosevelt Woos Business; Wage Bill Is In Danger

### Southern Democrats Plan to Block Measure Urged by House Committee

A heavy blow was dealt to the prospects of wage-hour legislation in Congress this session by the action of the House Rules Committee in refusing, by a vote of 8 to 6, to "grant a rule" to the new bill recently recommended by the House Labor Committee. In the House procedure, the "granting of a rule" by the Rules Committee is the usual way of bringing a bill of this kind to the floor of the House for consideration and a vote.

The action of the Rules Committee to kill the wage-hour bill, which is an Administration measure, was made possible by a coalition on the committee of five reactionary Southern Democrats with three Republicans, thus forming a new majority.

There is now only one recourse left for the supporters of wage-hour legislation in Congress—to get a discharge petition signed by 218 members of the House, which will force the bill on the floor for consideration. Signatures are already being collected but the determination of House leaders to adjourn Congress by June 1 makes it doubtful whether even this plan will prove successful.

The new wage-hour bill, as recommended by the House Labor Committee, provides that industries in interstate commerce shall begin paying employees not less than 25

cents an hour and that this wage rate shall be stepped up 5 cents each year until, at the end of three years, the minimum of 40 cents is reached. Maximum hours are to start at 44 a week, to be stepped down two a year until the 40-hour week is reached. Except for certain stated exemptions, the Secretary of Labor would decide what constituted industries in interstate commerce. Geographical differentials are not mentioned and are therefore excluded. The employment of children under 16 is to be barred and that of young people between 16 and 18 in hazardous occupations is to be regulated. Enforcement is to be thru the federal courts.

Despite its many shortcomings, especially the low standards provided for and the ineffective method of enforcement thru the federal courts, the new wage-hour bill is being backed by both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., the first time that these two organizations have united in supporting such legislation. It is regarded as of vital importance that the principle of wage-hour legislation be recognized by Congress without delay thru the enactment of the present bill, which could be improved thru amendment in the future.

But the wage-hour bill is again in great danger, a danger especially aggravated by the reactionary revolt in Congress against the Administration. Only one thing can save the bill at the present time and that is prompt action by labor. The House leaders must be deluged with telegrams and resolutions of trade unions and other labor organizations protesting against the brazen obstructionism of the Rules Committee and demanding that action be taken on the wage-hour bill immediately.

### N.L.R.B. To Review Ford, Steel Cases

The National Labor Relations Board has taken steps to reopen the Ford case for further inquiry and is "seriously considering" rescinding its orders against the Republic Steel Corp., it was learned last week. This sudden and unexpected step was taken, it was presumed, because the board was disturbed by the recent Supreme Court ruling in the Kansas City stockyards case in which an administrative order of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace was thrown out as "fatally defective" because of Mr. Wallace's "improper" procedure in accepting as his own the findings of the "active prosecutors of the government" without giving the packers the right of a "full and

### 16 Tycoons Give Promise of Aid

The revived effort on the part of the Administration to woo big-business support in meeting the depression, already noticeable in the tone of the President's latest "fire-side" address, brought forth last week a declaration of sixteen top-flight business and financial leaders pledging the "fullest cooperation" with the government in "bringing about recovery." The next day the President had a two-hour conference with Henry Ford on the same subject.

The signers of the declaration of "cooperation" include such figures as Owen D. Young of General Electric, Winthrop Aldrich of Chase National Bank, Alfred L. Aiken of New York Life Insurance, R. H. Cabell of Armour and Co., and S. G. McAllister of international Harvester; together they represent billions in investment and employing power thruout the country. John W. Hanes, newly-appointed member of the S. E. C., was instrumental in drafting the document and getting the business men together to sign it.

The statement of the capitalist leaders is vigorous in its defense of big business, somewhat critical by implication of New Deal policies and open in its approval of the recent reactionary swing in Congress. The pledge of "cooperation" with the Administration is rather vague and indefinite, yet it is being hailed by Administration spokesmen as a great achievement.

No report of the President's conference with Henry Ford has yet been made public but it is believed to have been attended with very little success.

Roosevelt's sudden turn to leaders of big business, including some of the most notorious enemies of past New Deal legislation, for support and cooperation in this critical election year, probably heralds an effort on the part of the Administration to adapt itself to the recent marked shift to the right in Congress and in the Democratic party generally. It means that labor can expect very little of the Congress and the President in the coming months, even in the way of enacting those legislative measures to which the Administration stands committed in its pledges.

fair hearing" in the proceedings. By reopening the Ford and Republic Steel cases, the N.L.R.B. apparently hopes to bring its procedure into line with the requirements laid down by the Supreme Court in the Kansas City case, thus averting the danger of an unfavorable decision by the high court on appeal.

All signs point to a very significant modification in procedure on the part of the N.L.R.B. distinctly unfavorable to labor. It is even possible that the board may make important changes in its findings and decisions in the Ford and Republic steel cases as a concession to growing reactionary pressure.

## C.P. BACKS KELLY MAN IN ILLINOIS PRIMARY

Chicago, Ill. The primaries here in Chicago took place on April 12 and proved of considerable political interest.

The main event was, of course, in the Democratic party, since there was very little doing in the Republican camp. The Democratic machine was split as usual—on the one side, the Kelly-Nash machine, centered at Chicago (of which Kelly is mayor) and, on the other, the down-state machine of Governor Horner. For the United States Senate, the former put up Michael I. Igoe, federal district attorney; the latter nominated Scott Lucas. The Kelly-Nash clique also started out to get rid of County Judge Jarecki, against whom they nominated another Pole, Prystalski. In this case, it was mostly a question of controlling the election machinery.

Between the two sides, there was nothing to choose: both simply corrupt patronage machines with disgraceful records. The Kelly-Nash people claimed to be the special champions of the New Deal and of the President himself, but who

could forget the Memorial Day massacre last year for which Mayor Kelly's police were directly responsible? It was a typical scramble for jobs and spoils, without a hair's-breadth of difference in principle or policy between them!

Following a thoro'ly misguided policy, Labor's Non-Partisan League of Illinois decided to inject itself in the Democratic primaries. They supported Igoe as a "friend of labor" despite the fact that he was a Kelly-Nash man; they also supported Jarecki. The Illinois Labor Party, to which most of the progressive unions, especially of Chicago, are affiliated, did not fall into this trap. It refused to take responsibility for or support either machine.

Then came the Communist Party. Where Labor's Non-Partisan League took only a few hesitating steps, the Stalinites went the whole hog. They began to boost Igoe, Jarecki and a whole bunch of other "progressives" in their usual reckless manner. Yes, they came out in

(Continued on Page 2)

Steinway Hall  
113 W. 57 Street  
New York City

**JAY LOVESTONE**  
"In the Heart of Europe"

Sat., May 7  
8:15 P. M.  
Admission 50c

ALL PROCEEDS TO AUSTRIAN WORKERS SOLIDARITY FUND!

Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

Quarterly Miscellany

HAVING passed its fourteenth issue, this column will utilize this week's space in catching up on some items which have served to substantiate a few of its conjectures. Our drums have been beating the monotone of growing New Deal conservatism on the road to reaction, but we are still amazed at the facility with which it's done. Take the question of cheap power, for example, T.V.A. is supposed to be carrying on terrific battle against the "private interests." Chairman Morgan is ousted, without specific charge of sabotage of this policy but with enough hints, repeated with additions by the White House columnar spokesmen, to amount to such a charge. Yet, a few days after Roosevelt has ousted him, before Congressional investigation, and in Congressional denial of legislative jurisdiction over the project, the White House, thru such people as Jay Franklin and others, lets it be known that maybe Morgan is really an idealist, too honest to handle these practical affairs, so honest as to be suspicious of anything at all out of the way. The Administration then has nothing more to say about the investigation of T.V.A., but shows its hand nevertheless. The New York Times of April 21 reports: "Roosevelt Wants to Aid Utilities by R.F.C. Spur to Equipment Buying." Pardon us, but we thought the policy was to eliminate the private utilities thru "seven little T.V.A.s" and more to come, not to finance them to greater activity. Writing in the same paper, Russell B. Porter shows some of positive achievements of T.V.A. in lowering power costs but also indicates the turn away from this "social goal" of the New Deal, by ending his series on the note of the military character of T.V.A. The army is moving into the valley, which is one of the best "natural" munitions sites in the East. At the same time that the New Deal considers pouring money into the private utilities industry (under the category of loans to "little business") and into railroads, word comes that its anti-monopoly "drive" is to be resumed. The brazen audacity of this two-faced policy is only matched by its political chicanery: everybody knows that the approaching elections in the midst of the depression make trust-busting the winning horse to ride—or, at least so Roosevelt thinks. It gives the appearance of being in line with traditional American "progressivism," and covers up the actual aid to monopoly extended by the Administration. No real regulatory legislation against such gigantic organizations as U. S. Steel, General Motors or Standard Oil is contemplated—on the contrary, with them is desired "cooperation," to them is granted gunboat convoys in the Far East. Even if "anti-monopoly" action is taken, it will probably eventuate in strengthening the master trusts or in aiding some of the big boys in reducing over-capitalization and capital charges without going into bankruptcy. In the sphere of housing, the government, not content with hav-

Martin Hits New Manouever Of Factionalists in U.A.W.

A strong statement denouncing efforts to perpetuate factionalism in the United Automobile Workers under guise of a "faction to end all factions," was issued last week by Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W. This statement, which throws international light on the internal situation in the great C.I.O. union, follows in full: "The administration of the United Automobile Workers of America does not speak for any faction in the union. The administration speaks for the union itself and represents the will of the majority of the members of the organization. Those who support the union policies and leadership are not a faction. The leadership of the union was elected at the last convention by a decisive majority of the delegates to serve as the governing body until the next convention. "There is always room for legitimate differences of opinion in our organization, as in any democratic organization, but, when opposition on the basis of issues degenerates into opposition for its own sake, no union can tolerate continuance and must take such measures as are necessary to preserve the organization and maintain its integrity. This has been the policy and the experience of the United Mine Workers of America and other established C.I.O. unions and we intend to pursue this course. "Certain forces within the union have failed in their frontal attack against the leadership of the U.A.W. and are now seeking to enter the rear door disguised as a 'faction to end factionalism.' The U.A.W. knows that such obvious deception will not gain support among the rank and file of the organization in the face of growing opposition to factionalism within the union. The union has not delegated to any individual member the task of laying down the policy for governing the internal affairs of the organization. This important task is a legitimate function of the International Executive Board thru policies laid down by it and executed thru the administrative officers of the International Union. It does not and cannot assume responsibility for any statements in regard to the U.A.W. not issued thru the official channels of the organization. "Thru continued application of constructive policies, the leadership of the union will secure the united support of all sincere and loyal members of the organization. The U.A.W. condemns this latest desperate move to apply the 'Trojan horse' tactic to mend the shattered support of chronic oppositionists within the union." (See report on page 6—Editor.)

Save the POUM!

April 22, 1938. Premier Negrin Barcelona, Spain Independent Communist Labor League, staunch supporter of Spanish anti-fascist struggle, again appeals to you to end the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and other revolutionary workers groups. Alarming news of new showings of revolutionary anti-fascists at the front and of continued imprisonments. Urge immediate amnesty in the interest of united effective resistance to the fascists. Jay Lovestone, secretary.

CP Supports Kelly Clique

(Continued from Page 1) support of Igoe, the candidate of the Kelly-Nash machine, which has the blood of six workers on its hands, the victims of the Memorial Day massacre last year! For them, Lucas was the arch-enemy, not only because he was Igoe's rival but also because he was—oh, horrors!—an "isolationist" and a supporter of the Ludlow Amendment. Here is what the Stalinist Midwest Daily Record wrote on April 9: "If you are for President Roosevelt's progressive policies, you will vote for Michael L. Igoe. If you are against the progressive features of the Roosevelt program, you will vote for Scott Lucas." The Stalinites got to work lining up organizations for Igoe and Kelly-Nash. The attempt failed in the Illinois Workers Alliance because the Alliance is affiliated with the Illinois Labor Party. The same was true of other organizations as well. Well, when the primaries were over, it was found that the Horner machine had come out on top by a rather small margin. Lucas, Jarecki and others on the slate were nominated as regular Democratic candidates. But the Kelly-Nash machine is not yet thru by any means. As a matter of fact, the two machines will probably get together very soon and present a united front in the elections. Then, when Election Day comes around, we will probably find the Stalinites rallying behind the Democratic ticket, the "reactionary," Lucas, and all, in "defense of democracy" and out of loyalty to the President. L. R.

Stalin Explains Himself

IN the February 1934. Thus, four years and two months have elapsed since the last party congress, which is a clear violation of the amended party constitution. "During that period, the Soviet state has admittedly become a one-man dictatorship. Within the past year, since Stalin was finally able to rid himself of the crafty, powerful and unprincipled Henry Yagoda—former secret police chief, who was shot last month along with men whom he insulted by his very presence in the prisoners dock—there has been no power but Stalin. He alone decides the party line, and woe to him who strays from it. Who Rules Russia? "As well as any foreigners here can see the situation now thru the smoke-screen that the regime is able to throw over its activities, only three or four men have any real say as to what goes on in Soviet Russia." Mr. Denny then proceeds to list these "three or four men." First is, of course, Stalin himself, "who rules more absolutely than any Czar who ever wore the crown of Muscovy." Second is N. I. Yezhov, head of the political police; "he wields a power over the people unimaginable in any democratic country." Third is Lazar M. Kaganovich. And fourth Mr. Denny lists Marshal K. E. Voroshilov, of whom he has the following to say: "In the opinion of many well-informed quarters, his star is setting, although there are many indications that he still enjoys Stalin's favor. But, when almost a year ago the system of political commissars in the military districts was installed in full force and then eight of the Red Army's foremost generals were executed as spies, the opinion grew among foreign military observers that the political police under M. Yezhov had taken control of the Red Army (and Navy) and that Stalin would therefore control them also thru his faithful supporter, M. Yezhov. "So, by the process which began with the expulsion of the Trotskyists and which was extended to all other oppositionists thru the period that saw the liquidation of the Old Bolsheviks three years ago and the degradation and execution of most of the old communist leaders within the last two years," Mr. Denny continues, "Stalin has gradually substituted rule by the political police—inheritors of the tradition of the Czarist Cheka (Okhrana?),—for rule by the Communist Party. "But that, even for a man as strong as Stalin, is not enough, even taking into consideration the invaluable power, thru its ramifications, of the political police. Every indication is that Stalin wishes to place his rule over the country on a stronger and wider basis. "This basis in the old Communist Party fell from under him. Those famous communists of Lenin's time wished to be rid of him, if not to destroy him physically. So he destroyed them. But Stalin is no mere Czar (tho much more than any Czar ever was) wishing to rule by force alone. "There are innumerable indications that Stalin wishes the sentiment of the people to be behind him. He and his adjutants have done everything imaginable to 'sell him' to the country. "Anyone at all aware of the conditions under which foreign correspondents operate in the Soviet Union, anyone at all acquainted with the "peculiar" relations existing between the Stalin regime and the New York Times's correspondents, Messrs. Duranty and Denny, will immediately recognize Denny's dispatch to be in the nature of an inspired semi-official report. What Denny says, it is safe to presume, is not disagreeable to Stalin; on the contrary, what Denny writes is, in substance, what Stalin would have foreign public opinion believe. In passing, it may be noted that, "So, by the process which began

LA FOLLETES FORM NEW THIRD PARTY

(Continued from Page 1) tailed program will soon be forthcoming. How extensive the connections of the new party may be, is not yet clear. Close contact with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party is reported. A. A. Berle, representing Mayor LaGuardia and probably acting as an observer for the American Labor Party of New York, was also present. It is impossible thus early to forecast the future of the movement initiated by the LaFollettes. A great deal will depend on the attitude that will be adopted by Labor's Non-Partisan League and its affiliated labor-political groups. bourgeois public opinion. The "opinion" of the membership of the official communist movement Stalin can manage otherwise; the opinion of the socialist and labor movements is now again at a discount in the Kremlin. From this angle, the Denny dispatch acquires special significance. What does Stalin want foreign public opinion to believe about the (Continued on Page 6)

Who Is Preparing For War and Why

vert our democracy into virtual fascism in time of war. The latest of this is the May Bill, sponsored by Congressman May of Kentucky, which has already been approved by the House military-affairs committee. This bill provides essentially for a universal draft of labor and industry in war-time. It grants extremely broad powers to the President over our entire national life. We need to remember this: if we fight in the name of "democracy" abroad, we will get fascism, or something very close to it, at home. Along with all this has gone a select group of "incidents" during the past few months. Recently a spy scare, apparently involving Germany, made the headlines for a few days. An American school teacher was slapped by a Japanese soldier in Shanghai. The authentic tragedy of the Panay was exploited for war-like purposes. Other incidents of a similar nature might be mentioned. When all of these things are pieced together, we get an inkling of the menace to peace, even in geographically isolated America. Why Nations Fight The professed aims of a nation at war are rarely its real aims. Nations say they fight for democracy, or to defend their homeland, or to spread their own culture to less enlightened peoples, or to save the world from communism (or fascism). They fight, in a word, in terms of ideals, and the ideals are largely myths. For modern war grows basically out of conflicts of rival imperialisms. Nations fight for raw materials or for markets or to salvage investments. The historians of the World War have revealed very clearly that these factors were at the bottom of that great conflict. It has been pretty well decided now that there is no way to allocate the "war guilt" for the last war. All of the belligerents were guilty. Underlying the noble purposes for which we thought we went to battle were more commonplace realities: our industry and finance, thru war trade and credits, were tied up with the Allied cause. These are matters of common knowledge but it is necessary constantly to reemphasize them. The next world war, if it comes, will also develop out of the national rivalries of capitalist enterprise. We may not find this out until after the war is over, unless we keep firmly in mind the real factors that propel us toward conflict. If we do this, perhaps we can see beneath the myths in time. For without the myths—"democracy" or race or superior culture—most men will not fight. Men fight for abstract ideals not to recover abroad the investments of other men. Who Wants War? Plainly the masses of the people have nothing to gain from war. Even in the case of an overpopulated country such as Japan, as Professor Vinacke showed in his article in the Railway Clerk last month, the masses can expect little improvement in their lot in the event of a victory over China. Workers and farmers pay for war with their lives and with reduced volume of goods and services they have to consume. (Think, for example, of how many slums could be cleared with the billion dollars we may spend in building additions to our navy.) Few people care to say in so many words that they want war. But many special groups do gain from war and from war preparations—at the expense of the underlying population. Armament (Continued on Page 6)

Youth Against War

By N. COLEMAN and E. CARROLL

THE fifth annual student strike against war took place on Wednesday, April 27, at 11 A. M. For the first time since the inception of these demonstrations, there appeared a split in the student movement. The conflict was between the Stalinist-dominated American Students Union, whose policy is "collective security," and the students who favor the Oxford Pledge, believing that only by allying themselves with the progressive labor movement can they fight imperialist war. This split was especially marked in New York City where two demonstrations took place on most campuses. The conflict was particularly sharp at C.C.N.Y. After protracted negotiations for unity, the Student Anti-War Committee, a coalition of anti-"collective security" clubs on the campus, found it necessary to hold its own demonstration when its proposal of the slogan, "Withdraw American troops from China!" and other anti-imperialist slogans, was rejected by the Stalinist-dominated committee. Thomas and others addressed similar meetings of Columbia, Hunter and Brooklyn college students.

Problems of A.L.P. Setup

By M. S. MAUTNER

IN New York State, the problems facing the movement for independent labor politics appear on a far higher and more complicated level and hence offer a more complete picture of certain of the contradictions involved in labor politics under capitalism than is to be obtained in other centers of Labor Non-Partisan League activity. What the American Labor Party faces today is a problem that will face labor in politics everywhere in the future: the relationship of the trade unions (which give fundamental significance to a labor party) and the traditional forms of American politics.

Two Faces Of Labor Party

In actual political fact, no important policy can be formulated or carried out by the American Labor Party against the will of the trade unions who unite to form that party. Its leadership is the leadership of the trade unions; its constituents include direct representation of 50% to the unions as such, while the representatives of the assembly district clubs contain enough trade unionists to give, statistically, preponderant weight to this element in the party. But, in American political life, a party appears in public not merely by virtue of its state or city program or of its top leadership. The structure of a political machine is primarily shaped to the needs of vote-getting, and is consequently, organized along the lines of the geographical electoral districts. Now, it is not merely understandable but necessary that the American Labor Party should follow this structural pattern. It is primarily a labor party but it seeks to give concrete expression to the leadership of labor among all sections of the population. Were it to limit its apparatus merely to the trade unions, it would automatically exclude from the range of its appeal unemployed workers, unorganized workers, the small storekeepers and tradesmen so numerous in New York, professionals, upstate farmers, and the like. In this situation, however, there exists the danger that the labor party will not merely shape itself to the requirements of the moment but will become warped to them by its local "friends." For, it is clear, to those vast masses whom the labor party seeks to reach and bring under its influence, the party appears thru its assembly-district clubs. To the new recruits to the American Labor Party, the local "face" is most decisive—and too often that is Stalinized, for the Stalinites naturally find it much easier to worm their way into the assembly-district clubs than into the trade-union representation of the party. What does this portend in practice? Generally, agitation along lines which can only lead to its destruction, that is, along the lines of the People's Front, which is the exact opposite of independent labor politics. Constant conniving and maneuvering to spread Stalinist propaganda for war. True, in many areas, the local leadership of trade-union character is quite competent to handle these situations even tho it requires 24-hour a day vigilance—but where there is no such leadership? The result can only be an unevenness of agitation which can frequently result in the party appearing to be divided against itself.

How Labor Faced Hitler's Invasion

By JAY LOVESTONE

HOW did Hitler manage to accomplish the invasion of Austria so easily, something that only six or seven months before no one in Europe had thought he would even dare to attempt? Chamberlain, the British prime minister, opened the door and Stalin paved the way. As a matter of fact, Hitler broke in thru an open door. Schuschnigg had really no popular support in the country. He himself was but the representative of a certain brand of fascism—clerical-fascism which, differing from the Hitler type, was thoroughly fascist nevertheless. Thruout, Schuschnigg depended upon the Catholic Church, and to do this nowadays one must be deaf, dumb and blind. among the representatives of the democratic and radical organizations. Very significant was the position taken by the Stalinist communists. The Stalinites came out for Schuschnigg without any question or reservation. Their motto was "Red, White, Red—with Schuschnigg till death." They made no demands and asked for no concessions to organized labor. The Revolutionary Socialists and the trade unionists, on the other hand, demanded definite concessions to the labor movement. They took the attitude that, if Schuschnigg wanted the workers to vote "Yes" in the referendum, he would have to promise to loosen up his own dictatorship. Concretely, the demands were: 1. free elections in the unions; 2. the right to wear their insignia and to carry their own banners and flags; 3. freedom for the press; and 4. the reestablishment of the rights of the workers.

Schuschnigg's Dilemma

As the situation became desperate, Schuschnigg began to realize that he could no longer rely on the Church for protection. It certainly was not unknown to him—I noticed it myself—that two weeks before Hitler's entry in Vienna, young Catholic priests and Catholic students could be seen parading along with Nazi elements thru the streets of Vienna. In the plebiscite he was planning, the Nazis, being very well organized, seemed likely to win at least 30% of the votes, if not more. Without any strong forces behind him, he felt himself compelled to turn to the workers and try to mobilize their support. At best, he could hardly expect to get more than 75% of the vote. In an ordinary party election contest, this would be considered a pretty good majority but, in a totalitarian plebiscite, such an outcome would hardly be a great triumph. This is why Schuschnigg was so anxious to win the support of the broad masses of the people, at least during the emergency. He therefore finally decided to turn to the labor leaders. I participated in the deliberations of the workers deputies to formulate a policy in dealing with Schuschnigg. The Revolutionary Socialist Party, affiliated with the Socialist International, a very strong left organization, worked hand in hand with our comrades. At the conference with Schuschnigg, it appeared that there was considerable difference of opinion (Continued on Page 5)

Primaries And Labor

One of the great "progressive" reforms that resulted from the populist upheavals at the beginning of the century, was the inauguration of primaries. For a while, this institution served its (Continued on Page 5)

A YEAR SUB TO WORKERS AGE 6 MOS. 60¢ subscribe now!

WORKERS AGE

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

Vol. 7. May 7, 1938. No. 19.

LIFT THE EMBARGO!

In their heroic effort to escape the fascist yoke, the Spanish people find themselves virtually paralyzed by obstacles of two sorts.

There is very little we can do to bring about a change in the domestic policy of the Loyalist regime, aside from political criticism and full support to the revolutionary organizations of the Spanish working class.

If ever there was need for prompt and decisive action on the part of labor and all progressive sections of the American people, now is the time—

We must demand the immediate lifting of the embargo and must develop sufficient mass pressure on the Administration to make that demand effective.

But, if the movement for the lifting of the embargo is to mean anything at all, it must avoid any connection with the agitation for the so-called O'Connell "peace" bill.

WHY I BROKE WITH THE FRENCH C.P.

By CHARLES RAPPAPORT

(Below are sections of the declaration of Charles Rappaport, world-famous revolutionary veteran and communist writer, on the occasion of his resignation from the Communist Party of France recently.)

In answer to the question, why I have left the Communist Party, I would like to say that, speaking frankly, there are two inaccuracies to this question.

Instead of an independent communist party, there exists in France—at 120 Rue Lafayette—a bureau which registers orders from Stalin and his henchman, Dimitrov.

I Knew The Accused. Many of the accused who figured in the last Moscow trials I have known for a long period of time.

Regardless of the fact that the methods of these revolutionaries did not always meet with my approval, I always regarded them with the greatest respect.

In the first place, their pretended confessions stand opposed to a series of well-established facts; they are full of invented trips, non-existent hotels, imaginary conversations, and so forth.

Such confessions are made only under the stress of moral torture to which the accused were subjected: fear for their own loved ones, hope of saving themselves and the possibility of continuing revolutionary activity.

No serious-minded person, capable of cool and normal reasoning, can possibly believe in the sincerity of these confessions.

Let us act and act promptly! Let us demand of the Administration and Congress to lift the embargo against Loyalist Spain without a moment's delay!

the peculiar psychology of the old Russian revolutionists. The Russian revolutionist was brave and uncompromising when his opponent was Czarism or capitalism.

When the 15th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (1927) expelled Trotsky, Kamenev and Rakovsky, I personally advised my friend Kamenev to go through the necessary formalities and ritual of "penance."

A Fightful Situation

The latest Moscow murders point to a fightful situation. Secret agents and informers have become the masters of life.

Articles 125 and 130 of the widely heralded "Stalinist Constitution" guarantee freedom of speech, assembly and so forth.

Yes, Stalin may well be proud. He has shown by the example of one sixth of the earth, that socialism without freedom leads to the most revolting slavery—complete slavery which permeates all fields, political, economic, and moral.

Under the old Czarist regime, the country was poor and ignorant. The revolution, born of the debacle of the war, bears the traces of the war, which cannot be erased so easily.

No, the cause of the Spanish people is not served by agitating for the dangerous O'Connell bill or by vociferously calling for the support of the Administration's foreign policy, as the Stalinists do upon every possible occasion.

These truths are clear enough and are understood by many communists and sympathizers. Yet they are silent. Why? For the very reason that Noah's sons covered the nakedness of their father.

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Hitler Prepares For Conquest Of Czechoslovakia As Crisis Grows

London, April 2, 1938.

At the present time, there are about 200,000 German troops deployed in Austria. That is certainly too large a number for Austria alone, whose regular army amounted to only 30,000 men.

The Czech bourgeoisie is retreating in the face of increased pressure from Hitler Germany. The government has been broadened to the right by the inclusion of the national fascist party of Kramer.

Articles 125 and 130 of the widely heralded "Stalinist Constitution" guarantee freedom of speech, assembly and so forth.

The position of the thousands of anti-fascist refugees in Czechoslovakia is disastrous. The Prime Minister declared, during a meeting with representatives of the German and Czech social-democrats, that every German refugee was a "hindrance" to "friendly" relations with Germany.

What of the international situation of Czechoslovakia? The key is England. There is no doubt that the present Tory government will not give any protection to Czechoslovakia in case of attack by Germany.

It is impossible to forecast whether Nazi Germany intends to "free" Czechoslovakia now that it has "freed" Austria but the fact that, immediately after the annexation of Austria, a campaign of intimidation of Czechoslovakia began, shows that we must be prepared for anything.

These truths are clear enough and are understood by many communists and sympathizers. Yet they are silent. Why? For the very reason that Noah's sons covered the nakedness of their father.

Labor Notes and Facts

Trend of the N.L.R.B. Decisions

FIGURES of the results of employee elections under the Wagner Act during the first quarter of 1938 in comparison with previous periods, have just been released and point to many interesting features.

The record shows that, for the first quarter of 1938, "independent" unions participated in only 35 contests, winning 22 and polling 8,912 votes.

Results of Labor Board elections during the first quarter of 1938, show that the C.I.O. unions, always the heaviest winners, increased their percentage of victories despite a slightly increased

Table with columns: Industry, No. of elections, C. I. O. victories, A. F. L. victories, "Independent" victories, All unions rejected.

Table with columns: Union, % cases participated, % elections won, % votes polled.

Unions were rejected in 21% of the elections. Votes against all unions totaled 20%.

Table with columns: Industry, No. of elections, C. I. O. victories, A. F. L. victories, "Independent" victories, All unions rejected.

Unions were rejected in 20% of the cases. Votes against all unions were 20%.

Table with columns: Industry, No. of elections, C. I. O. victories, A. F. L. victories, "Independent" victories, All unions rejected.

Unions were rejected in 9% of the total, with 11% of the total number of votes cast against unions.

ZIMMERWALD-1915

KIENTHAL-1916

PARIS-1938

"New Hope for World Socialism"

RESOLUTIONS

of the International Revolutionary Socialist Conference at Paris

in a 25c pamphlet Bundles of 10 or more, 20c per copy

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL BOOKSHOP 131 West 33rd Street New York City

Problems of A.L.P. Setup

(Continued from Page 3)

purpose of nominating anti-machine candidates in a number of cases, until these cases became the order of the day and were transformed into a new machine.

But the primaries in New York play a deceptive and dubious role today. They are really the entering wedge, at the present stage of development, for influences hostile to the labor-party movement.

To those two problems placed on the A.L.P.'s doorstep by the nature of American politics, there is a partial solution. In a long-range sense, they represent the basic difficulty confronting labor as it seeks to express its class interests politically.

What Can Be Done. What can be done at the present time is to mobilize the trade unions for far greater participation in the American Labor Party and its activities.

In the third of the stories, the Negro hero kills a white man for raping his wife, resists capture by a posse which fails to take him alive.

Why I Left the C.P. of France

(Continued from Page 4)

the Noah's mantle of the Stalinists is shot thru with holes.

The "friends" of the Soviet Union do not want to bring grist to the mill of the enemies of socialism and the Soviets. They do not see that it is Stalin himself who is bringing grist to the mill of the enemies of the Soviet Union.

Against this we must raise our voices in protest, in loud protest, wherever it is still possible to speak with freedom and independence.

BOOKS

UNCLE TOM'S CHILDREN, by Richard Wright. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1938.

USUALLY, stories dealing with the life of the American Negro fail to measure up to expectations. Only here and there is something written which is poignant, sharply defined and constructively rebellious.

In "Uncle Tom's Children," a volume of four "novellas," Richard Wright, a young Negro writer, does succeed in making a definite contribution by depicting increasing resistance of Negroes to oppression.

The four stories indicate a gradual development from the purely personal resentment of the Negro against injustice to his race to a crescendo of social consciousness. It is significant that, in the first three stories, the harassed characters are driven to desperate killings which lead to their own ultimate death and defeat, while, in the last, there is some mass action, a demonstration and victory.

The first story deals with a boyish prank, which because of race hatred results in three deaths and a gruesome lynching. This story, more than any of the others, shows the brutality of race hatred.

What Can Be Done. What can be done at the present time is to mobilize the trade unions for far greater participation in the American Labor Party and its activities.

In the third of the stories, the Negro hero kills a white man for raping his wife, resists capture by a posse which fails to take him alive.

A. F. of L. Sets Up Dual Mine Union

(Continued from Page 4)

The wide breach in the ranks of labor was greatly aggravated last week when the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in session at Washington, decided to set up the Progressive Miners of America as a rival to the United Mine Workers by granting it a charter to cover the entire mining field in the U. S. A. and Canada.

Against this we must raise our voices in protest, in loud protest, wherever it is still possible to speak with freedom and independence.

Labor and Schuschnigg

(Continued from Page 3)

inform their respective organizations on how to vote in the referendum. This, however, never came to pass. At 2:30 of the same day, Hitler's Reichswehr had already crossed the Austrian border and Saturday at 2:30 they entered Vienna.

On Friday at 5:30 P. M., I participated in an important labor meeting. When the meeting was over, everybody went home to listen to the broadcast on the forthcoming plebiscite. Upon reaching the street, we noticed a change in the atmosphere. The police were very weak and the Nazis had become arrogant, as if they were already the masters of Vienna.

The first story deals with a boyish prank, which because of race hatred results in three deaths and a gruesome lynching. This story, more than any of the others, shows the brutality of race hatred.

The first story deals with a boyish prank, which because of race hatred results in three deaths and a gruesome lynching. This story, more than any of the others, shows the brutality of race hatred.

The first story deals with a boyish prank, which because of race hatred results in three deaths and a gruesome lynching. This story, more than any of the others, shows the brutality of race hatred.

A. F. of L. Sets Up Dual Mine Union

The wide breach in the ranks of labor was greatly aggravated last week when the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., in session at Washington, decided to set up the Progressive Miners of America as a rival to the United Mine Workers by granting it a charter to cover the entire mining field in the U. S. A. and Canada.

This act of gross and arbitrary provocation on the part of the A. F. of L. officialdom is expected to lead to virtual civil war in many coal camps where P.M.A. organizers, financed by the A. F. of L., will try to destroy the U.M.W. locals and tear the miners away from Lewis's organization.

TORONTO, CANADA

JAY LOVESTONE

will speak

Friday, May 13, 8 p.m.

on

"CRISIS OVER EUROPE"

at

Labor Temple

167 Church Street

## Trade Union Notes

By Observer

ALL reports go to show that revolt is again brewing in Bill Hutcheson's private domain, the Brotherhood of Carpenters. The 1936 convention of the Brotherhood, largely hand-picked by Hutcheson himself, adopted, at his bidding, two amendments to the union constitution. The first provided that any member who "preaches, advocates or counsels . . . disorder, dissension or disobedience of authority at a local union or a district council meeting" may be brought to trial and expelled. The other was an anti-Red ban, specifying the Communist Party by name.

After their adoption by the convention, these proposals went to a referendum of the membership in the locals, supervised by a Hutcheson-picked committee of tellers. According to the report of this committee, the first amendment was carried by a vote of 34,154 and the second by a vote of 33,041, just the necessary two-thirds majority. But, comparing the tellers reports with the returns they had filed, a number of locals discovered that there was something plenty wrong: the votes they had registered against the amendments had been switched to the "yes" column! It is said that 185 locals were treated in this way. A conservative check-up showed that neither of the propositions received anywhere near the two-thirds majority necessary for ratification.

When confronted with a demand for a recount, Hutcheson declared that the election returns had been "destroyed"!

This is the union that is the backbone of the A. F. of L., which, according to President Green, is the champion of democracy in the labor movement against the "autocrats" of the C.I.O.!

### BEHIND CURRAN'S FLIP-FLOPS

From Jack Soderberg, we have received the following note that throws a great deal of light on

what's happening in the National Maritime Union here in New York:

"This Maritime Commission decision to revive the old Shipping Bureau Sea Service hiring halls isn't so hot. What happened was this. Curran had assured the Commission that the Communist Party wasn't king-pin in the union. He was asked to make that a little more definite and also public. Hence his spouting to the press disowning the boys and girls from 13th Street. Everything was O.K. and the thirty-eight government owned ships were now ready to hire out of the hall. In the meantime, however, the C.P. gentry put the screws on Curran and the result was the half-way retraction. Curran tried to burn the candle both ends—and missed. The Commission figured it had been double-crossed and now proposes not only to hire men at 45 Broadway in its own ships but also in those privately-owned ships that are receiving a subsidy thru the Commission. Like most people of Curran's calibre, when facing an emergency, he became panicky as usual and fell back completely into the arms of the Hudsons, Rays, Myers et al. This mess will continue until the 1939 convention when I am looking for a change in the leadership and for the union to be put back on a true course. In the meantime, the "ninety-nine years suspension club" is growing daily. Anyone raising his voice in opposition is suspended for ninety-nine years!"

## Who Is Driving to War?

(Continued from Page 3)

makers do, clearly. So do all those who provide materials essential to the conduct of war. So do those who wish to grab sources of raw materials abroad, or to gain favored positions in foreign markets, or want their investments protected. Some groups gain thru making loans to war-makers. Professional patriots have more to do in time of war and some people, who lead frustrated lives, like the sheer excitement. When armaments pile up, there is a strong temptation, on the part of those in control to make use of them before they become obsolete. All of these groups exert pressure on governmental administrations. And governmental administrations sometimes feel that they are playing, thru war-like actions, an important part in world affairs.

The most peculiar group playing the jingoist game in the United States at the present time is the Communist Party. In a recent article in the New Republic, Mr. Earl Browder, the leader of the party, called for the implementing of Mr. Roosevelt's quarantine policy—to save sunny California from the Japs. The communists now stand shoulder to shoulder with the admirals and the generals, the munition makers and the D.A.R. in favor of bigger and better armaments. Why do they do this? The answer is that communist policy in this country is subordinate to Russia's foreign policy, and Russia needs, or thinks she needs, allies among the democratic capitalist powers.

The free labor movements everywhere in the world are opposed to fascism and dictatorship. Labor

everywhere hates Hitler, Mussolini, the Japanese militarists and all they stand for. But we are not going to save the German or the Italian or the Japanese workers from dictatorship by going to war. If we attempt to do this, we shall be driving the nails in the coffin of our own democracy.

It seems to me that we should make clear to the administration in Washington that we do not want to join the mad armament race that grips the world. There is no need for us to join that race if our purpose is defense alone. We should, as citizens, make clear our resolute opposition to war-like foreign adventures and our adherence to a policy of genuine neutrality.

Above all, let us attack seriously the problems that face us at home—problems of unemployment, poverty, housing and many more. Our war upon these problems will keep us busy for a long time. Let us build an economic and social system in which air and sunshine, good food and decent housing, education and the opportunity for work, shall be the heritage of all. If, thru democracy, we can construct an economic system in which the average man can find security, dignity and freedom, then we shall make a contribution to democracy and peace in other parts of the world.

Let us do what we can to see that the resources of the world are not denied to peoples badly in need of them thru uneconomic restrictions on the movement of goods across national frontiers. Let us exert our considerable influence in the world for the reduction of armaments, rather than their in-

## Frankenstein's Statement Arouses UAW Resentment

By GEORGE F. MILES

Detroit, Mich.

RICHARD T. Frankenstein has become the center of sensational developments in the internal life of the United Automobile Workers as a result of his coming forward with own program recently. This program, not submitted to or discussed in progressive circles, aroused widespread resentment because some of the proposals, it was said, constitute a veiled attack on President Martin and his policies. The situation was further complicated by the fact that the Midwest Record (stooge for the Daily Worker and the Communist Party in the Middle West) immediately responded with fulsome praise for Mr. Frankenstein and his program.

### Stalinist Intrigue

In its issue of April 30, the Midwest Record places itself behind Mr. Frankenstein's stand in an article entitled "Frankenstein Asks Auto Union Unity." The Record insists that the Frankenstein program is an open break with the union administration. "The open break between Martin and Frankenstein," says the Record, "who formerly shared leadership of the 'progressive caucus,' is expected to come to a head with the next meeting of the International Executive Board, which is due to gather in early May." The Record resorts to factionalism even in its caption below the picture of Mr. Frankenstein. It refers to Frankenstein as "U.A.W. assistant president, who has issued a call to end factionalism in the auto union in order that its members unite to organize Ford's and to build Labor's Non-Partisan League. President Martin dissents."

This article and also the activity of the Stalinist wing of the former "unity" caucus, created the suspicion that the Communist Party had placed itself behind the program of Mr. Frankenstein and intended to utilize it for its own factional purposes. Supporters of the union leadership pointed to a striking resemblance between some of the proposals included in Mr. Frankenstein's program and those raised factionally by the Stalinists in the union. Even Frankenstein's appeal against the existence of factions, it is pointed out, is in line with the repeated cries for the "abolition of factions" by the Stalinists who are secure in the maintenance of their own caucus connections because of their party structure, network of stooge organizations, and totalitarian authority over their members.

Progressives also pointed out that the Midwest Record's eulogies of Mr. Frankenstein may become extremely embarrassing to Frankenstein himself since it tends to give credence to the astonishing report recently published by the Jewish Daily Forward of New York to the effect that Communist Party leaders had secured a working agreement with Mr. Frankenstein on the basis of supporting him at the next convention of the U.A.W. for the office of president and also of endorsing him as running-mate for Frank Murphy in the coming gubernatorial elections in Michigan.

### Martin's Statement

The sudden appearance of Mr. Frankenstein's program aroused widespread resentment and matters were not improved when the local press ran stories giving the gist of the program. Ired by the failure of Mr. Frankenstein even to place the program before him prior to its circulation and by the factional misuse of this program by the

crease. Let us, as individuals and groups of individuals, help to the fullest extent those brave people across the Atlantic.

Communist Party and its supporters, Mr. Martin struck back in the form of a press statement in which he pointed out the danger of this program becoming a disguise for the old, unprincipled and destructive faction war conducted by the Communist Party. "Certain forces within the union," Mr. Martin explained, "have failed in their frontal attack against the leadership of the U.A.W. and are now seeking the rear door disguised as a faction to end factionalism." (Mr. Martin's statement is published in full on page 2.—Editor.)

While the full effect of Mr. Frankenstein's step on the inner relations in the union will not become known officially until the forthcoming meeting of the International Executive Board, no serious upsets are expected. Administration spokesmen have stated that progressive support has remained intact behind Mr. Martin and that every effort is being made to maintain the complete unity of the progressive forces and to clear up whatever misunderstandings have arisen in connection with Mr. Frankenstein.

### Split In "Unity" Ranks

While the progressive forces have remained intact, the efforts of the Communist Party to divide them have backfired with sufficient force to split the "unity" caucus wide open. It has become known that the socialists and their supporters, headed by Walter Reuther of the West Side local of Detroit, have completely broken with the Stalinists, with whom they had been in alliance. Reports indicate also that such locals as Briggs and Chrysler Local 7, hitherto "unity" strongholds, have broken with the Stalinists because of their factional and unprincipled misuse of recent developments in the organization. Indicative of the new situation is the discussion and decision on the existence of groups at the joint council meeting of the West Side local. Despite Stalinist opposition, the combined progressive and socialist forces carried a proposal in against banning groups at this time.

President Martin, accompanied by delegation of Board members, in Washington on union business, took up with John L. Lewis the internal situation. Mr. Martin declared, after the conference that Mr. Lewis had given him every assurance of support of his administration and policies.

## Stalin's Own Explanation

(Continued from Page 2)

state of affairs in Soviet Russia today?

1. The old Bolshevik party of Lenin has been wiped out in personnel and organization. Stalin no longer has to look to the advanced, the communist, sections of the Russian people for his support; he has freed himself from their influence.

2. He now rules as absolute dictator, with three or four loyal subordinates surrounding him. But Voroshilov is hardly to be counted among them; he seems to be about at the end of his rope—Yezhov is already on his trail.

3. Stalin's regime is strong and stable. It is based, in the first place, on the political police. But Stalin is going beyond that; he is striving to supplement the power of the G.P.U. by the power of popularity among the people. Over the head of the old communist vanguard, he is successfully (according to Denny) appealing to the "non-party" masses, especially to the "younger generation." In the place of the party dictatorship

## France Bows To Tory Line

A well-defined military alliance emerged from the sessions of the Anglo-French conference that took place last week in London, attended by the prime ministers and foreign ministers of the two countries and their aides. The agreement is understood to include full cooperation of the general staffs, unified command in case of war, joint reserve stores and the pooling of military purchases.

As the price for strengthening the alliance, France strongly reaffirmed its acquiescence in the entire line of British foreign policy. French Premier Daladier even went out of his way to congratulate Prime Minister Chamberlain on the deal with Italy and to promise that France would follow the example. "On Italy and Spain," Ferdinand Kuhn Jr. reports in the New York Times (April 29), "and indeed on almost every point of possible disagreement, the British and French governments now see eye to eye. Even on Czechoslovakia, the French showed signs of being willing to limit their commitments after Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain had refused to go an inch beyond his 'no-guarantees' declaration of March 24."

Thus the People's Front government of France, supported by both the socialist and communist parties, publicly proclaims its solidarity with the Tory regime of England in "wooing the dictators," conniving with the fascist aggressors and abandoning Ethiopia, Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia to the mercies of Hitler, Mussolini and France. What is the value of the Franco-Soviet pact under these circumstances? What meaning is there, except shameful deception, to the slogan of "collective security"—relying on these "democracies" to resist fascism and war?

operated thru the communist vanguard, he is trying to erect a plebiscitary dictatorship operated by a group of subservient, "non-political" functionaries, who exist merely by his reflected glory. It is here that the notorious hero-cult plays its significant role. From it all, Stalin emerges as the strong man with more power than "any Czar who ever wore the crown of Musovy," who "rules more lives than any other chieftain in the history of mankind."

We need not accept this picture as a photographic representation of reality. In some respects, it is obviously distorted and overdrawn, even grossly inaccurate: the old Bolshevik party not so completely dead as it is made out; Stalin's autocratic regime is not quite so stable; his plebiscitary appeal to the masses against the vanguard is not quite so successful nor is the "younger generation" quite so worshipful in his support. But the real significance of the Denny dispatch is to be found in this double fact: first, that the trend of political development is undeniably as Stalin, thru Denny, indicates—the erection of an authoritarian one-man dictatorship on the ruins of the revolutionary communist vanguard and its Bolshevik party; and, secondly, that Stalin wants this to be clearly understood by the world at large!

## C.I.O. UNION HITS WAR

War and war preparations were denounced by the delegates attending the first annual convention of the International Aluminum Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, meeting at New Kensington, Pa., on April 4. The convention adopted a strong resolution endorsing the original LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment, demanded the withdrawal of all American armed forces from China and called for the expenditure of public funds for housing and relief.