

Labor Must Act!

an editorial

THE fight against the new Roosevelt "spending" program is already well under way and growing more bitter every day. Serving the interests of big-business reaction, the conservative Democrats and the Republicans in Congress have combined against it, just as they are now ganging up against wage-hour legislation and the Wagner Act; in this case, they are maneuvering to block any further governmental "spending" either by direct opposition or thru some sort of "earmarking" device. The Administration's ardent apologists, on the other hand, especially the crawling Stalinites, are all beside themselves with rapture at the President's recent message, which, we are assured, is the very high-road to recovery! Why, the Daily Worker these days looks like a business man's paper at the height of the old Blue Eagle ballyhoo in the gaudy days of General Johnson.

The labor movement, which in recent years has had good reason to learn to avoid the pitfall of uncritical enthusiasm for the New Deal, whose fruits have only too frequently turned into mere ashes, will have need of all its clarity and sober, realistic common-sense, of all its constructive militancy, in the present difficult situation. What should labor's attitude be? What should be its line of action?

The great weight of labor's influence should unquestionably be thrown at the moment primarily towards bringing about the immediate enactment of wage-hour legislation and towards beating back the reactionary drive against the National Labor Relations Board, the Wagner Act and labor's rights of self-organization and collective bargaining under it. In this quarter, the menace is very great and our action must be prompt and effective.

Labor should support the "spending" features of the Roosevelt program without ignoring the fact that this program is neither adequate nor, by any stretch of the imagination, a program of recovery. Work, the official organ of the Workers Alliance, which can hardly be accused of undue hostility to the Administration, is forced to recognize the grave shortcomings of the President's program even by its own limited standards. In an editorial in the April 23 issue, it declares:

"It is because we agree with these statements of the President (the need for increasing the purchasing power of the American people), that we feel the Roosevelt program is inadequate. The two major sums recommended for work are the \$1,350,000,000 for W.P.A. and the \$1,450,000 for P.W.A. According to the President's statement, the W.P.A. appropriation will employ scarcely more than are now employed. The P.W.A. appropriation can be spent during any period over the next two years. We feel the urgent necessity for at least 3,500,000 jobs on a works program now. . . . In addition, of course, there are other phases of the works program beyond the question of money which are vital. Such problems are the elimination of the 'means test' as a condition for eligibility, the problem of an adequate W.P.A. wage, the need for direct relief, the need for projects to employ the skills of the unemployed on work of a socially necessary and wealth-producing character."

Inadequate tho the President's "spending" program is, labor should support it energetically as at least a measure of relief in a

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Mass Peace Meet May 30

Keep America Out of War Congress To Have Big Nationwide Support

Declaring that "America is in danger of losing its bearings and being drawn into another world war unless there is a resolute stand made against those measures which create the war spirit," Dr. John A. Lapp, noted economist, author and labor arbitrator, recently accepted the chairmanship of the National Anti-War Congress to be held in Washington, D. C., May 28, 29 and 30.

Dr. Lapp, who for many years was director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council, emphasized the gravity of the world situation today, saying that "conditions are graver now than in 1916 when the forces of propaganda were preparing the American mind for war."

The National Anti-War Congress, Dr. Lapp stated, will be broadly representative of American life, the delegates to the Washington conference to be elected from labor unions, farm organizations, cooperatives, youth, church, service and women's clubs, veterans and other organizations. The anti-war congress will focus upon the Administration the demand of the American people for no foreign wars and will lay plans for future action designed to keep this country at peace.

"The delusion is abroad that we can save democracy by fighting another war," Dr. Lapp said. "Let us not deceive ourselves. The democracy that will be left in America after another war will not be worth fighting for."

"So far has the war spirit gone in this country that unheard of expenditures for naval armaments are proposed, armaments that are not necessary for defense but useful only for offensive purposes. Such proposals are supported by all of the reactionary forces which shout down adequate work relief or a public-works program. So far has the war spirit seized upon our people," he concluded, "that the 'industrial-mobilization' bill, which might be more properly called the labor-regimentation bill, is being supported in Congress by those who ought to know that under its terms, the clamps of military dictatorship will be placed upon the working people of the country."

FUR UNION SIGNS INDEPENDENT SHOPS

The New York fur workers are now entering the sixth week of their general strike and the thirteenth week since the employers' lockout that preceded the strike. The union has already begun independent settlements with individual manufacturers.

The main obstacle in the way of settling the strike is the question of division of work or, as it is known to the furriers, the question of the "closed shop." The shop chairmen's meeting held on Monday, May 2, in Manhattan Opera House, definitely decided to continue the fight for this vital demand.

New Drive on Labor Board

Labor's Rights In Danger As Reactionary Attack Grows Fiercer

The concerted drive against the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. gathered momentum last week as the reactionary forces of big business, encouraged by the Administration's recent efforts to woo them with a conciliatory program of "cooperation," swung into vigorous action. A Congressional investigation of the Act, even its repeal, in the interest of "enduring business recovery," was demanded by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at its annual session in Washington. Before the assembled business leaders, the notorious Senator Burke of Nebraska delivered a frantic denunciation of the Wagner Act and demanded the resignation of the members of the board administering it.

Meanwhile, the attack on the N.L.R.B. under cover of the recent Supreme Court ruling in the Kansas stockyards case, was considerably extended last week. The Federal Circuit Court of Philadelphia granted the Republic Steel Corp.

THE TIP-OFF

UNDERPAID and overworked sweat-shop employees naturally might infer that they are making progress toward protective legislation but they should be warned that the important considerations in mind here are the Fall elections. For the time being, underpaid workers will be better advised to trust in God and the generosity of their employers rather than in any legislation from Congress.—Raymond Clapper, in the New York World-Telegram, April 23, 1938.

an order restraining the N.L.R.B. from taking any action in the case against the corporation before May 13. The N.L.R.B. had intended to reopen hearings in order to modify its procedure in line with the Supreme Court decision. The reopening of the Ford case was also made necessary by the high court's ruling.

The attack of big business on the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. is, of course, aimed directly at the rights of labor to organize freely and to bargain collectively. Only united labor action can beat back this reactionary offensive.

MICHIGAN IS COOL TO LA FOLLETTE PARTY

By GEORGE F. MILES

Detroit, Mich.

MICHIGAN'S proximity to Wisconsin being political as well as geographical, the launching of a national Progressive party by the LaFollettes has caused considerable interest and speculation here. The element of speculation can be accounted for by the claims from Madison, Wisc., that powerful political leaders in Michigan are backing them. A careful check-up by the local Detroit press reveals not one political

what with widespread unemployment, company provocations, and boss attempts to "exile" thousands of unemployed workers to outside communities under the cry that industry cannot reabsorb them. The latter scheme to return the most militant and active union men now on relief to the communities from which they originally came, fell flat when the unions opened fire on this proposal. The official excuse for discarding the plan was that "the experiment would be costly and short-sighted."

But, as if to compensate for the collapse of this venture, a new threat to unionism has emanated from the Flint City Council, which voted 7 to 1 to establish a permanent vigilante organization. The purpose of this anti-union body, according to Mayor Bradshaw, who sponsored the resolution, is "to protect adequately the persons and property rights of residents of the City of Flint and to enforce the law." All vigilante acts of violence against labor have always been carried out under the same banner.

Conservative Democrats in Detroit filed as a new party last week under the name of Constitutional Democratic party. Veteran Democrat Herman Kramer, Detroit manufacturer, promised that a "constructive and impartial" platform will soon appear. Mr. Kramer frankly admitted that his party is anti-New Deal and had become necessary especially because of the Lewis-Guffey combine in Pennsylvania and the LaFollette movement in Wisconsin.

"LEGAL" VIGILANTES IN FLINT
Unionism is facing a severe test

Ban on Spain To Be Lifted

Wide Protests Against Arms Embargo Cause Roosevelt Shift

The Administration will support Senator Nye's bill to lift the embargo against Loyalist Spain, it was reported last week. The Nye proposal would repeal outright the January 8, 1937 joint Congressional resolution clamping down the embargo on Spain and would authorize the President to remove Spain from the ban on the export of arms and munitions of war placed by the May 1, 1937 statute, provided shipment from the United States takes place on a cash-and-carry basis. With the Administration's approval, the speedy passage of the Nye resolution thru Congress is expected. Once the embargo is lifted, trade in war materials with both Loyalist Spain and Franco will become legal again.

The Administration's shift of attitude on the question is due, in part, to the widespread protest movement against the one-sided embargo so damaging to the Loyalist cause. But, in large measure, it is also due to the hope that such action may prove an entering wedge in destroying the whole structure of neutrality legislation so as to leave the way open for the notorious "quarantine" policy as a cover for the Anglo-American alliance against Japan in the Far East. In this connection, it is significant that many of those who have taken the lead in the movement to lift the Spanish embargo, such as Senator Nye, are strongly opposed to the Administration's foreign policy, so that the Administration's attempts to utilize the lifting of the embargo to promote sentiment for the "quarantine" idea are certain to meet with strong resistance.

A. F. of L. Ousts 6 More C.I.O. Unions

Action to revoke the charters of six more C.I.O. unions was taken last week by the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. meeting at Washington. The unions affected were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers (S.W.O.C.), the United Textile Workers (T.W.O.C.), the United Automobile Workers, the United Rubber Workers and the International Union of Oilfield, Gas and Petroleum Workers. In February, the council had already ousted the United Mine Workers, the flat-glass federation and the mine, mill and smelter-workers union. Of the original C.I.O. unions, therefore, all have already been expelled from the A.F. of L. except the I.L.G.W.U.

After it had acted to widen the breach in labor's ranks, the Executive Council made a shameful bid for cooperation with big business. A conciliatory statement was issued by President Green decrying "industrial strife" and pledging support to the "property rights" of the industrialists and financiers.

INNER SITUATION IN U.A.W.

Inner difficulties in the U.A.W. which threatened to break out in a new rash of factionalism last week have somewhat abated on the eve of the meeting of the International Executive Board. Adminis-

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Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

Col. Frey Leads Backwards

WHILE the new labor movement struggles with the Laocoon coils of capitalist politics, painfully and haltingly striving towards political independence, the feudal chieftains of the craft clans swear war to the death against all signs of progressivism. The bitter hostility of the Hutcheson-Frey-Wharton-controlled A. F. of L. to the C.I.O. industrial unions has ranged it on the side of the reactionary Democratic state committee in Pennsylvania against the labor ticket headed by Kennedy, has led to an attempt to besmirch the record and to undermine the very existence of the American Labor party in New York, and has brought about the establishment of a labor political organization on a nationwide scale dedicated to the cause of unceasing opposition to independent labor political organization!

The Federation chiefs have ordered all their unions to withdraw from participation in Labor's Non-Partisan League and to set up, in words at least, their own organization. Now, mind you, the one thing the old "non-partisan" policy is supposed not to do is to organize labor politically. But this ancient and conservative policy itself does not stand still; it becomes transformed into outright reaction. Opposed to the political independence of the workers from the employing class, the craft-union chiefs are quite willing to enter the arena of politics in independent organization on the side of the employing-class parties, to combat independent organization tending away from the employing-class parties!

C.I.O. backing of any candidate, William Green announced, would be "one thing against that candidate." And since, in more and more instances, the C.I.O. candidate runs against the existing old party machines, in primaries or regular elections, the A. F. of L. actually lines itself up with the employers, the Stalinists and the Roosevelt machine to block with all its energy any real progress towards the political independence of labor upon which depends so much of the strength and vitality of its economic independence as well.

For Green, merely the mouth-piece of the Hutcheson-Frey-Wharton clique, it was "humiliating" that Senator Guffey in Pennsylvania should have been forced to go along with the C.I.O. The demand for federal intervention in the "little steel" strike last summer, made by John L. Lewis, positively "revolted" Mr. Green. And Colonel Frey, whose Metal Trades Department was the first to propound the doctrine that a C.I.O. candidate is an "enemy of labor" and therefore to be "punished," has now discovered that the way for labor to remain "free and independent" is to fight against the Kennedy candidacy and to support the Earle-McKloskey machine, behind which stands the national machine of the Democratic party, whose most substantial base is in the Southern reaction. Thus, starting from opposition to the industrial organization of the mass-production workers, Frey, apparently defending the status-quo, has reached the point where he wishes to throw labor back into further, deeper servitude to the parties of the employing class.

In New York State, George F. Meany, president of the State Federation of Labor, following A. F. of L. instructions to withdraw from all branches of Labor's Non-Partisan League, recently attacked the American Labor party on the ground that it was not really representative of labor but was using that term in its name merely to fool A. F. of L. workers! He further denounced its defense of the transport workers thru its opposition to the Burchell Bill, which was supported by the A. F. of L.

We need not here vindicate the A.L.P. as a labor party. What we are most interested in stressing is the great danger to the very existence of all trade unionism, craft or industrial, arising out of the A. F. of L.'s vicious fight against independent labor politics.

The political aspects of labor's activities are, in today's setup, an integral part of its economic struggle. The growing role of government in industry, the necessity of federal social legislation to aid labor in combating the attempts of the employing class to shift the burdens of dying capitalism onto its back, the intensified war-mongering of the government, all these factors demand increasing independent labor politics. For, without such vigorous political struggle, alongside of the economic struggle of the unions, the labor movement will be undermined, and reactionary dictatorship will swoop down upon labor, without distinction between the initials of its affiliation.

Mich. Is Cool To New Party

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tration spokesmen are confident that their position in the union is stronger than ever and that the administration will emerge from the coming Board meeting consolidated and in a position to bring about a great measure of harmony around its program of activity.

Information, coming from Washington, gives the lie to anti-administration rumor-mongering such as appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of April 18. Stories of "union revolt against Martin" and a special convention to "remove the president," appearing in that paper have no foundation whatever. Sources close to the C.I.O. state that relations between John L. Lewis and Homer Martin have never been better and claims of support coming from "unity" caucus sources are thoroughly unreliable.

William S. Knudsen, General Motors boss, blamed most of the trouble in the country on the Wagner Labor Relations Act, in a speech before the United States Chamber of Commerce. Amendments to destroy the pro-labor features of the Act are necessary, according to him, and his appeal to labor to assist in that modification is positively touching.

Mr. Knudsen, who personifies the well-worn "from rags to riches" saga, recognizes neither class struggle nor classes. To him, labor and capital are not classes but "factions" and must get together for the mutual advantage of both. We doubt, however, that his appeal to the workers of General Motors to be "thrifty" will set well with them—since about 75% are totally unemployed and the remainder on part-time.

PROGRESSIVES
on Workers Education
Project, W.P.A. greet
WORKERS AGE

Stalinism in England

Manchester, England, April 12, 1938.

I AM at present a member of the Manchester University group of the Communist Party of Great Britain, numbering in all about twelve members. Recently I got them to pass a resolution (which was submitted to the Manchester District C.P. annual conference) asking the Communist International to appoint a commission to investigate the conditions existing in the C.P.S.U. Hardly a very sweeping resolution but adequate to test the feeling of the party on the subject of the Russian trials. The conference rejected the resolution, only the delegates from the University group voting in favor of it. The district organizer then descended on our group and got them to pass a resolution saying they had "full confidence" in the C.P.S.U. and apologized for their previous resolution. So you see that the prospect of getting the C.P. in this district to support a true communist policy is not great.

I read with great interest the articles in the Workers Age upon your peace policy. In England, the Communist Party is 100% and the Labor Party 99% pro-League of Nations and "collective security." The Left Book Club in particular has drawn thousands of people in support for that policy. The peace policy outlined in your articles would not be exactly suitable for England—not suitable in details, I mean, although the underlying principles hold. I don't know if the other English comrades have formulated a peace program for England. I certainly think it is time that this is done, if it has not already been done. It is not sufficient merely to say "turn imperialist war into civil war." A detailed program that the workers can understand is what is needed.

There is one very significant fact about the situation in Manchester as far as the Communist Party is concerned. Their elements are composed almost entirely of the middle classes, of intellectuals, and of youth. They contain very few members of the working class. For example, in Manchester, the Rusholme Branch of the C.P., which is situated in the most bourgeois area, has twice as many members of the next largest branch. Rusholme has 100 members while a great industrial area like Gorton has only 27. Again, Metro-Vickers, a great engineering works, employs 14,000 men and women; there the C.P. has a factory group in it of four! It is not that the workers support our policy—they are passive—but I think they can be wakened and a militant communist policy will awaken them.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18 at 9 p.m.

Jay Lovestone

will speak on

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THE THOMAS PAINE SOCIETY

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They Threaten Murder!

IN the April 25 issue of the Freiheit, official Jewish paper of the Communist Party of the United States, there appears an article by W. Lutzky, the Paris correspondent of the paper and the editor of the Jewish organ of the C.P. of France. This article is a mad, incoherent diatribe against the 75-year old Charles Rappaport, veteran French communist leader, who recently broke publicly with the Stalinist party because of the Moscow "trials." Lutzky's article concludes with the following words:

"But Rappaport finds himself in bourgeois France, where betrayers of the proletariat are not sent for trial before the courts. . . . BUT, WHO KNOWS, THE POWER OF THE CHEKA IS BEYOND IMAGINATION. PERHAPS EVEN IN PARIS IT WILL PROVE CAPABLE OF GIVING ITS ENEMIES A SPECIAL 'DOSE.' . . ."—(Emphasis ours.—Editor.)

These sinister words carry their own explanation. They are a plain and open threat that Yezhov's political police, with the blood of a whole generation of Russian Bolsheviks on its hands, is now ready to reach out to murder Rappaport in Paris! And whom in London, Prague, Mexico City or New York?

By its own confession, the G.P.U. has become an international murder-machine in the interests of Stalinist reaction! Let the working-class movement take warning!

Labor Must Act Now!

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desperate situation—and, while supporting the President's proposals as far as they go, ask for more, demand more, insist on more. Remember—the harder we fight, the more independently we fight, the more we are likely to get! The emergency created by the new depression is already so acute that only emergency measures, bold and sweeping in character, such as were outlined last week in this column, can at all hope to meet it.

As for the rest of the President's program, its lending and credit expansion features especially, they are hardly such as to appeal to

labor. Dubious in their economics, very uncertain in their effects, they smack a little too much of the old Hooverian recipes for "bringing back prosperity." The idea of lending vast sums of public money to big-business concerns on the theory that it will "seep down" to the masses, has a familiar the far from pleasant ring to our ears.

Along such lines should labor act at the present critical moment.

But, if it is to act effectively, it must act unitedly. Again we raise our voice in a plea for united labor action to meet the offensive of big business. Never was the need for such unity more acute than today!

MORE MAY DAY GREETINGS

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| DRESSMAKERS | Benjamin Knauer | Harry Cohen |
| Hortensia Vazquez | Bennie Rossen | Esther Berin |
| Charles Tischler | S. Jaffe | Kay Huebsch |
| Clarissa Bostic | Max Medwin | Sam Pobel |
| H. Liebman | Joe Friedman | Jacob Blaufarb |
| Arthur Skolnik | Rose Friedman | A. Hirsch |
| S. Abramowitz | Jack Kaufman | Morris Weitzberg |
| Morris Kaplan | Mary Golembek | B. Katz |
| F. Davidson | H. Rosenberg | Eleanor Algozino |
| A. Kahn | Julius Levine | Robert Sawyer |
| D. Greenberg | Louis Exler | Bennie Forman |
| Doris Lake | S. Lorutz | Pearl Halpern |
| Selma Kaliner | Sol Wolfish | Jack Rosen |
| Oris Reinford | Julius Betcher | Sam Langer |
| Elizabeth Simmons | B. Wissoky | H. Rabinowitz |
| Hazel Davis | Jennie Mandel | Hyman Schrier |
| Sam Fass | George Blaser | Anna Solari |
| Sam Kaye | B. Antonoff | Cristina Algozino |
| J. Smith | Davidoff | Dave Rosen |
| Fabiash | A. Nemeroff | Chas Zimmerman |
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| Paul Heitman | Patsy Notorelli | Rose Prepstein |
| Sam Maron | R. Fisher | Blume Shtasel |
| Levine | Abraham Schneider | |
| J. Sigmund | Julius Kraus | CLOAKMAKERS |
| A. Albert | Irving Green | A. Silverman |
| Mildred Wiler | Harry Stark | S. Cohen |
| Nellie Somma | Sol Ziffer | J. Sussman |
| Barnet Dmocher | H. Hansel | J. Rosenblum |
| Rebecca Simonson | B. Spiegel | J. Diamond |
| I. Fenster | Louis Weintraub | A. Kujavsky |
| Fay Drucker | Mike Petchanik | BOSTON |
| Joe Beader | Meyer Slotnick | Bennie Zel |
| Morris Krafchick | Hyman Galick | Horace Bell |
| Sam Kaplan | Joe Schneider | Three Friends |
| J. B. Thomas | Sophie Levine | |
| Nathan Weinhaus | Sam Tane | HARTFORD |
| Irving Klein | David Shantzis | Al Singer |
| Joe Friedman | Tillie Buchwald | F. Morris |
| Joe Rubin | Bennie Kirshner | |
| Harry Pomerantz | Morris Fruman | PHILADELPHIA |
| Fery | Elie Fien | Oscar Cooperstein |
| Sam Slutsky | Max Tau | Reida Bail |
| Max Lake | Calman Kaufman | Naomi Prepstein |
| Herman Bankel | Hyman Feldhamer | Martin Schaff |
| Joe Rosen | Morris Zolen | Anna Baum |
| B. Weiser | Hyman Forman | |
| Rose Friedman | Eli Eisenberg | |

The New LaFollette Party, Labor And The New Deal

By M. S. MAUTNER

WHILE the forces of organized labor have rushed to the enthusiastic defence of Roosevelt's "spending" policy as a straw to pull the country out of the depression and while, on almost every important question, labor still operates politically within the orbit of the New Deal, the Western progressives, under the leadership of the LaFollette brothers, have given notice to the world that they now stand to the left of the Roosevelt Administration and intend to begin a fight as an independent group in preparation for 1940. This is the first indication of significant major political opposition to the New Deal from the left, so to speak, not against its "radical" philosophy but rather against its increasingly conservative practise.

New Deal And Reaction

For five years the progressives and liberals in the old parties, as well as the growing labor-party elements, have considered American political forces as either Tory ("economic royalist") or New Deal; with this analysis as a premise, they have concluded that their place was with the New Deal, and the Democratic party. The dangers of reaction, of opposition to social legislation, of war-mongering, of anti-labor practises, of "letting the people down," came, in their eyes, solely from the conservative opposition to the New Deal; the increasingly obvious transformation of the New Deal into a right-wing tendency in American politics has been almost completely ignored in these quarters.

In the past eighteen months, however, developments abroad and at home have brought to the surface the inherent conservatism of the New Deal. The Administration has decided, for some time now, on a course towards war. Modern totalitarianism war demanding a totalitarian state, the Administration has naturally and automatically lengthened its strides towards reaction. It has opposed, with all the power it could call up, the war-referendum amendment; it sponsors the May Bill, the "blue-print for fascism"; it refuses the slightest publicity for its secret diplomacy of imperialist maneuvering; it throws overboard its long-talked-of housing program; it revives and extends Hoover's R.F.C. policy; its unemployment-relief program is, in actual fact, no increase for this fiscal year and the same paltry sum for the next; it diverts the funds necessary to rehabilitate America to a super-navy program and an huge peace-time armaments budget. And, finally, in his message at the beginning of the year, the President gave unmistakable support to the demand of the Business Advisory Council for governmental "regulation" of unions!

The direction of government policy at home and abroad towards the right, in itself enough to cause a political shift and regrouping, was under way before the new depression. When, however, the full fury of the present economic storm broke, it set off in sharp relief the new course of the Administration. The stage was set for revolt; the nature and limitations of Roosevelt's "spending" program constituted the curtain-raised.

Direction Of The Revolt

What is to be wondered at, therefore, is not that a break with the policies of the Administration

* For a fuller discussion of this question see my article, "Rearmament Is Reaction," Workers Age, Feb. 19, 1938, and the article, "Instead of Battleships," Workers Age, March 5, 1938.

should have taken place but that this break should have come from the middle class progressives rather than from organized labor.

Insurgent politics is a long-standing tradition with the Western progressives, and, of course, the vast political experience of the LaFollettes, plus the agrarian pressure they are subject to, can easily account for their new departure. But surely it is not alone the farmers and business men of the West who have reason to be dissatisfied with New Deal capitalism. It is labor which is most directly threatened by the war-dictatorship plans of the administration; labor which stands to have its present low living standards still further lowered by lack of adequate housing, by the depressing effects of lower relief levels, by the inflationary effects of the government's monetary policies, actual and threatened. It is labor which will be sent out to die to defend Standard Oil in China, labor which today is tormented by widespread unemployment and distress.

And, finally, it is labor which is now being thwarted at every turn by the New Deal in its groping attempts towards independent class political action, as, for example, in Pennsylvania, where the White House is behind the Jones-Earle group and against the C.I.O. primary candidate, Kennedy of the U.M.W.A.

Nevertheless, all political reason to the contrary, it is a fact that the majority bodies of organized labor have uncritically hailed the President's "spending" proposals

as the way out of the depression, whereas the Western progressives do not merely criticize this "spending" as inadequate and part of a program of " tinkering and patching " but oppose the whole restrictive policy of the New Deal in agriculture and industry, demanding an extension of productive forces with the central slogan of the "right to work." I am not interested here in the very dubious economics of the LaFollettes which seek a rebirth and expansion of capitalism, impossible in this era of decline. The fact is that, in relation to railroads, for example, Governor LaFollette has proposed the complete scrapping of existing capitalization, regardless of the interests of private bond-holders, and the technological determination of actual transportation needs, to be financed by new government-backed capitalization on a far sounder basis. Roosevelt, on the other hand, has so far refused to step into the mess, merely proposing to "lend" the railroads money to buy new equipment, with the burning profits remaining unsolved, save thru the erosive processes of "private initiative."

Labor And Middle-Class Tradition

Yet labor remains with Roosevelt. True it is that labor remains with him in a form and manner not particularly pleasing to the Administration — organized independently in Labor's Non-Partisan League and based on militant industrial unions embracing the mass-production workers, the most

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The Soviet Union And Our Outlook

By H. BAIL

(We publish below a discussion article by H. Bail, a member of the Philadelphia Group of the I.C.L.L.—The Editor.)

THE history of our group proves that traditions weigh heavy on the minds of even advanced people. It has been expressed in theory and practise of our group since 1929. And, though we have done better for the last year than in the previous eight years, yet to a certain extent we are still doing a little nursing from the proverbial gangrenous umbilical cord of the Stalin C.I. A few examples will suffice.

The Last Moscow Trial

Our Workers Age did not sufficiently reflect the burning protest and disgust that every one of us felt at the last Moscow trial. Our group did not develop a sufficiently strong campaign against the reactionary terror going on constantly in the Soviet Union, against the downright murder of the leaders of the communist movement, the Bolsheviks who made the October Revolution possible. Outside of a meeting in New York, we did nothing. I feel that we have enough strength outside of New York to dramatize the struggle against the systematic annihilation of the leaders of the revolutionary working class. We did not utilize the sentiments of tens of thousands of workers against the wanton murders and imprisonment of numberless good Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union.

Our Attitude Toward The Soviet Union

Without any bias, we will have to reexamine the question of our attitude toward the Soviet Union. True, we condemn the bureaucracy

The A. L. P. Record In the Assembly

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

(The paragraphs below are taken from an article by Dr. Laidler in the May 1938 issue of the Call, official paper of the Workmen's Circle.

—The Editor.)

THE adjournment of the state Legislature presents an opportunity for an analysis of the accomplishments of the American Labor Party's representatives in Albany. Under the skillful leadership of Nathaniel Minkoff, the small but active Labor delegation entered into the parliamentary struggle, presenting to the citizens of New York for the first time in many years the spectacle of a social-minded block in the chamber. The activities of this group should now be assessed in the light of labor's principles.

In view of the fact that the labor representatives were but a handful, it would be obviously unfair to limit ourselves merely to a consideration of the four bills which they succeeded in putting thru both houses. The justification of the activities of small legislative minorities lies not only in the passage of laws initiated by them but in the bills which they present and for which they vigorously fight.

Four A.L.P. Bills

Four A.L.P. bills were finally passed by the Assembly and the Senate, out of the many initiated by the party delegation. Two of these four were outstanding. One provided that, in the case of old-law tenements where legal violations had occurred, no rent could be recovered by the landlord in a recent action nor could there be any dispossession action for non-payment of rent, except for rent at the lowest rate charged for any one month between September 30, 1937 and March 1, 1938. Of course, to prevent such collection of increased rent, violations would have to be established. This law was signed by the Governor on April 13.

A second bill provided for the imposition of occupancy taxes as a means of financing New York City public-housing ventures. Perhaps less outstanding were a statute affecting the retirement fund for civil-service employees and an amendment to the General Corporation Law protecting the use of such names as "Committee for Industrial Organization" and "Industrial Union."

The one sure lesson that the Labor group can derive from its first

ver who has only three gray cells in his brain, Spain has proved this impossible. Stalin would rather see a fascist Spain than a workers republic led by the P.O.U.M., syndicalists and socialists! It is clear that no workers revolution anywhere is possible until the Stalin C.I. is destroyed! We will have to learn how to do it. The task falls on us.

One-Party Dictatorship

It is high time we study the question of the one-party dictatorship more seriously. Even in Russia, the one-party dictatorship led to a blind-alley and may lead to the destruction of the revolution. It certainly would be more harmful for countries like Spain and others.

Our Trade-Union Work

With our trade-union tactics, I take no issue, but I think we are suffering from a looseness and lack of discipline. Too many of our leading comrades work in the unions like pure-and-simple trade unionists, forgetting that they are members of a political movement, with all too poor results for the growth of our group.

term in the state Assembly is the utter impossibility of carrying out an extensive social program while the old parties are in control. One has only to review the A.L.P. bills killed by the Republicans and Democrats in committee to realize that labor interests can be served only by a head-on fight with the two old parties. In their efforts to serve the interests of the masses in New York State, the Labor assemblymen presented an impressive list of measures which were defeated by the two parties of the employers.

Bills Defeated

Some of these ill-fated bills were directed toward the extension of public services. These included proposals aiming to make it easier for cities to deal in the direct sale of milk to the population and to establish municipal power authorities.

Some dealt with housing, as did that authorizing a state debt of \$500,000,000 for housing purposes. Some had a more distinctly labor slant. These included bills aiming to make corporation officers personally liable for wages; requiring at least one day of rest for hotel and restaurant employees; seeking to prevent the abuses of private detective agencies; limiting the hours of domestic workers; extending the payment of workmen's compensation benefits; improving the character of employment agencies; fixing a five-day week for certain civil-service employees; protecting strike pickets from charges of disorderly conduct; and rendering it more difficult than at present for industrial concerns to flee to other communities in order to evade unionization.

Several bills had to do with the educational system. These included a proposal for the abolition of compulsory military training in public educational institutions; the reduction in the size of classes in the public schools and the elimination of the present discriminatory practices against teachers because of their sex.

The A.L.P. legislators proposed, as additional means of assisting consumers, the establishment of a consumers bureau in the state Department of Health, laws against the sale of adulterated foods and drugs and stricter regulation of installment contracts. They urged measures limiting insurance companies to 3% interest on policy loans; preventing the use by the police of illegally-obtained evidence; increasing cash payments for home relief thruout the state to at least 50% of total home-relief payments; and enlarging the power of cities to impose taxes for unemployed relief.

The major struggle waged by the Laborites was a fight for ratification of the Child Labor Amendment to the federal constitution. The effort to protect the nation's children from exploitation received new life as a result of the vigorous debate which characterized A.L.P. activities on the floor of the Assembly. Here, again, the division of interest between the employers, represented by the Democratic and Republican parties, and the workers, represented by the A.L.P., became clearly apparent.

In the refusal of the old parties to cooperate in the adoption of the measures reviewed above, the observer can be led to only one conclusion. The past two years of the Labor Party's existence have been marked by a willingness to work together with "liberal" forces in the capitalist parties. The A.L.P. has endorsed some of the candidates of those parties and, as a result, has not been the altogether independent party that the workers interest require. Little or no

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WORKERS AGE

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THE LAFOLLETTE PARTY

GOVERNOR LaFollette's sudden proclamation of the birth of a new Progressive party is undeniably causing a great deal of speculation and soul-searching in all quarters of the political globe. And, indeed, whatever the future may hold in store for this new departure, there seems little doubt that it constitutes a development of considerable significance in current political history.

We are not among those who deplore the launching of the new organization on the ground that it will tend to weaken President Roosevelt's mass backing and divide his support. We leave that to the Stalinites for whom groveling before the Administration is the beginning and end of all political wisdom. We believe that a definite break in the thoroughly obsolete two-party system is long overdue and is, in fact, an essential prerequisite for any real progress in American politics as far as the working class is concerned. Even from the viewpoint of vigorous support of that little which is still worthy of support in the New Deal program, we believe that independent political organization outside the framework of the two old parties would be most effective. A national "third" party of the right sort would be most welcome, indeed, and most timely.

But what kind of "third" party, on what basis and on what program? Here the situation with the La Follette movement is still far from clear. The new party has as yet made public no detailed platform.

As our party is organized, the membership of the party has three separate opportunities to consider the subject-matter which comes before annual conference:

1. The National Council of the party drafts basic resolutions which are sent to all branches.

2. The branches forward amendments to nine divisional conferences.

3. The National Council of the party considers the amendments adopted by the divisional conferences and revises the basic resolutions accordingly.

4. The revised basic resolutions, together with divisional conference amendments not accepted by the National Council, are sent out to all branches.

5. Branches have an opportunity to amend both the revised basic resolutions and the divisional conference amendments.

6. A final agenda is sent to all branches containing the basic resolutions, the divisional conference amendments and the branch amendments.

7. The annual conference meets to discuss these and to make the decisions of the branches on them.

Experience has shown that the wide opportunities for discussion within the party lead not to divergence but to agreement. The whole party starts all its thinking from

well, far more widespread than one might judge from surface appearances. The problem is to give flexible organizational expression to this sentiment in a nation-wide labor party, based on the trade unions yet embracing in its ranks broad masses of the farmers and the urban lower middle class. The problem is to consolidate in a single nation-wide movement the beginnings of independent labor-farmer political organization that have already made their appearance in this country, on the basis of a program not directly socialist in

indeed but socially progressive and forward-looking in the direction of socialism. This problem the La Follettes have not solved with their latest political move; in truth, it may well be said that they have not even approached it in a constructive and realistic manner.

The step the LaFollette have taken is symptomatic of the growing disappointment of the more liberal supporters of the New Deal with the increasingly conservative course of the Administration. This sentiment is not confined to the rural progressives by any means but is widespread in the ranks of labor as

TASKS FACING THE ILP CONFERENCE

By FENNER BROCKWAY (Secretary of the I.L.P.) London, England.

THIS question of democracy in working-class organizations is of tremendous importance, not merely in dealing with immediate issues but in its ultimate significance.

Most of us recognize that a time will come when it will be necessary to place control in the hands of a few working-class representatives. In the period following a working-class victory over the possessing class, when the stability of the victory is still uncertain, power must inevitably be invested in working-class leadership and the rights of an antagonistic possessing class be limited. This is sometimes described as "proletarian dictatorship."

But the dangers of even such a "dictatorship" must be recognized. Power is a dangerous thing and easily develops into a bureaucracy continuing much longer than is necessary. What is happening in Soviet Russia, what has happened in Spain, illustrates this.

The only way to overcome this danger is to develop such inner democracy within the working class movement that the leadership, even in a period of crisis, will feel that it is answerable to the rank and file of the movement.

Party Democracy At Work I am led to write about this because this week-end the annual conference of the I.L.P. will be meeting.

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the principle of the class struggle as the dynamic and the means to achieve socialism, and, holding that principle in common, discussion only serves to clarify and unify its application in policy.

The acceptance of the class struggle means that the party is opposed to collaboration between the working class and the employing class and to "peace in industry."

It means that the party is opposed to rearmament and war to defend the capitalist state, and to "national unity" for this purpose.

It means that the party is opposed to the view that alliances with the capitalist class can serve to defeat fascism, since fascism is inseparable from capitalism and can only be resisted by the intensification of the class struggle.

It means that the party is opposed to any policy which would make the working-class movement responsible for the administration of imperialism (as happened during the Labor government of 1929-31).

It means, in a sentence, that poverty, war, fascism and imperialism must be resisted, not by alliances with sections of the capitalist class, or thru reliance upon capitalist governments, but by the independent action of the working class itself.

There is agreement thruout the party on these issues; it is on incidental questions of policy only that there is difference of opinion.

Parliament And The Revolution Looking at the agenda, one can pick out these incidental differences which are likely to arouse discussion. For example, one notices on the resolution dealing with "The Method of the I.L.P.," a real issue, raised by certain Welsh branches, as to whether the social revolution will be achieved thru the direct conflict of working-class organizations with the possessing class or thru a parliamentary majority using its power to replace the capitalist state by a workers state.

No doubt, the Welsh branches have in mind the difficulty of overcoming the armed forces so long as they remain under capitalist control. Certainly, the chances of putting thru the revolution would be greater if the working-class control the apparatus of the capitalist state, the resistance by the capitalist class would still have to be faced. The Welsh view also shirks the question as to whether the working class will allow the majority power or whether it will not destroy democratic institutions before the opportunity to capture the capitalist state occurs.

In either case, with or without a parliamentary majority, the organizations of the working class would be the structural basis of resistance to the capitalist class and would provide the apparatus for the workers state. Therefore, the insistence laid upon the organizations of the working class is sound, tho this ought not to rule out the possibility of the social revolution being initiated under conditions where a parliamentary majority has been secured.

I.L.P. And Labor Party It would appear as tho the biggest debate of the conference will arise on the resolution dealing with working-class unity. The resolution points to the difficulty of unity with the Labor party and the Communist party whilst their policies in many respects repudiate the class struggle. United action with the whole working-class movement on every class issue is urged, and a permanent federal structure including all sections is advocated.

(Continued on Page 5)

By Lambda WORLD TODAY London Revolutionary Socialist Buro Appeals For Aid To Spain

(The following manifesto has been issued by the International Buro for Revolutionary Socialist Unity. It is being published in twenty-six countries.—Editor.)

FOR more than twenty months, the Spanish workers have shown such heroism in their fight against international fascism as has not yet been seen in all the long history of the working class.

The situation now is desperate—not due to lack of courage on the part of the Spanish workers but because all the material forces of international fascism have been unleashed against them. Tanks, airplanes and artillery supplied by Hitler and Mussolini are being used by Franco to blast a passage thru the ranks of the workers and, upon a maimed and broken proletariat, to impose the oppression of fascist domination.

The reply of the Spanish workers is: "It is better to die on our feet than to live on our knees."

The most vital duty of the international labor movement—indeed a historic task, similar to the "Hands Off Russia" campaign of 1919-20—is to help the Spanish workers by action NOW.

A great deal of the responsibility for the protraction of the Spanish tragedy must be borne by the leaders of the Second and Third International thru their policy of timorous hesitancy. In the first critical months, when class action was imperative, they allowed themselves to be chained to the criminal policy of "non-intervention"; afterwards, they thought they could bluff the wily capitalists who control the governments of Britain and France.

But the nerve center of international capitalism, the City of London, is too old in the art of double-dealing—it lives by it. Behind the screen of "non-intervention," the open invasion of Spain has gone on and international finance has flagrantly assisted Hitler and Mussolini in the long-drawn-out murder of the Spanish workers.

Thanks to their undying courage, it is still not too late to help. Working-class action must be employed now. There is nothing else. Only the workers can help the workers.

We call upon the Spanish government to liberate immediately all anti-fascist prisoners, thereby ensuring working-class unity, and to restore the revolutionary spirit of July 1936, which saved Spain from fascism then and which can save it now.

We call upon the workers of Britain and France to act. Comrades: It is you who make the airplanes, tanks and munitions. It is you who transport them by land and by sea. Prevent them from going to Franco! Give them to your brothers, the Spanish workers!

Increase your mass demonstrations against your governments. Use extra-parliamentary pressure. The British workers must use all methods to smash the National government, which is heading right for world war.

Communist comrades: Demand that Soviet Russia sends her valuable arms and materials without any political conditions beyond that of saving Spain for the workers.

Mexican comrades: Continue and increase your magnificent efforts. You, from the very first, have given a leadership to the international working-class movement.

Comrades of the British Labor party: Do what the Irish did for a lesser cause. Be ready to hold up Parliamentary business. They will attempt to suppress and muzzle you, but the British workers will be behind you.

This is the greatest issue of our generation. The defeat of the Spanish workers will mean the triumph of reaction, which will pitilessly crush the workers of all countries. They victory will signal the end of the fascist horror and the beginning of a new era, which will open up to the workers of the world the vista of their ultimate emancipation!

The Communist Party of Great Britain has instructed all its members to keep silent on the Moscow trials and to ignore all criticisms. The Daily Worker has not even carried one single letter from the membership approving the trials and it remains strangely silent in the face of the general attack. Tom Bell, formerly of the United States, is the lone wolf travelling thruout the country "explaining" the trials—and his meetings are not even advertised in the party press!

Jack Carney

Problems at ILP Confab

(Continued from Page 4)

voiced to facilitate such common action.

The question of affiliation to the Labor party is raised in a number of amendments. None of these advocates unconditional affiliation, but some of them attempt to define the conditions under which affiliation should be sought. These include the retention of the I.L.P. as a unit; its right to oppose rearmament, attacks on working-class standards of life, and proposals which violate the principles of socialism; and the maintenance of its international associations.

There will be little difference in the conference about these conditions; the difference will turn on the point as to whether it is advisable in present circumstances to make an approach to the Labor Party on them.

Events In Soviet Russia On the resolution on Soviet Russia, two points of difference are indicated.

The party has so far opposed the foreign policy of Soviet Russia in making political and military alliances with capitalist governments. Indeed, it has seen in this foreign policy the cause of the departure of the Communist International from reliance on class action to its reliance on action thru capitalist governments and the capitalist League and its turning towards alliances with sections of the capitalist class thru the Popular Front.

The London I.L.P., however, has an amendment urging that Soviet Russia has the right to enter into temporary agreements with capitalist powers, tho the amendment lays down the condition that such agreements should not "limit the international revolutionary movement in countries outside the U. S. S. R." The question arises whether or not such agreements inevitably mean such a limitation.

The second difference is raised by one branch, which, "on the information available," endorses the findings in the Moscow trials. This branch is likely to have little support in the conference, which will find it difficult to believe that six thousand persons, many of them with revolutionary records of undoubted sincerity, have become the tools of the capitalist class.

These differences will be discussed at the conference as demographically as they have been formulated in the agenda. There is one problem which the I.L.P. has not yet solved in order to provide full democracy within the party. Many branches will not be represented at the conference owing to their inability to meet the travelling and accommodation expenses. To a certain extent, democracy has been applied even in this matter by the institution of a pooled fare, but it would be worth while for the party to give its mind to the question as to whether it would not be possible to build up in each division during the year a pooled fund.

Philadelphia, Pa. A splendid meeting was held here in Philadelphia on Sunday, April 24, at which Jay Lovestone discussed recent events in Austria and described his own experiences in Vienna during the first days of the Hitler invasion.

The meeting was well attended, with over 300 present. In the audience, there were quite a few trade unionists, some college students, a considerable number of socialists, some Stalinites and a big group of Trotskyites.

Lovestone did a remarkably effective job in his lecture and the talk was very well received. There was an exceptionally large number of interesting and intelligent questions. The Trotskyites tried their usual stunt of taking the floor, presumably to ask a question but actually to read a speech prepared beforehand. This created some little nuisance and lost precious time.

The collection for the Austrian Solidarity Fund netted \$46.05.

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AMONG THE MISSING

BELOW we list the names of the members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party during the period of the great Russian revolution of November 1917. Accompanying each name is an indication the fate that he met in the years that followed:

ARTEM . . . died. BERZIN . . . fate unknown. BUBNOV . . . imprisoned by Stalin, perhaps dead.

BUKHARIN . . . shot by Stalin. DZERZHINSKY . . . died. JOFFE . . . suicide as a result of Stalinist persecutions.

KAMENEV . . . shot by Stalin. KOLLONTAI . . . reported imprisoned by Stalin. KRESTINSKY . . . shot by Stalin.

LENIN . . . died. LOMOV . . . fate unknown. MILIUTIN . . . reported imprisoned by Stalin.

MURANOV . . . reported imprisoned by Stalin. NOGIN . . . died. RYKOV . . . shot by Stalin. SHOMYAN . . . died. SMILGA . . . shot by Stalin.

SOKOLNIKOV . . . imprisoned by Stalin. STALIN . . . in office. STASSOVA . . . fate unknown. SVERDLOV . . . died. TROTSKY . . . exiled by Stalin. URITSKY . . . died. ZINOVIEV . . . shot by Stalin.

Of the 24, 6 have been shot by Stalin, 5 imprisoned by him, 1 driven to suicide, 1 exiled and 3 doomed to some unknown fate, while 7 died before Stalin could get at them, and 1 (Stalin himself) remains in office! Only Stalin remains, his hands reeking with the blood of his victims, the best blood of the international working-class movement!

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Dubinsky Calls for Unity, Defends ALP at May Day

THREE big locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers in New York, Dressmakers Union Local 22, Cloak Operators Local 117 and Knitgoods Workers Local 155, held a joint May Day meeting at the Hippodrome on Saturday evening, April 30. The vast hall was crowded with the thousands of workers who turned out to celebrate the international holiday under the banners of their unions.

The chairman of the meeting was Charles S. Zimmerman of Local 22. Louis Levy of Local 117 and Louis Nelson of Local 155 brought the greetings of their organizations and the secretary of the Spanish Embassy in this country spoke on behalf of the Ambassador de los Rios, who could not be present.

The main speaker of the evening was David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U. In the name of the 275,000 members of his union, Mr. Dubinsky addressed greetings of solidarity to the international labor movement, especially to the underground labor organizations in the fascist-ridden countries of Europe. He then turned to the situation at home. To meet the ravages of the new depression, expressing itself in a tremendous rise in the number of the unemployed, he proposed an all-around program of adequate relief and economic reform. He also called for the release of Tom Mooney and of all labor prisoners thruout the world.

But most of his remarks were directed towards the present situation in the labor movement and it is these remarks that were particularly significant. He made a passionate plea for trade-union unity, so vital today in the face of the growing reactionary offensive on the economic and political fronts. He placed great emphasis on the fact that the division in the ranks of labor made it difficult for the "fine, young, idealistic elements" organized in the new industrial unions of the C.I.O. to exert their full influence on the older sections of the labor movement in the A.F. of L. unions. As an example of the activities that are sowing confusion and dissension in labor's ranks, Mr. Dubinsky pointed to the recent action of the New York State Federation of Labor attacking the A.L.P. and ordering the withdrawal of all A.F. of L. unions from it. Such conduct the speaker denounced as "reactionary" and as "responsible for widening the breach in labor's ranks."

Mr. Dubinsky's address was greeted with enthusiasm by the big audience.

The following afternoon, Sunday, May 1, the Hippodrome was the scene of another big trade-union May Day meeting, this time of the New York locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Joseph Schosberg was the main speaker.

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BOOKS

AND SO TO WAR, by Hubert Herring. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. \$2.00.

It is all a matter of tempo. Roosevelt has gone farther toward war in six months than Wilson did in two years." Thru interpolation of the events that led to Wilson's war "against autocracy," Mr. Herring draws a quick but brilliant sketch of the events leading to Roosevelt's war "against fascism."

The publishers blurb, and presumably Mr. Herring as well, considers this book a statement of the case for American neutrality; in actual fact, it is a crisp exposure, done by a facile journalist, of the reality that diplomacy itself is merely an expression of the war-drive, not the impeller thereof. With enough Washington connections and experience to give a lively touch to his comments, the author, thoroly alarmed at Roosevelt's foreign policy, has set down a hurried, dramatic and accurate account of the Administration's "educational campaign" for war. In the course of the book, a sweet job is done on Great Britain, in the tradition of Quincy Howe and other great Anglophobes; tribute is paid to the Western agrarians and progressives who stood fast against the Wilson war-machine in 1917; understanding of the road to war that "collective security" paves is revealed; the vast powers of the President in foreign policy and the ease with which the Executive can lead the country into war are discussed; great doubt is expressed as to the lasting powers of democracy within the "great democracies" in a war against fascism; and, stressing its hot-off-the-press character, due tribute is paid to Earl Browder's support of Roosevelt's war-mongering.

Mr. Herring is inclined to believe that the United States would be much better off if it ceased being misled by Great Britain and would establish a "real neutrality," out of the hands of a President who uses it to aid fascism in Spain. This leads him into a few contradictions, typical of those who hold his special views. For example, on page 131, America's imperialist barbarisms in South America and the Far East are admitted to be no different in character from those of Italy in Ethiopia or of Japan at the present moment in China. Still he believes that, "if America is persuaded (i. e., by England) to play the hero in Asiatic waters, she must be persuaded on sentimental, not economic grounds." Sentiment didn't put America in the war when the best profits to be reaped were thru "neutrality"; when the vast financial stake of American banks and industries, as Mr. Herring knows, were threatened by the possibility of German military victory, then in "we" went. "Our" stake, and prospects of a bigger one, in the Far East determine the President's policy. The coincidence of American and British policy today should not cause us to forget their sharp antagonism in the late twenties, and the probable revival of these antagonisms when, it is hoped, Japan is put in her proper place.

"Real neutrality," such as the author believes was promised by Wilson but "betrayed" by him, is the one hope against war set forth in these pages. Perhaps the best answer is Wilson's road to war itself. "Real neutrality," without trade in war materials, just isn't profitable. "Real neutrality" means that the United States, that is, its ruling class, gives up its vested interests in the Far East and turns these markets over to Japan and others. That, of course, would be something—it would be the end of imperialism in the U

Trade Union Notes

By Observer

Stalinists in the Pocketbook Union

AS YOU read these lines, the convention of the International Ladies Hand Bag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union is scheduled to be taking place, altho the inner situation is sharp enough to make possible the disruption of the convention by the Stalinists and their manufacturer friends. A few weeks ago, on this page, we told the story of the alliance consummated between the Stalinists in this union, under the leadership of Gevertzman, and Ossip Wolinsky who was expelled from the union some years ago when it was discovered that he was a partner in a luggage firm while he held a paid job in the union! With such discredited elements the Stalinists have aligned themselves in a fight against the leadership of the International, of which Isidor Laderman is president.

Following their brazen attempts to publicly defend this block, the Stalinist forces have moved recklessly in a desperate drive to seize control of the union, even if this meant splitting the organization. They and their allies in the New York pocketbook local even combined in an attempt to prevent President Laderman from being elected delegate to the convention!

At a meeting of the G. E. B. of the International, called on April 29 to consider trade problems and some aspects of the convention, the Gevertzman group showed that it would stop at nothing in its lust for power. A motion to put aside the order of business in order to discuss convention affairs alone having been ruled out by the president and this ruling having been accepted by the meeting, the Stalinists threatened to split heads and began to let loose their usual stream of filthy abuse. Unable to get their motion thru (Gevertzman's appeal came a half-hour after the ruling and the discussion thereon), they decided to prevent the meeting from going on—and succeeded. They then calmly proceeded to hold their own "G.E.B. meeting," electing a rump Stalinist-Wolinsky "credentials committee" for the convention and dismissing a Canadian organizer of the International. This latter ties up, strangely enough, with the famous Federman case. This organizer, H. Simon, whose work had been unanimously approved by the G.E.B. last December, has now become distasteful to the Stalinists because a few years ago he was chairman of Federman's local!

These "decisions" were denounced as illegal by President Laderman, who instructed Simon to continue his work, and, in the absence of a functioning G.E.B., appointed a credentials committee for the convention.

The Stalinist-Wolinsky clique further "prepared for the convention" by holding their own caucus of Eastern pocketbook delegates, over whom they have some influence. At this conference, organized thru union channels but to which the president of the international was not invited, they passed a resolution for the organization of an Eastern trade board of pocketbook locals which would function apart from, and without approval of, the International office! A second resolution was passed organizing the Eastern pocketbook workers into a block and electing a steering committee of these delegates for the convention. Presid-

ent Laderman, in a statement to the press, denounced these moves as an attempt to set the East against the West, pocketbook workers against all other sections of the International, characterizing it as an effort to destroy the industrial-union character of the organization thru the incitement of craft sentiment among the pocketbook workers against the other groups in the union, such as luggage, belt and novelty workers.

In effect, therefore, the Stalinists have placed themselves in hostility to the new workers who are coming into the union on the basis of its enlarged jurisdiction. In actual practice, they are quite willing to sacrifice the industrial unity of the organization to their own factional ends.

At the convention itself, the Stalinist-Wolinsky group is prepared to resist the seating of delegates from five new locals of 3,000 luggage workers, because it is feared they might line up against the Stalinists; the latter, in fact, are against extending the union since that would lessen the relative power of their stranglehold in the New York pocketbook local. It is a matter of record that Gevertzman, the Stalinist leader, openly declared at a meeting of the G.E.B. that, "if he were sure that these delegates would not change the complexion of the International," he would gladly accept their credentials! M. S. M.

ALP Record In Assembly

(Continued from Page 3)

fundamental legislation can be enacted with the assistance of the Democrats and Republicans who are committed to the old, declining order of things.

Even for reasons of political strategy, the old parties would not yield to the demand of the Labor forces for truly progressive legislation. The Child Labor Amendment, as has been indicated, was rejected, while steps in the direction of public ownership of our power resources were refused. Besides the measures already referred to, a bill in behalf of health insurance never reached first base. The repeal of the Teachers Loyalty Oath was refused. Little was done to improve the cumbersome and inadequate systems of unemployment insurance, old-age pensions or workmen's compensation. No headway was made toward the abolition of the power of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes. Practically no progress was made in the development of a more enlightened system of taxation or in the conservation of our forest re-

Bridges' Acts Against SUP Sharpen Waterfront Crisis

By JACK SODERBERG

April 20, 1938

THE employer agrees to recognize the Sailors Union of the Pacific as the representative for the purpose of collective bargaining of the unlicensed personnel. . . .

"The employer agrees to give preference in employment to members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific and to secure their unlicensed deck personnel thru the offices of the union."

The above paragraphs are of sections 1 and 2 of the existing agreement between the Shepard Steamship Company on the one hand and the S.U.P. on the other. It is signed by T. H. Shepard on behalf of the company and by Harry Lundberg on behalf of the union. The usual 30-day clause regarding abrogation of the contract is also included. To date, neither the union nor the company has given notice to terminate the contract. Hence, the contract is still in force and the ship-owner, according to this contract, is still bound to ship his replacements thru the S.U.P. hall. There are such halls in the major ports on the West Coast, and in New York and Baltimore on the East Coast. The company, nevertheless, decided to ship its replacements thru the N.M.U. hall because, in so doing, it would avoid living up to the strict rules set by the S.U.P. in protecting its members.

History Of The Company

A few notes on the history of this company. During the whole of the 1934 strike, this company sailed its ships manned by Filipino crews at a pay of \$40 per month—about half the regular union scale. After the strike and towards the middle of 1935, the S.U.P. went after this company and succeeded in bringing the scale of wages up to the level of the rest on the intercoastal shipping. It also improved the conditions, food, etc. During the great

sources, while the Legislature utterly refused to return to the City of New York the needed power to tax public utilities for relief purposes on the same basis as in former years. On the other hand, by an almost solid vote of Republicans and Democrats, the Legislature passed the iniquitous McNaboe bill (fortunately later vetoed by the Governor).

After the heroic fight which they made in Albany, the A.L.P. representatives are, I am sure, clearly aware of the fact that they can place no reliance in any old party organization. Labor must stand on its own feet. Its course lies along the road of aggressive, independent action. A while ago, Herbert Morrison, distinguished leader of the London labor movement, and recently in this country, said of the British Labor party: "We (in Great Britain) fought every election, everywhere, every time. We were strictly independent of all political parties. We did not back candidates of other parties. We stood on our own feet, found our own funds, framed our own policy and fought all comers." Increasing numbers of workers in this country are coming to the conclusion that the British Labor party policy in this respect at least is a pretty wise policy to emulate.

1936-37 strike, all the company's ships happened to be on the East Coast where they were struck by its S.U.P. crews. Towards the end of the East Coast strike, Curran made an agreement verbally with the company allowing its ships to sail on the East Coast, manned by East Coast crews for the duration of the West Coast strike. Naturally, they could not sail to the West Coast because the strike was still on there and the ships would have been tied up immediately upon arrival in Frisco. At the conclusion of the West Coast strike, the Shepard Line again entered its usual intercoastal trade and, towards the middle of April 1937, the contract referred to above was concluded by the S.U.P. and the company. As stated, the contract is still in effect to all intents and purposes.

At a meeting in headquarters of the S.U.P. in Frisco some two weeks ago, it was decided to strike all Shepard ships until such a time that the company learned to live up to the agreement and ship S.U.P. men and at West Coast wages and conditions, which are higher and better than those on the East Coast. At Portland, Oregon, the Seatrush was struck and a picket line thrown around the pier. Harry Bridges ordered his longshoremen to go thru the picket line and, aided by the police, most of them went thru and successfully broke the strike. In Seattle lay the Timber Rush, and she too was struck. Here the longshoremen rejected Harry Bridges' orders to go thru the line. Meanwhile, in New York, the cause of all the trouble lay, the Windrush, picketed by sailors and firemen from the New York S.U.P. hall.

Bridges Breaks The Picket Line

On April 19, the Seatrush arrived in Frisco from Portland to complete her loading. A picket line of several hundred sailors and firemen was set up. Bridges again ordered his Frisco longshoremen to go thru the line and load the ship. A fight broke out with the sailors and firemen, on the one side, and the Bridges forces and the police, on the other. The final result of the fight was—the sailors picket line was broken and broken with it, I am afraid, for some time to come, was that wonderful solidarity cemented back in the glorious days of the 1934-36-37 struggles.

At the same time, in New York, the Windrush was left tied up thru the action of the I.L.A. longshoremen in walking off the ship when the N.M.U. established a counter-picket line against its brother organization, the S.U.P.

At the present time of writing, this is how matters stand.

When, in 1934, the West Coast maritime workers struck against unbelievably miserable conditions and came out victorious, it gave an impetus to a wave of struggles to follow everywhere. We hailed it and gloried in it even tho some of us—including this writer—could only view it from a distance. When, in 1936-37, these maritime workers struck again and, thru their Maritime Federation of the Pacific, succeeded in welding their forces together into a solid whole, we again followed their every step of struggle, their solidarity, their apparently complete understanding of the imperative necessity for solid-

Brothers in the People's Front

FROM an article by Peri in the March 30 issue of the Humanite, official paper of the Communist Party of France:

"On March 15, the Spanish government received from Paris something quite different from a sign of sympathy; it received advice to capitulate . . ."

Who gave the Spanish government this "advice to capitulate" to Franco and his fascist allies? The then People's Front government of France, the government of the socialist, Leon Blum, the government supported by the very Communist Party whose spokesman now rails against it!

arity of all crafts in the industry gladdened us and we again gloried in their tremendous victory at the end of the strike. Yes, the Embarcadero in Frisco might still be wet with blood of those who sacrificed their last in that struggle. But the strike was won. And those of us who have sailed these ships for so many years, those of us who know what it means to have a 100% union crew on the ship, we more than any one else, gloried in the tremendous victory, for we understood, we knew what it was all about.

Unity Broken

Less than two years have passed and now we find two organizations within the federation that was built in that struggle, throwing picket lines around ships and a third organization, within the same federation, walking thru the picket line!

And, in something like four months from now, all contracts on the West Coast expire and there isn't the slightest doubt that strikes will be required to maintain the gains of the last strike.

All this could have been avoided. A solid West Coast could still have been in existence had but some common-sense been used at the time when the C.I.O. Maritime Committee was appointed in Washington in 1937—if, instead of appointment, a little democracy had been used, whereby the men themselves would have been allowed to make their own choice in the matter of representation rather than have an individual thrust upon them who, no matter how popular in the past, has certainly lost all that and more. Also, had there been less listening to Communist Party puddle-jumpers and more to the actual sailors who sail the ships, the men might have been given what they asked for—the right to select their own representatives. Instead, a deaf ear was turned to the demands of the men and there was imposed upon the sailors—Harry Bridges. And Bridges, by his stupid actions and tactics, by his lack of the most elementary understanding of common decency when dealing with these men, soon succeeded in destroying every vestige of comradeship and plain solidarity between the two organizations until he finally succeeded in making the gap between the two so wide that it is difficult to see how anything can bridge it under present conditions.



The Youth Are At It Again

RIVERA HALL, 133 W. 33 St.

Youth Section, I.C.L.L.

Kilocycle Dance

SATURDAY, MAY 14

8 P. M.

GAMES-DANCING
REFRESHMENTS

Admission: 25 Cents

