

## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### HORRORS OF WAR—AFTER THE WAR

MORE and more the scales of history are shifting. Only the most public cannot see that the pointer is about to rest at war. In view of the weakness of our own class-conscious labor movement, there is very little likelihood of the United States staying out of a general European conflagration. This will bring with it patrioteers and profiteers, new American Legions and a myriad of expressions of reaction. The full fruit of all this could be only fascism of a specific American character.

But the horrors of war do not end even with the signing of the best peace treaties. For decades after the war, death reaps a ghastly harvest in sundry ways. And, in the coming war, the toll will be heavier not only in the trenches but also in the factories, on the farms and in the homes for years after the next armistice day. We need but look at what has been and is happening to the membership of the American Legion which celebrated its twentieth birthday last month. Watson M. Miller, national rehabilitation director of the American Legion, has just completed a significant study of the death records of the U. S. Veterans Administration. His comparison of these records with the mortality figures of private insurance companies has led him to the following tragically revealing findings:

1. American veterans of the World War are dying at 12% higher rate than other citizens of the same age.

2. The time intervening between Armistice Day 1918 and Armistice Day 1938 saw the passing of more than half a million former soldiers—545,139.

3. Life-expectancy tables show that the death total of these ranks will increase every year—by 10% for the next five years, 13% for the five years following, and 20%-22% for the next decade.

4. Despite its having nearly twice as many men to draw from, the American Legion will not be nearly as strong in 1959 as was the Grand Army of the Republic in 1906, forty years after the Civil War.

Here is a real American tragedy. What fatal proof of the increased torture of modern "civilized" warfare! There were very few neuropsychiatric breakdowns after the Civil War, but a very high proportion of post-World War casualties are of nervous origin. Constant shell-fire, sniping, gas attacks and trench life in war-time take a terrific toll for years after demobilization.

Another phase of this problem must not be overlooked. The men sent to the front in 1861 were not as worn out as those rushed to the trenches from mine, mill, factory or even office in the last world war. This factor also accounts for the trend noted above. The effects of modern industrial life as well as those of modern warfare explain why it is that by 1959 a World War veteran of 67 will be as scarce as a G.A.R. veteran of 90 is today. What a ghastly monument to the march of civilization in class society!

### G.O.P. AND THE NEGRO

IN eight northern states, the Negro vote constitutes the balance of power. In New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois and Indiana, the party which gets the big bulk of Negroes to vote for it sweeps the elections. That explains the recent desperate efforts of the Republican party to win back the Negro voters to its fold. In token of this effort, the Republican Program Committee has appointed none other than the reputedly liberal Professor Ralph Bunche of Howard University to make a survey of the political, social and economic needs of the Negroes and ways and means to be employed in meeting these needs. We do not know in the least what Dr. Bunche will prescribe. All we do know is that the G.O.P. of 1939 is not the Republican party of the 1860's. Today, this party is wedded to rock-ribbed reaction. Hence, Negroes cannot look forward to it any more than to the Democratic party set-up.

Indicative of the reversal of general trend in the country is the fact that the Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey election last November again showed a majority of the Negro voters in the Republican column. Furthermore, at the same time, Indiana and Massachusetts revealed a decline in the number of Negroes voting Democratic. All of which means that both the Elephant and Donkey parties will more than ever seek to make a football out of the Negro vote. Especially so-called "liberal" and younger Republicans like Taft or Dewey will promise the Negro voters the heavens during the 1940 campaign and then continue to keep them in their present hell.

This is the way of all flesh—of putrid capitalist politics. The Negro people have all to lose and not a thing to gain by placing the slightest faith in such promisers or promises. Only self-reliance coupled with close cooperation with a militant labor movement can even begin to change the shameful conditions to which millions of our Negroes are today doomed.

## War Hysteria Grips Washington

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.  
AT 2:37 P. M. on Sunday April 16, I wrote a friend: "Absolutely authentic report from the State Department: They have been notified Hitler will reject F.D.R.'s plea and an attack will be made on Gibraltar any time now." Today (later in the week), I received a letter from him which said in part: "Apparently your information wasn't quite correct or perhaps the Germans changed their plans. However, to me your letter was interesting from another point of view altogether. It mirrored the extent of war hysteria that now seems to pervade Washington and its columnists and politicians." My friend is correct. My information was also correct, however, in the sense that this report of mine was a report that went to the President of the United States. I tell the story merely to give you some realization of the certainty here that war will come, probably by May 15. This is what the great majority of officials, newspapermen and others really believe. Publicly, they say there is a 50-50 chance of war. Publicly, they are more "hopeful" of the effect of Roosevelt's dramatic telegrams to Hitler and Mussolini than they are privately. This private pessimism may disappear or decrease by the time you read this letter but that is the situation now.

The major focus of all attention these days is the appeal of F.D.R. It dwarfs every other consideration. It has completely disarmed the critics of the isolationist block. Many of them privately are bewildered as to its effect but publicly praise it. They do not seem to understand the possibility of such an

appeal energizing and giving fighting slogans to British and French imperialism. They seem too stunned to consider the manner in which it involves the United States in the war in Europe when it comes. I must admit I thought F.D.R. was slipping. He obviously was facing serious opposition from the Keep America Out of War crowd. Now he has taken whole contingents away from his enemies, contingents which will be his hand-wagon when the fighting starts. He is easily the most remarkable statesman of the twentieth century.

There are a few voices of New Dealers who wonder what has happened to the brave new world which they were to create between the Atlantic and the Pacific on this continent but they are voices crying in the wilderness. The official New Deal position today is that the main enemy is Hitler and Mussolini and that the score with them must be settled first. Everything else is of minor importance.

### G-MEN ON OUR TRAIL

Edgar Hoover's F.B.I. boys have been trying to check up on where I received the tip about the king and queen not coming to the United States. The State Department knows this information was floating around its halls when I reported it. They don't like the Age to get an exclusive on such matters. It is a sign of an unhealthy leak. Not knowing who I am, they have not come directly to me but they have been approaching friends to find out if they know Frank Howard. It is fun because it involves Pearson and Allen, who did not print the

(Continued on Page 2)

# FDR Acts to Involve USA in War Peril

## NLRB Opens Way To Change of Act

### Labor Board Suggests Possibility of Modification on Four Points

Washington, D. C.  
THE National Labor Relations Board last week clarified and reformulated its position on amendments of the Wagner Act as well as on its own administration of the act in the light of recent experience. In a sudden move, it opened the door to four possible changes relating to Board procedure while, at the same time, it vigorously condemned most of the other proposals to modify the labor-relations act introduced into the present session of Congress.

### FOUR POSSIBLE MODIFICATIONS

In a voluminous statement and report to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, before which hearings on the Wagner Act began recently, the Board conceded the possibility of changes on the following points:

1. Employer petitions for collective-bargaining elections: "To permit employers the unlimited right for filing such petitions (for certification of employees representatives) would open the election machinery of the act to possible serious abuse"; yet "study should be given to the feasibility of granting the right of petition subject to certain safeguards."

2. Determination of appropriate bargaining unit: Amendments hitherto introduced on the question

of proper collective-bargaining unit are open to "fundamental objection" but the Senate committee should consider whether it is practicable to devise legislation which would resolve "the undoubtedly troublesome question of the appropriate bargaining unit."

3. Invalidation of contracts between an employer and a labor organization: To legalize contracts between employers and unions even though brought about thru and involving unfair labor practices on the part of the employers, as suggested in one of the Walsh amendments, "would perpetuate the effects of such [unfair labor] practices and thwart the real desires of the employees in self-organization." Nevertheless, the proposal to compel proper notice to be served on all parties on such contract disputes merit consideration. Clarification is also necessary on the status of a contract where the majority of the members in the contracting labor organization withdraw or shift their allegiance.

4. Lengthening the period between complaints and hearings: The present minimum of five days should be extended to ten days, but not to fifteen or twenty as suggested.

In the same statement, the National Labor Relations Board condemned and opposed the following proposals: to "modify" the definition (Continued on Page 3)

## Martin Urges UAW to Join War Alliance Federation

Full Industrial Charter Is Offered By A.F.L.; Board Members Approve

(Special to Workers Age)

Detroit, Mich.  
The United Automobile Workers of America took another step last week towards affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. A meeting of the Michigan members of the International Executive Board went into session on April 21 to study the proposal for affiliation made by President Green of the A. F. of L. The committee which negotiated with President Green, consisting of President Martin, Secretary-Treasurer Aldred and Board member Elmer Davis, is recommending acceptance of the terms. It was understood that, if the resident members of the Board comply with the recommendation, Board members outside of Michigan will be polled and, if the affiliation proposal is approved, it will be placed before the membership in the form of a referendum.

Meanwhile series of conferences throughout the union have arranged to discuss with the officers and membership of the local unions the question of A. F. of L. affiliation.

### FULL INDUSTRIAL JURISDICTION

In an interview with the press, President Martin declared that he was gratified to find that the Mr. Green was ready to grant a full industrial-union charter for the industry. "It will be remembered," Mr. Martin said, "that we originally left the A. F. of L. because the A. F. of L. refused to grant us our autonomous rights." Mr. Green, who has full authority from the Executive Council, now stated—Martin reported—that he was prepared to grant the U.A.W. full rights of an "autonomous industrial union." Mr. Green further stated that "the A. F. of L. will recognize and fully concede the full autonomous authority of this organization in the administration of its own affairs."

Discussing the jurisdictional limits of the charter offered, Homer Martin branded previous press reports as thoroughly false. "Mr. Green is ready to accept us into the A. F. of L.," Martin declared, "upon the basis of our present constitution which was adopted at the official convention of the U.A.W., held in Detroit early in March. This means that we will also hold jurisdiction over aircraft and farm-implement workers." Mr. Martin stressed, in a radio address made on April 20, that the understanding included full jurisdiction by his union "over all workers in the automobile and automobile-parts plants, including tool and die makers and other skilled workers. This also means that our jurisdiction is recognized in the aircraft and implement industries." (Continued on Page 2)

## Borah Hits War Alliance Policy of U.S.

Declares "Democracies" As Vicious As Fascists; Tells Youth To Keep Out

Washington, D. C.

Senator William E. Borah last week denounced the "great democracies" of Europe as no better than the fascist "aggressors" and warned the American people against any "collective-security" alliances with them. His spirited declaration came in a letter to students of St. Olaf College of Northfield, Minn., who had asked his advice because of the "growing war menace."

Senator Borah replied that the issue in any way would not involve the question of democracy versus fascism.

"It was the democracies of Europe," he continued, "which wrote the secret treaties by which all the spoils were divided even before the [World] war was closed."

"It was the democracies of Europe which wrote the Versailles Treaty—not a peace treaty but a spoils treaty. It was the democracies which for twenty-odd years refused to make any changes in the Versailles Treaty looking toward peace."

"These European powers, whatever may be their ideas or ideology or political views, pursue one and the same course when they come to dealing with international affairs." (Continued on Page 4)

## Push Anti-Lynch Measure

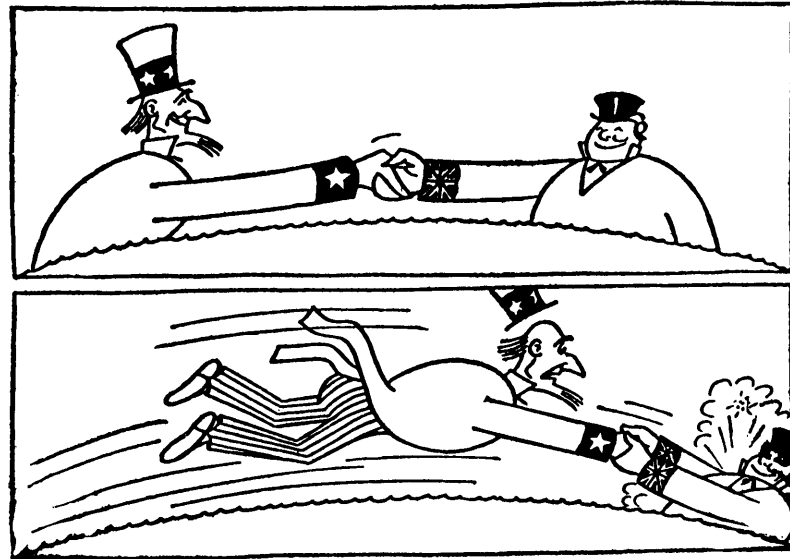
New York City

Pointing out that 82 Representatives, less than 100 of the 218 required, have signed the Gavagan petition to bring the New York Congressmen's anti-lynching bill to the floor of the House for a vote, Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., appealed to the nation's citizenry last week to rush telegrams and letters to their Congressmen to sign the petition at once.

The secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. also urged organizations and individuals to write their Senators now, urging them to vote for limitation of debate (cloture) when the bill comes up for consideration in the Senate.

Determined to push the drive to get a million signatures supporting the passage of a federal anti-lynching bill before May 15, the N.A.A.C.P. has begun distribution of its second printing of petitions. To date, 22,000 petitions have been distributed to national, civic, religious, labor, and political organizations throughout the country. Officials said that distribution of the balance of 18,000 petitions is expected to be completed within the next ten days. Organizations and individuals were urged to send in for more petitions.

### "HANDS ACROSS THE SEA"



## President Roosevelt's "Peace Message"

NOW that there has been time for sober second thought, there is a considerable abatement of the surge of unthinking enthusiasm and applause that originally greeted the President's "peace message" to Hitler and Mussolini. It is becoming apparent that in diplomacy things are not always what they seem and a "peace message" may well serve as an instrument to force this country into a position where involvement in war will be well-nigh inevitable.

Does anyone, including the President himself, really think that his message constitutes a peace move? Suppose Hitler and Mussolini were to give the pledges required by Mr. Roosevelt, who would believe them? How many times have Hitler and Mussolini pledged themselves to keep the peace and refrain from aggression and then, before the ink was dry on their pledges, gone out and done precisely what they had sworn not to do? President Roosevelt lists thirty-one nations; which of these would feel the slightest bit more secure after another Hitler-Mussolini pledge? Many of these countries are imperialist powers in their own right and should know very well from their own past actions that pledges of "non-aggression" are empty trifles, worth less than the notorious scrap of paper. And if they don't know it, there is always the Kellogg-Briand "Anti-War" Pact to remind them.

As a measure to secure world peace, the President's plan is a bad joke, a grim joke considering the doom facing mankind. But for the United States, it is far worse. Quite apart from the way it will be exploited in domestic politics, it is plainly another cleverly conceived effort on the part of the Administration to entangle this country ever deeper in the imperialistic intrigues of Europe and Asia, to line the United States up alongside the "great democracies" (how utterly farcical this phrase becomes in view of the Daladier dictatorship in France!) against the fascist powers. It is another step along the road to disaster.

Let Hitler and Mussolini "give assurance that [their] armed forces will not attack or invade the territory or possessions of the following nations" within the next ten or twenty-five years, the President declares, and he will immediately transmit these "assurances" of security to the countries involved. But is it not obvious that such "good offices" in initiating the move and in transmitting the "assurances" of security would make the United States, at least in the sight of public opinion, to some degree a guarantor of this "security"? Would not the inevitable violation of the non-aggression pledge received and transmitted by the United States be necessarily interpreted as a challenge or an affront to this country, demanding an "energetic reply"? And should Rome and Berlin, as might well be anticipated, react to the President's message in their usual insulting manner, then, of course, American ire would know no bounds. In either case, Mr. Roosevelt will, as Arthur Krock recently put it, have "moved American foreign policy further into the zone of Europe's interest than at any time since the proclamation of Monroe's doctrine"; in either case, Mr. Roosevelt will have succeeded in putting over a little more thoroughly the notion he enunciated in his Pan-American address last week that "we have an interest wider than the mere defense of our searing continent." Thus, the President's "peace message" actually represents the biggest plunge in European embroilments ever taken by an American President, not excepting the "mediation" efforts of President Wilson during the World War, and we know to what they led.

All this is perfectly obvious not merely to us who so deeply distrust every move the President makes in foreign policy. The matter is obvious also to those who share the President's attitude but who are frank enough to speak out the truth. Declares the New York Times, a staunch supporter of the Administration's course in foreign affairs, in an editorial (April 16) headed significantly, "Warning to Aggressors":

"The extraordinary message which President Roosevelt sent yesterday to Hitler and Mussolini can be described more accurately as a warning than as an appeal . . .

"What the President is attempting to do is not to salvage peace by appealing to a better nature and sense of responsibility which do not exist on the part of the dictators; he is . . . warning these reckless leaders that, if they do resort to an act of aggression . . . they will find the odds overwhelmingly against them. The very act of singling out Hitler and Mussolini to be the recipients of his message, and of addressing no similar message to the other governments of Europe, is significant of the President's purpose."

That is, the President's message is a move to implement the policy which he enunciated over a year and a half ago at Chicago and to which he has clung tenaciously ever since, the policy of "collective security," the policy of "quarantining the aggressor"—or, to drop all fancy phrases, the policy of a war alliance with Anglo-French imperialism against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis. It is of a piece with his simultaneous move of ordering the fleet back to the Pacific so as to allow a greater British concentration in the Mediterranean. Only this time it is done so cleverly that it has won the acclaim not only of the war-mongers and "collective-security" apostles but also of great masses of the people who deeply desire peace. Even some of the leaders of the peace movement have fallen for it. It is under cover of such "peace" gestures that America will in the end be driven into another world slaughter!

## Rival Military Alliances Are Pushed

Danzig Next on Hitler List; Soviet Closer To Anglo-French Block

In a sensational move that instantly became the talk of the world, President Roosevelt acted last week to plunge the United States more deeply than ever in to the savage imperialistic conflicts that are tearing apart Europe and the Far East. Breaking with diplomatic precedent, Mr. Roosevelt sent identical messages direct to Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini asking them to promise to refrain for at least ten (or twenty-five) years from attacking a series of thirty-one listed countries. Should such pledges be forthcoming, Mr. Roosevelt said, they would be transmitted to the countries named and reciprocal "assurances" obtained from them for Hitler and Mussolini. Then international discussions could be undertaken to reduce armaments, to "open up" world trade channels, and to thresh out "political" problems, presumably issues as to boundary lines and territories, with the United States taking part in the disarmament and trade talks but not in the "political" discussions.

This astonishing action, the most direct intervention in European affairs since the days of Woodrow Wilson, disguised in the form of a "peace" appeal, obviously had at least two purposes: first, to re-establish the President's position at home, greatly weakened by the Administration's war mongering in recent months; and, secondly, to strengthen the hand of Anglo-French imperialism in the conflict with the Axis powers. It is significant that, simultaneously with the issuance of his "peace message," Mr. Roosevelt gave orders for the return of the fleet to the Pacific, obviously a move to make it possible for Great Britain to concentrate its own fleet in the Mediterranean.

(Read the editorial on the President's "peace message" on page 1.—Editor.)

In London and Paris, Mr. Roosevelt's gesture was hailed with delight. In Rome, the reaction was one of "ridicule" and Berlin announced that a session of the Reichstag would be called for April 28 to which Chancellor Hitler would make his pronouncement. It was expected that Hitler's reply would be in the form of a list of demands upon the "democracies" which must be satisfied before he would give the required "pledge."

Meanwhile, feverish efforts were under way thruout Europe to push the building up of rival war alliances and far-flung imperialist blocks, one set centered around London and Paris and the other around the Berlin-Rome axis. Moscow was reported to be dropping some of its caution and to be more ready to join the Anglo-French block. Poland and a number of other countries approached by the British Foreign Office, however, entered (Continued on Page 2)

## Supreme Court Approves AAA

Washington, D. C.

In a six-to-two decision, affirming the decree of a lower court in Georgia, the Supreme Court last week upheld the constitutionality of the marketing-quota system of the Agricultural Adjustment Act as applied to the tobacco crop of 1938 and thereby gave a sweeping victory to the Administration's policy of "planned" and "managed" agriculture. Justices Butler and McReynolds dissented.

By taking such a stand, the Supreme Court virtually nullified the effects of its six-to-three decision in the Hoosac Mills case of January 1936, by which it struck down the original A.A.A. on the ground that it aimed, thru the use of processing taxes, at control of production. Production, the court then held, was a local matter and not within the province of the federal government to regulate.

The ground upon which the practical reversal was made last week was a distinction drawn by the court's new majority between "production" and "marketing," the latter of which was said to be relevant to the marketing-quota system.

The majority opinion was written by Justice Roberts, who was the author of the decision that undid the original A.A.A. in 1936. This time he upheld the government on all grounds raised by the attackers of the tobacco-quota sections in the case known as *Mulford vs. Smith*, in which the government had intervened.



# Problems of the Cloakmakers

## "Out-of-Town" Question Becomes Menace

By INSIDER

New York City. THE problems of the Cloakmakers Union and of the cloak (women's coat and suit) industry are being discussed more widely in the press than those of any other branch of the needle trades. Other needle-trades unions, it is true, suffer a great deal more from such evils as the "out-of-town problem," non-union production, bad conditions, unemployment, lack of effective union control and the so-called "national" or "race" question. However, anyone discussing these questions as they affect the needle trades always talks about "cloaks."

Perhaps this is because the Cloakmakers Union is an old union with a tried and experienced leadership—a union that, as a result of many years of heroic struggle, has won the best agreements and highest labor standards in the field. Much more is therefore expected from the Cloakmakers Union than from any other union. Yet very few observers and unfortunately not all of our leaders realize that the cloak industry, in recent years, has undergone many great changes. These developments have certainly left their mark upon the conditions of the cloakmakers and upon the union as a whole.

a part of the garment on the machine or by hand, or a young fellow was able to use the press iron. The cloak manufacturers who produced their garments in the New York shops according to the prescribed standards of the agreement, began increasingly to feel the competition of those firms that were able to produce their garments in out-of-town or Brooklyn shops, where the control was weaker. Before very long, more and more of the "legitimate" manufacturers began to produce their garments, or at least part of them, out-of-town. Out of the 30,000 cloakmakers in New York City, probably about half are now employed in Brooklyn or out-of-town shops.

### SHRINKING SEASONS AND WORSENING STANDARDS

To have a clear picture of the seriousness of the situation, it should be taken into consideration that about 90% of the garments produced in the Brooklyn and out-of-town areas are of the cheaper type and these constitute 75% of the total production of the "popular-price" garments—which means, in other words, that about half of the cloakmakers are working under inferior conditions and under weaker union control. It should now be clear why the seasons of the New York cloakmakers have been shrinking and their standards and earnings becoming worse.

As the result of the simplification of the garment, furthermore, skilled labor is gradually becoming unnecessary. The men's clothing, dress, sportswear and other industries, which have lower standards but have the necessary machinery and operate on a section (belt) system, have therefore, been in a good position to "grab" a considerable part of cloak production. This has also helped the growth of non-union shops. The net result is that less than half of the cloakmakers, who are still working on the better lines, continue to enjoy the benefit of the good standards of the agreement. And, if something radical will not be done immediately to improve the conditions of the majority of cloakmakers, it will not be very long before the standards of the better work and the good union shops will be affected.

(The next article in this series will deal with the situation in the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers Union.—Editor.)

## Martin Agrees UAW Join AFL

(Continued from Page 1)

There were a number of points Mr. Martin conceded, on which jurisdiction was not clear. These matters would be taken up in conference with officials of the unions in question for the purpose of ironing out any possibility of dispute.

### A.F.L. TO TURN OVER FEDERAL UNIONS

The agreement with the A. F. of L. also stipulated that, upon approval of affiliation by the U.A.W. membership, the A. F. of L. would turn over to the U.A.W. twenty-two federal labor unions coming within the jurisdiction of the U.A.W. This group of local unions has a membership of approximately 10,000. Mr. Martin stated that the tentative agreement included a pledge on the part of the A. F. of L. to place the full support and power of the four million workers in the A. F. of L. behind the campaigns planned by the U.A.W. to organize completely the entire industry.

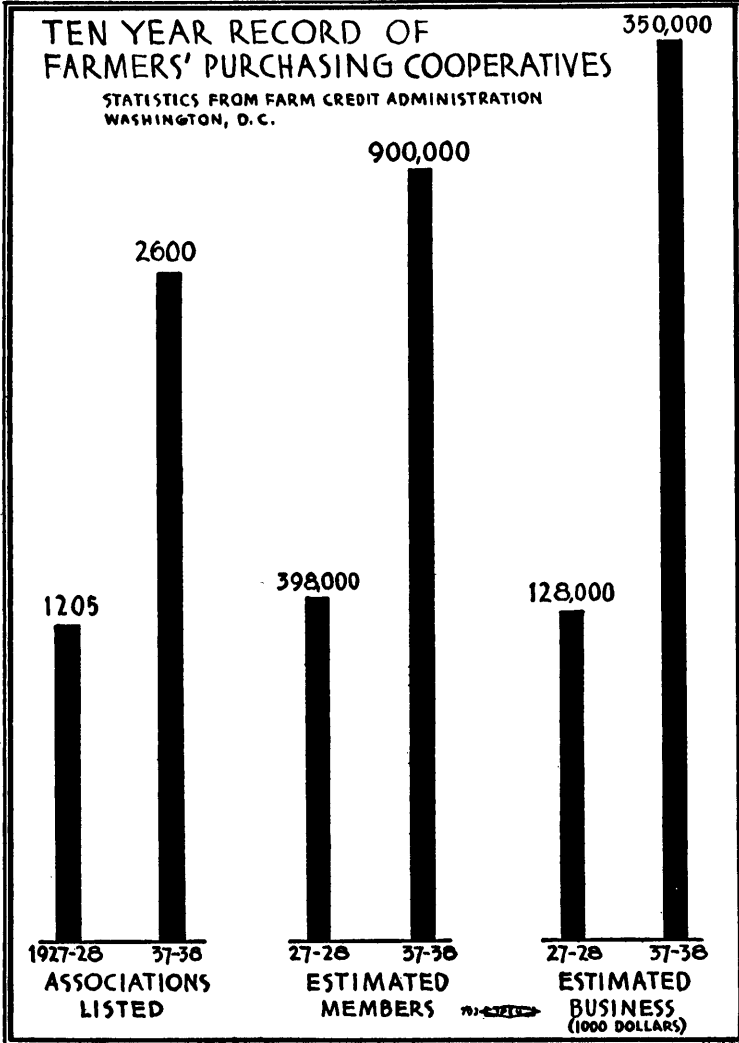
"If the agreement we have tentatively reached," Mr. Martin said in his radio address, "is approved by our membership, we will have taken an important step toward the unification of the American labor movement, a step which we have been pledged to take, in accordance with the mandate of our convention, and a step toward labor peace which we know is the desire of every organized automobile worker."

"The taking of this step will enable the U.A.W. to continue to protect and advance the interests of the workers in the automobile, aircraft and farm-implement industries, thru the building of a democratic, autonomous, industrial union. Thus we will be able to enjoy those basic rights of any labor union which were denied by the C.I.O."

## Hershey Workers Vote for A.F.L.

Philadelphia, Pa. THE Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union, Local 464, A. F. of L., was certified recently by the N.L.R.B. as sole collective-bargaining agency for production and maintenance employees of the Hershey Chocolate Corporation, Hershey, Pa., following a secret-ballot election under the Wagner Act held on March 10, which resulted in a count of 1,125 for the A. F. of L. union to 733 for the United Chocolate Workers of America, Local 2, a C.I.O. affiliate. Over a year and a half ago, Hershey was the scene of vigorous labor struggles under the leadership of the C.I.O., which attracted nation-wide attention.

## "CO-OPS SHOW BIG GAINS



# Bosses Use Anti-Union 'Preachers'

## Southern Textile Owners Fight TWOC

Washington, D. C. HOW some southern mill owners capitalize religion and subsidize preachers to fight labor unions was graphically revealed recently by the National Labor Relations Board as the result of an investigation in South Carolina.

The "religion" technique as employed not only in South Carolina but in other southern states was described during the inquiry, which specifically involved three textile mills near Gaffney, S. C., by Witherpoon Dodge, D.D.

Dr. Dodge, a former Congregational minister of Atlanta, and a former member of the Oglethorpe University faculty, is now an organizer for the T.W.O.C., a C.I.O. affiliate.

"We have had this experience over and over in our organizing," Dr. Dodge testified. "Just before we would start an intensive organizing campaign, there would start a series of revival services in the mill churches."

### DIVERTS MINDS OF WORKERS

"In one way, that diverts the minds of the workers from the necessity of improving their own conditions thru organizing, because the mill people are rather church-minded and somewhat religiously inclined, and so the effort is to prevent them from attending mill organization meetings by going to church meetings."

"In another way, and a very much more direct way, these meetings are punctuated and emphasized with violent attacks on the C.I.O. The psychology back of that is very easy to understand.

"With the religious background in the minds of the workers, and with the respect that is paid to him by the mill workers, if he (the preacher) can come and hold a meeting and divert their minds from organizing activities and lambast the C.I.O., why, it serves a double purpose of injuring and handicapping and perhaps forestalling the efforts of organizing."

### MILLS PAY SALARIES OF PREACHERS

"We know that the mills contribute frequently to the salaries of the preachers in the churches, that they make contributions frequently to these evangelistic services. I don't want to make any false implications, but the mill churches are subsidized by the mills, and now are consequently going to be influenced by his income."

Trial Examiner C. W. Whittemore recommended that the N.L.R.B. order the mills to stop discouraging union membership, to disband "prayer clubs" and to reinstate, with back pay, twenty-two workers who were allegedly discharged for siding the T.W.O.C. or refusing to join the company-dominated clubs.

"Preacher" Parker, a doffer at the Alma Mills, who is an ordained Primitive Baptist minister, is a leading character in the drama of the fight against unionism which is woven in thousands of words of testimony taken by Mr. Whittemore.

Mr. Parker's own testimony and that of others show how the minister talked to one of the owners of the Hamrick Mills about preaching; how he was promised a lot for a church; how he borrowed \$25 to buy an installment on his automobile about the time the "clubs" were being organized under company auspices. These clubs—"Good Fellowship Club," "Free Fellowship Club" and "Square Deal Club," one at each mill—were organized as company unions.

"Preacher" Parker escorted "prayer bands," groups of workers, about to these clubs and preached against unions, always character-

izing the C.I.O. as "the mark of the beast."

Asked if he ever did any preaching against the C.I.O., he replied: "Ever since I have been preaching."

In organizing a union, he said he felt that, "in the place of following after God and taking up the Bible, they (the workers) are trying to do something within themselves, or looking to the power of men to do something for them, and I feel that God is the only one who can do that."

# F.D.R. Involves U.S.A. In War Peril

## Rival War Alliances Pushed; Danzig Next

(Continued from Page 1)

strong objections to any too close relations with the Soviet Union. The most concentrated "wooing" was directed by both sides towards Rumania, Yugoslavia and Turkey, where, from all appearances, the Axis powers seemed to be making greater headway.

Seizure of Danzig, either thru direct aggression or thru some agreement with Poland, was expected to be the next move on the part of Hitler Germany. It was noted that President Roosevelt had not listed that city among the thirty-one states included in his "peace message" to the two dic-

## ALP Bars Part in Stalinist Parade

New York City. ALEX ROSE, state secretary of the American Labor Party, made public last week the decision of the party's Executive Committee that the affiliated Labor Party district organizations will not participate in the May Day Parade. (The reference is to the parade organized by the Stalinists.—Editor.)

"Neither the American Labor Party nor any of its affiliated party district organizations will participate in the May Day Parade," Mr. Rose stated. "At a meeting of our Executive Committee, it was decided to continue the same policy we have adopted in previous years. Instructions have been issued to all party district organizations to the effect that they shall not (1) participate in any conference called for the May Day Parade, (2) participate in the May Day Parade, or (3) permit its banners or emblems to be displayed during the May Day Parade."

## British Co-ops Hit Popular Front

London, England. BY 18 votes to 9, the Co-operative Party Executive has decided to oppose the Popular Front.

This is a noteworthy reversal of attitude. Last year, the Co-operative Party decided in favor of the "Peace Alliance" proposal for an Opposition block.

There is no doubt that the growth of the opposition to the Popular Front in the cooperative movement is due to the active presentation of the socialist case for independent workers action.

# ILLA Protests City Budget Slashes

## Appeals for Bigger Welfare Allotment

(We publish below sections of the statement presented by Charles W. Campbell, in the name of the I.L.L.A., at a session of the New York Board of Estimate on April 12 devoted to a consideration of the new city budget.—Editor.)

By CHARLES CAMPBELL

THE Independent Labor League of America wishes to join with the many workers and labor organizations in protest against the proposed budget for the next fiscal year. We maintain that it is the workers who are the hardest hit by the cut in the Education and Welfare Departments and by the meager increases in many other departments. We emphatically protest against the indefensible slash in the minimum educational budget prepared by the Board of Education.

### EDUCATION BUDGET SLASHED

For the first time in history, a Board of Education has had its budget decreased from a previous year. How can the Mayor reconcile the demand for increased facilities with a cut in the appropriation? How can he reconcile the increased demand for college facilities with cuts in appropriations for Brooklyn and Queens Colleges?

We urge you and the Mayor to ask the Legislature for necessary power to meet this and future financial situations by taxing those who can afford to pay, those who are in the high-income brackets and the rich and powerful corporations which dominate our economic life.

We also cannot understand why, at this time, more than seventy-five millions of dollars can be spent for a monument to Mr. Moses and Mayor LaGuardia, and a questionable monument, at that. We refer to the proposed Battery Bridge. We believe that, while bridges are certainly a necessity, this particular bridge could be more readily postponed than absolutely necessary social services and decent living standards.

In the Department of Welfare, the Mayor has cut the allowance for food supplies, used for meals at municipal lodging houses, from \$430,000 last year to \$385,000. How can the fact that unemployment is increasing, that more and more people are losing their jobs, be reconciled with a cut in food allowances?

The New York Public Library, which has always been the pride of American scholars, needs at least \$500,000 for stock; yet the Mayor allows only \$150,000. We realize the difficulties that the Mayor has in balancing the budget, but we do not believe that it should be balanced at the expense of our libraries.

The Mayor has eloquently outlined the increased hospital care available to the people of New York, but competent authorities maintain that the need is not nearly covered by these increased facilities. We ask for a substantial increase over the Mayor's estimate.

While it is true that the Health Department has expanded its services to the people of the city, we maintain that this increase has led the Mayor to blind himself to the crying need for a doubling and tripling of health services. What tremendous amounts could not be saved in the Departments of Correction and Police and in the need for hospitals if more money were used for preventive purposes?

It is the cut in the Department of Education, however, at which we are particularly shocked. In the long run, no cut in educational facilities will save the taxpayers a single dollar. Every dollar deducted from education will cost the city ten times, yes, a hundred times over, in increased delinquency, retardation, prisons and houses of correction. Reduction in educational facilities is certain to weaken democratic procedures and will encourage the rise of bigoted book-burning dictators.

We want at this time to propose that the Mayor demand increased aid for our schools and libraries, for our hospitals and our health department, for relief purposes and for welfare, from the state and federal governments. We believe that the tremendous sums being spent for armaments could be put to much better use than in preparation for another terrible war. The federal government could make the grants thru the various agencies at its disposal. We also urge that our Mayor protest against the tremendous loans being made to Latin American dictators, with little hope of repayment. These vast sums of money should be spent for socially useful public services right in this country.

### BANKERS COME FIRST

I want to call the attention of the Board of Estimate at this time to the fact that while the budget is more than three millions higher than last year, every department except one has taken a cut. Why this apparent contradiction? It is because there is an increase of more than nine millions in "debt services." This item, "debt service," is the largest item in the budget, more than 159 millions. This enormous sum translated from "debt services" to plain English, means interest on the city's indebtedness. It means that we are paying this huge sum to the banks on what we owe them. I want to point out a very interesting fact. The very banks who are going to collect this enormous sum are represented here by the Chambers of Commerce and the Real Estate Board, organizations demanding a cut in the already too low budget. The very bankers and those whom they represent who are taking this great sum from the pockets of the taxpayers have the nerve to come here and demand that there be a cut in the expenses of the Departments of Education, Welfare, Health Service and Hospitals.

We have repeatedly pointed out the fact that the bankers are getting the bulk of the city's money and we have repeatedly demanded that the city be given the right to tax the rich corporations and individuals in the high-income brackets and that the money being spent by the federal government for war preparations be allocated to the communities which need it so sorely.

### NOT ARMS BUT SOCIAL WELFARE!

Let our Mayor call upon the federal government to stop spending such tremendous sums for armaments; let these billions be used for

# Red Caps Push Fight On Tip Issue

## General Board Maps Plans For Vigorous Action

Chicago, Ill.

A UNITED plan of action was laid down recently by the General Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Red Caps on the question of the future course to be taken thruout the country in regards to the tip-wage controversy before the Federal Wages-and-Hours Administration.

Meeting in Chicago for the first time since the Brotherhood was formed here a year ago, the board voted, after a report from its committee on wage-hour legislation, to "direct its main energies in the direction of bringing this case to successful close."

The legal nature of the case has shifted due to a changed position of the attorneys for the railroads. Previously the railroads held that tips could be legally counted as wages within the meaning of the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Today, the railroads maintain in substance, that tips are the legal property of the company. As a result, the Brotherhood is fighting for both the minimum wage and the tips.

The outcome of this case is of vast importance to service employees other than Red Caps. It is estimated that approximately 800,000 service employees thruout the country depend largely upon tips as a form of income.

Other actions taken by the Board are (1) referendum on an increase of per-capita tax to meet the increased duties of the International Union; (2) selection of attorneys to handle the wage-tip case; (3) to strengthen the work of the Ladies Auxiliaries; (4) to develop and extend educational activities and press; (5) recommendation to postpone the convention to January 1940.

# Frank Howard Weekly Letter

(Continued from Page 1)

story because they feared it was not sufficiently authenticated yet; Winchell, who hinted at it; Mallon, who is much too timid to publish anything so uncertain; Kintner and Alsop, who are increasingly becoming competitors of the Washington Merry-Go-Round and who have not broken the news for ditto reasons. There is a suspicion that I am T.R.B. of the New Republic but they are not sure who he is. This racket is tying some of us participants up in knots and we will soon have to arrange some riles of the game. It is getting too difficult for the victims of the Washington "terrors" (see last week's Collier's) to blame the proper person for spilling indiscreet news!

### MORE ON THE ANDERSON AFFAIR

Clarence Jenkins article in last week's Age "F.D.R. Plays Politics with Negro Vote" may have seemed to differ with my comment on the political repercussions of the Marian Anderson affair. Basically, I don't think Brother Jenkins and I do differ but he does not realize how this concert, with Ickes chairing it, has upset southern white Democrats. They hate F.D.R. for this more than for almost anything else he has done. Roosevelt does stand four-square behind the principle of "white supremacy" but in a vastly different way from Garner. Because they differ so much on how this question should be handled, along with other factors, the Democratic party may be split and make way for the creation of a Labor party. All of these developments, however, depend on European events during the next few months. If war breaks out, the writer of this letter wants to be forgiven for all of the futile speculations in which he has engaged about Roosevelt vs. Garner, Jerome Frank vs. Thurman Arnold et cetera.

the benefit of the American people. We believe that the ideas we have stressed for many years are today even more vital than ever:

- We want more schools instead of battleships!
- We want more food instead of cannon!
- We want more hospitals instead of airplanes!
- We want more and better homes instead of tanks and poison gas!

## Rare Discrimination

ROCKWELL KENT is a great artist. He is apparently also a man of political sense, even if he is, as an anti-Marxist. Said Mr. Kent recently in defending the American League for Peace and Democracy (New York Times, April 13):

"[The League is] articulately battling both fascism and Marxism but it is not against communism as communism in America has manifested itself."

Fine discrimination, Mr. Kent!

**New Low Price!**

**WORKERS AGE**

Bound Volume, 1937 — \$1.25  
Bound Volume, 1938 — \$1.25

**BOTH VOLUMES BOTH FOR \$2.00**

Shipped postfree in the U. S.

★

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



# Only the International Unity of Labor Can Stop Hitler

By FENNER BROCKWAY

(Fenner Brockway is secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.—Editor.)

At the present time, the average man or woman wants two things. He wants to stop Hitler. He wants to stop war. Can both be done?

There are three policies for us to choose from. Let us put them to the test.

The first is the old Chamberlain policy of "appeasement." It aimed at an agreement between the capitalist governments, "democratic" or fascist, because the section of the capitalist class whom Neville Chamberlain represents feared the consequences of war. After all, British capitalism has grabbed a quarter of the earth's surface and therefore is all in favor of the status-quo, of peace.

## WAR AND THE EMPIRE

A war might be begun to defend the Empire, but would there be any Empire to defend at the end of the war? Among all the subject peoples there are movements of revolt.

A war might be begun to defend British capitalist interests, but would there be any British capitalist interests to defend at the end of the war? The condition of social chaos and war weariness might before long become a suitable field for social revolution.

This is why one section of the capitalist class, led by the City of London financiers, has been in favor of "appeasement." It has been ready to make concessions to Hitler rather than have war. But all the time this policy was being pursued, Neville Chamberlain and those who thought like him had their doubts; so, while conceding, they also prepared for war on the biggest scale ever known. It is clear that this policy has neither stopped Hitler nor removed the danger of war.

The second policy has been urged by another section of the British capitalist class, represented by the Winston Churchills, Anthony Edens and Duff Coopers. They fear Germany's challenge to British imperialism more than they fear the social revolution. No doubt they are quite confident of their power to line up the working class behind capitalism. They know how the workers hate Hitler and how the labor leaders would be among the most fervent patriots in a war against Germany. It is possible that this policy would stop Hitler, but only at the danger of war.

We are now beginning to see the policies of these two sections of the capitalist class emerge. Chamberlain was ready to risk even British imperialist interests in Spain for "appeasement." He assisted Hitler to gain the Sudetenland. But now the economic aims of the Hitler policy are becoming clear. He has used the Sudetenland as a stepping stone to conquer the whole of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia, despite their non-German populations. His eyes are on the oil wells of Rumania and beyond, in the distance, even on the oil wells of Iraq.

This is a challenge to British capitalist interests which even Neville Chamberlain cannot accept. Therefore he is moving away from "appeasement" to the second policy of a "democratic" block with France, America, Poland, Rumania and the Balkans (strange "democracies," some of these). Therefore his sudden wooing of Soviet Russia.

The events of the last few days may prove decisive. It looks as though the National Government has decided that Hitler is not to be allowed to advance a step further, either economically or territorially, without war.

## REALITY BEHIND SLOGANS

The socialist need not be told that this will be a capitalist war. The slogan "democracy versus fascism" no more represents the reality than did the slogan "democracy versus Kaiserism" in 1914.

As a matter of fact, the capital-

## First Victim Of Coming War

LOS ANGELES, April 13.—Walter (Buddy) Merriell, seventeen, was dead today, America's first victim of the war that has not yet come. He dreaded not the danger for himself, but the thought of having to kill some one. "He dreaded it so much that yesterday, thinking war inevitable, he hanged himself." —New York Post, April 13, 1939.

ist-imperialist causes of the war danger today are strikingly similar to the causes of war in 1914. Then, too, the real struggle was about colonies in Africa and the economic domination of central and Eastern Europe.

There are two facts which shatter to bits this slogan "democracy versus fascism."

The first is that the powers who would represent the war alliance against the fascist powers are not democracies. The British Empire is not a democracy, nor is the French Empire. American "democracy" kept innocent Tom Mooney in prison for twenty years.

No one hates fascism more than we do. It is our love of freedom and equality which has made us socialists, and the whole liberty-crushing regime of fascism is abhorrent to us.

But we cannot be blind to the fact that the very same tyrannies which Hitler commits in Germany are committed in the British Empire. There is no democracy in three-fourths of the British Empire. Freedom of speech, press and organization is repeatedly suppressed. Imprisonment without charge or trial is a common happening, and Sir John Anderson himself, when Governor-General of Bengal in 1932, flung nearly 3,000 Indian youths into concentration camps, where they remained for five years without trial. The destruction of property and the imposition of collective fines without regard to innocence or guilt has happened this year in Palestine. What is the difference between Aryan subjection of the Jews as belonging to an inferior race, and the attitude of the White Sahibs in the British Empire towards the colored peoples?

No, it would not be a war between "democracy and fascism," but between German fascism and British imperialism, and both trample upon liberty and embody the barbarity of racial oppression.

The second fact which destroys this slogan is that to fight the German fascist state the "democracies" must become totalitarian states of similar structure.

War today means the organization of every civilian activity in the war machine. Inevitably, industrial conscription will accompany military conscription. All the freedoms would go. A military dictatorship would rule everything.

"Democratic" France points the way. Already M. Daladier has been invested with dictatorial powers. Britain has been divided into nine regions with war-time dictators. The capitalist class will not of its own will dissolve this totalitarian structure and reinstate political democracy when the war is over. In the circumstances which would follow a war, it will require to maintain its dictatorship in order to retain its power, privileges and profits.

The socialist must therefore reject the policy of unity with the capitalist class in the misnamed "democratic war alliance" as certainly as he rejects the policy of "appeasement."

## INDEPENDENT LABOR ACTION

What is the third alternative? It is the policy of independent working-class action against fascism, imperialism and war—all three together. It is a policy to stop

## Injunction Judges Still Flourish

### Weird "Justice" Against Trade U

By RUBEN LEVIN

LABOR-HATING judges, who had taken to storm cellars in recent years, are now in the open again, showing their fangs.

In many parts of the nation, reactionary jurists, both state and federal, have lately handed down rulings that have the effect of shattering rights won by labor after long and harrowing struggles.

Some of the decisions are directly contrary to positions taken by the United States Supreme Court. Others whittle away at the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act. Still others make a mockery of state labor codes and anti-injunction laws.

Legitimate activities of labor are being seriously threatened by the judge-made restrictions, some of which would put this nation back to the days when reactionary courts operated as virtual "injunction mills."

## STRANGE "JUSTICE"

An analysis of the decisions unfolds some rather weird conclusions arrived at by these judges. Here are a few of them:

Peaceful picketing is a myth. Picketing to unionize a shop is unlawful.

Closed-shop contracts are illegal. Unions may organize large employers, but not small ones. Skilled workers may strike, but not unskilled.

Congregation of a large number of pickets constitutes intimidation. It is a crime to call a scab a scab. The determination that "picketing is a myth" came from Federal Judge Oliver B. Dickinson of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's judiciary, by and large, has been noted for its reactionary rulings, but Judge Dickinson's was one of the most infamous. It is especially interesting in that it shows in detail the workings of a reactionary judicial mind.

Dickinson's judgment was given in the case of Tri-Plex Shoe Company against striking unionists. The company asked for an injunction to smash the strike, and the manner in which he cracked thru the armor of the Norris-LaGuardia Act to oblige the employer would warm the cockles of a Liberty Leaguer's heart.

The Norris-LaGuardia Act was put thru Congress to stay the hand of just such judges as Dickinson. It was intended to prevent issuance of injunctions except where certain specific abuses existed.

For example, the act forbids federal courts to grant injunctions against union men where a labor dispute is peacefully conducted. The Tri-Plex strike was peaceful. Even Judge Dickinson had to admit that "it is as orderly a strike as can be given."

Obviously, then, the judge would have to do a lot of twisting and turning to get around that. He did it by declaring that "the idea of peaceful picketing is a myth." Hence, the Tri-Plex strike, by that theory, could not be peaceful, even if it were.

The picket line, he said, is "a danger line" and creates "a condition Hitler would war, and at the same time to strike at imperialism. No one doubts that it is the duty of the working-class movement to stop Hitler. We are not concerned with the defense of the imperialist state, but we are concerned with the defense of the working class, and the spread of fascism means the crushing of the working class.

If we reject action behind our imperialist class, the duty remains to act ourselves.

The first step should be to summon immediately an International Congress representing every section of the working-class movement.

It should represent the mass industrial and political movements of the world, including the International Federation of Trade Unions, the big trade-union organization of Soviet Russia, the parties attached to the Labor and Socialist International, the Communist International, the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Unity, the syndicalist unions and, not least important, the colonial workers organizations.

There must be no ground for regarding the Congress merely as representative of the working-class movement in the "democracies." The presence of the colonial workers organizations would correct that, but it is also imperative that the difficult but not impossible task of securing representatives from the working-class groups which are maintaining the struggle within the fascist countries should be accomplished.

The congress should say to Hitler that any move on his part to extend the area of fascism will be met at once by the refusal of the organized working class of the world to make or transport supplies to Germany which would assist him in his purpose.

Thru the International Transport Workers Federation, with the backing of all other sections of workers, this could be done. In a not dissimilar crisis three years ago, when Japan attacked China, the I.T.F. of

of terrorism which is subversive of all rights and all law." In other words, workers may strike, but when they picket they become terrorists. Another requirement of the Norris-LaGuardia Act is that there be a finding that police protection is inadequate to preserve order. But in the Tri-Plex strike, plenty of police assistance was given to the employer. So Judge Dickinson skirted around that obstacle by maintaining that "no police protection is adequate or can be fully given."

Another proscription in the act is that an injunction may not be allowed unless greater injury would result if it were denied. Dickinson met this stumbling block by deducing that the company would "suffer loss" if an injunction were refused, while the effect on the union of granting an injunction would be merely "psychological." That is to say, the union might feel bad.

The act has another specification; namely, that there must be a finding

## Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

THE WEST INDIES TODAY, issued by the International African Service Bureau, London, 1939.

THIS well-written pamphlet on the West Indies contains a vivid portrayal of the social, economic and political conditions making for the widespread unrest and social upheavals in those islands today. The author briefly outlines the historical background of the West Indies and the three-hundred-year struggle among European powers for the exclusive right to exploit their vast wealth. "The scramble for the West Indies was the first of those great scrambles for colonial territory in which European nations were to engage, and which still today plunge the world into bloodshed."

This study becomes even more interesting if one keeps in mind that these islands fall under the hegemony of the great democratic powers, Britain, France, Holland and the United States. One of the impressive features of this pamphlet is the description of the deplorable economic plight of Jamaica, which has lingered in the shadow of British "democracy" for over three centuries. "Just two and a half million people live (in the West Indies.—C. J.) under the British flag, two-fifths of them in Jamaica. . . . Nowhere have the masses of the people been allowed to emerge from primitive conditions."

The author traces the rise of the West Indian peasantry after the Emancipation in 1833 and the breakdown of West Indian agricultural economy under the impact of the crisis of 1929. Speaking of the unequal distribution of land, the author points out, "that in Trinidad, where in 1931 there were 47,000 persons actively engaged on the land either as planters or as peasants, just over one percent of this number owned half the area under cultivation (units of more than 100 acres); and that in St. Vincent less than one percent of the 8,500 persons actively engaged on the land owned two-thirds of the area under cultivation. This very uneven distribution of land is not to be explained on any grounds of efficiency; it is simply the heritage of the days of slavery, when that same one percent owned practically the whole of the land. In a sense, it is at the root of all West Indian problems. . . . The final battle between the planter and peasant is yet to be fought."

The caste system of West Indian society, which militates against any struggle to throw off the British yoke, is described as follows: "The whites are the aristocracy; they

dominate everything—agriculture, commerce, industry, government, religion and social life. . . . In the days of slavery, the half-caste children of the whites and their slaves occupied a special position. Some were slaves; some were freed. But all had the prestige of white blood in their veins. Thus, even in the days of slavery, they formed a privileged caste. Their descendants today are a definite caste, into which, however, able and wealthy blacks are gradually pushing themselves. Thus arose the colored middle class which today displays its landowners, business and professional men indistinguishable in culture and outlook from their white colleagues. . . . They form, however, only a small layer. . . . The vast majority of the people living in the towns are workers maintaining a low standard of living, their leaky shacks forming a grim background for the trim residence of their more prosperous cousins. . . . There is color prejudice between these sections of non-whites which is skillfully played upon by the whites."

Speaking of wages and labor conditions, the author says the following: "The standard of wages paid to unskilled manual workers and to many clerks and shop assistants is definitely inadequate to provide the bare necessities of existence. . . . The highest wages earned by the best paid worker on one group of plantations for one year was \$92.57, which is equivalent to an average weekly wage of \$1.78. It would be easy to multiply instances of the striking disparity between the wages paid to men and women who perform manual and clerical work and the remuneration of those in positions of responsibility and control. To take one example, the books of one firm showed that eight employees are paid \$1,243 per month, while seventy-three clerical assistants receive salaries amounting to \$1,750. . . . One of the chief contributing factors to the disturbances was the absence of any form of machinery for collective bargaining. . . . The West Indies hardly know the meaning of the term, 'industrial legislation'."

How the parliamentary system of the West Indies disfranchises the masses and deprives them of their civil rights is explained with particular lucidity.

This pamphlet, with its clear, detailed and factual exposition of the economic and political oppression of the West Indies, is a valuable contribution to the struggle of the people of these islands for freedom from the yoke of British imperialism. Reviewed by CLARENCE JENKINS

## AID TO ANTI-FASCISTS

A second purpose of this congress should be to give direct, large and constant assistance to the anti-fascist working-class forces in the fascist countries. It is upon them that the task of overthrowing the fascist regimes must mainly depend, and it would not be too much to ask that there should be a levy upon the whole working-class movement of the world to help them in their struggle.

But the task of the congress should be more than to stop Hitler. It should be a great occasion in this crisis of world capitalism to mobilize the workers for its overthrow. A survey should be made of the anti-imperialist struggle, and aid given to the colonial workers organ-

## "A Modest Proposal"

WASHINGTON, April 12.—Euthanasia, "mercy killing," has been proposed as a solution of the relief problem.

"Major Edward L. Dyer, United States Army retired, suggested in a talk before the Washington Society for Philosophical Research yesterday that aged persons—over 70 or 75—without means of support, should be humanely killed to lessen the relief burden." —New York World-Telegram, April 12, 1939.

of "substantial and irreparable injury" to the property of the strike-bound employer. Judge Dickinson calmly made such a finding, without offering a ghost of proof to back it up.

Thus, what Judge Dickinson has evolved is a formula, with full trimmings, for other courts to follow in attempting to make a dead letter out of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It is doubtful, however, whether Judge Dickinson will get away with it, in

## British Labor in The World War

### Government Sapped Workers Rights

By CHARLES VINCENT

(Continued from last issue)

THE Welsh miners strike was declared an offence under the Munitions Act, but, as it managed to last, the Government preferred to reach a compromise. On July 20,

so far as higher courts are concerned.

The judge's blast about peaceful picketing being a "myth" has found echoes in other courts. At Dubuque, Iowa, Judge Milton Glenn lately clamped down an injunction against striking truckdrivers after declaring that "there is no such thing as peaceful picketing." In several other cities, courts ordered picket lines broken on the ground that they "intimidated" people, especially if they were big enough to be effective.

Picketing to organize a non-union plant in order to establish union standards in it has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. But that has meant little to some judges, if recent decisions are an indication.

This form of picketing has been forbidden by court injunctions issued recently by judges in Illinois, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, Washington, and other states—in all cases, on the spurious ground that "no labor dispute" existed. All this, in the face of accepted policy, as set forth in many state and federal laws, that union efforts to organize sweatshop or chiseling employers by picketing constitute a clear-cut legitimate activity of labor.

One of the judges who enjoined such picketing—Supreme Court Justice William L. Shaffer of Pennsylvania—when informed the nation's highest court had legalized this form of struggle, exclaimed defiantly: "The United States Supreme Court went overboard in a lot of these cases."

The union closed shop has also been the target of many courts in recent months and on a widespread front there have been judicial attempts to outlaw strikes called to establish 100% union shops in the plants of anti-union employers.

California has been the leader in such judicial decisions. Judges in a number of the Golden State cities have prohibited picketing conducted primarily to win closed-shop pacts. One of them, Judge Emmett Wilson, of Los Angeles, added a unique justification for his granting of an injunction. If the nation's founders, he said, had intended to sanction complete union shops "they would have so provided when they wrote the Constitution." And that, in the face of the fact that no such thing as a modern labor union existed at the time the American nation was founded.

## SOME FREAK DECISIONS

In the museum of recent freak court decisions, there are several that particularly stand out:

In Seattle, Judge Calvin S. Hall forbade picketing by restaurant workers on the ground that they were unskilled and such things as struggles for better standards should be left solely to skilled workers.

In Newark, Chancellor Berry ruled that unions may strike at big establishments but they should let little business firms alone, no matter if they are chisellers.

In Chicago, the Illinois Appellate Court held that "picketing by strangers" was a violation of state law. In effect, that prohibited sympathetic picketing. Likewise, another Chicago court held that strikers may not call a scab by that name. It seems it isn't nice.

The list of vicious and ridiculous decisions could be continued indefinitely. All of them offer a challenge to labor and a warning that labor must be on guard against letting courts cut away the most basic rights and liberties of the working man.

and French governments unfortunately have to fear from their populations, certainly in the mother countries.

This working-class congress should be called at once, and it should not meet to disband. It should appoint an international general staff, which should be in constant session in some convenient center directing and coordinating the struggle against fascism, imperialism and war in these critical days.

We must take this proposal to every section of the working-class movement. If it is rejected, a great responsibility will rest on those who so advise.

But, even in that case, there will be sections in every country who will carry on the struggle and, should war come, we will know that from the International Workers Front against War the lead will still be given which, when followed, will mean the defeat not only of fascism and imperialism, but of the capitalism from which they both arise.

Read — Spread  
WORKERS AGE

1915, Lloyd George's personal appeal induced 200,000 Welsh miners to return to work. "The destiny of the world seldom hung on a more slender thread," comments Charles W. Baker<sup>2</sup> and this comment gives an idea of the use the workers could have made of direct action to wreck the imperialist war machine. And we are not surprised to see the same author further declare that "Lloyd George saved the world at the time when the question whether British labor would sacrifice its dearly-purchased power over wages, hours, working conditions and output was undecided." At least, Lloyd George and the labor leaders can boast of having saved the capitalist world!

The obligation of producing a leaving certificate to obtain employment, the use of munition volunteers and soldiers withdrawn from the front to work in industry, the institution to work in "non-essential" industries without authorization, further limited the workers' freedom. "Despite objections raised to conscription of labor . . . the policy which has been evolved is little short of compulsion for men of military age."<sup>3</sup>

## LABOR AND CONSCRIPTION

The passing of the Conscription Act was not meant so much to increase the army forces as to impose military discipline on workers and use war service as a threat. There had been huge majorities at the 1916 Labor Party conferences to reject conscription, it was approved by the Labor ministers. In order to break the opposition to conscription, new D.O.R.A. regulations further limited the freedom of press and speech. Thousands of conscientious objectors were imprisoned, anti-war propaganda in its mildest form became liable to prosecution. Headquarters of left organizations were raided, meetings broken up and disbanded.

Relaxation of trade-union rules and dilution of skilled labor led to a general speed-up of work and a widespread substitution of piece-work for time-wages. Overtime, Sunday and night work were authorized and the Health of Munition Workers Committee revealed the existence of 108-hour working-weeks for men, 90-hour weeks for boys and 77-hour weeks for women. It was not the disastrous effect of long hours upon the workers' health but the falling off in production resulting from too prolonged a strain which decided the Munitions Minister to keep overtime within certain limits.

From July 1914 to July 1918, retail prices went up by 110%. Wages did not increase in the same proportion and, in the best cases, it was only on account of overtime and piece-work that "the economic situation of the workers was not materially worse." As for female workers, "women's organizations claimed that the government's standard wages had about the same purchasing power that the minimum rates fixed for the sweated trades had before the war."<sup>4</sup> Sugar, meat, flour, bread, eggs, fish, etc., were severely rationed. Peace-time industries, public-utility works, health and educational services were sacrificed to war purposes. There was a fall in the birth rate and child mortality increased. All these facts give an idea of the hardship suffered by the working population.

The report of the government Commission on the Causes of Industrial Unrest, a very honest document, does not hesitate to attribute widespread discontent to industrial

(Continued on Page 4)

## NLRB Opens Way To Changes

(Continued from Page 1)

of unfair labor practices by employers, especially permitting them to "counsel and advise" employees on union affairs; to ban the closed shop and the check-off; to "equalize" the act by placing new restrictions on employees; to exempt employees engaged in "post-farming processes" from the jurisdiction of the act; to deny the Board power of reinstating and awarding back-pay to employees unlawfully discharged; to subject the Board to more extensive court review; to abolish the present Board altogether and to distribute its functions among different agencies.

The sudden readiness of the National Labor Relations Board to urge consideration of modifications of the act and its administration, going beyond even Senator Wagner's sole recommendation that employer petitions for elections be permitted, caused much discussion in Congressional and labor circles here. It was generally regarded as a strategic move to placate the A. F. of L. and to head off its campaign for a much more drastic revision of the Wagner Act. The reactions of the Federation and the C.I.O. to the Board's move have not yet been made public.

## "Democracies" At Work

How the "great peace-loving democracies," Great Britain and France, go about their noble work of "defending democracy" and "stopping the aggressors."

## "STOPPING THE AGGRESSOR"

Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain is now alarmed over Italy's grab, he can have none but his own country in general to blame, and in particular his own half-brother, the late Sir Austen. In 1926, Il Duce was pressing for extended Ethiopian interests. To divert his attention, British Foreign Secretary Sir Austen Chamberlain hinted that Albania was a more convenient outlet for Italian expansion and one, incidentally, less likely to interfere with British plans.

Il Duce leaped at the suggestion, immediately sent a note to Albania insisting upon becoming the guarantor of Albania's independence. Once before when the Italians presented demands, President Zogu appealed to Britain, got immediate results. This time, however, the British Minister at Tirana informed the President that "London expected Albania to reach an amicable agreement with Italy without undue delay." Sir Austen and Il Duce met

## "DEFENDING DEMOCRACY"

(New York World-Telegram, April 14)

DECREE PUTS FRENCH LABOR UNDER WARTIME DICTATORSHIP.

Power as a virtual dictator over the French labor market was conferred on Labor Minister Charles Pomaret by a decree published today in the Official Journal.

The decree was one of the measures being taken in the "organization of the nation in time of war." Pomaret is empowered:

To centralize information on labor needs in the public services and private industry.

To recruit labor of various categories as deemed necessary.

To assign workers to public and private enterprises arbitrarily.

To regulate conditions of labor and control the labor market.

on a yacht off Livorno to consummate the deal. The Treaty of Tirana, which made Albania a virtual Italian economic protectorate, was duly signed on November 27, 1926.



# 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.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

VOL. 8. WEDNESDAY, APRIL 26, 1939. NO. 17.

## THE COMING BATTLE FOR RELIEF

THE vain effort of the Administration to get Congress to pass the full \$150,000,000 deficiency relief appropriation reveals clearly the firm grip that the reactionary "economy" block has in Washington. It is with this block that those who are fighting for adequate relief will have to measure strength very soon in the struggle over the 1940 budget; but in this struggle the Administration will play a much more ambiguous and uncertain role than it has in the past.

In the first place, the President comes to Congress with a budget in which relief expenditures are already greatly slashed although there is little sign of a proportionate decline in unemployment. The 1940 budget allows about two and a quarter billions for all recovery-relief items, nearly a billion less than the previous year, a cut significantly equal to the jump in armaments expenditures. What Congress will do even to this reduced appropriation remains to be seen but the prospects are not very bright.

Then there is the Byrnes bill, growing out of the report of the Senate Committee on Unemployment, headed by Senator James Byrnes of South Carolina. The heart of the Byrnes bill is the principle that unemployment insurance should be the "first line of defense" in periods of depression. What would that mean? It would mean that when a man is thrown out of work, he would no longer be able to look to the government for a work-relief job at decent wages on W.P.A. but would have to live at least a quarter of a year on what might be as little as \$5 a week unemployment insurance for himself and his family. Inevitably, it would mean the systematic replacement of work relief by a dole disguised as unemployment-insurance compensation, thus moving further and further away from the idea of a job for every one thrown out of work by forces beyond his control. It would mean the dismantling and abolition of the W.P.A. as we know it today.

Of course, the Byrnes plan does propose a big public-works program but it would be along relatively inflexible and long-term P.W.A. lines and not like the present W.P.A. at all. As the report itself makes clear, the Byrnes works program "should not be expected to suddenly expand in order to take care of a sudden increase of unemployment. . . ." That's for the unemployment-insurance system to take care of, according to Senator Byrnes, and what that means is plain enough.

The attitude of the Administration to the Byrnes plan is not yet clear but, at best, no very strenuous opposition from that quarter is to be expected.

And so the millions of jobless of this country are caught in a vice: greatly reduced appropriations, on the one side, and the Byrnes plan of abolishing the W.P.A. altogether, on the other.

Precisely at this moment of acute emergency, however, the unemployed masses find themselves without adequate protective organization. The Workers Alliance has functioned for the last few years as nothing more than a W.P.A. company union under rigid Stalinist domination, bringing no benefit whatever to the masses of the jobless, perhaps even damaging their interests. The new independent organizations of the unemployed, chief among which is the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America, are at this time still too young and limited in their coverage, to be able to play a decisive role.

Yet it is upon these new independent organizations, despite all their present shortcomings, that the unemployed will have to depend for their protection in the critical days ahead. The responsibility resting upon these organizations is very great indeed. If they are to live up to this responsibility, they must first of all unite their own forces and establish a single nation-wide militant organization of the unemployed. Such an organization, allied and cooperating with friendly sections of the labor movement, will really be able to accomplish what the Workers Alliance neither wishes nor is able to do—defend the interests of the jobless millions throughout the country in this hour of grave emergency!

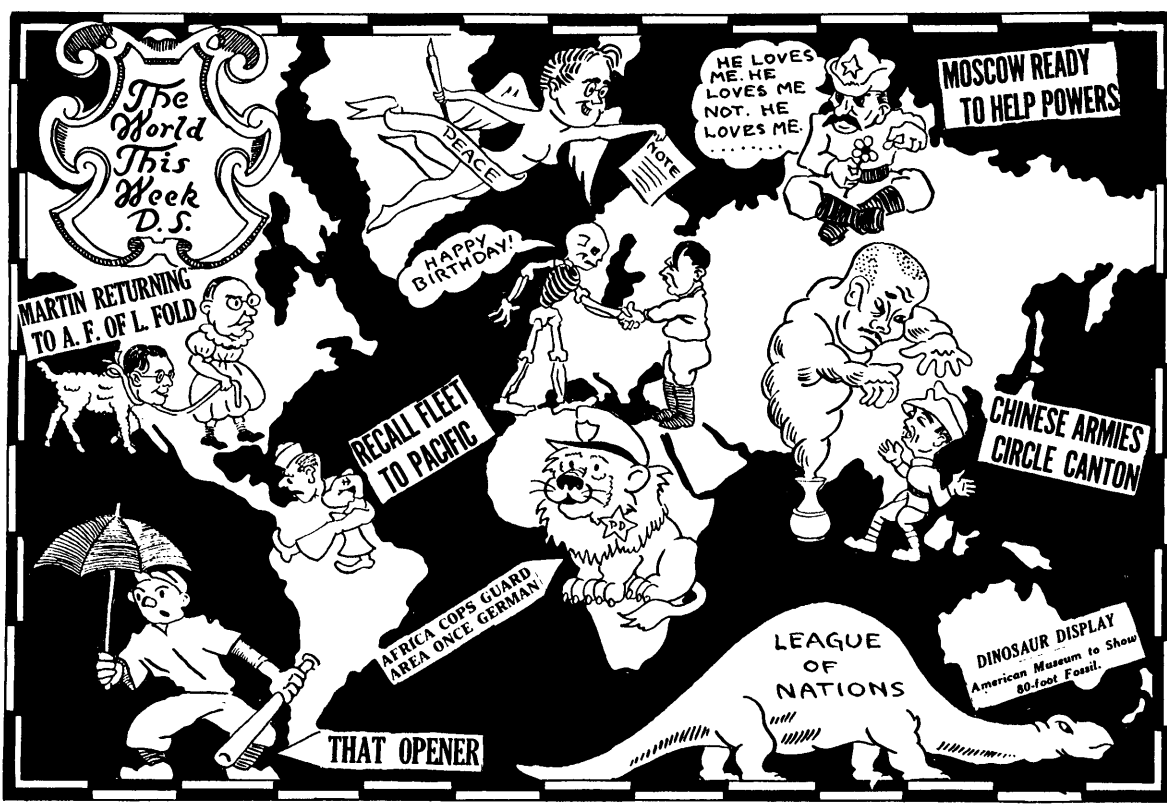
## KRIVITSKY'S REVELATIONS

THE tragedy of the Spanish revolution has been fully and repeatedly analyzed in these columns. The terrible disasters which have befallen the Spanish people, the victory of Franco's hordes and the bolstering of Hitler and Mussolini, the damnable conniving by the "great democracies," the shameful American embargo on arms to the Loyalists, all these we have recorded and evaluated. The policy of the P.O.U.M., calling for a revolutionary war against Franco, a socialist war which would undermine his strength and give immeasurable intensity to the Spanish workers and peasants, has been consistently upheld by us. Above all, we have exposed, fought and warned against the monstrous role of Stalinism in the Spanish situation. It was the G.P.U.'s foreign branch in Spain, operating under the direction of the Kremlin, which was most responsible for blocking the path of the workers and peasants of Loyalist Spain towards a revolutionary policy and the consequent defeat of Franco. It was Stalinism, we stressed, whose sinister manipulations starved the Aragon front of munitions because that front was held by anarcho-syndicalists and P.O.U.M.ists. It was Stalinism which murdered Andreu Nin, Bob Smillie, and thousands of other revolutionary anti-fascists. It was Stalinism which, thru reaction, torture, low conniving, and suppression of all freedom, so weakened the Loyalist front that Franco could finally break thru.

And now this analysis, these facts, have received new and startling substantiation. In the Saturday Evening Post, General Krivitsky, formerly high in the Red Army, has begun a series of articles on the activities of Stalinism, with a full description of the operations of the G.P.U. in Spain. For him, who has seen his friends and comrades of the Red Army leadership shot down or made to "disappear" by Stalin, this story is not one of speculation or guess-work. He was in charge of the European Division of the Russian Army Intelligence Service; his task was to establish a functioning G.P.U. in Spain. It is the story of the fulfillment of that task, and what it entailed, that makes up these articles which are an inside corroboration of all the crimes against the Spanish revolution Stalinism has ever been accused of.

It is a grim story of how Stalin made the fate of the Spanish masses a mere pawn in his foreign policy of despair. Of how the munitions sent by the Soviet government to Spain were at the same time guarantees that the Loyalist regime would how to the Stalinist "line." Of the shameful frame-up against the revolutionary anti-fascists who fought Stalinism in order to be able to defeat fascism, and hence were doomed by the Spanish section of the Russian G.P.U. Of how the G.P.U. troops provoked the May "uprising" in Barcelona and then murdered Andreu Nin and scores of other valiant leaders.

This final and incontrovertible evidence comes to us late. But not too late. For the story of General Krivitsky—told at great danger for he is even now being hunted by the American agents of the G.P.U.—should give us all new determination to fight the menace of Stalinism without compromise, to the death!



## Letters to the Editor

### On Socialist Unity

(We continue below the discussion of socialist unity. All readers of this paper are invited to contribute.—Ed.)

Philadelphia, Pa.  
Editor, Workers Age  
A RESURGENCE of almost forgotten hopes came with the reading of the letter "On Socialist Unity" in the Workers Age of March 15.

However, "Yes-but" seems to be the usual answer to such pleas for unity. I, therefore, feel that a few words on the difficulties facing the fusion of the S.P., I.L.L.A., and S.W.P. are in order. The sore spots, as most are agreed, are not doctrinal but may generally be grouped around:

1. Organizational problems, and
2. "Practicalism" or "opportunism" depending upon where we stand.

The former could easily be thrashed out in conference provided the desire for unity exists. The latter presents greater difficulty. It is quite apparent that this difference affects our approach to a multitude of problems and, because of the very nature of the difference, a conference per se cannot lead to complete understanding. Life alone can clarify the issues, and it is only the life of a united, growing and a few party that can prove the acid test.

A party that will pass the stage of theorizing and enter the world arena will of necessity be forced to take a practical approach. So why not give life a chance? It would seem that the sight of the disillusionment, the discouragement and the hopelessness that is rampant in the left wing today would force the hand of all parties involved to hand-clasp. But life seems to teach no lessons to our movement—divided—each frying in its own juice. Is there no end to our myopia?

Comrades, it is about time the rank and file, once for all, raise its voice and about: "Unity!"

B. K.

Chester, Pa.  
Editor, Workers Age  
I HAVE read with interest the letters appearing in the Age on the question of socialist unity. May I, as a member of the I.L.L.A., add my comments?

Nearly every one will agree on the necessity for unity—but the hitch comes in its possibility. Certainly principles no longer really separate the S.P., the I.L.L.A., and the S.W.P., whatever the latter might say to the contrary. I would welcome with enthusiasm unity with the S.P. for I feel sure that such unity could be approached on a healthy sound, honest and revolutionary basis. (Incidentally, the first letter in the Age on this subject contained, I thought, some very excellent suggestions.)

But the question of the S.W.P. is an entirely different matter. There are, it is true, despite the tone of the Appeal, some good honest elements in and around the S.W.P. Yet the factional approach, the nasty tone, and the smugness of the official party is no key to unity. As long as people like Max Shachtman (who may be liked by Ben Stolberg but is cordially disliked by most of his own comrades) are the guiding spirits of that organization, then unity I believe is neither worthwhile nor possible. I've sometimes wondered whether only the American Fourth Internationalists are burdened with their Shachtmans. We must remember that unity was achieved in Spain by Maurin's group (the so-called Right communists) and Nin's group (the so-called Left communists.) Even if we in the U.S.A. were in comparable circumstances (a revolutionary situation), I doubt if unity could be achieved with the S.W.P. I feel that until such time as the S.W.P. removes its spots, which must also include Trotsky (despite his brilliance and past services), then unity with that group would be of little value to the revolutionary movement.

JAMES THORPE

## British Labor During War

(Continued from Page 3)  
fatigue, bad housing conditions, low unfair wages, unequal distribution of food. The commissioners report that many witnesses would say that "employers would not carry out their obligation to restore pre-war conditions." The men considered "high prices to be due mainly, if not entirely, to profiteering" and there was a "widespread and dangerous feeling that the government was to blame for not having dealt with it." There was also "a regrettable amount of suspicion as to the aims and objects of the war, the issues of which did not stand out as clearly as they did in the Autumn of 1914," a "general break-away from faith in parliamentary representation" and "mistake of men for 'trade-union executives who had accepted the principles underlying the Munitions Act.'" This change of mood had led "to the formation of a vigorous defensive organization of the workers inside their own separate workshops."

The rebellion was not limited to the British working class. In Ireland, the famous socialist and trade-union leader, James Connolly, took a firm stand against pro-British and pro-German politicians alike and declared: "War waged by oppressed nationalities against the oppressor and the class war of the proletarians against capital. . . is par-excellence the swiftest, safest and most peaceful form of constructive work the socialist can engage in." The creation of a Citizens Army led to

## MARXIST QUARTERLY

originally 50c per copy  
**10c per Copy**  
Spring and Summer Issues  
Postage Free  
WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP  
131 W. 33rd St., New York City

## Borah Hits War Alliance

(Continued from Page 1)  
They all alike violate treaties, disregard the most fundamental principles of right, pursue methods which inevitably lead to war, and then call upon the United States, Canada and other nations to save them from their own intolerance and vicious methods.

"Only a few days ago Mr. Chamberlain declared in one of his speeches that, while there was a question in Europe of ideology, and so forth, it was not up for consideration now."

Borah counseled youth to "investigate for yourselves as to the real issues which threaten to involve us in another European war."

"A thorough investigation will disclose to you that a more sordid, imperialistic war could hardly be imagined than this war should it unfortunately come," he said.

Youth should be concerned in the crisis, he continued, because it would be called upon to fill the armies.

"If they should cross the seas again to take part in a European war," he said, "those who are now seeking in every way to bring on a situation which means war would not be with them. When it comes to taking up the real burdens of war, those who agitate for war are never there."

the Dublin insurrection (Easter 1916), which was defeated after heroic resistance but was nevertheless a tremendous step towards Irish independence. During the latter part of the war, mutinies broke out among Indian troops and British soldiers and sailors. Socialists opposed to war were gaining ground in all countries and the Russian revolution brought immense hopes to the workers.

(To be continued in the next issue)

2. Charles W. Baker, as above.
3. M. B. Hammond: British Labor Conditions and Legislation During the War, 1919.
4. M. B. Hammond, as above.

## 25 YEARS AGO

APRIL 19 - 26, 1914

APRIL 19, 1914.—President Huerta rejects American ultimatum. Calls special meeting of the cabinet for the following day.

April 19.—Huge anti-war rally held in Carnegie Hall, New York. Among the speakers are Haywood, Steffens, Bohm, Giovannitti, etc. Haywood threatens general strike if there is war with Mexico. "Sedition and blackmail," answers Department of Justice.

April 19.—Blockade fleet of 52 ships and 23,000 men ready if Huerta does not surrender.

April 20.—Strict neutrality is Villa's orders. Sees victory with aid of the U.S.A.

April 21.—45 dead, 20 wounded, 20 missing as Colorado militia machine-gun and burn tent colony of Ludlow strikers. Among dead are 11 children and two women. Miners on strike since August 1913.

April 21.—House votes 337 to 37 to uphold Wilson's Mexican policy.

April 21.—Vera Cruz shelled by U.S.S. Prairie. Marines land and take city. Four killed, 20 wounded.

April 21.—King George and Queen Mary greeted in Paris on the tenth anniversary of the Entente Cordiale.

April 22.—All social-democrats and Trudoviks (Laborites) suspended for fifteen days from the Russian Duma for referring to the advantage of a republican regime. Russkoye Znamya comments (April 26): "Every speech in the Duma arouses a response among 200,000 workers. All live questions in working-class circles are immediately reechoed from the Duma rostrum, whence the social-democrats censure the government and still further incite the ignorant masses. At the same time, all utterances of the social-democratic deputies are taken up by the workers. . . . It is time to take stock of the situation and to consider the danger of this close connection between the cannon-fodder and the trouble-makers."

April 23.—President Huerta expels the American envoy from Mexico. Carranza condemns shelling of Vera Cruz. Villa takes stand against a war with the U.S.A. U.S.A. expels Mexican envoy.

April 23.—Anti-war demonstrations all over the country broken up by the police and super-patriots.

April 23.—Colorado State Federation of Labor urges all unions to organize their men, arm them and send them to aid the Ludlow miners. Typographical Union of Denver appropriates \$500 for arms for striking miners. Out of 350 men of Company C of the state militia, 82 refuse to move against the strikers.

April 24.—Army heads urge Wilson to extend war plans. Over 4,000 troops prepare to sail.

## V. I. Lenin:

# Our Revolution

## Pedantic "Marxism" Ignores Living Reality

(This article, written in January 1923, hence at the very end of Lenin's active life, displays very strikingly the thoroughly realistic character of his Marxism in political analysis and his great strategic flexibility, united with a uncompromising, single-minded devotion to his socialist goal.—Editor.)

I have lately been glancing thru Sukhanov's "Notes on the Revolution." What strikes me particularly is the pedantry of all our petty-bourgeois democrats as of all the heroes of the Second International. Apart from the fact that they are extraordinarily faint-hearted, that when it comes to the minutest deviation from the German model even the best of them fortify themselves with reservations. Apart from this characteristic which is common to all petty-bourgeois democrats and was abundantly manifested thruout the course of the revolution, what strikes one is their slavish imitation of the past.

## PEDANTIC "MARXISM"

They all call themselves Marxists, but their conception of Marxism is impossibly pedantic. They have completely failed to understand the decisive feature of Marxism, namely, its revolutionary dialectics. They have not understood even the direct statements of Marx to the effect that in times of revolution, the utmost flexibility is demanded. For instance, they have not understood, and have even failed to notice, the statement made by Marx in one of his letters—I think it was in 1856—expressing the hope of a union in Germany of a peasant war, which might create a revolutionary situation, with the working-class movement—even that direct indication they avoid, prowling around it like a cat around a dish of hot porridge.

Their whole conduct betrays them as timorous reformists, fearful of making the slightest move away from the bourgeoisie, let alone breaking with it, and at the same time masking their cowardice by the most reckless rhetoric and bragadocio. But even from the purely theoretical point of view, what strikes me in the case of all of them is their utter failure to grasp the following Marxist consideration: So far they have observed a definite path of development of capitalism and bourgeois democracy in Western Europe; but what they are completely unable to grasp is that that path can be taken as a model mutatis-mutandis, only with certain corrections (entirely insignificant corrections from the point of view of world history).

## PECULIARITIES OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

First, in the case of a revolution connected with the first imperialist world war, such a revolution was bound to reveal new features or variations resulting from the war itself. For the world has never seen such a war, and under such circumstances. We find that, to this very day, the bourgeoisie of the wealthier countries have been unable since the war to reestablish "normal" bourgeois relations. Yet our reformists, petty bourgeois who pretend to be revolutionaries, considered, and still consider, normal bourgeois relations to be the limit which cannot be overstepped. And even their conception of "normal" is utterly commonplace and narrow.

Secondly, they are complete strangers to the thought that, while the development of world history as

April 24.—Argentina, Brazil and Chile ("A.B.C. powers") offer to act as mediators in the war between the U. S. A. and Mexico.

April 25.—Austria stops emigration of men under 44 unless they have performed full military service.

April 26.—Huerta and Wilson accept A.B.C. powers offer of mediation.

## "RIPENESS" FOR SOCIALISM

Infinite commonplace, for instance, is the argument that learned by rote during the development of West-European social democracy, namely, that we are not yet ripe for socialism, that, as certain of their "learned" men express it, the objective economic premises for socialism do not exist in our country. It does not enter any of their heads to ask: But what about a people which finds itself in a revolutionary situation, such as that created during the first imperialist war? Influenced by the hopelessness of its position, might it not fling itself into a struggle that offered it even a chance of securing conditions for the further development of its civilization, even if those conditions were not quite the usual ones?

"Russia has not attained the level of development of productive forces that makes socialism possible." The heroes of the Second International, including, of course, Sukhanov, are as proud of this proposition as a chicken that has laid an egg. They keep repeating this incontrovertible proposition over and over again in a thousand different keys, for it seems to them the essential consideration in determining the character of our revolution.

But what if the peculiar situation drew Russia into the world imperialist war, in which every at all influential West-European country was involved? What if the peculiar situation placed her development in close proximity to the revolutions that were beginning, and had partially already begun, in the East? What if the peculiar situation enabled us to achieve the alliance of a "peasant war" with the working-class movement, which no less a Marxist than Marx himself wrote of in 1856, in reference to Prussia, as one of the possible prospects?

What if the complete hopelessness of the situation, by intensifying tenfold the energies of the workers and peasants, offered us the possibility of proceeding to create the fundamental requisites of civilization in a way different from that of the West-European countries? Has that changed the general line of development of world history? Has that changed the fundamental relations between the basic classes of every state that is being drawn, or has been drawn, into the general course of world history?

## CULTURE AND SOCIALISM

If a definite level of culture is required for the creation of socialism (altho nobody can tell what that definite level of culture is), why cannot we begin by achieving the prerequisites for that definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and then, with the help of a workers and peasants government and a soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations?

You say that civilization is necessary for the creation of socialism. Very good. But why could we not have begun by creating such prerequisites of civilization in our country as the expulsion of the landlords and the expulsion of the Russian capitalists, and then start moving towards socialism? Where, in what books, have you read that such variations of the customary historical order of events are impermissible or impossible?

Napoleon, one recalls, wrote: On s'engage et puis on voit. Rendered freely that means: One must first start a serious engagement and then see what happens. Well, we first started a serious engagement in November 1917, and then we saw such details of development (from the point of view of world history they are certainly details) as the Brest-Litovsk Peace, the New Economic Policy, and so on. And now there can be no doubt that in the main we have been victorious.

It never occurs to our Sukhanovs, not to speak of the social-democrats who are still more to the right, that otherwise revolutions could not be made at all. It never occurs to our European philistines that subsequent revolutions in eastern countries, which possess vastly more numerous populations, and are distinguished by a vastly greater diversity of social conditions, will undoubtedly display even greater peculiarities than the Russian revolution.

It need hardly be said that a textbook written on Kautskian lines was a useful thing in its day. But it is really time to abandon the idea that this textbook foresaw all the forms of development of subsequent world history. It is time to declare that those who think so are simply fools.

# 210

Cities and towns of the United States and 20 foreign lands have subscribers to the

# Workers Age

ARE YOU MISSING AMERICA'S BEST LABOR PAPER?

Fill out the blank below and mail today!

I wish to subscribe to Workers Age for  one year,  six months, for which I enclose  \$1.50,  \$.85.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

STATE .....

4-26