

**NEXT WEEK:
AMERICA MOVES TO
TOTALITARIANISM**

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

JIM CROW IN NEGRO EDUCATION
... by Chas. McDowell ... page 2.
**WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH THE
RAILROADS** ... page 3

Vol. 8, No. 14.

NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1939.

5 CENTS

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

"ABOUT FACE" IS RIGHT

FIVE years of filth, blood and thunder intervened between the 18th congress of Stalin's Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its preceding confab. Now that this gathering is over, it is opportune to point out some of its significant features. In demagoguery, hypocrisy and shallowness, the speeches of Stalin and Manuisky hit a new low. In hailing Stalin as a great historian and scientist, Yaroslavsky not only pulled somebody's leg but also, as future purges will show, put his own foot into it when he so lavishly showered praise on "the concrete instructions of Stalin to our historians and concrete criticism of their mistakes—all this caused a veritable about-face in our science. Undoubtedly it is under the influence of this about-face that the Academy of Sciences for the first time has undertaken the publication of a Marxist history of the whole world."

"About-face" sums it up very well. I know of no single word that typifies so painfully, yet so accurately, Stalin's attitude towards Marxism and much that has for decades meant most to the international labor movement. "About-face" explains the Moscow dispatch about the Stalin congress in the Daily Worker of March 15, reading in part: "Both Stalin and Manuisky declined to reply to discussion, announcing through the chairman that discussion had brought out no disagreements." It is clear that the delegates thought and felt—wisely, of course—that to reason with these two powerful "historians" and "scientists" would be like talking back to a machine gun.

The majority of the convention delegates joined the C.P.S.U. only after 1926, nine years after the revolution. Of the 71 members of the Central Committee elected by the 1934 convention, only 22 remain active (at this writing, March 17). "Shot or disappeared" explains the fate of the 49 now replaced by purge-made saints. To all of this, Pravda has the effrontery to say: "Stalin represents the happy present day of the brotherly family of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the radiant tomorrow of all toiling mankind." This is the language and technique of Hitler's Voelkischer Beobachter in describing the "blessings of Der Fuehrer's protectorate."

Yes, indeed, it is an "about-face" which explains the changes in the Red Army oath from "I a son of the toiling people" to "I a citizen of the U.S.S.R.," and from a pledge "to direct all my actions and thoughts to the great goal of the liberation of all toilers" to an expression of loyalty "to my people, my Soviet Fatherland, and the workers and peasants government."

Seldom in history has humanity been mistreated to such a costly and cruel "about-face" and "about-facer."

BEHIND THE AXIS

MUSSOLINI'S foreign policy organ, Relazioni Internazionali, subjected its readers to fits of moral indignation over the efforts of the French and British "democracies" to cheat the Axis powers out of their victory in Spain. It rails furiously against such "attempts to depreciate Franco's military victory by offers of financial help."

Butcher Benito really knows better. He knows that these very "democracies" invented the "non-intervention" pact to insure the crushing of the Spanish people. Lest anyone doubt our contention that "democratic" gold and supplies went a long way to help Franco's triumph, we call the following from a despatch by the New York Times Berlin correspondent, George M. Morison:

"New light was shed on the Spanish situation last week when it became known that, for the last year, five great London banks had been financing Generalissimo Francisco Franco to the extent of several million pounds; these credits having been arranged by General Franco's London agent, the Duke of Alba, thru the London banking house of Kleinworth Sons and Co."

Unintentionally, we hasten to guess, this despatch was buried on the financial page in the February 20, 1939 issue.

There are no "moral" or "idealist" differences dividing the robber barons of the fascist from those of the still "democratic" empires. These rulers are only after privileges, loot and plunder. The "moral" element introduced by the Daladier, Chamberlains, Roosevelts, Lardons, Edens and Churchills are as hypocritical, as fraudulent and as dangerous as those harped upon by the Hitlers, Mussolinis, Francos and Mikados. The tragedy of it all is that the workers, farmers and middle-class people everywhere pay a hellish price for these imperialist conflicts.

Relazioni Internazionali shrieks that "war would mean revision not only of the European map but also that of the entire world." That is quite true—and that's precisely what the whole international argument is about. All else is cheap demagoguery and costly hypocrisy. But this fascist organ overlooks another possible outcome: the annihilation of the war-makers thru a destruction of the capitalist system that breeds them. International labor solidarity strengthened now is the only insurance for world peace today and a warless world tomorrow.

Issues Behind Neutrality

By ROBERT WALTERS

ONE of the most important issues to arise in Congress this session will certainly be the question of so-called "neutrality" legislation, with which the whole problem of American foreign policy is intimately associated. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has already begun discussions of the pending proposals to repeal or amend the present Neutrality Act and bitter debate is expected. Larger sections of the American people will follow the progress of these discussions than were ever before interested in foreign policy, at least since the end of the World War.

TWO FUNDAMENTAL ATTITUDES

In Congress, as among the people generally, there are two fundamentally opposed attitudes on the question of foreign policy. There are the "collective security" of one sort or another, those who believe that America should join in with the "great democracies" (Britain, France) against the fascist powers. Their official theory is that such a "democratic front" would prevent war, but it is obvious that they also envisage, without too much dismay, the possibility of American involvement in war on the side of the "democracies." Readers of this paper are well acquainted with the true character of the "collective-security" gospel as the cover for "democratic" imperialism on the road to war.

On the other side are the so-called "isolationists." They believe that America can save itself from war by "isolating" itself from the economic and political "quarrels" of the rest of the world. They point to the revelations of the Senate Munitions Committee as proving that American loans and sale of munitions to the Allies war well-nigh inevitable. They therefore urge a form of iron-

clad "neutrality" to keep us out of war, including a complete ban on the extension of credit or shipment of arms and implements of war to belligerents.

The present neutrality legislation represents a sort of compromise between these two points of view. The Neutrality Act of 1937, a development and extension of laws passed in 1935 and 1936, forbids the export of arms and implements of war to all belligerents once the President has declared a "state of war" to exist anywhere; empowers the President, at his discretion, to place all commerce with belligerents on a "cash-and-carry" basis; forbids Americans to travel on ships of belligerent flag; prohibits the extension of credit to belligerent governments; makes it unlawful for American merchantmen to be armed or to transport arms to belligerents; and enacts a number of other safeguards of a secondary character. (The "cash-and-carry" provision of the act is due to expire in May 1939.)

In addition, there is the Johnson act on the statute books, prohibiting the extension of credits to government which are in default in their obligations to the United States Treasury (war debts, etc.). The general purpose of this measure is the same as that of neutrality legislation before mentioned: to avoid foreign entanglements leading to war.

It is not necessary to ignore the over-simplified character of the "isolationist" analysis or to accept the "isolationist" program as a panacea or cure-all to recognize that, under present conditions, the drive for the strictest possible neutrality legislation is in the right direction, while the efforts now being made to undermine or destroy the existing legislation will obviously have the effect, whatever the intention may be, of easing the road to American involvement in war. A closer examination of the half-dozen

A.L.P. Backs State Wage-Hour Bill

Asks Extension To Fields Not Covered By Federal Wage-Hour Act

New York City
A trade-union conference of labor organizations affiliated with the American Labor Party, held last week at the Labor Club, decided unanimously to wage a vigorous drive to secure the passage of the state wage-hour law introduced in the State Senate by Senator Philip M. Kleinfeld and in the Assembly by Assemblyman Oscar Garcia-Rivera. The bill sponsored by the American Labor Party is up for a public hearing at Albany this week.

In a statement after the conference, Alex Rose, state secretary of the A.L.P., declared:

"Just as the state adopted a State Labor Relations Act to supplement the National Labor Relations Act to protect workers in intrastate industries, so does the state need a law to establish minimum wage and maximum-hour standards for industries not covered by the federal wage-hour act.

"Conditions in the state demand minimum-wage regulation to enable workers to support themselves and their dependents without relief supplementation. Reducing the number of hours in the work-week thru maximum-hour legislation is one direct method of dealing with the critical unemployment problem.

"This new wage-hour bill is designed to benefit thousands of New York State's workers in industries not covered by the federal law. The bill seeks to copy the prevailing federal wage-and-hour standards beginning with a 25 cents per hour minimum, up to October 24, 1939, a basic pay rate which is stepped up 5 cents an hour every two years until it reaches 40 cents an hour after October 1934. Weekly hours of work are to be cut to a maximum of 44 in 1939, 42 in 1940, and to 40 thereafter. Time-and-a-half for overtime is to be rigidly enforced. After October 1943, a basic standard of 40 cents an hour, 40 hours a week, is established for the state.

"The excellent results obtained from the minimum-wage law for women proves that this kind of state regulation will work. The experience of the Federal Wage-Hour Administration to date proves that the charges made that the enactment of wage-hour legislation will reduce employment, are utterly groundless. New York State cannot delay its obligations to its wage-earners on wage-and-hour standards. If employers want to do business in this state, they should be forced to pay wages that will enable their workers to at least maintain a minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being."

Another position on the question was taken by George Meany, president of the New York State Federa-

tion of Labor, who, while approving wage-hour legislation in principle, urged that action on the Kleinfeld bill be postponed until an "adequate study" of the operations of the federal act was made.

PROPOSALS BEFORE CONGRESS

The opponents of the present neutrality legislation are all advocates of somehow giving the President power to "discriminate" between "aggressor" powers and "aggrieved" powers and to line up the United States, by means of one-sided economic and financial measures, on the side of the latter. This sounds very noble; it just reeks with "international morality," as our sanctimonious Secretary of State would put it. But, in net effect, it gives the President arbitrary power to pick his side in any foreign war and to drive the United States into that war in support of the coalition of powers he may happen to favor. This is just gravy for the "collective security," but it is

SPECIAL ATTENTION!

A series of articles on
"THE PRESENT SITUATION IN SPAIN AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES"

by
JULIAN GORKIN
and
JUAN ANDRADE
(Members of the P.O.U.M. Executive)

written especially for the
WORKERS AGE
will begin in a coming issue
of this paper.

THE LUNACY CYCLE



C.I.O. Auto Convention Is Split in Faction War

Hillman, Murray Tighten Grip; Confab Torn Three Ways

Cleveland, Ohio
March 30, 1939

THE convention of the C.I.O. faction of the United Automobile Workers meeting here, has finally got down to some discussion of industrial issues and a number of resolutions have been adopted. But all-absorbing interest appears still to be centered on the struggle over the incoming officers.

The previously announced "harmony" slate which would have Thomas in the presidency and George Addes in the secretary-treasurer's seat, collapsed when the Stalinists demanded, in return for giving up their Addes-Frankenstein ticket, that five vice-presidents be retained. Such an arrangement would very likely give them three out of five of the vice-presidents and, with the secretary-treasurer's office in their hands, they could easily call the tune.

But the convention has developed strong opposition to five vice-presidents, the constitution committee insisting on only one. There is a likelihood that a final compromise on three vice-presidents may be reached.

(Special to the Workers Age)

Cleveland, Ohio
The C.I.O. faction of the United Automobile Workers has been meeting here for four days but little progress has been made because of the deadlock created by the raging three-way faction struggle. The real convention is being held behind closed doors where C.I.O. agents Phil Murray and Sidney Hillman are handpicking a leadership which the assembled delegates will be asked to rubber-stamp. To make certain that its fist is felt as well as its voice heard, the C.I.O. has sent to the convention a large entourage of its retainers. Among these are to be found, in addition to Murray and Hillman, John Brophy, James Carey, Leo Kryzski, Franz Daniel, August Scholle, Hugh Thompson, Vin Sweeney, Cecil Owens, Lee Pressman, John Abt, Frank Rosenbloom, and Ray Thomason.

Observers who in the past were wont to attribute the factionalism which plagued the U.A.W. to the "Lovestonites" or "Martinites" now sit in wide-eyed astonishment at the display of unbridled factionalism manifested by the Stalinites and their close ally for many years, the Michigan socialists.

STRATEGY OF C.I.O.

C.I.O. strategy appears to be operating along two lines—first, in the form of open attacks against the communists and socialists so as to arouse sufficient resentment against "politicals" and make it possible ultimately to put its slate across; secondly, by behind-the-scenes negotiations, which began even before the convention opened, to secure a slate "acceptable" to all factions.

C.I.O. representatives have not been unresentful at the thanklessness which some of the faction leaders are showing after the support, financial and organizational, which the C.I.O. has rendered in the fight against the Martin forces. In executive session, Murray and Hillman castigated "those leaders" who rushed to the C.I.O. for assistance but who now turn a "deaf ear" when the C.I.O. attempts to "advise" (read: dictate) on the choice of officers.

Phil Murray thundered "against any dirty rat that tried to control this union for subversive purposes," while Sidney Hillman labelled the

Madrid Falls, Civil War Nears End

Franco Holds All Spain, Unleashes Savage Terror Against Masses

After a siege that began in October 1936, Madrid finally surrendered to the Franco forces last week and the fascist troops swept in without a shot being fired. Most of the Loyalist officials had left for the coast the previous day in hope of getting out of the country, and there was no resistance as the city was taken over by the victorious Insurgents. In the week that followed, every important town in Loyalist territory surrendered.

With the fall of Madrid, it was clear that the long civil war was drawing to a close, at least in its open phase. During the weeks preceding the surrender of the city, repeated efforts had been made by the Loyalists to obtain some guarantee of humane treatment at the hands of the fascist victors, but in vain. As soon as the fascists entered the capital, they let loose a wave of terror against those who had been identified with the anti-fascist cause. Arrests, jailings and executions were reported on a large scale.

The surrender of Madrid and the abandonment of all resistance to the fascists followed a deep split in the Loyalist regime and the Popular Front on which it was based, with one section (Miaja, Besteiro, Casado) reflecting Anglo-French influence and the other (Negrin, Del Vayo) under Russian control. Bloody

suppression of the Stalinists and those who supported them for a continuation of the conflict followed the break.

EUROPEAN TENSION INCREASED

The political situation in Europe grew much tenser last week on two fronts. In the manner that has become familiar of late years, the Nazis began a drive directed at Danzig. Stories of the "sufferings" and "persecutions" of Germans in that city filled the Reich press, supplemented by thinly veiled threats and warnings to Poland. Strong military preparations were taken by Warsaw. England and France were reported ready to "promise" Poland "protection" against a Nazi attack but, significantly enough, Danzig and Polish Corridor were specifically excluded from this pledge—a direct invitation for Hitler to come and take both. With the Corridor in German hands and its way to the sea thus blocked, Poland would be virtually at the mercy of the Reich.

Major attention shifted to the Italo-French situation last week, with Italy immensely strengthened by Franco's victory. Mussolini's demands upon France were declared by him in a long-awaited speech to be concerned mainly with Tunisia, Djibouti and the Suez Canal. Premier Daladier replied that he was ready for "negotiations" but barred the cession of a "single foot of French soil." However, little importance was attached to Daladier's uncompromising language for it was felt that some major "concessions" to Italy would be forthcoming in the end. Meanwhile, there was stalemate.

In England, Prime Minister Chamberlain continued to talk rather vaguely about his "Stop Hitler" campaign. Quite definite, however, was the decision of the government to double the size of the Territorials to a new high of 350,000 men. For the time being, Chamberlain rejected the proposal made by Anthony Eden and others that conscription be instituted, altho he indicated that he might have to resort to it in the future.

GOP '40 Threat Gives Democrats Jitters

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

CHERRY blossoms are out. This is a dream city, especially at twilight, but all is not quiet along the Potomac. Widespread demoralization has set in among New Dealers. Unless F.D.R. gives vigorous leadership to his forces immediately, Republican victory is almost certain in 1940. The fact of the matter is that there are no Roosevelt heir-apparents who have a chance of getting the Democratic nomination unless the Garner-Farley express to the White House is stopped or slowed down. Many are urging F.D.R. to say he will accept the nomination again if the demand on the part of country is sufficiently obvious. If he should so declare himself, he could probably have the nomination. If it did not seem politically expedient, at the last minute during the convention, for him to take it because of prejudice against a third term, he could dictate the choice of his successor. Farley would hardly directly oppose the Chief and consequently the Farley-Garner forces would not continue, objectively, to work together.

The Jackson boom is still on but is making little headway. The same Rooseveltians who favor Jackson are now talking also of Douglas. In terms of popular appeal, Douglas seems to have the edge on Jackson. He would be an almost perfect dark-horse substitute for the President. During the Fall of this year and the Spring of 1940, he can tend to his knitting on the Supreme Court. He won't have to affirm or deny his availability in the way that Jackson, Murphy, Hopkins et al. will be forced to do.

Personal note: Frank Murphy has a copy of the "Life and Times of Diego Rivera" by Bertram D. Wolfe and seems to be enjoying it.

"STRICTLY AMERICAN"

The Marian Anderson affair has become such a major topic of conversation in Washington and has such great national significance that I do not apologize for quoting at length from a recent column by George Schuyler in the Pittsburgh

Courier. A touch of cynicism is refreshingly realistic in such a situation.

"Altho I shall probably stand alone, I must rush precipitately to the defense of the D.A.R. against the charge of un-Americanism because they barred Miss Marian Anderson from singing in their Constitution Hall. In my opinion, the decision of the D.A.R. was strictly American and backed by three centuries of tradition originally established by the Founding Fathers. Barring Negroes has always been a leading American industry and shall so continue for a long time to come. It is those who are attacking the D.A.R. who are in reality un-American. Since the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth and promptly began robbing and shooting Indians who befriended them and ousting religious dissenters from their

(Continued on Page 4)

Urge Change in Federal Wage Bill

Washington, D. C.

Amendments to the federal wages-and-hours act designed to exempt workers receiving salaries of \$200 a month or more, and making other adjustments in the act, were introduced in the House last week by Representative Mary T. Norton of New Jersey, chairman of the Labor Committee.

Senator Thomas, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, announced that he would offer similar amendments when the Senate met the next day. Their bills embody recommendations made by Elmer F. Andrews, Wages-and-Hours Administrator.

The chairman plan to hold hearings immediately on the bills, obviously intending that Congress change the law at this session.

Both bills would give Mr. Andrews increased power to decide on the application of the law, to define technical and trade terms and to make special provisions regarding industrial home-work and "constant" wage plans.

Jim Crow Holds Grip Over Negro Education in America

By CHARLES McDOWELL

THE brutal persecution of the Jews in Germany has filled the whole world with horror. It seems impossible that human beings can be as cruel and inhuman as the Nazi gangsters who control Germany's destiny have shown themselves to be.

But let us not congratulate ourselves too much. Let us not forget that we, too, have a persecuted "minority" right in our own "democratic" United States, a "minority" that fares but little better than the Jews in totalitarian Germany. Hitler's recent statement that the German government was considering installing "jim-crow" railroad cars for Jews calls our attention to the fact that the Negro in the United States, and especially in the South, is persecuted in many ways at least as brutally as the Jews are in Germany.

The more closely the plight of the Negro in the United States is examined, the more striking is the resemblance to Germany. Let us consider one of the most important, and yet little known, aspects of the situation: education. From a report issued recently by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, we gain a vivid picture of discrimination against the Negro in this field, a picture that may seem unbelievable to many of us.

EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRACY

"The basic principles of education in a democracy," we are quite properly reminded in this report, "is a single school system open to all citizens, on an equal basis, in every function from student to administrator, regardless of race, color, creed or political belief. In a community where black and white children, future citizens of our country, are separated in the public schools, democracy is not functioning as a way of life."

In a report on the status of the South as the nation's Number 1 economic problem, published in August 1938, by the National Emergency Council, it is stated: "Since adequate schools and other means of public education are indispensable to the successful functioning of a democratic nation, the country as a whole is concerned with the South's difficulty in meeting its problem of education. Illiteracy was higher in 1930 in the southern states than in any other region, totaling 8.8% as compared to the north-central states, for example, which had a percentage of 1.9. In the South, illiteracy ranged from 2.8% in Oklahoma to 14.9% in South Carolina."

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO

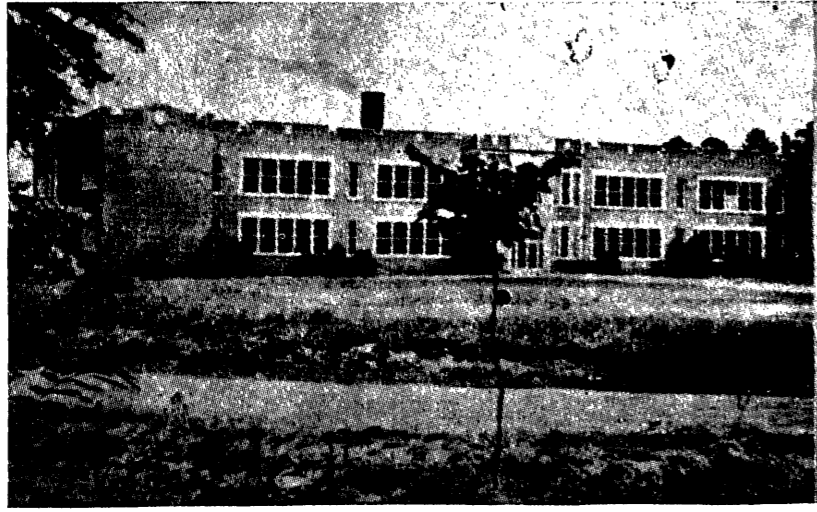
This is the picture of education in the South as a whole. But what is the status of the Negro in this tragic picture?

Negroes in 19 southern states and in the District of Columbia are forced by law to attend separate schools. By law, these jim-crow schools are supposed to provide "equal" facilities for education. Actually, however, the system of separate schools makes it easy for these states to deprive Negroes of an equitable share of public-school funds. Thus, they never get their fair share and their protests to local boards of education are often unheeded, since at least 80% of the Negroes are disfranchised by intimidation and discrimination and are thus effectively prevented from exerting any pressure at the polls.

Even where the federal government has stepped in to aid the states in raising the educational level of the country as a whole, Negro citizens in the southern states have been denied an equitable share of these federal funds. Out of \$16,846,275 received by Negro and white land-grant colleges in 17 states in 1935-36, the former, although they constituted 23% of the population, received only 5.5% of this money directly and 9.1% indirectly. This total represented less than half of their fair share of these funds.

The discrimination in distribution of state funds is even worse. In 1930, the average annual expenditure per pupil throughout the nation was \$99. The expenditure for white children in the South was \$44.31, less than half the national average. But the expenditure for Negro children was \$12.57, only one-fourth that for southern white children and about one-eighth that for the average pupil in the nation as a whole! In certain states of the deep South, with huge Negro populations, the discrimination is still greater: Georgia spends annually an average of \$35.42 for each white pupil and \$6.38 for each

"SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES



Left: Public School for White Children, Macon County, Ga. Right: Public School for Negro Children, Macon County, Ga.

Negro pupil; the figures for Mississippi are \$45.24 against \$5.45. In 230 counties in 15 southern states with 158,939 Negro pupils of high school age, there was not a single Negro high school; yet there were white high schools in each county. Whenever separate high schools for Negroes are examined, they are found to be almost invariably inferior to the white schools, with big differences in teachers salaries, transportation, length of term, curriculum, laboratory equipment, playground equipment, school plant and other items.

In 1930, in 10 southern states, Negroes represented one-third of the school population; yet they received less than 2% of the public money for transportation. In 1930, in 13 southern states, the annual salary for white school teachers was \$900 (little enough in itself); but for Negro teachers, the annual salary was but \$523! The school term for Negro schools in most places is from one to three months shorter than that of the white schools.

DISCRIMINATION IN THE NORTH

In the North, the picture is a much better one, but even here there is discrimination. Theoretically, Negro students have the right to attend the same common schools, the same colleges and universities in the North, under the same conditions as white students. In practice, however, they suffer discriminations ranging from petty annoyances to complete exclusion from educational institutions. Often, they are discriminated against in recreation, special courses and extra-curricular activities.

Despite laws prohibiting separate schools, California, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Illinois have excluded Negro students from common schools in certain sections of these states and have set up "separate" (jim-crow) schools for them. These segregated schools, similar to those in the South, are usually inferior to the white schools in the community.

Even in cities where there is supposed equality, there is discrimination in many ways. One method of getting around the law is by zoning restrictions and regulations, whereby children must attend a school in their immediate neighborhood. Negro sections of these cities are zoned off, and while the whites living in these neighborhoods are allowed to be transferred to schools outside the area, on one pretext or another, the Negroes are compelled to attend the school situated within the boundary of their residential zone.

Discrimination is rampant also in higher education. For example, in 15 southern states, 56% of all white college students get their college training from state institutions, while only 40% of the Negro college students enjoy this privilege. In 16 states, there is not a single state-supported institution where a Negro student may pursue graduate or professional work; yet every southern state provides a state-supported university offering graduate work and professional courses to some 15,000 white students in all.

Such is the picture of discrimination, segregation, prejudice and bigotry of which the Negro is the victim in the field of education. Add to this discrimination as to work, housing, relief and the almost complete disfranchisement of the Negro in the South, and you have a picture horrible indeed. And all this takes place right in the heart of this "great democracy" of ours!

Read — Spread
WORKERS AGE

Progressives Sweep Knitgoods Vote

Nelson Ticket Carries by 4 to 1 Lead

WITH the biggest vote ever cast by Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., the progressive candidates, headed by Louis Nelson, scored a sweeping victory in local elections held on Thursday, March 23. Louis Nelson, incumbent manager and progressive candidate for reelection, won by a vote of

C.I.O. Auto Meet Split Three Ways

(Continued from Page 1)
vincing George Addes to withdraw from the race for the presidency. Addes was sponsored for that post by the Communist Party and its ally, Richard Frankenstein, who was to make the run for the secretary-treasurership. The proposal hit the rocks when, in return for the automatic withdrawal of both Addes and Frankenstein, since there was general agreement on Addes to retain his present post as secretary-treasurer, the Stalinist forces insisted on the retention of five vice-presidents. This proposal would make it possible for the Stalinists to retain the whiphand over the union by controlling a majority of the officers.

The Thomas forces, mainly the conservative group which came over from Martin's camp, have very little to say about all this maneuvering, being ready to accept any proposal acceptable to the C.I.O., as long as Thomas is the choice for the presidency. The so-called socialist "middle group," headed by Reuther, Mazey and Marshall, has so far stood adamantly against the proposal, insisting on only one vice-president. However, it is not at all impossible that, regardless of the high-flown speeches and catchy campaign about "cleaning house at Cleveland," Walter Reuther and his group will finally line up with the C.I.O. proposal, especially if Reuther should receive in return a vice-presidency and either Mazey or Marshall a board membership from Detroit. At best, the "clean-house" group was little more than a job-catching group. The miserable failure of this group to make any effective fight on the floor during the report of the officers is a clear indication that some deal is already on the fire. Equally indicative is the speed with which the socialists dropped Frank Tuttle, whom they spoke of supporting for the presidency, after their deal with the Thomas forces—some of whom the socialists had condemned in the past in no temperate language.

Honor Tresca In Banquet

NEW YORK CITY
CARLO TRESCA is sixty years old this year. Forty of his years have been spent in vigorous service to the cause of unionism and civil liberty. The double anniversary will be celebrated by his countless friends with a jubilee dinner and dance at the Irving Plaza the night of Friday, April 14.

GROWING RANK-AND-FILE PROTEST

The C.I.O. is desperately seeking to keep the groups together but the very pressure required to achieve this state of affairs has already been the cause of growing resentment among the rank-and-file delegates and members of certain committees which have felt the heat. The constitution committee, for instance, had voted 8 to 2 for one vice-president and to this day refuses to budge on the C.I.O. proposal for five, claiming, that while Hillman and Murray talk against Stalinist domination, five vice-presidents would be just the opening the Stalinists were seeking for establishing their hold over the union even though they do not have the presidency. One member of the committee said: "If the C.I.O. representatives want five vice-presidents, let them go before the convention and put it over."

The credentials-committee report indicates that there are 500 delegates at the convention, allegedly representing 176 locals with about 175,000 members. Considerable hilarity here has been caused by the delegation from the Stalinist-controlled Murray Body local in Detroit. Apparently to emphasize its good relations with the firm, the story was spread that the company equipped each delegate to the Cleveland convention with a necktie and a box of cigars.

Drug Store Strike Stirs Cleveland

(Special to Workers Age)

Cleveland, Ohio
ON March 14, Cleveland witnessed the beginning of a strike embracing the three largest drug chains with 117 stores located all thru Greater Cleveland.

The strike was voted at 2 A. M. after the owners and their attorney representatives had refused to renew the agreement with the union representing the pharmacists. The other workers in these stores, namely, the drug clerks, the warehouse workers and the building-service workers, voted unanimously to back the pharmacists and to go out for one contract for all the workers in these chains.

The leadership of the strike, headed by Peter Formica, International representative of the retail clerks, are all rather young and inexperienced, but their approach is healthy and they are determined to win the strike in terms of reducing the long hours of work for all the workers and increasing the very low wages. The leaders of the strike are not afraid to call on more experienced labor people here for aid and advice and do not hesitate to use the most effective methods in publicizing and carrying on the struggle, including radio broadcasting, newspaper publicity, daily strike meetings, handbills distributed to the public and voluntary aid from the sympathetic labor movement.

Jurisdictional differences have been submerged in view of the need of a solid front against the employers, who are tied up with the infamous Associated Industries of Cleveland. Some of the chain stores tried to open with scab labor imported from other Ohio cities, which the employers boldly announced in the daily press. (Because there is a health law in Ohio making it illegal to keep a drug store open without a registered pharmacist on the premises, the employers had to resort to importation of scabs in order to open any of the stores.) But, as soon as these scabs arrived, the strikers brought them into the union and closed the stores again. So that whereas originally the chains employed 700 workers, there are now 900 strikers, with the 200 importations enrolled into membership.

All but one warehouse have been closed since the beginning of the strike. On March 21, at 6 A. M., a mass picket line of 500 strikers demonstrated in front of the Weinberger Warehouse and all but four workers signed up and closed the place tight. Even the office workers joined the union.

This last action brought the necessary pressure which the federal conciliator had been trying to exert on the owners, and that same day the union representatives and the employers met in conference. The conferences are still going on, and in view of the admitted heavy losses the chains have been suffering, due to the sympathetic public which refuses to patronize these chains, it is expected that an early settlement will be made.

The striking workers are fighting the Weinberger Standard and Marshall chains, and, if successful, will bring about the complete unionization of one of the most exploited sections of the consumer-service industries in Cleveland. A successful finish to this fight will inspire the drive against the large department stores in this city, which have been

The Issues Behind Neutrality

(Continued from Page 1)
measure point out that the free sale of arms and munitions would be the surest way of involving the United States in war on the side of the Anglo-French "democratic" coalition, since both England and France have the financial resources and shipping to enable them to operate on a "cash-and-carry" basis. They point out that, in a somewhat modified way, the Pittman amendment, too, would open the way to war. And there is no doubt that they are right, altho Senator Pittman presents to regard his plan as a "compromise."
(Included in the next issue)

News of the I.L.L.A.

by D. Benjamin

Three Campaigns

I. International Solidarity

A. Aims: (1) to help underground Spain and Spanish refugees, also the underground movements and refugees of Greater Germany, Czech-Slovakia and Italy; (2) to help build the International Revolutionary Center; and (3) to help build the International Workers Front against War.

B. Steps: (1) sending of delegate to International Congress; (2) sending of funds as mentioned above; (3) report by International Delegate to National Council; (4) discussion in branches on policies regarding the two International Congresses; and (5) decision by the organization on these matters.

C. Raising of finances to effect the above and to help the Workers Age, as the most important instrument for putting thru the above campaign: (1) quota of \$4,000; (2) drive beginning April 1, ending May 30; (3) May Day Wage from each member; (4) greetings and collection list for May Day issue of Workers Age (from organizations, individuals, etc.); (5) branches to work out plans and notify National Organization Department; (6) public send-off for International Delegate in New York on April 1.

II. Workers Age Drive

A. Get Workers Age on important news-stands and in bookshops.

B. Special promotion of Workers Age among progressive trade unionists: drawing up of proper lists; free mailing; special appeals for subs. (Write to Age Management for details.)

C. Covering important union meetings, mass meetings of various kinds, forums, labor classes.

D. Cooperation of branches and trade groups in writing up news, labor developments, union activities and problems—and then special sale and distribution of Workers Age on basis of these articles of interest to various sections of the labor movement.

E. Fulfillment of pledges made during the Press Fund Drive (tho that drive has been concluded, some pledges still remain outstanding).

F. Cooperation with the International Solidarity Fund Drive, a proportion of which is to be assigned to the Workers Age.

G. Increase of bundle orders by

the branches and regular payment for such.

III. Anti-War Work

A. See letter of National Organization Department published in Bertram D. Wolfe's column of Workers Age, March 29 issue. Work out plans along these lines.

B. Take note of the resolutions adopted by New York District Council, published in the March 29 issue of Workers Age. Get action on them.

C. Ask your local K.A.O.W.C. to make a special drive in trade unions, etc., on basis of the third resolution, reinsertion of the Barkley amendment to the Air Expansion Bill.

D. Resolution, petition and letter campaign against the undermining or destruction of the neutrality legislation.

E. Convince your local union to take action on anti-war and related measures. Most important, ask your local union to affiliate or cooperate with the K.A.O.W.C. clubs in your particular industry, trade or profession. In this connection, it is important to make clear the pro-war role of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

F. Youth branches must pay special attention to the student youth. Develop campaigns against the militarization of the N.Y.A. and C.C.C., against the R.O.T.C. and the C.M.T.C., against the government policy of training 20,000 aviators, in cooperation with colleges, against militarization proposals in general. In this connection, the pro-war role of the American Student Union must be made known.

May Day in New York

1. The New York District Council of the I.L.L.A. has addressed a letter to the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Social-Democratic Federation, I.W.W. and Il Martello group inviting them to a preliminary conference to consider joint action for May Day.

2. Members are asked to have their unions, if possible, celebrate May Day in an appropriate manner.

3. The New York District Council is of the opinion that the conference being called by the Communist Party and its controlled unions and auxiliaries is on a basis completely foreign to the spirit and class character of May Day and therefore unworthy of labor support.

Typo Union Prepares For Elections

Submit Nominations for Voting In May

By CHAS. W. CAMPBELL

NEW YORK CITY
ELMER BROWN, vice-president of New York Typographical Union No. 6 (Big Six), officially announced his candidacy for the presidency in the May elections at a recent meeting of the Non-Partisan Committee of Big Six. Full support by the members of the Non-Partisan Committee has been pledged to Brown and a campaign organization has been set up.

It was decided to hold the endorsement of candidates for other offices in abeyance until after filing of nominations is officially closed on April 12. A meeting will be held on April 16 to make the final decisions.

The Progressive Club of Big Six has held its nomination meeting and has decided not to nominate a candidate for president. Candidates for all other offices have been nominated, however, and a vigorous campaign is promised by the Progressives, who have long been influential in the union.

Last Sunday the Independent Party held its nomination meeting and a constant challenge to the organized labor movement.

Incidentally, the leading forces in this strike have been busily occupied with educational classes in such vital subjects as labor legislation, history of labor, etc., and feel that these studies are partly responsible for their successful handling of the strike.

The MARXIST QUARTERLY

for
10c per Copy
A special limited offer for Workers Age readers
Winter, Spring and Summer Issue of 1937
All Three for 25c
Postage Free
WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP
131 W. 33rd St., New York City

Full Synopsis - Outline of the course on "DEMOCRACY, FASCISM, SOVIETISM" by Will Herberg
24 pages — 25 cents
INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE
131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

If Sickness Strikes You Who Will Pay the Bills?

Join the
WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND
714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.
• SANATORIUM
• WEEKLY BENEFITS (to 100 weeks)
• LIFE INSURANCE
• MEDICAL CARE
• HOSPITAL AID
RESERVES OVER \$4,000,000 organized 1884

Status Quo No Bar To Fascism

By GEORGE BACKER

THE course of world events since 1933 has resulted in the firm establishment of catch-phrases to symbolize the banners under which the impending conflict is to be waged. Culminating at Munich, the problem has been simplified as a struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. The danger of crystallizing the conflict in two such symbols—democracy and totalitarianism—is immediately apparent.

Democracy becomes an end and, at the same time, a defender of the status-quo. This conception causes a loss of vitality and viability which prejudices the position of those who wish to oppose world capitulation to totalitarianism.

It is this false definition of the struggle which is responsible for the present tendency, noticeable in many liberals, to fight fascism by adopting some of its techniques.

WHAT'S THE ALTERNATIVE?

It is obvious that, once a proper definition of democracy is established, the opposition to fascism can be put on a sounder ground than upon mere resistance to encroachments upon the present systems of governments lumped under the heading of democracy.

The question that should be debated is not whether totalitarianism as an economic and political doctrine stands in opposition to political democracy, but what, under political democracy, can be achieved as an alternative to a totalitarian system.

Certainly, in the United States, placing political democracy on the defensive by forcing it to use its energies in defense of the present stage of economic evolution, gives no great force to its position. On the other hand, the presentation of the possibilities of economic democracy as an alternative to fascism gives vigor and promise to the opponents of the totalitarian solution.

PREVENTING FASCISM

Once we see that, in order to oppose fascist principles, we must offer an alternative, namely, the progressive attainment of higher standards of living for all thru economic democracy, we need no longer be placed in a defensive position.

The condition of the mass of German people between 1918 and 1932, the hopelessness of their future under the principles that governed them, make the domination of Hitler easily understandable.

The danger to democracy or the democratic technique lies not so much in the attacks of fascism as in the inability of the people to use the democratic process to achieve a healthy economic and social status.

The preservation of democracy is self-determined. The program that will defeat fascism should concern itself with the solution, thru democratic forms, of the difficulties that now face us.

The very fact that democracy envisages self-government indicates a degree of liberty and dignity which acknowledges the supremacy of the individual. It is the preservation of this status that gives impulse to the demands of those who seek the extension of democracy to the economic sphere.

Once we have examined the tenets of fascism and rejected them as false, we can return to the principles which caused us to undertake the crusade for economic democracy. Realistically, all that fascism should do is to cause us to quicken the tempo of our efforts. It should not cause us to divert them.

The problem of unemployment cannot be solved by protest meetings against the Nazis. The labor movement will gain no sustenance from defiance hurled against German or Italian imperial expansion.

A great wave of moral indignation against Japanese aggression in China will not fill the cups of the thirsty. But the solution of the problem of employment in America, an invigorated and united labor movement and a victory for the concept that each of us deserves full social protection, will place a proper evaluation upon the promise and performance of fascism.

(George Backer is one of the A.L.P. members of the New York City Council. These paragraphs are from an article that first appeared in the March 18 issue of the New York New Leader, a social-democratic paper.—Editor.)

Timely Pamphlets

- PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION by Jay Lovestone20c
- WHERE WE STAND: Program of the I.L.L.A. 5c.
- NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR by Jay Lovestone10c
- NEW HOPE FOR WORLD SOCIALISM: Resolutions of the Paris Conference 25c
- POPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE by Charles Vincent.....25c
- WORKERS AGE BOOK SHOP 131 W. 33rd Street, New York

What Is the Matter With The Railroads?

Banker Control And Not Wage Claims At Fault

By W. P.

THE railroad worker is not ordinarily very much interested in problems of management. But lately things have changed in that regard. Conditions which have grown out of financial mismanagement of the railroads are so obvious, of such magnitude and affect railroad employees so vitally, that they cannot be overlooked.

Railroad policy now for a number of years has been controlled by bankers and financiers whose one purpose has been to take from the railroad industry all that the industry could give at the moment—individuals who have had no concern for the public's being furnished permanent, economical and efficient railroad transportation service, who have cared not in the least what the future results of their policies might be, and individuals to whom human happiness and contentment and an honest return for labor are merely matters of mockery and jest.

These are the individuals and interests who today are exerting pressure upon railroad managements to reduce the already low wages of railroad employees.

CAUSE OF RAILROAD TROUBLES

The railroad industry at the present time is burdened with a top-heavy capital structure which constitutes within itself a parasite gnawing at the very vitals of the industry.

This heavy bonded indebtedness, which has been built up over a period of many years, together with financial malpractices connected therewith, are the fundamental causes of the railroads financial troubles.

With this situation existing, it is very easily understandable why, when railroad revenues decline during period of economic stress, the railroads still confronted with the necessity of meeting the excessive interest payments resulting from this burdensome indebtedness, find themselves hard pressed.

The stockholder must take his loss thru suspended dividends, labor must take its loss thru reduced earnings and prolonged periods of unemployment, but the bondholder continues to take his tithe from the industry and makes no concession whatever.

Due to excessive capitalization, the railroads which have brought about the "railroad problem" are faced with interest charges which are substantially in excess of the earnings which those properties may anticipate in normal years.

An analysis of financial histories of railroads in receivership today will show that the greater number of these receiverships have been brought about by this very cause or by similar conditions growing out of the dissipation of railroad revenues.

Railroad bond issues have been floated on numerous occasions and in large amounts for the purpose of reimbursing railroad treasuries for additions and betterments, and the proceeds of the bonds have been given over to the payment of stock dividends, and railroads today are paying interest on those dividends.

Millions of dollars of railroad bonds have been issued by railroads for the purpose of securing the control of other railroad properties thru purchase of the outstanding stocks and bonds of those other properties, and these railroads today are paying interest on the bonds issued to gain control, as well as the mortgages on their own properties, while the subsidiary companies are paying no dividends at all.

Authority has been granted by the Interstate Commerce Commission to railroads to issue securities, notwithstanding the law requiring the commission to find in advance that the petitioning carrier is not in need of reorganization, when those railroads have actually gone into bankruptcy within less than one year after the authority was granted.

These are some of the real causes of the present "railroad problem."

PROFIT AND WAGES

To those who may have been inclined to accept the railroads propaganda that railroad wages have burdened the industry, it should be pointed out that, while railroad wages have increased but 1 cent an hour since 1920 and the total railroad wages bill has declined by 47%, 'railroad stock and bond holders have taken from the railroad industry more than 14 billion dollars in dividends and interest payments.

Railroad investors since 1920 have gotten out of the railroad industry about 100% of the investment which they have made in the industry.

While the total interest and dividend charges of the railroad per 1,000 revenue freight ton-miles handled, have increased 13.3% since 1920, and the fixed charges alone per 1,000 revenue ton-miles have advanced by 32.4% 1920, on the other hand, the wages of railroad labor per 1,000 revenue freight ton-miles handled have actually declined 44% during the period.

During the years 1929, 1930 and 1931, the railroad paid out the largest dividends in their history. The amounts were as follows:

1929	\$490,125,673
1930	506,624,912
1931	330,150,873

For two years after the beginning of the depression, the railroads continued to drain their coffers, and

when the funds were exhausted, the employees were called in during December 1931 and asked to accept a wage reduction to "save the industry." The employees voluntarily accepted a 10% reduction in wages.

The financial condition of American railroads today would be much sounder had the financial affairs of the roads been managed constructively and diligently in the interest of permanent, economical and efficient railroad transportation serving other industries scattered throughout the country, and had railroad revenues not been drained off by financial manipulations.

RAILROAD LABOR CLAIMS

Railroad labor, as has been definitely and conclusively shown, has in no wise constituted a burden upon the industry but has been forced to make substantial sacrifices during good times and bad times.

Railroad labor is constituted of

one million people who are directly dependent upon the railroad industry for a livelihood. The families and relatives of railroad workers—numbering several millions of other individuals—are also directly dependent upon the industry for their existence.

Railroad labor cannot subscribe to the proposition that these millions of people should be penalized—be deprived of actual necessities of life—and the public should be deprived of safe, dependable and efficient railroad transportation service, so essential to the general economic well-being, simply in order that the profit of a privileged few may be served.

Railroad labor is unqualifiedly committed to the proposition that a fair wage should constitute the first claim on the revenues of any industry and particularly industries like the railroad industry where the return to the industry is fixed by public authority.

Speaking of Watered Stock

	Stocks and Bonds Cost of Reproduction	Actually Outstanding	Less Depreciation
N. Y. N. H. & H.	\$464,439,204		\$423,520,071
New York, Susq. & Western	40,919,431		14,193,064
Grand Trunk Western	104,114,556		94,529,769
Erie	480,173,304		385,070,159
N. Y. O. & W.	87,500,502		43,900,709
Nickelplate	229,565,609		130,210,967
Pere Marquette	138,510,000		110,297,648
Wabash	270,065,893		158,202,502
B. & O.	971,321,960		842,695,944
Western Maryland	139,287,013		92,297,209
Virginian	124,590,500		88,884,441
Atlantic Coast Line	232,128,330		228,093,159
Florida East Coast	96,139,075		62,015,161
G. M. & N.	37,224,637		29,210,224
Illinois Central	516,738,292		487,463,945
Southern	474,238,828		440,336,242
D. S. S. & A.	42,684,000		15,431,475
C. G. W.	133,238,701		73,379,929
Northern Pacific	560,465,000		487,406,540
S. P. & S. and affiliated companies	113,756,300		55,751,722
Colorado and Southern	95,539,300		37,710,210
Western Pacific	135,095,806		98,956,044
St. L. & S. F.	351,108,123		238,185,325
Kansas City Southern	102,175,900		60,385,525
M. K. & T. and controlled lines	240,017,446		173,835,309
Missouri Pacific	516,479,100		381,596,101
N. O. Texas & Mexico	55,448,800		10,836,602
Texas and Pacific	142,520,000		124,889,533
St. L. & S. W. and affiliated companies	90,656,200		66,269,734

Listed above are a number of American railroads, together with figures showing their outstanding capital and the value of their properties as reported to the Interstate Commerce Commission for rate-making purposes. These figures reveal how the bonded indebtedness and stock of so many railroads in the United States actually exceeds the total value of the railroad properties themselves.

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

WORLD COMMUNISM, by F. Borkenau. W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1938. \$3.75.

TODAY the Communist International stands branded as the instrument whereby the false foreign policy of Stalinist Russia operates in the rest of the world. It does not exist as an International of working-class parties, or even as a grouping of small but progressive political organizations, participating in the life of their respective countries. The question being discussed today is: How did this come about? And Borkenau's book is the most serious, complete and, in parts, most brilliant answer yet recorded. Dr. Borkenau worked as a technical expert in the apparatus of the C.I. till 1929. He has since become a liberal. But his long training shows to excellent advantage in this book. The amazing thing is not that he broke with the communist movement; this book makes one wonder how any sane veritable titan of faith could have remained so long.

The history of the Communist International falls into three periods, according to Dr. Borkenau. "During the first period," he tells us, "the Comintern is mainly an instrument to bring about revolution. During the second period, it is mainly an instrument in the Russian factional struggles. During the third period, it is mainly an instrument of Russian foreign policy." In this analytical framework, the book relates the history of the C.I.—a history for which the world as well as the labor movement has not yet finished paying.

When the first congress of the C.I. was called in 1919, the Bolsheviks had been in power for two years and were naturally impatient for that "revolution in the West" which was to be their salvation. Actually, the real revolutionary offensive of the European workers had already come to an end. The Comintern was organized when defeat not revolutionary advance was becoming the historical reality. It was Rosa Luxemburg and her friends of Spartakus who wisely opposed the formation of an International which would be merely the extension of the Russian party. Indeed, the delegate of Spar-

Defects in Social Security Act

Limited Coverage, High Tax Rates Hit

By M. PETERS

ALMOST from the very moment that the Social Security Act went into effect in 1937, wide agitation began for the reform and correction of many of its weaknesses and faults, especially in the old-age annuity and assistance programs. Fire was concentrated particularly upon the high tax rate hitting both employers and workers and causing the accumulation of a tremendous reserve fund while the benefits received by eligible workers for almost a generation would be below the charity level in many cases. According to the act, an insured worker would have to earn \$100 a month uninterruptedly for twenty years to receive a pension of \$32.50 upon retiring. For the present generation of adult workers, therefore, the Social Security Act provides practically no security at all.

LIMITED COVERAGE

Another source of criticism has been the limited coverage, even of these meager provisions. Among those excluded are agricultural laborers, domestic household workers, employees of religious, charitable and educational institutions, and railroad and government workers. The groups particularly hard hit by this restricted coverage are women and Negroes who are employed in large numbers as domestic and agricultural workers.

In addition, there are a large number of other shortcomings in the provisions of the old-age Annuity plan. The beginning of monthly payments is put off until 1942; housewives and children are not adequately provided for, since they receive no annuity if they survive the insured worker; and the old-age assistance plan which is supposed to give supplementary help to those whose annuities are insufficient was so written as to make it possible for states to reduce these benefits to an incredible minimum, in some cases, of \$6 per month.

Disatisfaction with this kind of social security has grown considerably in the two years since taxes have been collected. In the last election campaign, this disatisfaction manifested itself thruout the country in a variety of "crackpot" schemes: California's "33¢ every Thursday," Indiana's "30¢ every Monday," the Townsend Plan, etc. In spite of the fantastic and unrealistic character of most of these plans, they did show considerable strength among the voters at the polls.

ADMINISTRATION PROPOSALS

Partly in response to this mood of disatisfaction and partly because, once having undertaken social security, it is to the advantage of the business interests to extend its coverage, the Administration has launched a discussion in Congress on

true test of a revolutionary—and succeeded in wrecking the labor movement.

The little "true" communist party resulting from this policy operated mostly in a totally unreal and unhealthy world. The German party, for example, engaged in the "March Action" of 1921, hardly more than a madman's putsch, sufficient to discredit the labor movement for a century. Here, the proletarian revolution became something which could be "put over" on the working class. To create a sufficiently "revolutionary" atmosphere, the party leadership (with C.I. help) seriously discussed blowing up their own buildings!

Space does not permit telling of Bela Kun's Hungarian "soviet revolution of the proletariat" without mentioning that tragic example of the second and third periods of the Comintern, the Chinese revolution of 1926-7, one result of which is that today the Chinese Communist Party cannot get near the workers.

This twenty-year history of disaster flowing from the Original Sin is certainly not something that can be righted in a short time. But for every serious revolutionary, a study of this book is a moral and political duty. For here are marshalled the facts of what must never be repeated if socialism is ever to be regenerated.

Reviewed by M. S. M.

"Anti-Fascist" Pope On Spain

THE Vatican newspaper, Osservatore Romano, expressing the sentiments of that great "anti-fascist" Pope Pius XII, recently hailed Franco's victory as the "victory of Catholic Spain," bringing "incalculable moral and political support to Europe."

Franco's "peaceful Spain," the paper went on to say, "would speak with irresistible eloquence for that spiritual and political reform of the world which will show the way to a better world and restore peace."

"All who followed the war with Christian and human sentiments," the Papi publication stated, "cannot but greet the event (Franco's victory)—Editor) with a feeling of gratitude to God that Spain is returning to the ancient teachings, to the heroic faith of her fathers,"

amendments to the Social Security Act. The House Ways and Means Committee, under Chairman Doughton, began hearings some time ago in preparation for changes to be proposed to the present session of Congress.

The first witness was Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board, who proposed a number of Administration-supported changes. He urged that the act be extended to cover seamen, domestic servants, employees of educational and charitable institutions and other groups, adding an estimated six million more to the insured lists. His proposals for the aged were outlined in a three point program:

1. To begin monthly old-age insurance payments in 1940 instead of 1942.
2. To extend old-age insurance benefits to those over 65, to aged widows and to widows with dependent children.
3. To overhaul the present old-age assistance program in such a way as to increase the benefits. This would be done by giving grants-in-aid to states on the basis of economic need rather than on the basis of matching state grants with federal money.

SERIOUS FAULTS REMAINING

In spite of these modifications, which are in the right direction, basic faults remain uncorrected. Workers are still made to pay for old-age insurance both as producers (wage tax) and as consumers, since the employers find it possible to pass along at least part of the taxes which fall upon them on to the shoulders of the masses in the form of higher prices. The heaviest burdens still fall upon the present and the next generation of youth, who will be obliged to pay the highest tax rates as they enter industry. The retirement age of 65 is much too high by all standards in view of the tendency of modern industry to push workers out long before that age. The requirement that a worker must retire at the age of 65 in order to receive his insurance is unfair in view of the low benefits paid. When the Social Security Act was discussed in Congress before its passage, it was proposed by the President's Committee on Economic Security that the hundreds of thousands of self-employed and professional people be permitted to participate in government social security thru a system of voluntary taxation. This plan was so vigorously opposed by the private insurance interests, especially by the Senators from Connecticut, the home of so many insurance companies, that it had to be dropped. Self-employed and professional people are still in need of security and the extension of the act to cover them remains a necessary task.

PROBLEM OF RESERVES

Finally, there is one problem presented by the way in which funds are accumulated that is really very serious. For constitutional reasons, the Social Security Act was not written to provide a special fund in the Treasury earmarked for social security. Money collected for social security goes into the general Treasury and is spent each year in accordance with Congressional appropriations. For some time, there has been a good deal of talk of the use of this money to meet the mounting government deficit, and now that the war program of the Administration is eating up so many millions of dollars, the danger of having all the social-security savings in the workers eaten up is great indeed. On the other hand, there is a difficult problem involved in huge reserves being piled up over a long period of years. The only way out seems to be to frankly abandon the so-called "actuarial" (insurance) basis, which has never worked anywhere, in favor of a straight pay-as-you-go system, raising the money thru taxation of the upper-bracket groups and paying out benefits as they are needed.

It is time for the labor and liberal organizations interested in social security to develop their own comprehensive program.

Navy Property Over 4 Billion

THE property investment of the United States government in its navy exceeds \$3,500,000,000 with the certainty that before the end of the fiscal year 1940 it will exceed \$4,000,000,000. Of this sum, about \$2,000,000,000 will represent new combatant construction—battleships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, destroyers and submarines.

These facts are disclosed in the naval-expense account for the fiscal year 1938. With the exception of that for the emergency relief agencies, this expense account is the government's largest.

Since including the fiscal year 1934, when the naval bill totaled \$768,888, the total cost of the navy to and including the fiscal year 1938 was \$16,634,002,603.29. Of this, \$13,032,828,842.16 has been spent since 1917, the year of American entry into the World War. About \$7,000,000,000 of it was spent during the Wilson Administration and \$3,000,000,000 during the present Administration.

Labor Party Must Stay Independent

By E. SHINWELL, M. P.

LONDON, England. I HAVE frequently expressed the opinion that nothing can kill the Labor Party. In the past we have survived crisis after crisis, and from a small party, which for many years was regarded by Liberals and Tories as of little consequence, we have developed into the second largest political movement in the country, able to claim over eight million votes at the last election.

I shall not attempt to deny that the Labor Party has made mistakes. To err is natural for an organization which is constantly on the attack, and particularly so during a period of crisis in the international sphere when conditions change with amazing rapidity, and when we are forced to reconcile party principles with the needs of a particular situation.

But, thruout the years, we have based our activities on two main principles—socialism and independence. Long ago, we discovered that we could no longer rely upon the Liberal or Tory parties to effect a substantial improvement in the conditions of the people or to banish the specter of war. It was because of the failure of those old political creeds that the Labor Party was formed and asserted its independence. And it was because of the failure of capitalism that we turned our thoughts in the direction of socialism.

For some years, the Labor party was distracted and disturbed by elements in our midst who desired us to throw in our lot with the extreme Left. Now we are being asked by some of the same people to throw ourselves into the arms of the extreme Right. For years, we denounced the Liberal party until our propaganda reduced them to their present position as a party of small importance who have not the faintest hope of ever becoming a government. We suffered from their action during the period of office of the last Labor government, when they declined to allow us to proceed with plans of nationalization which, if they had been advanced in mines and in transport, would have saved us much of the industrial depression of recent years.

LESSON OF PAST EXPERIENCE

Nor do we forget that two of the Liberal leaders, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Lord Samuel, joined the "National" government in 1931 and laid the foundations of the foreign policy which has led to the present terrible situation.

If I had accepted the offer made to me by Ramsay MacDonald to join the "National" government, I should have been outside the Labor Party. Indeed, I should have been despised by the Labor Party rank and file, and rightly so. Yet, we are being asked to embrace these gentlemen, to join them in a political alliance, in face of our experience of the past few years.

We are not in favor of watering down our socialist policy in order to suit the Liberals. On the day we abandon socialism as the basis of our policy, we are doomed as an effective working-class organization in the political field.

Nearly every trade union has now adopted the socialist objective, and altho the unions are compelled to work within the range of capitalism and to make bargains with the employers, that in no way detracts from the value of their declaration in support of socialism as the only means of escape from the poverty and unemployment which are the familiar features of capitalist society.

LENIN ON ALLIANCES

It may be that some of those people who have come into the Labor Party in recent years are not disposed to accept the dictum of independence laid down by Keir Hardie. They may say that, altho independence was suitable in the past, it is no longer so. But they may care to listen to what Lenin, the founder of socialist Russia, has written. And Lenin was credited with remarkable foresight. This is what he wrote:

"The experiences of alliances, understandings and blocks with social-reformist Liberalism has convincingly shown that these agreements only blunt the consciousness of the masses, that they do not strengthen but weaken the real significance of their struggles, as they tie up the fighters with elements less capable of fighting and more wavering and treacherous."

Speaking for myself, I decline to join with the Liberals or with those rebel Tories who, in my judgment, would betray us at the first sign of a crisis. I prefer to remain with the party in its independence and with its socialism, convinced as I am that, if we remain united and go forward with courage, and not in a mood of defeatism, we can achieve a great victory in the near future.

(E. Shinwell is an outstanding leader of the British Labor Party and Labor member of Parliament.—Editor.)

EXPECT more joint action by the United States and Great Britain in the Far East. Both governments are working hand in glove on a policy to meet Japanese expansion in that area." —United States News, March 20, 1939.

Workers Age

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

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

Editorial Board: Lyman Fraser, JAY LOVESTONE, M. S. MAUTNER, George F. Miles, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

VOL. 8. WEDNESDAY, APRIL 5, 1939. No. 14.

NEW DEAL CHOOSES WAR

WHAT happens when the New Deal Administration comes up against a choice between the army and labor? Let the instructive story of the Barkley amendment provide the answer. When the army's \$336,250,000 armaments bill came before Congress recently, Senator Barkley, majority leader, proposed an amendment that no contract should be awarded under the act to any concern which refused to bargain collectively with its workers. Now obviously nothing could be fairer. The right of collective bargaining is the law of the land, embodied in the Wagner Act, and if anybody should abide by it, it certainly should be the government and the concerns doing business with it and making profit out of it. Both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. came out strongly in favor of the Barkley amendment, which, since it apparently had Administration backing, seemed very likely to pass.

But all this was reckoning without the host, without the master, to put it more accurately—the army. Secretary of War Woodring promptly held a consultation with the President and followed up with a public demand that the amendment be dropped. Altho Senators offered to limit the effect of the amendment to firms actually convicted of violating the Wagner Act, the War Department stood adamant. It would have none of it.

What happened is well known. In record-quick time, Senator Barkley withdrew his amendment and left the War Department entirely free to do business with concerns violating the Wagner Act, even with firms convicted of such violations. The War Department is law unto itself and is not interested in any rights claimed by labor under the law of the land.

The moral is plain. When it comes to a choice between what the War or Navy Department demands and what labor is entitled to under the law, the Roosevelt Administration, for all its much-touted "friendship" for labor, will unhesitatingly choose the former. War and war preparations are paramount. The rights and welfare of labor are as nothing in the scale.

The fate of the Barkley amendment should be a timely warning to the labor movement as to what lies ahead unless the drive to war is stopped before it is too late.

WAR MADNESS

A FEW days ago, the House of Representatives passed "unanimously" and without debate the Dempsey bill to deport any alien advocating "any change" in the American "form of government." (Originally, the bill stipulated "any fundamental change" but the word "fundamental" was eliminated.) At about the same time, the New York State Legislature passed by a substantial majority the McNaboe bill to bar all "Reds" from the civil service of the state. Similar measures have been introduced or are about to be introduced in other state legislatures.

The Dempsey bill is manifestly idiotic. Any alien advocating New York Herald-Tribune points out, as well as the original Roosevelt plan of a drastic reorganization of the federal government might fall under its ban and be subject to deportation. Why, then, was it passed in the House, if not unanimously at least by a large majority? Because, as one Congressman, a "Roosevelt liberal" at that, pointed out, it "sounded popular," the "people wanted it."

The McNaboe measure is of the same caliber. Neither of these bills is likely to become law. The Dempsey bill will probably be gotten rid of somehow behind the scenes; McNaboe's masterpiece will certainly be vetoed by Governor Lehman. But that is not the point. The point is that measures so hysterically reactionary could gain such wide support (passed "unanimously" and without debate) in the House of Representatives in this seventh year of the New Deal and in the state legislature of what claims to be the most progressive state in the Union. That is something to think about.

There can be little doubt that we are beginning to feel the effects of the jingoistic frenzy stimulated by the atrocities of the Nazi bandits and deliberately fostered by the Administration in order to facilitate its foreign policy. Great masses of people, even those sincerely opposed to American involvement in war, are falling victim to this madness. This feverish hysteria is responsible, at least in part, for the wide, growing hostility to "Reds" and "radicals" among all sections of the population, including the workers. It is this sentiment that is being played upon by reactionary demagogues against the labor movement, against the Wagner Act, against other important reform legislation. It is this sentiment that makes such witch-hunting monstrosities as the Dempsey and McNaboe bills conceivable and "popular." The demon of reactionary jingoism, conjured up by the Administration, may well end by destroying whatever progressive achievement the New Deal has to its credit and much more along with it.

The danger is great.

A TRICKY MANOUVER

A CERTAIN amount of curiosity has been aroused in labor circles. But why these changes, insofar as they are changes, in the Stalinist auto-union situation (Daily Worker, March 27) which proclaims that the C.P. is against "groups" in the unions, that it has "abolished Stalinist assurances" and so on. Of course, no one in his right mind takes Stalinist assurances at their face value but the question naturally arises: What is it all about? Does it represent a "new turn" and in what direction? There is really nothing new in the latest C.P. pronouncement. Indeed, the decision to "abolish" party fractions was made nearly a year ago and we commented at length on this move in our June 11, 1938 issue. But, because the question has again arisen and because the Stalinists are, but, because the question has again arisen and because the Stalinists are, certain to spread a great deal of misleading confusion on the subject, it would perhaps be well to reiterate what we then said about this typically Stalinist maneuver.

As a matter of fact, what the Communist Party has done is to abolish not its party fractions in the unions but rather its general fraction meetings. The difference is immense. C.P. fractions, as compact groups under orders to carry out the "party line," still exist as they always have. But these fractions no longer have general meetings where the party members in the unions can discuss policy with some degree of freedom. Since the "abolition of fractions," they get their orders from above, from the party commissars in the unions, who in turn get their instructions from the proper functionaries at the party headquarters. Let Rose Wortis, who occupies an authoritative position in the local Stalinist hierarchy, explain (Daily Worker, May 20, 1938): "[The concrete changes are] that we do away with general fraction meetings, . . . and that the leading comrades in every union consult with one another on problems that may arise in the day-to-day work."

But why these changes, insofar as they are changes, in the Stalinist mode of operation in the unions. In the first place, it is an obvious attempt to evade the mounting resentment in the ranks of labor against the unscrupulous maneuvers of the Stalinists in their "rule-or-ruin" drive on union domination and control. The Daily Worker statement on the auto-union situation above referred to just reeks with this oily, tricky hypocrisy. But there is another side to the matter, an "inner" aspect, so to speak. The "abolition of party fractions," that is, the abolition of general fraction meetings, is a big step in the elimination of the Stalinist democracy in the Communist Party; it is a big step in the installation of a completely totalitarian "leadership principle." The C.P. members in the unions have now been deprived of even the formal right of discussing and criticizing the policy they are to carry out; their business is to obey orders coming from above and keep their mouths shut.

In a word, the net effect of the entire maneuver of "abolishing fractions" is to revamp the Stalinist machinery of factional operation in unions along more centralized, authoritarian lines and thereby to make Stalinism itself an even more pernicious force in the labor movement than it has hitherto been.



Letters to the Editor

On Socialist Unity

(We publish below two letters by Socialist Party members on the question of socialist unity. We welcome their contributions and we would urge our readers, whatever be their political affiliations, to express their views on this vital question in our columns. We will reserve our own comment on this subject until the discussion gets well under way.—Editor.)

Philadelphia, Pa. March 14, 1939.

Editor, Workers Age
As a member of the Socialist Party, I was quite interested in reading in your issue of March 15 a letter by "F. D." on "Socialist Unity."
Ever since I joined the Y.P.S.L. in September 1936, this question of socialist unity has bothered me. As a reader of the left-wing press, I have seen what has happened to revolutionary parties all over the world. And it has occurred to me that, in times of crisis just as before the crisis, the revolutionary parties have fought each other instead of uniting to fight reactionary capitalism.

At the present time, negotiations are going on between the S.D.P. and S.P. for unity. In my opinion, these negotiations should never have been started for I see no reason nor possibility of organic unity between a reformist party (S.D.P.) and the S.P. which has attempted consistently to hew to a revolutionary line. Unity between these two parties means only that the program of the S.P. will be "watered down," and that the revolutionists in the S.P. will be driven out of the party. If there is to be any unity, it should take place between revolutionary parties.

The test today as to whether a party is revolutionary or reformist is on the question of war and the Popular Front. The S.P., the I.L.L.A. and the S.W.P. all have general agreement on the questions listed above. They all pose an international class war as opposed to "collective security" and workers governments as opposed to Popular Front governments. Since programmatic differences are minor even on the immediate tactical questions there are differences, what impedes unity and the consummation of moves for?

I think that the answer lies in the social and psychological realm rather than in the programmatic realm. The social make-up of all of these parties is different; the behavior characteristics of their membership and leadership are different.

I think that Comrade Herberg is

25 YEARS AGO

MARCH 29 - APRIL 5, 1914

MARCH 30, 1914.—British Prime Minister Asquith accepts the resignation of Colonel J. E. B. Seely, War Secretary, who refused to carry out the government policy on Ulster.

MARCH 31.—Every coal mine in Ohio is closed down by the operators locking out 50,000 miners, because of the new anti-screen law. Operators refuse to renew agreements with the miners.

MARCH 31.—Marie Scott, Negro woman, taken from Oklahoma jail and lynched. She had been imprisoned for killing a white man who had attacked her.

APRIL 1.—By a vote of 247 to 162, the House passes the Sims bill, repealing the section of the Panama Canal Act granting toll exemptions to American vessels engaged in coastal trade.

APRIL 4.—General von Berhardi urges that the German treaty port of Tsing-Tao, in the German Pao-Chow protectorate, be converted into a powerful armed base.

APRIL 4.—Huge demonstration in London in connection with the Ulster crisis. Masses demand Home Rule be granted.

APRIL 4.—President Huerta of Mexico withdraws equator of C. G. Carruthers, American consul at Torreon, for aiding Villa.

correct in his analysis of the "ingrained factionalism and negative sectarianism" of the S.W.P. Also the S.P., which for a generation has been an "all-inclusive" party containing sincere revolutionists, pacifists, ministers, "socialist" intellectuals, etc., acts as a hindrance to unity. Nonetheless, I feel that there are enough revolutionists in the I.L.L.A., S.W.P. and S.P. to form a good basis for a truly revolutionary party.

Then again, the question of leadership is highly important. Just as unity in the labor movement is hindered by the personal aspirations of a Green, Lewis, Hillman, etc., so unity in the left-wing movement would face the personal ambitions of Jay Lovestone, Norman Thomas, James Cannon and others. However, I believe that, if enough rank-and-file members of each party desire unity, it can be consummated. And the need for it grows increasingly important with each succeeding day.

Let us attempt to gain unity of all revolutionists in the United States prior to the onslaught of the capitalists!

LEON BURNS

New York City

Editor, Workers Age

I AM very much interested in the question of socialist unity (not to be confused with united front) and I thought possibly the experiences of one socialist with the party's experiments in that direction might be of some interest.
As a member, I was opposed to united-front plea of the Communist Party and have had no occasion to repent that position. But I did have occasion to repent my favorable attitude toward reception of Trotskyists in the party. I thought they would bring to party a zeal it sadly needed. In this I was not disappointed. They brought zeal but not for the S.P. Their zeal knew no restraints. In the midst of a presidential campaign in which the party had a candidate, their speakers used open forums and street meetings to trumpet their views even though they were in violation of the platform adopted by the party. Now I was not satisfied entirely with that platform, and I am a stickler for free discussion; but there is a time demanding closed ranks. And such a time is when, after open discussion, a party has arrived at an agreement, not binding for all time, but for duration of a campaign. After all, there must be a give-and-take attitude in a democratic party, but the Trotskyites were all for the take, not at all for the give.

Again the S.P. had a school, greatly in need of support. Instead of supporting it, they diverted support from it by instituting classes of their own, drawn from each branch. Nor were all members invited to these classes, only those who, from their observations in branch discussions and in private conversations, they deemed worthy to their pure and unadulterated message. Obviously, this introduced

F.D.R. Drives To War

THE President's policy is aggravating the war situation every hour. The Congress should tie the Executive hand and foot and let the people and their representatives hold the power. The World War taught us what it means to have discretion in the hands of the President. The arms program is abominable and means bankruptcy here as well as abroad. The U. S. A. is safe from all attack and should use its security not to aggravate arms competition but to end it in the interest of peace. As for sending soldiers abroad, I am opposed to it under all circumstances. If done at all, it should only be by popular referendum.
John Haynes Holmes, quoted by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, New York Post, March 20, 1939.

a "class" division into the party, the "elect" and the "damned" and, of course, the Trotskyites considered themselves the only ones competent to divide the sheep from the goats.

From this experience, I deduce a few principles that I present in hope they may be helpful in guiding the I.L.L.A. in seeking out means to achieve that indispensable unity of socialists.

The work of unity must be from the ground up. A united front based on shifting sands of Stalinist policy, which is not always in response to needs of workers, but is sometimes in response to particular needs of Joseph Stalin and Co., Inc., instead of a means to unity, is a device to impose acquiescence to the policy of one party of the united front. This is not unity, but a delusive appearance of it, which will not survive the first shock of experience.

In working from ground up, the foundation must be broad enough for an organization proposing to include members of now different organizations.

A broad foundation would demand common agreement on a few essential principles. There should, of course, be an understanding for common support of press and educational institutions, to be assured by widening the staff so as to include members of other groups of whose good faith there is no question.

And I believe this necessary foundation could be secured now more thru the generous, liberal action of one group, say the I.L.L.A., than thru attempts to merge the groups immediately. If the I.L.L.A. would find it possible to offer places on its editorial and educational staff to members of the Socialist Party, whose words command respect of their comrades, and whose fairness commands respect of the I.L.L.A., a unity might be achieved, free from dangers that attend mergers of parties.
These suggestions I am submitting for the consideration of far more practical heads than my own.
A SOCIALIST READER

G.O.P. 1940 Threat Gives Democrats Jitters

(Continued from Page 1)
midst, tolerance justice and fair play toward colored people have been entirely alien to the American way. . . .
In the last thirty years, it has been my good fortune to travel wherever the American flag flies. I am therefore speaking from firsthand knowledge and not from reading or hearsay, when I assert that discrimination against Negroes in one form or another is general within the territory of Uncle Sam. A better symbol of the United States than Uncle Sam would be Jim Crow. Two years ago, I journeyed from ocean to ocean and from Michigan to Miami, and, whether in New Orleans or in the Northwest, I found the colored brother at best just tolerated. There may be isolated places where the old American tradition regarding Negroes does not obtain, but they are extremely few. "The D.A.R., I believe, should be commended for its courage if not for its diplomacy. They could have been hypocrites like the rest of the white people and ducked the issue,

Talking It Over: Preparation Thru Purge

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE Soviet Communist Party Congress just completed enables us to draw a balance sheet of the purge and the present state of the C.P. S.U. Despite the party constitution, no congress or convention had been held since 1934—a period of five years. The reason for the delay is glaringly clear: Stalin required all that time to complete his coup d'etat, the violent seizure of power against the will of the majority of the Central Committee which is supposed to be supreme between congresses. Out of 71 members and 68 alternates or candidates, 139 in all, only 16, or less than one-eighth, have survived the purge and reappeared in the new Central Committee. In other words, the overwhelming majority—more than seven to one—of the Central Committee members elected at the 1934 convention, have been removed, jailed, shot in the base of the brain by a pistol held at the back of the head, and Stalin engineered his coup as the representative of less than one in eight of those duly and unanimously (!) elected to conduct the affairs of the party and empowered to instruct or remove the secretary. It makes abundantly clear the fact that the late purge of this great majority by an insignificant minority of henchmen was what we said it was at the time: Stalin drew first to prevent that majority from removing him and calling him to account for his crimes against party democracy and the interests of the Soviet people.

THOROUGHGOING DESTRUCTION

SO reckless were these wholesale executions which embraced the entire army leadership, party leadership, economic leadership, leadership of the "autonomous" republics, of the youth, of the press, of the very G.P.U., that Stalin could not dream of calling a "ratification" congress to approve his coup as fait accompli until the series of murders was complete enough to prevent a single questioning voice at the congress, even if he had to do away with seven out of every eight leaders of the party.

More than that, it had to include every decent person who might set some limits on bootlicking and sycophancy, with the result that the entire economic leadership, the capable men who drafted and carried out the first two five-year plans were nearly all included in the purge. Hence, the third five-year plan could not be drafted in advance, like the two preceding ones, and Stalin had to wait till now for the unconditional agents he had placed in the seats of power to complete a pretense at a third five-year plan—not in advance but after much of the time had elapsed, not therefore a real case of planned economy at all.

STALINIST HISTORY

AND it had to include so many historians and Marxist theoreticians as because it was necessary to get men who didn't give a damn about facts or truth or honesty, and finally, having shot the capable historians and theoreticians and included even the aged and academic Rizanov and the already dead Pokrovsky under the retroactive ban, Stalin himself had to "rewrite" the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The rewriting, as we pointed out recently, was strikingly unoriginal; it borrowed from the days of Kerensky and Kolchak the worm-eaten theory that the Bolsheviks as far back as 1914-18 were really German agents, and that all leaders but Stalin—and Lenin, who is under an uncondensed cloud—were foreign spies when they carried thru the October revolution.

PURGING THE PURGERS

MOST singular of all was the fate of the purgers themselves. Mikhail Koltsov, who participated in every frame-up of revolutionists from that attempted against Lenin as a German agent in 1917 to the frame-up of the P.O.U.M. in 1937, has himself been purged within the last few months. He is but the latest—not, we are sure, the last—of a long and dishonorable line. Yezhov, who did most of Stalin's dirty work including the execution of Yagoda, who had done some of it on a less gigantic scale nor Central Committee, nor list of candidates, nor Control Commission. From being No. 1 gunman and Daily Worker hero in 1936, 1937 and 1938, he has slid down towards the execution cellars of the G.P.U. at a rate so rapid that he could not even be the last man out of 139 "elected" to the new Central Committee or out of 2,000 "elected" as delegates to the congress. Thus does Stalin reward the pistol hand that executed his will! Does not the Bible bid one cut off the offending right hand?

The purge has become so unpopular that to preserve the faultless leader, the very purgers must be purged. And still the social vacuum around Stalin created by pistol shots continues to widen with this ironical extension of the purge. Even while the congress itself is in progress—so much do local party "elections" mean—one delegate, K. V. Ostonian, chief of the N.V.K.D. (G.P.U.) in Armenia, on whose hands is the blood of all the old Soviet Armenian leadership, was deprived of his credentials and expelled from the party because, according to the newspaper, Armenian Communist, he was discovered to be a "public enemy." Which is no cause for sorrow, but no cause for joy either, for it will not restore to active functioning a single bullet-riddled brain.

It is in this light that we must consider the ironical verdict of Pravda in its issue of March 27, summing up the party congress and the new party constitution:

"The new constitution reflects the flourishing of inner-party democracy and the Stalinist care for personnel, for the party members."

THERE are other aspects of this "historic," "monolithic" and "unanimous" congress that we would like to consider, but we have exhausted our column space without exhausting even the obvious implications of the purge. So we will return to the congress next week.

the Reich for the 'right' to fleece the 'backward' peoples.
"It is sheer claptrap to describe the Affaire Anderson as un-American. It, or something similar, happens every day in every town where Negroes vegetate. This case only gained prominence because Marian Anderson was involved. Color discrimination is a definite American folkway. When I was younger, more ignorant and thus more optimistic, I fondly imagined in my less lucid moments that, like the Marxian State, color discrimination would ultimately wither away. But I can see after long observation that I was as wrong about that as Marxists were about freedom under socialism."
This is better sense from an anti-Marxist than scores of editorials from the Daily Worker, the New Masses, the Nation and the New Republic!

Special Offer

WORKERS AGE
Bound Volume, 1937 — \$1.75
Bound Volume, 1938 — \$1.75

BOTH VOLUMES FOR \$2.50

Shipped postfree in the U. S.

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP
131 W. 33rd Street, New York

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

to the
WORKERS AGE

\$1.50 per year
\$1.50 for six months

I enclose \$1.50 for a year's subscription
\$.85 for a six month's subscription

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____