

NEXT WEEK:

THE CONVENTION OF THE T.W.O.C.

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## Tomorrow's War

JAY LOVESTONE

(Just Returned from Europe)

will speak on

"THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT"

Thursday, June 1 — 8 P. M.

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## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### PLANNED PANIC

TODAY, the most uncertain institution in the world is the frontier, the boundary line between nations. For instance, the British frontier has, within recent weeks, moved to the Carpathians and to the Bosphorus. The odds are that it will be moving even farther east as the coming weeks roll on.

Let no one think that when German, British, Japanese, Italian, American or any other imperialist power pushes back a frontier these days, there is the slightest bit of social progress accompanying it. Such moves are dictated solely by imperialist interest, by economic rivalry in the most brutal form. To achieve such changes bigotry and prejudice, chicanery, hate, fraud and corruption are utilized to monstrous proportions. Men of very feeble genius and mighty strong prejudice are the trail-blazers in modern frontier-moving.

We turn to a flaming declaration by Edward Hutton in the much respected and equally respectable Nineteenth Century and After, May issue, to bear witness. Mr. Hutton, in his article, captioned "The Spirit of England," tells the world:

"It was perhaps not within the power of Rome to break once and for all the barbarian power. Time has been upon our side. Today, if our courage and our endurance are strong enough, if we set our face like a flint, if we do not, as in 1918, grow weary, we may once for all rid Europe of this cancer, this barbarian peril, which now as always is bent on the destruction and the loot of civilization, pleads necessity, 'a place in the sun,' 'Lebensraum,' invokes its gods, and knows neither justice nor mercy. . . . The reality is that the Third Reich and all it stands for is at grips with England and all she stands for and has the determination to kill her by every means in its power. . . . It is an attack by the barbarian horde upon the continuity, the so various energies and the lucid reason of the real world, that is, the ancient civilization of Europe, Christendom and its age-old religion, its order, its institutions and its creative life."

The above may be preposterous but nevertheless it is significantly symbolic of the spirit of the times. It won't be long before we will have with us "Hun" stories as the order of the day to counteract "encirclement savagery" and other Goebbels fabrications. No less serious than the maiming and destroying of man's body will be the enslaving and warping of man's mind in the coming war for "freedom and democracy."

Mr. Hutton is no exception. Increasingly, he will be the rule. This is also planned panic on occasions. For there is, psychologically speaking, from the point of view of war morale, no less truth than poetry in the pleading lines:

"What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted!  
"Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just,  
"And he but naked, though locked up in steel,  
"Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

Yes, The Axis as well as the "Grand Peace Alliance" powers will try to have their people and soldiers believe in the justice and invincibility of their own cause and in the injustice and fatal weakness of the cause of the opponents—all with a view of achieving greater mobilization and speedier annihilation in the imperialist holocaust.

### WHAT IS "NATIONAL STRENGTH"

A FULL four-page advertisement in the London Times of April 11 proclaims: "A plea for peace addressed to the leaders and peoples of all nations and a call to the men and women of this country to serve in the nation's defence and help to preserve peace." This is quite a big order even for a four-page spread in so important a paper.

"Peace Thru Strength," screams another page offering "a dozen suggestions of ways in which you can play your part." What strikes one hardest in examining these "suggestions" is that the very first one reads: "You can help by laying aside all political and social differences and working together for the common good."

That's just it. The Nazis have long ago put over full mobilization under the banner of "laying aside all political and social differences." "Working for the common good" has already brought longer hours, greater speed-up, higher prices and a flock of decree-laws clipping to the bone the democratic rights of the workers in France. All capitalist countries preparing for or participating in war will do nothing different.

Incidentally, one is tempted to disturb the so very noble motives of the "non-party, non-political group of ex-service men animated by the spirit of the Unknown Warrior" by proposing that it also pay the cost of another half page and tell us precisely what it means by laying aside all "social differences." We have a little more than an inkling of what such a reduced advertisement would say. For instance, we have more than one towering doubt as to the present movement "for the common good." Here there are many very grave differences to be laid aside—differences between life as it is for the children of the working class and for those of the "better people" who are now crying so often and so loudly "for the common good."

Concretely, we have in mind the following startling findings very recently made by the British Medical Association: Between one-third and one-half of the children in England lack an adequate diet. To achieve anything like an adequate diet the children would require a rise in their consumption of milk by 80%, an increase of 40% in their use of butter, 55% in eggs, 85% in vegetables, and 120% in fruit.

Naturally, we have very much more than a passing interest in pointing out that British patrioters of all stripes (from Pollitt to Chamberlain, from the Communist Party to the Conservatives) are all so very busy appealing for a "stronger Britain" via cannons, airplanes and poison gas that they have little or no time or interest to think of really strengthening the great mass of the population of England thru higher living standards for British families.

## A Straw in the Wind

IN the February 1939 issue of Die Internationale, official journal of the Communist Party of Germany, we read (pp. 73, 77):

"The worst foreign foe could not act more injuriously against Germany than the Nazi leaders who brought Germany into antagonism with its great, natural and invincible ally in the East, and exchanged it for the alliance with certain rapacious governments who sit upon volcanoes in their own countries."

"As Germans we stand for an alliance with the Soviet Union. . . . The idea of an alliance with the Soviet power which the Communist Party of Germany proposes in sharpest contrast to the Hitlerite foreign policy, and which is independent of whether Germany is organized on a socialist or capitalist basis, is being shared more and more by all Germans who want to live in peace with the Soviet Union."

What the German Stalinist paper writes is what Stalin wants it to proclaim to the world. These words are, therefore, a plain hint that a Soviet-Nazi rapprochement would not be welcome to the Kremlin, "whether Germany is organized on a socialist or capitalist (i.e., fascist—Editor.) basis."

## Anglo-Soviet Pact Seen Nearer

Mutual-Aid Agreement Accepted By London, It Is Reported

London, England. Reports that the British government would agree to a mutual-aid pact with Soviet Russia along lines more or less satisfactory to the latter, were rife here last week after a Cabinet session on the question and the declaration of Prime Minister Chamberlain in Commons that he had "every reason" to hope for a "full agreement" with the U.S.S.R. at an early date. The pact is said to be in the form of a three-sided mutual-assistance accord between England, Russia and France and to provide for common action in case of an attack upon Poland, Rumania or other smaller powers, altho it does not cover Latvia or Estonia.

In certain other quarters, usually well-informed, these reports were heavily discounted, it being felt that the British government, determined to retain a free hand for the resumption of "appeasement," would not agree to the iron-clad, reciprocal guarantees required by Russia.

## House Group OK's Security Reforms

Ways Committee Gives Approval To Changes In Social Security

Washington, D. C. The House Ways and Means Committee gave final approval last week to proposed changes in the social security law, adding \$1,200,000,000 to benefits in the next five years for the aged and for widows, orphans and dependent parents.

The proposals which were approved would increase old-age pensions in the early years of the security system and would lower them later. Benefit payments would start next January 1 instead of January 1, 1942.

Arthur J. Altmeyer, Social Security Board chairman, said there would be no net increase in the cost of the system as a whole.

While the increase proposed in the bill would cost \$1,200,000,000 more than the present law from 1940 to 1944, inclusive, Altmeyer explained that social-security taxes would cover it.

## The ALP and the Stalinites

C.P. Infiltration Is Grave Danger

By WILL HERBERG

THE sudden outbreak of something very like a crisis in the American Labor Party over the charges made by Louis Waldman as to Stalinist infiltration in the party, focuses attention on a situation that must give the greatest concern to all who see in the A.L.P. the promise of better things in American labor politics. It is possible to question the propriety of the rather spectacular way in which Mr. Waldman chose to blazon his facts to the world at the Social-Democratic Federation convention; one may even suspect that there is a great deal more than meets the eye in the serious frictions at the upper levels of the party. But of one thing there can be no doubt, and that is of the essential facts themselves and therefore of Mr. Waldman's fundamental justification in raising a voice of warning.

We do not know if 19 out of the 30-odd assembly-district clubs of the A.L.P. in Manhattan are Stalinist-dominated, as Mr. Waldman is said to maintain, or how many such clubs there are in the other counties. We do know, however, because it is a matter of common knowledge to all who have the slightest interest in A.L.P. affairs, that there are literally hundreds of Communist Party members and "followers" in the A.L.P. We know too, because everybody knows it, that there are a number of Stalinists in the very top circles of the party. It is necessary to mention names? Why, only a few months ago, Luigi Antonini, state chairman of the A.L.P., quite rightly denounced Vito Marcantonio as an improper candidate for the A.L.P. on the ground of his communist connections! And there are others, whom both Antonini and Alex Rose know at least as well as we do.

It would be better for all concerned if the facts were faced and faced frankly, objectively, without exaggeration, but also with open eyes.

The A.L.P. as an organization is definitely NOT under the thumb of the Communist Party; in its policies and tactics, it is ultimately controlled by its affiliated unions, whose leaders (Continued on Page 2)

## Woll Says Labor Peace Coming Soon

New York City. A forecast that peace in the ranks of labor would be achieved in the near future, was made last week by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L. and member of its committee negotiating with the C.I.O., in an address before the convention of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate. Woll accompanied his prophecy with a strong plea for labor unity. Admitting that both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. had made mistakes, he stressed the necessity of unity, particularly in view of the fact that public sentiment was no longer with organized labor as it had been several years back.

A little over a week before Mr. Woll said this, Sidney Hillman made a similar plea and forecast at the convention of the T.W.O.C. at Philadelphia. Mr. Hillman said that labor peace would be achieved within the year.

A particularly interesting feature of Mr. Woll's speech was his reading from the minutes of the original A. F. of L.-C.I.O. peace conference in November 1937, tending to show that peace terms had been agreed upon but were vetoed at the last moment by John L. Lewis.

The minutes he read were those kept by the late Charles P. Howard,

## Republic Steel Sues CIO for \$7,500,000

### How About this "Alien Propaganda"?

In England, there was recently published a book called "Propaganda in the Next War." Its author is Sidney Rogerson, publicity director of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., the gigantic British dye and explosives trust. Before taking his present post, Mr. Rogerson was counsel and adviser to the Federation of British Industries, a vast employing-class alliance embracing nearly 90% of British manufacturers.

Mr. Rogerson has a great deal to say about the United States in the next war. He speaks with a frankness unusual among English publicists. What he has to say deserves the closest attention of every American. We quote some of his remarks:

"THERE remains the United States—the great neutral. In the next war, as in the last, the result will probably depend upon the way in which the United States acts, and her attitude will reflect the reaction of her public to propaganda properly applied. . . . It will be difficult to get the United States to participate in a war. It will need a definite threat to America, a threat, moreover, which will have to be brought home to every citizen before the Republic will again take arms in an external quarrel. This position will naturally be considered eased if Japan were involved. . . . At any rate it would be a natural and obvious object of our propagandists to achieve this, just as during the great war they succeeded in embroiling the United States with Germany. . . ."

"Fortunately, in America our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere as our main plank will be the old democratic one. We must clearly enunciate our belief in the democratic form of government. . . . Our minor propaganda will aim at attacking the support of important sections, such as the Jews, probably, by the declaration of a clear-cut policy on Palestine."

"These should not be difficult to pursue, or to put over to the American public. . . . They are more susceptible to suggestion than most people. . . . They are at this moment the battle-ground of an active propaganda of labels. . . . We shall, as before, send over our leading literary lights and other men with names well known in the United States. . . ."

"American newspapermen in London are of approved mettle and the impervious to any obvious propaganda, nevertheless should represent a valuable propaganda force. We shall see that they are given every facility for observing and reporting and that their messages are censored sympathetically. Similarly with their newsreel men. They should be the first to be allowed to 'shoot' pictures of air raids, that a proper volume of pictorial 'horror' will be available in one of the few great countries where 'atrocity' propaganda will still be operative."

## Big Change in Dies Committee Seen

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. THE revelations being made before the current hearings of the Dies Committee are puzzling the progressives here. There is a good bit of evidence that the hearings are being run much more carefully and that the ground has been much more

adequately prepared in advance. Many progressives can scarcely believe what they hear at these hearings or read in the press. The low-down is that things, in this case, are what they seem. Dies has profited by the criticisms that were made of him and the committee because of the scandalous and libelous way he handled it before. There is talk that Dies, while recuperating from his operation for appendicitis recently, read some books which gave him a much better understanding of political movements. Certainly, he needed some education. Another factor, on which point I have already reported, is the presence of Jerry Voorhis in the committee. It is hard to exaggerate what one committee member with the social intelligence, honest liberalism and

then president of the I.T.U. and secretary of the C.I.O. They showed that the C.I.O. committee, headed by Philip Murray, at one time achieved complete agreement with the A. F. of L. committee. When the peace meeting adjourned, it was only to bring Lewis into the picture officially and to make the agreement public. But when the time arrived, the peace agreement was turned down by the C.I.O.

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## Big Damages Asked Under Clayton Act

Cleveland, Ohio. A \$7,500,000 damage suit against the C.I.O., the S.W.O.C., John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and nearly 700 others was filed last week in the Federal District Court here by the Republic Steel Corp., of which Tom Girdler is president, in connection with the Little Steel strike of 1937.

The claim was made under the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust laws. The company charged strike losses of \$2,500,000 and asked triple damages under the act.

A precedent for the suit was established in Philadelphia recently where a federal jury awarded the Apex Hosiery Co. over \$700,000, representing triple damages against the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, in connection with a sit-down strike in 1937. And further in the background is the notorious Danbury Hatters case.

Republic's plants were the scene of some of the worst disorders of the Little Steel strike, stimulated by the ruthlessness of the company and the authorities under its thumb. Ten persons were killed near the Republic plant at Chicago on Memorial Day 1937 as a result of an unprovoked attack of police upon demonstrators.

Two weeks ago, the S.W.O.C. filed claims with the N.L.R.B. against the Republic Steel Corp. for \$7,500,000 on behalf of 6,200 men who took part in the 1937 strike, the sum representing the back wages due between the time the strikers applied for reinstatement and the time the N.L.R.B. issued its order of reinstatement. Republic's action was probably taken in retaliation.

With the Republic suit coming so hard on the heels of the Apex verdict, the movement for legislative relief for labor from the anti-trust laws is making headway. Chairman Thomas and Mary T. Norton of the Senate and House labor committees and Senator Norris indicated their support of legislation to prevent such "misapplication" of the anti-trust laws.

## Steel Workers Urge Labor Party

Erie, Pa. Proposals for the formation of a labor party, for a truce between the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. and the adoption of a five-day, thirty-hour week for steel workers were advanced last week by representatives of fifty lodges of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee in three states.

Delegates said to represent 15,000 steel workers in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio adopted a resolution stating:

"The backing of either party (Republican and Democratic) has been disillusioning. Therefore be it resolved that this convention go on record as favoring the ultimate formation of a third or labor party."

## Workers, Unite Against War Peril!

(The following manifesto was adopted by the conference of the International Workers Front Against War, meeting in Paris on April 27, 28 and 29, 1939, and issued in its name. It is signed by the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.), the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.), the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalist), the Independent Labor League of America, the Communist Party of Greece (Archio-Marxist), the Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party of Holland (R.S.A.F.), the Dutch National Secretariat of Labor (N. A. S.), the German Communist Party Opposition, the International African Bureau, various workers groups in Germany and Belgium and a number of colonial organizations.—Editor.)

### Workers of the World:

IN a world which has become a veritable powder-keg, the grim specter of war rears its head on every side.

The violent aggressions of the totalitarian states in Czechoslovakia and Albania, the tremendous armaments of the "democratic" states, the recent steps taken by the United States, show clearly that the elements of a world conflict are assembled.

The defeats of the proletariat and the treason of the Stalinist and social-democratic leaders of the French Popular Front have brought confusion and disorder to the ranks of the workers and have so far prevented them from resisting energetically the rising tide of fascism and militarism.

The disaster of the Spanish revolution, beaten by the united forces

of the fascist states, blocked and starved by the "democratic" countries and stabbed in the back by Stalinist Russia and by the whole policy of the Popular Front, with the complicity of certain anarchist leaders, has only intensified the chaos and has converted Spain into a new and important focus of imperialist war.

The Socialist (Second) and Communist (Third) Internationals are dead as organizations of class struggle. The social-democratic parties that still exist identify themselves with the bourgeois parties and, in the "democratic" countries, have become the defenders of the narrow, national interests of their respective countries. The communist parties continue to be simply the police, military and diplomatic agencies of the Soviet state.

Under these tragic conditions, with the menace of death everywhere throwing its paralysis over the

whole of mankind, the International Workers Front Against War (embracing the revolutionary socialist organizations of twelve countries) raises aloft the banner of internationalism, apart from which there can be no salvation for the workers of all lands.

### The End of the Munich Illusions

THE painful compromise attempted at Munich between the totalitarian and the "democratic" states has proved to be without a future. Thus has been justified the warning uttered by the I.W.F.A.W. six months ago against the illusions of a so-called "peace of Munich." Munich was simply a respite, a breathing spell to allow the totalitarian states their expansion and the "democratic" states their further preparation in armaments.

But the Munich illusions are still being cultivated by many socialist and reformist leaders, who, turning their eyes towards President Roosevelt, call for an International Economic and Disarmament Conference, an idea to which the Stalinists, too, are rallying.

In a capitalist world where military violence, rapine and plunder reign supreme and where the crisis

of markets has now become chronic, an international conference of the Roosevelt type is either altogether impossible or else would be simply a maneuver with no more result than the lamentable disarmament conference and the International Economic Conference at London in 1933.

The Roosevelt message has but one aim, namely to proclaim the Berlin-Rome Axis and its Japanese extension the enemy of the United States, a menace to its imperialist interests, particularly in China and Latin America. The message signifies and more abandoning the policy of isolation and is out to throw its tremendous resources into the scales to the advantage of Anglo-French imperialism.

### War for Imperialism, Not For Democracy

THE social-democratic and Stalinist parties are grossly deceiving the workers when they state that the war will be a war of democracy against fascism, a war of freedom against tyranny. They are themselves giving the lie direct to these phrases by serving, in the countries that are still "democratic," as accomplices in the military-capitalist

offensive against the masses of the people.

Just as in the fascist lands, so in the "democratic" countries, the heavy burden of armaments falls entirely upon the masses, resulting in a lowering of the standards of living, an increase in the hours of labor, the destruction of social legislation, a growing restriction of democratic and trade-union rights, the permanent mobilization of masses of men and women for "national defense" and generally the regimentation of mind and conscience, so that the "democratic" states come to resemble the fascist regimes more and more every day.

On their side, fascism and Nazism strive to draw the Italian and German masses in the wake of their own imperialism by means of demagogic phrases about the struggle of the "proletarian countries" against the "plutocracies."

In actual reality, the impending war is an imperialist war in which it will be a question not of defending liberty but rather of seizing spheres of profitable investment, a war in which there will be defense not of democracy but of raw-material sources and markets and the privilege of coining profits out of the exploitation of the colonial peoples.

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# UAW Faces Problems of Affiliation and Unity

## Auto Workers Must Decide on Basis of Realities

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich.

THE spectacle of a powerful, militant union splitting in two is not a pleasant one. The decline of the United Automobile Workers of America over the last two years thru factional activities is not something this writer is going to analyze in this article even if there were space, except to say that the militancy and awakened class instincts of the American workers were never before exploited and corrupted on such a tremendous scale as by the Stalinists in the U.A.W. The present situation finds two organizations in the field, both very much weakened—one, in effect, an organizing committee of the C.I.O.; the other, weak in leadership, but nevertheless autonomous, industrial in structure, and independent, the so-called Martin-U.A.W.

### IS INDEPENDENCE POSSIBLE?

The question immediately arises: Can this independent union alone maintain its separate existence? The answer is emphatically no, for no such organization can long withstand the attacks of rival unions (C.I.O. and A.F. of L. crafts) and also conduct a fight against the employers. The U.A.W., kicked out by the C.I.O., faces two courses: either to go back to the C.I.O. or affiliate with the A.F. of L. To take the first course would be to give up the principles for which the U.A.W. has fought from the day of its inception, the principles of autonomy and democracy, and is unthinkable. The other course is to affiliate with the other main branch of American labor, the A.F. of L. Obviously, this could not be done either if autonomy and industrial unionism had to be sacrificed.

With these things in mind, the U.A.W. approached the A.F. of L. some weeks ago on the whole question. According to the earliest press releases, the question of autonomy was agreed upon immediately while the A.F. of L. promised a 98% industrial charter, excluding, apparently, tool-and-die job shops (but not tool-and-die workers in production shops), aircraft workers and farm-implement workers. The C.I.O. immediately interpreted A.F. of L. President William Green's statement to mean the exclusion of body-shop workers (Briggs, Murray, etc.) from the industrial charter. Green has since denied this statement publicly.

This writer is one of the first to concede that, as a practical matter, the offer of the A.F. of L. gives the auto workers an industrial charter; further, that under the A.F. of L., the U.A.W. will be allowed pretty much of a free hand in organizing in all types of auto shops. Jurisdictional fights are always with us, whether it be A.F. of L. or C.I.O., and the A.F. of L. did not, even in 1933 and 1934, attempt to impose craft unionism upon the auto workers. But the present leaders have failed to do anything to clear up the confusion in the minds of the members.

### REASONS FOR SUSPICION

Workers in the auto industry have plenty of reason to be suspicious of the A.F. of L. They have not forgotten the Green-Roosevelt deal which created the infamous Wolman Board. Neither have they forgotten the golden opportunities missed in Toledo and Flint by Francis Dillon. It is true that Green removed Dillon whereas Lewis keeps his stooges regardless of the wishes of the auto workers. But the militant struggles of 1937 were conducted in the name of the C.I.O. and it is but natural that many auto workers still believe that the C.I.O. of 1939 is the same organization.

Homer Martin, as president of the U.A.W., has so far made no attempt to prepare the membership on these questions or give them a fundamental reason for affiliation. Ranting at the Stalinists is no substitute for a careful analysis of the present roles of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. in the American labor movement or for an estimate of what the former can do for the U.A.W. The fight in the union was a principled fight for autonomy and democracy and for the right to adopt a progressive policy. Any attempt to mislead or mis-trust the rank and file will only make confusion worse confounded. A number of regions in the U.A.W. have already had discussions on the whole question of affiliation and will vote only when they have a complete understanding of the proposal. It is significant that union principle and not President Martin's opinion is the deciding factor in these regions.

Only unity in the whole labor movement on a sound basis can ever bring about a united auto workers union worthy of the same. The dead

hand of Stalinism has virtually wrecked this, the most promising of the new C.I.O. unions. The corruption of militant union leaders and their subsequent degeneration has left the rank and file apathetic and demoralized. Unless things change very radically in the C.I.O., this writer is convinced that its prospects are dark indeed. The backward A.F. of L., controlled by reactionaries if you will, has moved forward because of pressure from below. The U.A.W.-C.I.O. today seems to be most amenable to one form of pressure, the pressure of the agents of the Stalinist clique in Moscow. It is to be hoped that the leadership of the U.A.W.-independent will not also be diverted by problems alien to unionism but will proceed to bring unionism back to the auto workers.

# Dressmakers Vote To Aid Refugees

## Local 22 Again Helps Anti-Fascists

New York City.

DRESSMAKERS Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., New York City, voted \$500 last week in the new drive to aid Spanish refugees started by the Trade Union Relief for Spain, of which David Dubinsky, president of the garment-workers union, is treasurer. In commenting on the action of Local 22, Charles S. Zimmerman, its manager, said:

"Our local union has already contributed substantially to the anti-fascist cause, for hospitals, medicines, food, etc. Now it is necessary for labor to help the valiant men and women who are refugees in foreign countries."

The action of Local 22 followed immediately upon receipt of the following appeal from the Trade Union Relief for Spain, of which Mr. Zimmerman is chairman and Alex Rose, of the American Labor Party, is secretary:

"The tragic end of the civil war in Spain has not ended the obligation of all friends of democracy to rally to the aid of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have been forced to abandon their homes to escape persecution. These harassed men and women are now stranded

# Anti-Jim Crow Bills Vital Issue

## Some Praiseworthy, Others Injurious

By JESSIE ARVEATUS and CLARENCE JENKINS

THE attention of the citizens of the State of New York is focused on the New York State Temporary Commission on the Conditions of the Urban Colored Population of New York, appointed by the New York State Legislature, to investigate the social, economic, cultural and living conditions of the state's 500,000 Negro residents. After an extensive investigation, the Commission discovered that the economic and social plight of the Negro residents of New York resulted, to a large degree, from discriminatory practices and conditions. On the basis of its findings, the Commission proposed to the State Legislature fourteen bills designed to

eradicate all such practices against Negroes in the state. The state-wide campaign of the Commission to mobilize public sentiment and mass support behind these bills brought pressure to bear on the Legislature to take favorable action in behalf of these measures. This campaign for the enactment of anti-discriminatory legislation has aroused the hope of the Negroes of New York. While most of the anti-discrimination bills proposed to the Legislature are praiseworthy and deserve unstinted support, there are several that are very doubtful and smell altogether too much of the political chicanery of the old-line parties. It is important, furthermore, to recognize that even the best laws will be only an ornate decoration on the statute books unless adequate enforcement is provided for and of this, unfortunately, there is little sign.

The Republican attitude on this question has not been uniform by any means, nor has the Democratic been any better for that matter. Hoping to win the Negro vote, both the Democratic and Republican parties now proclaim themselves the champions of the Negro in his struggle against discrimination. Mobilizing local political, fraternal bodies and civic and church groups, the Manhattan Citizens Committee, dominated by the Republican party, has moved to bring additional pressure to bear on the State Legislature to enact the bills mentioned above. At a meeting of the Manhattan Citizens Committee recently, Harold Burton, Republican leader of the 21st Assembly District, stated that he had been urged to support the passage of the bills by Kenneth Simpson, chairman of the Republican County Committee. On the other hand, when a delegation interviewed Senator Benjamin F. Feinberg, Republican leader of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he stated that the bills were "too ridiculous," while Jane H. Todd, Republican Assemblywoman from Westchester, admitted that she did not feel she had to support the bills. She also took the opportunity of justifying the D.A.R. in the Marian Anderson case.

On the other side, Irwin Steingut, Democratic leader in the Assembly, has declared that the "entire Democratic vote would be cast to pass the bills" but here, too, a considerable number of Democratic legislators have not hesitated to express their opposition and their intention of voting against.

Turning to the bills themselves, it seems clear that the passage of bills S-1066 and S-1067 and the possible passage of bills S-1065 and S-7064 registers a decisive gain in the fight against discrimination. On the other hand, several of the bills (S-1059 and S-1068) seem to us to harbor a threat to the rights of labor under the State Labor Relations Act, or at least may be used for that purpose. The worst of these bills is the Perry bill, introduced into the State Senate by Senator Charles Perry, providing that unions discriminating against Negroes because of their race or color should be denied the benefits of the State Labor Relations Act. Recognizing the threat to labor involved in this bill, both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. in the state have protested against its enactment. The C.I.O.'s spokesman in Albany, Martin Cooper, declared that his organization was certainly emphatically opposed to discrimination in any form but felt that the Perry bill did not provide the proper remedy for the evil. He clearly pointed out that if the Perry bill should become law, employers could destroy labor unions by "utilizing intermediaries to claim discrimination." Nevertheless, the bill was passed in the Senate by a vote of 46 to 1. The lone dissenting vote was registered by Senator Wil-

do. At any rate, it is necessary to inspire broad sections of active trade unionists with a deep interest in what the A.L.P. says and does and to draw them into direct participation in the policy-making activities of the party. Such an aroused and interested trade-union group would be the best bulwark against the unprincipled machinations of the Stalinists.

3. In the third place, altho this really follows from the above, it is necessary to get large numbers of active trade unionists into the assembly-district clubs, where they could take over the leading functions and show the Stalinists their place. Too often, the latter are able to come to the fore and consolidate their grip by default. Again, it is a wideawake, active, trade-unionist element, alert to the danger of Stalinism and ready to meet it, that is the best, perhaps the only means of saving the assembly-district clubs.

4. Finally, it should be the concern of the State office, much more than it has been, to encourage and facilitate responsible, loyal elements coming to the fore in the clubs and taking positions of leadership upon which so much depends.

With the party directed along such lines and the leadership really vigorous, the lead in a clear and open manner, the A.L.P. need have nothing to fear from the Stalinists.

### AN UNFORTUNATE TURN OF AFFAIRS

The turn things have taken in the last week or two is truly unfortunate. The blanket denial on the part of the A.L.P. leadership of any Stalinist infiltration at all in the party will most probably have an effect directly opposed to what was intended. Quite against the desires of Antonini and Rose, these denials and the minimization of the whole issue will serve to protect the Stalinists in the A.L.P. and to discourage and demoralize those who are fighting the hard fight to cleanse the party of this sinister influence.

Nor can we understand the attempt now made to expel Louis Waldman from the A.L.P. It is said he has "staggered" the party by his public statements at the S.D.F. convention. But it is difficult to see how this can be charged against him merely for speaking out publicly on what he obviously regards as a great evil in the party, any more than it could be charged against Mr. Antonini who some months ago publicly condemned the policy of the A.L.P. of making election "deals" with Republicans. In both cases, we are firmly convinced, the men involved were entirely within their rights; indeed, it was probably their duty to speak out when they felt deeply that something was seriously wrong with the party. Certainly, it

is absolutely distinct from that of the Stalinists. (And that, by the way, applies to a large extent to the social-democrats as well.) What sense is there in railing at the Stalinists when to the average person the A.L.P. position on some of the most important issues is practically the same as theirs? The Stalinists proclaim the gospel of the "democratic front" by which they mean the political subjection of the labor movement to the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party. Is the A.L.P. attitude sufficiently distinct from this? The Stalinists sing fulsome eulogies to President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Isn't this essentially what the A.L.P. is doing, altho not quite so sickeningly? The Stalinists try to sell the war-making slogan of "collective security" to the people of this country. The A.L.P. has no position at all on the crucial question of foreign policy so that the Stalinist spokesmen in the assembly-district clubs they control have a free hand. With things in such a state, what can you expect?

The first thing the A.L.P. must do to take the ground from under the feet of the Stalinist intriguers is to clearly define its position on working-class political independence so that it cannot be confused with the "democratic front" or the "popular front" in any way. Then let it adopt a position on foreign policy in harmony with the profound desire of the great masses of the people of this country to keep America out of war by keeping it out of the entanglements of imperialist power-politics abroad. Once this is done, it will no longer be possible for the Stalinists to follow their "party line" and yet parade as innocents devoted heart and soul to the A.L.P. But until something of the sort is done, measures against the Stalinist menace in the A.L.P. are bound to be largely ineffectual.

At the same time, the A.L.P. should extend its own party activities on all fronts, not only because this is the duty of a party such as the A.L.P. but also because this will tend to prevent the Stalinists from dragging in their auxiliary organizations upon every occasion and at every opportunity.

### RESPONSIBLE ELEMENTS TO THE FORE

2. In the second place, organizational techniques must be found to give the affiliated unions, which are supposed to supply the A.L.P. with its mass base and direction, an opportunity of really participating in working out policy and tactics for the party, not merely on great occasions but more as a matter of course. Perhaps some such system as a Trade Union Advisory Council could be devised or perhaps periodical trade-union conferences would

# The ALP and the Stalinist Danger

(Continued from Page 1)

hold the reins of power today as they did at its foundation. But a considerable number of assembly-district clubs have passed under the control of the Stalinists as a result of persistent "colonization" and other methods. In these clubs, the Stalinists have taken possession of all important offices and have installed a regime as oppressive and "monolithic" as they dare; in these clubs, the "educational" work is carried out in true Stalinist fashion, the "proper" speakers are invited, the "proper" announcements made and everything is done to convert the organization into auxiliaries of the C.P. Sometimes there is a rebellion in the ranks or else the State office cracks down on something particularly brazen and the Stalinists retreat a little; but before long, they are at it again in the same old way.

Now, of course, the assembly-district clubs are not the party and they do not by any means control or run the party. But, after all, the clubs are the face of the party as far as the public is concerned. It is by the A.L.P. clubs, who dominates them and what they say and do, that the people in the neighborhoods judge the party—and only too often they judge it by the Stalinist face that is turned to them.

Furthermore, Stalinist control is in the long run invariably fatal to the clubs as functioning organizations of the A.L.P., certainly not as C.P. auxiliaries. As the Stalinist grip tightens, the non-Stalinist elements become increasingly alienated, indifferent, apathetic; interest drops off and with it attendance; the club gets a "bad name" and the rest follows inevitably. The Stalinists don't mind; for them it simply means getting rid of the "disrupters". But how about the A.L.P.?

I know that the A.L.P. leaders are aware of this situation but their general attitude seems to be: "When the time comes, we'll get rid of them." Meanwhile, however, the Stalinists continue their infiltrating activities, their "colonization", almost unhampered, and not only do they discredit and damage the party more and more but they make it increasingly difficult to "get rid of them when the time comes." The result may be that when the time does finally come, as inevitably it must if the A.L.P. is to survive, it may not prove possible to get rid of them without seriously jeopardizing the existence of the party.

The Stalinists cannot capture the A.L.P., we feel sure; yet only wish we were quite as confident that they do not have it in their power to demoralize and destroy it.

### FUTILE METHODS

But if Mr. Waldman's warning on Stalinist infiltration is in place, the remedies that he and the Social-Democratic Federation propose are emphatically not. At best, they are futile; at worst, they may become sources of serious abuse. According to the report in the New Leader, the S.D.F. convention urged that the by-laws of the American Labor Party be amended to provide that "no communist be eligible to membership in the party clubs or to membership at large" and that "no communist, nor any person who advocates united front with the communists or who advocates dictatorship here or abroad, or who advocates the use of violence or other methods inconsistent with democracy . . . be eligible to any party office or be nominated, endorsed or recommended by the party for any public office. . . ." But let us think a moment. The A.L.P. already has a ban on members of the Communist Party. If that constitutional ban has not availed, what sense is there in adding another and still another? Exclude all those who follow a "foreign dictator", as has been suggested, or who advocate "methods inconsistent with democracy"? Are the leaders of the S.D.F. really so naive? Don't they know that the Stalinists vociferously deny any connection, except the most platonic, with Stalin? Don't they know that the Communist Party has of late years more than once fervently pledged its fealty to "democracy" and savagely denounced all "subversive" elements? Don't they believe them? But that's neither here nor there. If you set your store on test oaths, you naturally can't go beyond the oath!

As a matter of fact, the whole approach of the S.D.F. on ridding the A.L.P. of Stalinists and protecting it against their depredations, is wrong; it's on the wrong track altogether. We must leave for another occasion a more extensive discussion of this problem, but a few points can be indicated here in outline form:

1. First and most important, the A.L.P. must clearly and define its own political position so as to make

# News of the I.L.L.A.

by D. Benjamin

## New York Youth

THE Bronx Youth Branch in New York has been very active lately and is definitely going places. Its forum has been quite successful—the last two speakers being Dr. Harry Bail speaking on "Why Socialized Medicine" and Bert Wolfe on "Art in Modern Society". The next talk will be given by Minnie Lurye at Harwood Labor Center on Tuesday, May 23, on the subject: "The Program of the I.L.L.A. Youth". At the same time, the branch organized a number of social affairs, including hikes, at which many were present.

Nor has political activity been lacking. Several thousand copies of special leaflets dealing mainly with war and Popular Frontism were distributed to the delegates, young workers and students attending the national convention of the Young Communist League. This was done in spite of interference on the part of certain functionaries of the Y.C.L.

We welcome the spirit of cooperation which exists between the Bronx Y.P.S.L. members and our Youth Branch. We hope that the proposal of our Bronx Youth Branch for a joint anti-war meeting with the Bronx Y.P.S.L. on or about May 30 will materialize.

Our members have also cooperated with various youth organizations in the community, furnishing speakers on topics of the day.

As a result of these and other constructive activities, several new members have joined, while others are expected to do so very soon.

## Michigan Conference

THREE weeks ago, the branches of the I.L.L.A. in Michigan held a state conference to establish a state organization, to consider plans of work, and to elect a state executive committee. Reports and discussion considered the following fields of activity: trade unions, unemployment, anti-war, education, Workers Age, and recruiting. There was vigorous discussion on these questions. A state executive committee was elected, consisting of a chairman, a secretary, and one member of each branch represented to be elected by the branches themselves.

This conference should prove an important step in the consolidation and stabilization of our Michigan forces and establish a basis for richer and more varied political activity that should lead to the growth of our organization.

## I.L.L.A. in Canada

OUR Toronto members have been showing real political initiative.

Liam F. Condon, reactionary Republican from Westchester County, does, however, dramatize the urgent need for the trade-union movement to initiate a vigorous campaign to wipe out discrimination and segregation in its own ranks. To permit meetings of the Chamber of Commerce to draw up legislation to remedy evils in the labor movement is certainly a threat and a menace. But all the more is it necessary for organized labor to take action itself. To eradicate racial or color discrimination in the trade unions is the task of labor and labor only. Only the joint effort of black and white workers on a truly progressive trade-union basis can accomplish this gigantic yet vital task.

Such legislation as the Perry bill does, however, dramatize the urgent need for the trade-union movement to initiate a vigorous campaign to wipe out discrimination and segregation in its own ranks. To permit meetings of the Chamber of Commerce to draw up legislation to remedy evils in the labor movement is certainly a threat and a menace. But all the more is it necessary for organized labor to take action itself. To eradicate racial or color discrimination in the trade unions is the task of labor and labor only. Only the joint effort of black and white workers on a truly progressive trade-union basis can accomplish this gigantic yet vital task.

# Workers Alliance Shown To Be Company Union

(The following paragraphs are from the May 17 issue of the W.P.A. and Unemployed Worker, official paper of the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America.—Editor.)

AS stated in a radio address by Chairman Taylor on April 27, our union (United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers Union—Editor.) regards the Workers Alliance as "nothing more than a W.P.A. company union under rigid police! domination, bringing no benefit whatever to the masses of the jobless."

What do we mean by "a W.P.A. company union"? When a committee of the House of Representatives recently investigated the Workers Alliance, it was prompted to do so because many Congressmen had been irked by the lobbying activities of that organization. Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats suspected the Alliance of acting as the agency of the Administration among the W.P.A. and unemployed workers.

The investigation, of course was motivated by partisan interests. But it did publicize two facts which were already well known to the workers who had had experience with the Workers Alliance:

1. The Workers Alliance attempts to serve as the other arm of the W.P.A. administration.

2. The Workers Alliance is officered and controlled by the Communist Party.

What do these facts mean? With its ambition to become the unofficial arm of the W.P.A. administration, the Workers Alliance

ive. We must credit them with the publication of two leaflets—one on the "Leadership League Leads Where?", exposing a semi-fascist organization that has recently developed in that city, and "If War Comes Who Will Be Responsible?", dealing with the war question. We are confident that many workers will find them stimulating, timely and instructive.

Some of our Toronto Branch members have been active in the youth clubs of East York and Humber Bay, taking part in the educational and social activities of those organizations.

On May 1, a successful May Day meeting was held under the auspices of the Independent Labor League of Canada.

## PHILADELPHIA

We must commend our Philadelphia organization for having the honor, together with our New York Dressmakers Branch, of responding most quickly to the recent appeal of the Workers Age for funds. We have never found our Philadelphia comrades wanting when the organization is in need.

On Sunday, May 21, a membership meeting considered the trade-union question, with Jim Cork as reporter. In addition, an open educational meeting on "Dollar Diplomacy—1939" was held.

## NEW YORK

On Monday, May 15, a functionaries conference was held in New York City to consider and discuss four problems: anti-war work, independent political action, the June 1 public meeting at which Jay Lovestone will speak, and recruiting. There was a good discussion. Branch and group representatives reported on these matters to their respective divisions.

On Thursday, May 11, our Knitgoods comrades arranged a discussion with many progressive workers of the American Labor Movement. D. Benjamin led the discussion. During the week, some knitgoods workers joined the I.L.L.A. May we suggest that other groups follow this example?

## SOME SUGGESTIONS

Present the following questions for consideration in your labor and community organizations:

- Resolution against the Arons Bill, H.R. 130. This provides for deportation of aliens who are on relief for one year.
- Resolution against the Dickstein Bill, H.R. 1650. This would denaturalize to aliens who believe in any other form of government or who belong to organizations advocating other forms.
- Resolution against the Hobbs Bill, H.R. 4768, which provides for the internment (concentration camps) of deportable aliens whose native countries won't issue passports to them.
- Resolution in support of Wagner-Rogers Bill to permit the entrance of 20,000 refugee children.
- Resolution in favor of Congress staying in session through the year so as to make it more difficult for the President to involve the U.S. in war.
- Resolution in favor of the LaFollette-Ludlow war referendum amendment now before the Senate.
- Resolution against the Thomas and Pittman bills revising present neutrality legislation in a pro-war direction.

must work hand in glove with W.P.A. officials, must cooperate with them no matter what they do against labor, must not oppose any of their policies. Acting in such a role, the Alliance cannot chart an independent course for the benefit of its members, cannot serve as anything else but a company union.

Under the iron control of the Communist Party, the Workers Alliance is used as a pawn to advance the political interests of the party, and not to seek benefits for the W.P.A. and unemployed workers. (For example, President David Lasser of the Alliance admitted on the stand that he had used \$2,500 of the union's money to finance a trip to Russia!)

Dominated by a bureaucracy the Workers Alliance does not voice the sentiments of its members, is not in the least democratic. If a member disagrees with the machine in control, he is either beaten into submission or is driven out of the organization.

That, in fact, is what has happened to members of the Alliance all over the country. They have either dropped out individually or have left the Alliance in groups and set up independent organizations.

Therefore, because the Workers Alliance is a company union which does nothing for the workers and because it is bureaucratically controlled to a hopeless extent, we invite dissatisfied members as well as members of the Alliance and former members of the Alliance and unemployed workers to join a real union, democratic, independent, with a progressive program and a militant policy.

# JAY LOVESTONE Speaks, HOTEL CENTER, Thursday, JUNE 1

# War Mobilization Club Over Labor

## M-Day Sure to Bring Dictatorship

By ROSE M. STEIN

AS a nation we learned a great deal from the World War experience. Many of the lessons we learned have been forgotten; others are well remembered and serve as a bulwark against our rushing headlong into another fray to repeat the experience; still others have been incorporated into American industrial and governmental policies. Among the latter is the accepted theory that the basis of modern society is not peace but war. The logic runs somewhat along these lines:

In a competitive society such as ours, constantly seeking an outlet for surplus goods and surplus capital, war is a constant possibility. If this be true, it follows that we must be constantly ready for the emergency of war.

This is a completely new departure in economic thinking, and one in which labor has played no part at all. Industry, on the other hand, or its upper-bracket representatives at any rate, has been fully aware of this change and has participated in the deliberations on the subject as well as in the mapping out of plans which resulted from the deliberations.

### THREE ESSENTIALS FOR WAR

It is generally agreed that the three elements most essential to war or the preparation for war are the fighting forces, industrial preparedness and public morale. Of the three, the first is the easiest to attain. With the aid of a propaganda machine, it is easy to build up on short notice a war scare of sufficient scope to frighten Congress into appropriating whatever funds are wanted for military and naval equipment. As to men for the fighting forces? That is easiest of all. No less an authority than Gen. Peyton C. Marsh, chief of staff during the World War, testifies to this fact in the following excerpt from his memoirs:

"Obtaining men by draft was the simplest thing that the War Department had to do during the war. A request from the A.E.F. for one 16-inch gun would mean the construction of an entirely new plant, and, under the most favorable circumstances, it would not be possible for the gun to be delivered in France inside of one and one-half years. But, if we wanted men, it was simply a question of ordering them. The men were there, and the numbers which I ordered to be inducted into the service each month were obtained with no more difficulty or loss of time than required to dictate and transmit orders."

Public morale might prove a bit more difficult to build up, but, with the aid of radio, press and movies, a war fever can be stirred up, no doubt in twenty-four hours. In any event that is the last item of war preparedness as it has to await the actual emergence of an enemy so that the necessary hatred may be built around such enemy.

### INDUSTRY ON WAR BASIS

Industrial preparedness is the most important and most difficult of the three. The mechanical character of modern warfare makes extraordinarily heavy demands for products from the mine, mill and factory. Industry has no objection to producing goods to the fullest possible extent of its plant capacity nor, if necessary, to building additional plants. But, in order to do this, industry wants to be assured of an ample and docile labor supply. This is not an easy order. In time of war, the labor supply shrinks from both ends. On the one hand, demand increases because of increased production; on the other the supply diminishes because men are withdrawn from the labor market and sent to the front. There may not be an actual shortage of workmen, but the mere fact that jobs are plentiful induces labor to seek better wages and better conditions. To escape this potentiality, industry frankly asked the government to provide safeguards. The government, eager for maximum war-time production, agreed to the request.

The result of this mutual agreement is a plan which has been in preparation since 1920 and which is known as the Industrial Mobilization Plan. This plan provides for several bills, all ready down to the dotted line for the President's signature, ready to be rushed thru Congress if and when war becomes imminent. One of these bills provides for a selective draft similar to but considerably more drastic than the World War draft law. Under the current bill, every man 18 years and over will be required to register; all men 18 to 45 will be subject to military service. Save for physical disability, there will be no permanent exemptions. There will be only deferments. This means that those in charge of administering the law will be in position to determine who shall go to war and who shall remain in industry, and to swap places any time at the discretion of the authorities.

TRENCHES, NOT PICKET LINES  
Such a plan was in operation in Germany during the last war. When a worker engaged in a strike or other union activity disapproved of by the military machine, the

person so engaged would invariably be called to the colors. The same practise was followed, with some-what less thoroughness, in France and Great Britain. When, as a result of the practise, the factories were depleted of workers, men were brought in from the trenches and put to work.

Such a club held over labor's head is a powerful weapon and one which might well destroy all of the organizational gains won in the course of a half-century of struggle. The Industrial Mobilization Plan contains no corresponding restrictions upon industry. Those in charge of the industrial-mobilization plan are entirely honest about it. They do not pretend they can take profits out of war. The most important thing in time of war, they point out, is not economy but the ability to get materials when wanted, and if industry will not produce other than for profit, then so be it.

The Senate Munitions Committee spent two years in carefully studying records of the last war and plans for the next one, in the hope that on the basis of fact it could recommend to Congress adequate legislation for curbing war profits. At the close of the study, it was pretty generally, but not officially, agreed by both the committee members and the committee's staff, that profits cannot be taken out of war short of eliminating war itself. Profits and war are as inseparable as the Siamese twins. Senator Nye, committee chairman, did introduce several bills making some

# Workers! Unite Against War!

## Appeal of World Anti-War Meet

(Continued from Page 1)

Under ideological masks that are only slightly different, antagonisms very similar to those of 1914 are coming to a head today. The Germany of Hitler, like the Germany of the Kaiser, pursues its course towards the East to annex countries possessing raw materials and agricultural products. After the enslavement of the Czech people, in its march towards Polish minerals, the oil and wheat of Rumania and the vast markets of Asia, it comes into conflict with Anglo-French capitalism, which prepares a counter-attack by enrolling among the defenders of "democracy" the fascist, Beck, and the dictator, King Carol.

Italy, Franco's mentor, seeks to break the lines of communication of the British and French empires. Having seized Albania, it has established a new base from which it can menace the British naval position in the eastern Mediterranean. In order to block Italy, Britain is giving a "guarantee" to Greece and its dictator, Metaxas!

Japan is seeking to replace British and American imperialism in the exploitation of China.

And now, Germany and Italy are making demonstrations for a new partition of colonies. These bitter antagonisms are not ideological struggles, but the clashes of gangsters, the only difference being that, while the gangsters kill each other, the two imperialist camps strive to secure their domination by the massacre of millions of victims. To day this is the only road left for the capitalist regime, mortally stricken by the chronic crisis from which it has suffered since 1929.

### The Role of Stalinist Russia

THE presence of the Stalin government in one of the camps would not alter the imperialist character of the war. It is already a long time now that Stalin has replaced the alliance with the international proletariat by alliances with imperialist states. Today, the Stalinist police regime, whose barbarous and counter-revolutionary attitude dishonors the name of socialism which it professes, seeks to localize the conflict as far as possible from its frontiers. That is why, while transforming the various communist parties into active agencies for war-mongering in "democratic" countries, Russia itself adopts an attitude of semi-neutrality, holding off its intervention till later in order to get the maximum profit out of the conflict.

Neither the international proletariat nor the Soviet workers are in any way interested in having the Stalinist regime play the part of a gadfly for the "democratic" imperialisms in war!

### Workers of the World:

THERE is no hope for civilization within the framework of capitalism, whatever be its political form. The world is cut up among rival imperialisms, each driven by profit to produce more in order to prepare ever greater destruction. Because of this absurdity, the world will certainly sink back into barbarism unless you are prepared to seek the overthrow of this mad system, and by establishing socialism, save mankind from its dreadful fate!

## "ME, TOO, HERMAN!"



—from Justice

effort to reduce profits, but these did not get to first base. The war-planning division is equally frank in respect to maintaining democratic processes. "In time of war," said Colonel C. T. Harris, head of this division, "we believe in giving the President a blank check."

Modern warfare is far more dependent upon the home front than it is upon the field of battle. It needs to speed up production, to control labor, to regulate wages, as far as industry will permit to regulate prices, and when necessary to

call upon the entire population to practise economy and self-denial. In other words, modern war is fought not merely with an army and a navy but with the nation as a whole. That requires general acquiescence to war plans, and such acquiescence is hard to obtain under a democracy. Strong-arm rule is inevitable under such circumstances. Hence, war is not only the twin of profiteering; it is also the twin of dictatorship.

(This is the last of a series of four articles by Rose M. Stein.—Editor.)

## Books

WHICH WAY AMERICA? Communism, Fascism, Democracy, by Lyman Bryson. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1939.

THIS little book is one of a series in the People's Library. It was written by Professor Lyman Bryson of Columbia, director of the Sunday evening radio program known as "The People's Platform." It is an excellent example of how one can discuss contemporary political and social problems simply, clearly, fairly, convincingly. But the Marxist will have to do all that and more. He will have to distinguish the shadow from the substance, which Mr. Bryson does not always do. He will have to show complete mastery of his subject, so that there is not the slightest inaccuracy or concession to popular misconceptions and prejudices, which again Mr. Bryson does not always avoid.

The most astonishing thing about the author's otherwise fair treatment of some of Marx's basic ideas is that he omits the very heart of Marxian economics—the theory of crises. It is all the more surprising since it is the most generally known of socialist doctrines. By failing to consider Marx's brilliant analysis and prognosis of inevitable and recurrent economic crises under capitalism, Mr. Bryson is perforce compelled to chase the shadow without touching the substance. This accounts for the author's superficial observations on fascism and his complete inability to see the objective basis for socialism. To his credit, it must be said that he does appreciate the revolutionary side of Marxian philosophy. He puts it in the language of the instrumentalists: "Most of the Marxian 'science,' as far as it applies to the future, is faith, and faith is sometimes made true by action." How about Marxian science as it applies to the past and present? For a hundred years we have had periodic proof of the soundness of Marx's theory that capitalism means recurrent crises. Today, ten million unemployed stand as living witnesses to the validity of Marx's ideas on the chronic disorders of capitalism.

### Refugee Workers in 'Democratic' Countries:

Repel with contempt the appeals of the social-democratic and Stalinist parties seeking to transform you into mercenaries of the "democratic" imperialisms. Remember that the provocative attitude of these parties only helps to reinforce the authority of the dictators over their people. Remember that in case of victory, the "democratic" imperialisms will be the best gendarmes of counter-revolution in the vanquished countries.

### Workers of the World:

Only the overthrow of the capitalist system and the bourgeois governments, the expropriation of the possessing classes, the establishment of working-class governments as direct expressions of the working masses can, in a stricken world, save what is left of progress in modern civilization, and provide a basis for a peace real and abiding, resting not on slavery but on the freedom of men and peoples. If war breaks out, the working class must continue the class struggle regardless of the possible military consequences of this struggle. The revolutionary militants must prepare now in order to be able to continue their activities under the regime of military law.

Down with 'National Unity'! Long live the class struggle! Down with war! Long live proletarian revolution!

## Business Is Business!

(These paragraphs are from an article by Frank Hanighen in the New York Post of May 5, 1939.—Editor.)

By FRANK C. HANIGHEN

London, England. BEHIND the British Lion, now roaring at Germany, lies a beautiful little Anglo-German bouquet. Watch this bouquet. It represents the flower of appeasement. The fact that British Tories continue to water and keep it fresh suggests that perhaps the British government hasn't entirely dropped its earlier policy.

The bouquet is the Anglo-German trade agreement, which was negotiated, almost unnoticed, while Hitler's rape of Prague overshadowed all other events. Today, in spite of Chamberlain's new "peace-front" policy, it still has not been repudiated by the British government.

To the tune of a barrage of speeches suggesting that a new era of peace and better business was in sight, a committee of the Federation of British Industrialists (the Federation is perhaps, next to the Bank of England, the strongest unit of British business) set forth for Dusseldorf, to meet their German colleagues.

They arrived on March 14, just when Herr Hitler was putting President Hacha of Czecho-Slovakia on the rack. Undeterred by this fact, the Federation gentlemen sat down with the Germans and within little more than twenty-four hours came to an agreement. How eager the Federation was to make the agreement appears from the report—now accepted as a fact in London business circles—that the Germans never believed that they would be offered such generous terms. Indeed, they expected that negotiations would be strung out over several weeks.

This agreement... was in fact a violation of the spirit of the Anglo-American trade agreement, negotiated last year. It divided markets between German and British traders—and at the expense of third parties. It would undoubtedly have discriminated against American trade, especially in South America.

The almost indecent haste of the Federation made the insult worse. For in little more than twenty-four

(These paragraphs are from a Berlin dispatch by Otto D. Tolischus in the New York Times of May 16.—Editor.)

By OTTO D. TOLISCHUS

Berlin, Germany. WHILE Mussolini and all the spokesmen for the Nazi-Italian alliance accused the democracies of waging an economic "white war" against the authoritarian states, the banking representatives of the democracies concluded today another credit standstill agreement with Germany. And this agreement will continue to help finance the Reich's foreign trade and therewith the armament of the Axis powers.

This rather paradoxical result is made possible only because the financial representatives of the democracies, contrary to Signor Mussolini's charges, which today are echoed in all the German press, proceeded on a strictly business basis and completely disregarded all the political considerations that dominate the economics of the totalitarian states.

In line with that attitude a communique issued by the American delegation, headed by Harvey D. Gibson, president of the Manufacturers Trust Company of New York, emphasized that the "greatest possible consideration was given by debtors and creditors alike to the requests of each other." A German communique, issued by the Reichsbank, confirmed that the negotiations "were again conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding."

hours, the business leaders of a "great democracy" made a pact which would discriminate against another "great democracy" in favor of a fascist state. Twenty-four hours for the Anglo-German pact—in contrast with the eight months which passed before the two democracies—Britain and America—by furious wrangling and bargaining reached the famous Anglo-American trade agreement signed last November.

Meanwhile, [because of the shift in the diplomatic scene,] it became impossible for the government to ratify the agreement. But the British government, while not ratifying it, has never repudiated it. And the Federation leaders continue to defend the agreement.

"NEGOTIATIONS for a \$100,000,000 "reconstruction" loan are under way between Francisco Franco, [anti-Semitic fascist dictator of Spain] and a group of bankers [headed by Mendelssohn and Company of Amsterdam], largely dominated by Jewish influences."—News item.

## Big Change in Dies Committee Seen

(Continued from Page 1)

energy, such as Voorhis has, can do for such a committee. Furthermore, he knows how to work with Dies so that he secures support for his program. It is certain that Voorhis is responsible for getting the Dies Committee to work now—before Congress closes—so that it will not carry over its activities into the 1940 campaign. It is also likely that Voorhis persuaded Dies to start with an investigation of nationalist and fascist movements in order to get away from the charge that the committee is primarily interested in real "Red-baiting." However, unless I miss my guess, Voorhis will be eager to have the whole dishonest Stalinist penetration into the Washington bureaucracy probed. But he will have the job keeping the progressivism of the New Deal from being smeared as "Red" and "communist" while looking into Stalinist activity in this country. Knowing how much chairmen of Congressional committees count compared to members and being sure of the Garnerish sympathies of Mr. Dies, about all any genuine and independent progressive can do is to hold his breath, hope for the best and wish that the committee were constituted differently.

### F. D. R. IN HIS OLD FORM AGAIN

At the Retailers Convention meeting here, the great Roosevelt hit a home run again. A drama critic in the audience said to a friend of mine: "It is as if Ethel Barrymore appeared again in an old role—after being panned by most of us for slipping badly—and gave the most superb performance of her whole career." Those of you who heard F. D. R. over the radio last Monday night perhaps missed some of the inflections and the devastating sarcasm which characterized the address. You should have been present. It is hard to think of any one on the horizon who could possibly defeat this man in 1940. With all of the liberal views he presented, one does not like to think of how he would have most Americans waving the flag, marching off to fight, running down "Reds," coordinating labor unions and enforcing all of the other totalitarian tendencies if and when this country enters the coming war—the objective to which his foreign-policy is inevitably leading.

### WALLACE ON WAY OUT

Ervin King, Master of the Washington State Grange, has just left Washington after a long stay during which he did some very effective lobbying against Wallace's farm measures. He is the leader in the Grange of the "cost-of-production" program which Wallace heartily opposes now, altho he once advocated

it in a book. Wallace is not liked by his fellow Cabinet members. He is not too popular in his own department. If King represents the growing discontent of the farmers with Wallace, as he claims, it is probable that this country gentleman will return to farming his own acreage in 1940 regardless of who wins the presidency.

### WHAT DO YOU BET?

Betting by newspapermen on important issues here stands about as follows:  
3 to 1 that there will be no amendments to the Wagner Act at this session of Congress.  
5 to 2 that the Neutrality Act will not be amended.  
3 to 1 that war will break out in Europe before the end of the year.  
10 to 1 that F. D. R. will run again and win.  
No odds are given on Dewey for the Republican nomination. There is a growing feeling that the Republicans will choose someone else. The boy is too young and inexperienced to beat Roosevelt and too suspect of liberalism of a Roosevelt variety.  
No odds are given on the likelihood of the passage of the Wagner-

## German Worker Tells Of Situation

(We have received the following very interesting report from a German socialist refugee working in a metal factory in one of Germany's neighboring states.—Editor.)

OUR firm is installing new German machines. The German firm therefore sent a German mechanic (about 30 years old) here who will return to the Reich after the completion of his work here. I thought that only "reliable" Nazis would be allowed to work abroad, and therefore was at first very cautious towards him, but soon we became good friends. He had been abroad before, and gave me a report about the feeling and ideas of his fellow-workers in Germany; he also gave me a picture of the international situation that I could not have improved upon.

Former party differences are no longer decisive. Nobody believes any more in the struggle of the "democracies" against fascism. Fascism in Germany might still last for quite while, perhaps for several years. But there is no doubt that the whole system must end with a tremendous collapse. He had calculated the costs of armaments, and discussed with his fellow-workers the question who would pay the bill—the debts. They all said that they, the workers, would certainly not pay the bill. . . . At present, the business situation seems to be good. The successes of Hitler's foreign policy have aroused some illusions. As long as there is no war enthusiasm. As long as there is little unemployment, and there is little government is playing a dangerous game. The workers are "waiting." The Nazi policy is: Let the workers think what they like—they have to obey! And the workers act accordingly: For the time being, they obey—but they have not given up independent thinking.

Whatever may happen—one thing is certain: We, the workers, have achieved a better understanding among ourselves as a result of the terrible experiences we have had. There are differences on tactical questions, but no longer the old divisions and demagoguery. Militarization has increased the importance of skilled workers who realize how vital they are for the war machine. Simultaneously, the system itself is destroying respect for private property. There is not the slightest doubt among the German workers that only a workers revolution can get rid of fascism.

Of course, the German mechanic and his fellow-workers in Germany represent an advanced stratum of workers—a stratum which is above the average level. Yet it is significant that this worker and that section of the German working class of which he is representative have been able to keep their heads despite fascist propaganda and "democratic" demagoguery.

Rogers Bill to admit children refugees from Germany. It will probably be defeated in the House after passing the Senate unless the President actively urges its passage in the same way he urged the defeat of the Ludlow war-referendum measure.

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## "Perfidious Albion"—True to Form!

THE recent White Paper defining British policy in Palestine seems to have aroused almost universal protest and indignation. Particularly keen is the resentment of large numbers of Jews thruout the world who quite naturally see in the new policy a brazen repudiation of the "sacred pledge" embodied in the Balfour Declaration and an end to the phantom promises of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine.

Once again, "perfidious Albion" runs true to form, maintaining in its perfidy a consistency that leaves no excuse for surprise. Just as in the days of the war imperialist Britain made a bid for world Jewish support by demonstrative declarations about a "homeland" in Zion, so today imperialist Britain is making a play for Arab support in order to offset German and Italian activities in the Near East. It is all a matter of cold-blooded calculation of imperialist advantage; good faith and honor are words without meaning in such a context. The tiger is a ravenous beast; imperialism is a ferocious, predatory, treacherous system. It would be as foolish to appeal to the one not to pounce upon its prey as to the other to abide by its commitments or to have regard for considerations of humanity or freedom.

Yet how many of those who now condemn the White Paper fail to realize what it all means! In particular, are not many of the Jews who raise their voices to high heaven in denunciation of Albion's perfidy the very ones who, in their next breath, urge the United States to establish a "collective-security" front with precisely the same perfidious Albion to save "democracy" from fascism, by war if need be? Let them ask themselves: What kind of crusade for democracy is the England of the White Paper capable of leading? What kind of trust can be placed in a "democratic alliance" of which this England is the banner-bearer? What can be expected from this England but that for the sake of its imperialist interests it will ultimately betray the cause for which it pretends to be fighting?

Some good may yet come out of the White Paper if it will serve to turn the minds of the Jews of this country away from the fatal delusion of a "war for democracy" under the auspices of predatory imperialism.

Reviewed by ALBERT EASTON

# Workers Age

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## THE WAR DRIVE CAN BE DEFEATED!

FOR the first time in three years, according to a recent Gallup poll, the mass of American people are beginning to feel that the problem of keeping America out of war is the most immediate and critical problem before the country, no less important even than the problem of unemployment. In 1936, 1937 and 1938, unemployment headed the list in the annual Gallup survey as the most important problem; but this year keeping out of war and unemployment were tied at the top, both getting 36% of the answers of the representative cross-section questioned, whereas recovery for business, the next in order, got only 8%.

This is welcome news indeed. For as the people of this country begin to awaken to the great danger of American involvement in another world slaughter, it becomes increasingly possible to rally them to an effective anti-war movement, a movement dedicated to determined resistance to the war-making foreign policy of the Administration in every one of its many aspects. The masses of the people still remember the last war and how they were ensnared into it by that great "peace-loving liberal," Woodrow Wilson; they still remember what the war cost us in terms of life, liberty and happiness. And they are mightily determined that it shall not happen again under any pretext or excuse whatsoever. All they need to swing into action is a sense of the imminence of the danger and a conviction that all is not yet lost.

The feeling that the country is really in danger is already beginning to permeate the masses, if the results of the Gallup poll mean anything. The people, furthermore, are also showing an increasing understanding of the various ways in which America may be driven down the road to war under the guise of "securing peace," "aiding the democracies," "quarantining the aggressor" and the like. In a Gallup public-opinion poll conducted about the same time as the one already mentioned, nearly 70% answered "no" to the question whether "we should lend money to England and France to buy airplanes and other war materials in this country in case Germany and Italy go to war against [them]." A slight majority are still in favor of selling such materials for cash, but here too the growing realization of the imminence of war will probably bring about a change in the right direction.

Most observers agree that recent months have witnessed a marked turn in the tide of public sentiment against the Administration's foreign policy. Quite contrary to all expectations, President Roosevelt's personal popularity fell sharply immediately after his sensational gesture of addressing a "peace message" to the dictators. Evidently the people were not impressed with this gesture; evidently they saw in it cause for suspicion and concern in that it pointed to the determination of the Administration to embroil this country in the imperialistic quarrels of European power-politics. The unexpected strength of isolation sentiment in Congress and back home, despite many months of intensive war propaganda emanating from the White House, is another welcome sign in the same direction.

Now is the time for the organized anti-war movement to show what it is worth. The Administration's war propaganda is fortunately not working as well as we feared it might; the masses of the people are still overwhelmingly opposed to war and to any step making for war—and what is perhaps most important, they are coming to realize how tremendous the danger of our involvement in war really is. They are ready to follow a clear and effective lead. It is up to the anti-war movement to give this lead without any delay. The recent coordination of a number of outstanding peace organizations for a united militant fight to keep America out of war is a step in the right direction. The Administration war policy can still be defeated and the country saved from indescribable disaster.

## THE LESSON OF HARLAN

THE victorious six-week battle of the United Mine Workers of America to force a satisfactory contract from the bituminous operators is rich in instructive lessons. To some of them we called attention in these columns last week; to others we shall turn in the future. Here we want to say a few words about one aspect of the situation that seems to us of unusual importance and yet is in danger of being largely ignored.

During the long weeks of the lock-out, the soft-coal miners met with particular hostility in those states in which the Democrats are in power. Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky are on this list, especially Kentucky. In all of these states, the locked-out miners were refused unemployment relief, despite their manifest need. (Yet in Republican Pennsylvania, such relief was forthcoming.) In Kentucky, the governor knew no bounds in his eagerness to aid the employers; he sent a thousand National Guardsmen to "Bloody Harlan, with orders to shoot to kill, so as to assist the operators in their attempt to open the mines on an open-shop basis. Nowhere did the workers receive really fair treatment from the state authorities, not to speak of sympathy.

Yet most of these state authorities had been elected thru the active support of the coal diggers. The case of Governor "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky is particularly notorious. He was raised to office by the votes of the miners, who saw in him a "true friend of labor". After election, he acknowledged his debt to the U.M.W.A. literally with tears in his eyes and solemnly pledged that he should not be found wanting in his obligations to labor. Harlan shows how he has kept this pledge.

Is Governor Chandler the exception? By no means; rather is he the rule. Think of former Governor Davie of Ohio, elected as a New Deal "friend of labor" by the miners and steel workers, and then recall his despicable conduct in the Little Steel strike. Think of Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia, elected by the United Mine Workers as practically "one of the family", and recall his reactionary, anti-labor record in the Senate. The list is endless.

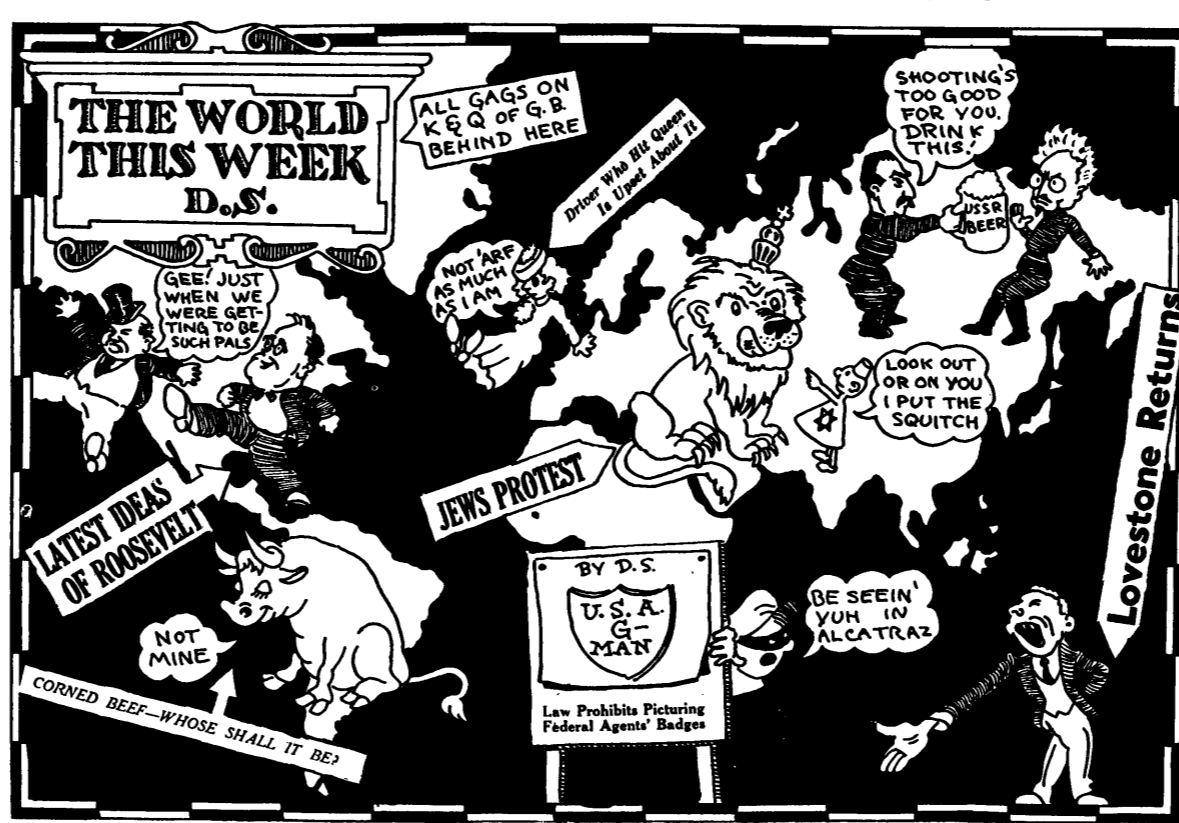
And the moral is obvious, inculcated by the experience of decades and hammered home again by the lessons of the past few years. Labor cannot rely upon any "friends" in the old-line, employing-class parties, no matter how fervid their pledges or sincere their intentions. Labor can depend only on its own organized mass power, exercised independently on the economic and political fields. Genuine bona-fide labor unions and no reliance on "benevolent" employers or company unions; an independent labor party and no reliance on outside "friends" or old-line parties and politicians!

How long will it take labor to grasp this simple lesson of its own bitter experience? How long, above all, will it take the miners, who have had more than their fill of political Judases?

THE appointment of Jerome Frank as chairman of the S.E.C. was headlined in the press on Friday, May 19.

Almost two months before that, in the issue of this paper dated March 29, Frank Howard, our Washington correspondent had written: "Jerome Frank will probably be appointed S.E.C. chairman."

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# Why the Defeat of the Spanish Revolution?

## POUM Leader Hits Course Which Led to Disaster

By JULIAN GORKIN

(Concluded from the last issue)

A Minister of War, Caballero permitted Stalinist troops, under the direct control of the Russians, to rise to dominant positions in the army. At the same time, the Caballerista Galarza, Minister of the Interior, gradually handed over to the Stalinists the effective control of public order. Caballero, thru Alvarez del Vayo, carried out Spain's foreign policy at the dictation of Litvinov and Stalin. Caballero was thus one of those most responsible for the sacrifice of the positions and interests of the working class to the politics of the Popular Front. In a conversation I had with him in the Ministry of War in Madrid in September 1936, I heard him say that "it was necessary to sacrifice revolutionary language to win the friendship of the democratic powers." It is now obvious of course, that it wasn't at all a question of language but of the revolution itself. I want to proclaim, in all sincerity, that personally Caballero is an honest man—but politically, he played a disastrous role during the decisive months of the revolution, and the greater his authority and his influence on the large masses of the Socialist Party and the youth, the more disastrous the role he played.

Stalinist certainly knew how to use him. When Caballero at last realized how he was being used and tried to extricate himself, it was already too late. Then, suddenly, overnight, he was converted from the "Spanish Lenin" to the "Enemy of the People"—almost an agent of Franco. To throw him out of the government, and later to remove him from the leadership of the U.G.T., Stalinism used the centrist elements of the Socialist Party.

Without political position, and anxious, above all, not to weaken the Popular Front, Caballero was reduced to the most abject impotence. His example is the most eloquent demonstration of the complete defeat of Left socialism, incapable of preparing and directing the revolution—skilled only in leading the proletariat away from its class objectives.

And the C.N.T.? This organization constituted the largest force of the proletariat of Catalonia. Thanks to the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M., the working class of Catalonia found itself from the very first moment in the revolutionary vanguard. But the C.N.T. lacked political principles. Its traditional "apoliticalism" and its opposition to anything smacking of "state" or "authority," of dictatorship, incapacitated it for assuming

revolutionary leadership. The C.N.T. could have seized power in Barcelona on July 19 and 20, but it did not know what to do with power.

On July 20, Companys put the Generalidad at the disposition of Durruti and Garcia Oliver; but these two men, in the name of the C.N.T., refused to accept it, and left Companys and the other Republican councilmen in their posts. The C.N.T. limited itself to proposing the creation of a Central Committee of Soldiers. And what was this Central Committee of Soldiers?

The Trotskyites say: "the organ of the revolution," and they reproach us as criminals for dissolving it. It was really a prolongation of the Popular Front to the C.N.T., to the F.A.I. and to the P.O.U.M.—exactly the same as the government which followed it.

Why are we reproached for participating in the second and not in the first? Of both, the Republican parties of Catalonia, the Stalinist P.S.U.C. and the U.G.T. formed a part. In the one as in the other, our constant preoccupation consisted in establishing a revolutionary differentiation which would end once and for all, this confusion of abstract anti-fascist unity without class content. With whom could we establish that differentiation? Whom did we want to win over to our revolutionary position? Obviously, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.

The Trotskyites accuse us of having made all kinds of concessions to the anarcho-sindicalists, of having "capitulated" before them. This is not true. What is true, is that we did not criticize their position strongly enough, or better, their lack of position and program. Well acquainted with the mentality of the Spanish anarchist, with his susceptibility and his suspicion of all systematic criticism and attack by a political party, we decided to use other tactics: persuasion and reason, cordial criticism and examination, together, of the important political questions. We can affirm, with complete certainty, that while the P.O.U.M. remained in the Government of the Generalidad, the successor of the Central Committee of Soldiers, it prevented the committing of many blunders by the C.N.T. Stalinism understood perfectly that if it wished to weaken and compromise in its struggle for the achievement of class independence of the proletariat. But it was defeated before an overpowering combination of forces, national and international, determined to drown the revolution.

In this task, Stalinism occupied the position of shock-troops, as we shall see in a later article.

try. If it had not been for this criminal sabotage, our soldiers would have been able to attack Huesca, Jaca and Zaragoza with great possibility of success.

They engaged in an ignominious campaign of slander with the public help of the Soviet Consulate itself. Finally, they created the crisis in the Government of the Generalidad. With the exit of the P.O.U.M. from the Generalidad begins the descending curve of the revolution in Catalonia and in anti-fascist Spain.

In Valencia, as in Barcelona, the C.N.T. remained a prisoner in the hands of its ministers, the Stalinist forces, the reformists and the Republicans. Under the pretext of maintaining anti-fascist "unity" (after elimination of the P.O.U.M.), the C.N.T. covered up the work of the democratic counter-revolution.

In May, taking advantage of the answer to the provocations of the Stalinites, it would have been possible to cut the counter-revolutionary course and reconquer lost positions. The Regional Committee of the C.N.T., in spite of our exhortations, at a special conference summoned on the night of May 3, refused to go ahead. The National Committee of the C.N.T. acted even worse. It sent two of its ministers and its general secretary to Barcelona to put out the flame. The C.N.T. sacrificed the magnificent movement of the proletariat to collaborate with the government. Thus they immeasurably strengthened the position of the counter-revolution. Twenty days later the counter-revolution, without taking into consideration its services, threw out the C.N.T., along with Caballero, from the government.

And anarcho-sindicalism has not learned its lesson, just as Caballero has not learned the lessons he received since the proclamation of the Republic.

The P.O.U.M. did everything in its power to influence the crisis in the Socialist Party towards a progressive course, to orientate the Left in the direction of a revolutionary solution. It used even greater energy to avoid the fall of the C.N.T. into the People's Front, to win it over to the side of revolutionary organization and leadership. Not for a single moment did the P.O.U.M. cease in its struggle for the achievement of class independence of the proletariat. But it was defeated before an overpowering combination of forces, national and international, determined to drown the revolution. In this task, Stalinism occupied the position of shock-troops, as we shall see in a later article.

## 25 YEARS AGO

- MAY 24-31, 1914
- MAY 25, 1914—Leon Hanz Charpira, Parisian representative of A. Musica & Son, New York hair-importing house, arrested for misappropriating \$225,000.
- May 26—Irish Home Rule bill passes in House of Commons 351 to 274.
- May 27—Apple Mary Walsh, 86, who for 60 years has sold apples at East River piers, still looking for her sailor who has still not returned to her, asks to be jailed for the Summer because of the heat.
- May 28—Buckingham Palace windows smashed by suffragettes.
- May 29—Empress of Ireland sinks in St. Lawrence river. Over 900 dead.
- May 30—New York Call celebrates sixth anniversary.
- May 29—Former Police Lieutenant Charles Becker sentenced by Justice Samuel Seabury to die July 6 for murder of Louis Rosenthal, notorious gambler.
- May 30—Queen Mary's domestic staff go on strike as their hours of work are increased. The Queen has promised to meet a committee of the maids.

## How Spain Was Betrayed

A few weeks ago, we called attention in these columns to the revelations of General Krivitsky as to the sinister activities of the Stalinites in Loyalist Spain, activities that contributed greatly to the ultimate defeat of the anti-fascist cause. Krivitsky told his story from the point of view of a former high G.P.U. official directly involved in many of the episodes described. Now essentially the same story is told by Luis Araquistain from the point of view of one who sat in the inner councils of the Spanish Republic and helped to guide its destinies at the most critical period. For Luis Araquistain is an outstanding leader of the Spanish Socialist Party, a close friend and collaborator of Largo Caballero, during whose tenure as Premier he served as Spanish ambassador to France.

And the story Araquistain tells, in a series of articles for the North American Newspaper Alliance (published by the New York Times in this city), is one that cannot but arouse the horror and indignation of every friend of freedom and democracy. It is the familiar story of Stalinist "rule or ruin" turning out in this case, as in so many others, to be "rule AND ruin." It is a story of deliberate, cold-blooded treachery, conceived in Moscow and executed by Moscow's creatures on Spanish soil. It is a story of the lust for totalitarian power run mad, for the sake of which everything, including the prospects of Loyalist victory over Franco, was sacrificed without a qualm. It is a story of how Largo Caballero was destroyed as an influence in the Loyalist government and such nonentities as Del Vayo and Negrin exalted to the skies, because Caballero would not serve as a figurehead for the Stalinist clique while the latter were only too happy to do the bidding of Moscow. It is a story that lends an air of plausibility to Araquistain's venture that perhaps "Joseph Stalin did not want [us] to win the war . . . Nor did he want us to lose it too soon. . . Mr. Stalin simply wanted to prolong our war sine die, to keep Mussolini and Hitler busy and force the latter, in the end, to come to an understanding with the U.S.S.R. In the Spanish war, he only saw a strategic diversion."

The lid is beginning to lift a little and thru the crack we are beginning to get a glimpse of the foul witch's-brew of Stalinist treachery and intrigue that sapped the strength and destroyed the powers of resistance of the Spanish Republic and left it a prey to Franco's hordes.

## Talking It Over: Rivera, People's Painter

by Bertram D. Wolfe

(The following paragraphs are from a radio address delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe on the program of the League for Industrial Democracy over Station WEVD, on Tuesday, May 23. Mr. Wolfe is author of "Diego Rivera, His Life and Times."—Editor.)

I first got to know Diego Rivera at the beginning of the 1920's. He did not in the slightest resemble the conception of an artist I had gotten from the painters in Greenwich Village. I found him sitting high on a scaffold, dressed in plain and plaster-stained overalls, hard at work covering walls with paint, like a house-painter or a sign-painter. He worked for wages, receiving about the same amount as the men who were in those days covering the walls and fences of our land with Bull Durham signs, worked longer hours than they did, and seemed to cover the wall just about as fast, not with endless repetition of bulls, beer bottles or cigarette glamor girls, but with an entire universe in paint.

He was not world-famous then, but immediately I sensed that he was bound to be. What I want to tell you in a few words tonight is what it is that has made his name something of a household word with men and women who never even visit picture galleries, and who cannot afford to adorn their walls with beautiful paintings.

Diego Rivera has become a world figure principally for four reasons: first, his fruitfulness; second, his skill as a painter; third, his social philosophy; fourth, the role he assigned to his art, and the scrapes he got into trying to live up to his conception.

Because of these four things, he has made the headlines in all the newspapers of the western world, has put art on the front page as never before in its history, has given new life to the ancient technique of fresco painting, has won fairly general recognition as the greatest mural artist since Michelangelo, and has helped to give leadership to a great mural revival both in Mexico and in our country. Thru these things, he has taken painting once more out of the studio and united it with architecture and public life.

### RIVERA'S MARVELLOUS FECUNDITY

FIRST, there is his fruitfulness. He has covered literally miles of wall, and other miles of paper, board, tin and canvas. He is one of those monsters of fecundity that from time to time appear in the history of art and of literature. Such men, by the mere magnitude of their labors, enlarge our faith in the creative capacity of man. There is something in them of the fruitfulness of nature.

### HIS SKILL AS A PAINTER

ABOUT his skill as a painter, there is no point in my speaking when I cannot show examples of his work. Perhaps when WEVD has television broadcasting facilities, I shall be able to do that. At present, I can only suggest that you go to the museums that have examples of his easel work, or still better, to the Independent Labor Institute, at 131 West 33rd Street, opposite the Hotel Pennsylvania, where there are twenty-one fresco panels, donated by him to the workers of New York, and paid for out of the money he earned working for the Rockefeller at Radio City.

### HIS SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

RIVERA'S social philosophy is inseparable from his work as a painter. He believes in socialism: that the present social order is in decay, that its continued existence endangers the existence of art and culture and the happiness of mankind, that to safeguard and extend these things, a revolutionary transformation of society is necessary. And his painting is meant to serve that transformation. That explains both the subject matter that is characteristic of him and the role he assigns to art in modern life. It also helps to explain how his work has come to interest millions who rarely have an opportunity to concern themselves with art, and who feel that most painting, under present conditions, has little to say to them. If his art were not thus nourished and enlarged by his social conceptions, he would still rank among the half-dozen or so great names in the painting of our time, but it is this which sets him apart from the rest of them. It is because of this that I venture to predict future historians will not speak of "Modern Art" as running, let us say, from David to Picasso, but rather from David to Rivera. For it is my belief that a period in art was opened by the French Revolution and closed by the Russian, and that Rivera, more than any other man, embodies the beginning of a new social-monumental movement in painting.

### HIS LIFE AS AN ARTIST

DIEGO RIVERA began his life as a painter at a time when art had gotten completely separated from the main stream of life, to the detriment of both of them. Art was thereby enfeebled and social life rendered unattractive. The painters had lost their power to speak to the mass of mankind of life's central issues, of man's destiny, of the universe. They lived as outcasts on the fringes of society, "queer birds", defiant seekers after esoteric beauty in the art colonies of "Bohemia". Their brushes spoke more and more elaborately about less and less to an ever more restricted public. They were largely at the mercy of the rich patron and the political dictator.

The problem that Rivera set for himself and his fellows was the problem of reconquering the right for art to speak to the masses, of making it capable of more of taking a central place at the very heart of life, of enabling it again to nourish and to be nourished by the flame of communal affection.

But there was a great pitfall into which he might easily have fallen, the pitfall of demagoguery. The masses were not merely politically and economically oppressed, but they were culturally oppressed also. If art should seek to speak to them by sinking to their degraded level, it would merely have committed suicide. On the other hand, if it remained as it was, it was inaccessible to the masses; masses and art were cut off from each other to the detriment of both of them. His problem was to find a means of reaching the masses physically with his work, speaking to them in a language that was accessible to them of things that interested them, and yet incorporating into his work all the technical achievements of modern painting. If he could do that, he believed that he could thereby use the work of art to strengthen their spirit, to form their taste, educate and elevate it, thereby strengthening the movement which fights for a richer life for the mass of mankind, including its right to art and beauty. And thereby, the artist would help create in the end great audiences which in turn would nourish still greater artists.

To achieve these purposes, Rivera hit upon the mural: the painting on the public wall of the communal building. It was no accident that the years of growing individualism had been the years of the decay of the mural, and that today, when man becomes conscious once more of the need for social solidarity, the image reappears upon the public wall and painting begets a Rivera.

He was fortunate in that the Russian and Mexican revolutions had at that moment created an intellectual climate which made such work as his possible. And later, when he invaded the United States with his brush and theories, he helped to create here also a strong movement for public patronage of mural painting.

It is in caricatures, popular prints, posters, and above all on the walls of the buildings frequented by the masses of men, that art must today give battle for its continued existence. Without giving up the precious achievements of the studio, it must enter once more on the public arena. It is threatened by a Hitler in one form, by a Stalin in another, and by a Rockefeller in yet another. It cannot afford to degrade itself further by flattery of the wealthy patron or the dictator. Or to speak only to esthetes and fellow artists, lest it become too weak to defend itself. Today, when the riddle of man's destiny presents itself precisely in politico-social terms, art must be capable of speaking to man of that destiny. And the wall, thought Rivera, was the ground on which art could best give battle.

### THE DEMOCRACY OF THE MURAL

THE mural is the most democratic form of art. It is on a public building, where men congregate, which belongs, theoretically at least, to the community. It cannot be hidden away in unfrequented mansions or warehouses. It cannot be made an object of speculation. It cannot be strangled or silenced. When the painting on a wall is destroyed, as the Rockefellerers have cause to know, the whole world rings with the hammer blows. The public wall, filled with the powerfully painted vision of a great artist, has the true gift of tongues. It speaks to all who pass by, even to those who at first do not know they are listening.

To have realized this more clearly than any other man, to have undertaken it and succeeded in it on a vaster scale than any other, to have brought to his task a fertile and prodigious talent and a deep devotion, and to have remained faithful to that task despite the degeneration of the movement which nourished him and used him and later persecuted him, to have remained faithful to that task despite the boycott of the powers that be in his land and ours, despite the pressure of great wealth and attempted censorship, that is the greatest merit of Diego Rivera. It is that which makes him significant as man and as painter, makes him one of the heroes of painting and the outstanding artist of the people.