

NEXT WEEK:
ON THE NATURE OF THE
STALINIST PARTY
by Will Herberg

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Vol. 8, No. 29.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1939

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

A BRILLIANT IDEA

WE hasten to record with some relish an interesting and not insignificant decision of the British student organization called the Union of University Liberal Societies at its recently concluded annual convention at Edinburgh.

A Cambridge student (perhaps under Stalinist instructions) moved a resolution asking King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to visit Soviet Russia and Joseph Stalin to visit England. We second the motion. And we hurry to offer some suggestions for the itineraries of both visiting parties. To dramatize "traditional British friendship for the Russian people," King George VI should land first at Murmansk. Mr. Maisky, Stalin's ambassador to England and once an artillery officer in Kolchak's army, should be there in advance to greet once again a symbol of British imperialist power and a dyed-in-the-wool champion of capitalist "democracy" on Soviet soil.

A demonstration of Stalinated gymnastics by selected workers and peasants who built the White Sea Canal (released from the concentration camps for the occasion) should be organized in honor of the "people's monarch" and in tribute to what the Stalin regime did to Lenin's dream of free and democratic socialism. The newest prison methods and fatally successful torture chambers should be introduced to their Britannic Majesties by the one who may happen to be in charge of the G.P.U. at the moment.

Of course, the inspiring and eloquent spokesman of British imperialist "democracy" should be given a chance to interview (if he can find them) Politburo members Rudzutak and Postyshev, and leaders of the Comintern, Bela Kun, Piatnitsky, and Khorin in order to get an idea of how really democratic, popular and wonderful the Stalin government is.

Then, a special new decoration should be created to render appropriate and adequate honor and glory to the mightiest of impotent monarchs, the first live ones to touch Russian soil since their relative, Nicholas II, bit the Soviet dust. This decoration is to be called the "Star of Stalin." The presentation ceremony should be conducted on the grave of a murdered or "suicided" internationally renowned Bolshevik.

To the British, who have lots of experience in welcoming Asiatic potentates, we do not have to give as much detailed advice. The depressed areas of England should certainly convince Stalin that he had no reason to hesitate in cementing a "defensive" alliance with Churchill's and Chamberlain's "democracy" of the Union Jack. Naturally, we assume that the King would take Stalin to the cemetery at Highgate (London). There on the grave of Marx, George VI should bid farewell to Stalin and symbolize his heartfelt appreciation and friendship by decorating Russia's "beloved leader," "greatest scientist," and the world's "foremost Marxist" with the Order of the Defenders of the Faith—in the "democracy" and integrity of the British Empire.

THE TIENSIN MESS

WHAT'S all this noise about Tientsin? And precisely what principles or ideals of democracy are at stake in the bloody mess there? What's itching Japan? And what is really aching England there? Surely all the furore that has been stirred up has not been occasioned merely because the Japanese undressed a British subject.

Let's get beneath the surface a bit to find the solid earthly facts at the bottom of the anything-but-diplomatic brawl. Tientsin, having the only British concession in North China, is the pivotal point of British imperialist position in this entire area. It is Lombard Street's main distributing and trading center in North China. Until recently, the sun never set here on such towering edifices of British "democracy" as the Asiatic Petroleum Co., Imperial Chemical Industries, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, the Kailan Mining Administration, the Cina Soap Co., the British-American Tobacco Co., the Dunlop Rubber Co., and the British Electric Co.

In Tientsin, there operate well over one hundred British concerns which did a very profitable business—until the Nipponese imperialists came on the scene. Before 1938, the British flag held first place in the port of Tientsin. A recent issue (July 5) of the Far Eastern Survey sheds welcome light on this all-important conflict when it points out:

"In spite of the annoyance and injuries to British interests resulting from such Japanese acts as the establishment of monopolies, export prohibitions, exchange-control regulations, tariff revisions favorable to Japanese products, discrimination in the granting of railway facilities, and inefficient telegraphic service, Britain's commercial position in Tientsin was, until the present crisis, still strong. The blockade, by threatening the existence of the concession itself, constitutes an incomparably greater danger to British interests."

But in addition to the big tangible stake, Britain is even more involved at Tientsin. Anent this the London Economist of June 24 thus tells more than a mouthful:

"The purpose of the Japanese blockade of the British Concession at Tientsin . . . is to inflict a resounding public humiliation upon Great Britain. The calculation is presumably that if at one point in her widely scattered empire, Great Britain can be forced to submit to an indignity which is incompatible with the traditional status of a Great Power, the vast edifice of British rights and interests throughout the Far East, and perhaps still nearer home, may be shaken down by the shock . . ."

"The patent intention is to show the Chinese—and perhaps the Russians, Poles, and Rumanians as well—that Civis Britannicus Sum is no longer the talisman that it used to be."

From Tientsin to Danzig the fight is over the same "vital interests," imperialist interests that have nothing to do with ideals or idealism but are simply the stakes in the sordid struggle among the giant capitalist plunder powers for the revision of the world and the redistribution of its resources and markets.

A.L.P. Lays Plans for Vigorous Campaign

Independence Keynote for City Election

New York City
A city-wide conference of the American Labor Party was held on July 6, attended by 560 delegates representing the 350 affiliated trade unions and the 130 city district organizations of the party. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the party policy in the 1939 campaign.

Following the report of Alex Rose, state secretary of the A.L.P., the conference unanimously approved the policy recommended by the State Executive Committee which would bar coalitions in the coming campaign.

Two special resolutions were adopted—one condemning the Republican party for "playing economic politics with the schools" and urging restoration of full state aid to education; and the other assailing the statement made by Commis-

sioner William Hodson of the City Department of Welfare announcing that those who strike against the wage scales on W.P.A. would be barred from home relief.

In the course of his remarks, Alex Rose, state secretary, declared emphatically:

"In the 1939 campaign, we will campaign vigorously for the candidates of our party. But not only are we going to campaign for those who are our party candidates; we will campaign against candidates who are running in opposition to them. I say very advisedly and very emphatically that if we have any members in our party who make wrong interpretations of our policy and who give aid and comfort to any other political group or party, we will charge them with being guilty of political grand larceny. And, frankly speaking, we are not going to tolerate it."

WPA Strikes Grow Despite FDR Threat

FDR Blocked on Neutrality Issue

Senate Committee Holds Up "Revision"; Roosevelt Plans Finish Fight on Question

Washington, D. C.
President Roosevelt's efforts to "revise" the existing neutrality legislation along the lines of his "collective-security" policy, was dealt a terrific blow last week when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 12 to 11 against sending the neutrality issue to the Senate floor. The majority group in the committee was composed of a coalition of strong isolationists, anti-Roosevelt Democrats and Republicans.

Failure to bring the neutrality question to the floor of the Senate before the current session of Congress adjourns will mean that the present legislation will remain in force, greatly to the displeasure of the President and State Department.

Administration spokesmen seemed undecided as to what they would now do. President Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress reiterating his position and enclosing a statement by Secretary Hull, but Senate leaders declared that little was changed thereby.

A move was under way to introduce into Congress a bill placing an embargo on the export of arms and implements of war to Japan. Isolationist spokesmen said they would support the proposal provided no effort was made to enlarge the President's power in foreign affairs or to smuggle in another attempt at "revising" the neutrality law as part of the Japanese embargo move.

The action of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee blocking the efforts of the Administration to destroy the existing neutrality legislation is an important victory in the struggle to keep America out of war. Not that the present neutrality law is perfect. It is far from strong enough and is full of loopholes which the President can take advantage of in pushing his war policy. But what the Administration is after is to weaken the present law as much as possible, to break down whatever safeguards it does contain, and to give the President even greater latitude and arbitrary power in foreign affairs. Hence the defense of the present neutrality law against Administration efforts to destroy or "amend" it is part of the anti-war struggle.

But in itself even the "best" neutrality law is not a sufficient safeguard against involvement in war; certainly the present law is not. There is a general feeling in Washington that the President is waiting for the adjournment of Congress to take some "decisive" steps in foreign affairs, steps that are certain to multiply the dangers of American entanglement in foreign war situations. Only a powerful, vigilant and militant anti-war movement, exposing to the people every step taken by the Administration towards war and rallying popular sentiment against it, can help to keep America out of war.

Where Are Labor's "Friends" Now?

THE American Federation of Labor is engaged in a hard, back-to-the-wall struggle to restore union rates on W.P.A. This is a fight which deeply concerns every single worker in the land, for at stake are not simply the working hours to be enforced on W.P.A. projects but the preservation of the hard-won wage scales of organized labor. If union scales are permitted to go by the board on W.P.A., it will in the long run prove very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain them in private industry, and the gains of years of sacrifice and struggle on the part of the trade-union movement will be gravely jeopardized. If ever organized labor needed the full support of its "friends" in the old-line, employing-class parties, now is the time!

But how have these "friends" responded to labor's appeals for aid at this critical moment? Trade unionists in the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. would do well to ask themselves this question and draw the logical conclusion from the answer.

Let us begin with President Roosevelt himself. It is now an open secret that President Roosevelt was not very unhappy at the relief bill passed by Congress. He certainly didn't do very much to block it or to get a better one adopted. Indeed, most of the Administration supporters in the House, including the White House spokesmen, voted for the Woodrum bill and otherwise actively aided in its passage. It is true that in signing the bill, the President issued a statement deploring some of its worst features, but even then reference to the destruction of union wage scales on W.P.A. was conspicuously absent.

Since the A. F. of L. initiated strike action to protect its wage scales, the President has shown his hand a little more openly. He has given free rein to Administrator Harrington in his efforts to break the strike by threats, ridicule, "back-to-work" movements, stirring up public opinion, and all of the other approved strikebreaking methods. He has "recalled" to the press that he made no objection to the new wage provision when he signed the relief bill. He has tried to minimize the extent and effectiveness of the strike movement. He has even gone so far as to let it be known that he is not "encouraging" moves being made in Congress to restore union wage scales on W.P.A. And his saintly Attorney General, Frank Murphy, has let loose a flood of blustering threats in an effort to smash the strike movement, which the President has himself repeated and confirmed with the full authority at his command.

The conclusion is inescapable: President Roosevelt favors the destruction of union wage scales and is determined to block every effort, whether by strike or legislative action, to restore the prevailing-wage guarantee in the relief bill.

From Washington let us go to New York City. Here we have a "progressive," "liberal" administration, backed by organized labor and the American Labor Party. What has this administration done in the crisis? Its Public Welfare Commissioner, William B. Hodson, has issued an ultimatum that those dropped from W.P.A. for striking, would be deprived of home relief. Its president of the City Council, Newbold Morris, has publicly called upon W.P.A. workers to abandon the strike on the ground that they were "jeopardizing" their own cause, and "letting down" President Roosevelt. "Letting down" President Roosevelt indeed!—after President Roosevelt has so brazenly "let down" the masses of the unemployed!

The lesson is plain. Labor cannot trust any "friends" in the enemy's camp, in the camp of the old-line parties. At one point or another, when the critical moment comes, these "friends of labor," no matter how warm their protestations of friendship, will be found on the other side of the fence. In the long run, labor can rely only upon its own organized might, upon its own forces and upon those other sections of the population that are joined to it in the fight for a better life and a greater measure of freedom. Only independent organization and action can accomplish anything on the political as well as on the industrial field.

Popular Pressure Killed FDR Neutrality Change

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK P. HOWARD

Washington, D. C.
THE shelving of the Administration bill to revise the Neutrality Act was due to pressure from the masses of the American people and to nothing else. I know how much effort was made here to influence Senators Gillette and George over the past week end. The Administration used every conceivable weapon against them after it offered them almost anything they wanted short of the presidency in 1940. It was the persuasive letter and telegram writing from their own states and from the grass roots of America which did the trick. I hope the readers of the Age assisted in this process. I did my bit and did my best to get a circle of friends here to do likewise. I am always surprised how few radicals will actually sit down and write a letter to a Senator. I want to tell you again that it does help, particularly if you can write as an official of some local union or organization. It may be necessary to say that you are writing as an individual but don't forget to remind the Senator or Congressman of your connections. The fight is not over by any means. The President is determined to ally this country with Great Britain and France because he believes that this is the way to defeat fascism. The

next Congress will face this challenge, if another attempt is not made during this session. I urge you to use the Summer to put yourself on record with your Congressman and Senator.

WATCH McNUTT!

Paul McNutt's appointment to the top job in the new and powerful Federal Security Agency has stunned Washington. It has even surprised some New Dealers who are close to the inside. If I ever wrote or stated that McNutt was not to be taken too seriously, I want to say I was mistaken. The only way to explain this move is to recognize McNutt's strength. F. D. R. and Farley had to forget their opposition to him and his candidacy and make peace on terms which look a little too much like McNutt's terms to suit me. Some C.I.O.ers tell me that McNutt has changed, just as Lewis has changed from a reactionary to a great progressive. Granting the comparison is accurate, I don't like it too much anyway.

In any case, Senator Sherman Minton, almost 100% pro-C.I.O. labor representative from Indiana in the Senate and chief backer of McNutt, is vouching all over Washington for McNutt's New Dealism.

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Huge Layoffs Begin Under New Law

New York City.

Orders for the dismissal of nearly 75,000 W.P.A. employees in this city were issued by Works Projects Administrator Somervell last week. These dismissals will begin immediately and continue at the rate of 12,500 a week for six weeks.

The discharge of over half the full force of 140,000 W.P.A. workers in New York City. Col. Somervell said, was being made in accordance with the provision of the 1940 relief law according to which all those on W.P.A. for eighteen months or more are to be summarily dropped. This was not a "vacation" or "furlough," Col. Somervell stressed, but a "straight layoff." After thirty days, workers dropped from W.P.A. might apply for reinstatement, but they would not be rehired until the list of over 160,000 on home relief was exhausted.

Furthermore, W.P.A. headquarters announced, although 75,000 were being dropped from the rolls under the 18-month clause, only 42,000 would be taken on in their place, since the local W.P.A. quota was to be reduced from 140,000 to 127,000 in August to about 107,000 in September.

Col. Somervell issued a statement deploring the layoffs and strongly condemning provisions of the new relief law, which, he said, would reduce the efficiency of many W.P.A. projects to "practically zero" and would mean the "waste of a good many millions of dollars."

The layoffs in New York are part of the plan of national W.P.A. headquarters in Washington to discharge 300,000 by August 1 and 350,000 more by September 1 throughout the country.

A.F.L. Leaders Firm On Right to Strike

Despite outright, undisguised hostility of Administration spokesmen from President Roosevelt down, and despite ruthless measures of repression by W.P.A. authorities, the nation-wide strike of W.P.A. workers against the breakdown of union wage scales prescribed by the 1940 relief act continued and gained momentum last week.

In Washington, President Roosevelt made plain his opposition to the prevailing-wage clause and his approval of the action of Congress in refusing to include the wage guarantee in the present relief act. He "recalled" that in signing the bill, he had commented adversely on several of its features, but had said nothing whatever on the matter of prevailing wage rates. The President also repeated and endorsed a statement made by Attorney General Murphy that "you cannot strike against the government." But even this pronouncement, coming from such high quarters, failed to impress the A. F. of L. unionists. Thomas A. Murray, president of the New York Building and Construction Trades Council, immediately countered by declaring: "Public opinion will not tolerate any attempt to tell free-born American citizens that, like the poor unfortunates of Nazi Germany or communist Russia, they have no option but to work for whatever their employer decrees. . . . You cannot force any American working man to work at his job if for any reason, he decides that he is unwilling to do so." Mr. Murray and other union leaders stressed the point that any attempt to "outlaw" a strike merely because the government was the employer was a distinct threat of totalitarian control of labor.

Tabulations made during the week indicated that close to 150,000 men were out on strike throughout the country and that the number was likely to grow in the course of the next few days. Pursuant to earlier threats, the W.P.A. administration threw off the rolls over 22,000 men, about 8,200 in New York City, for failing to report to work for five consecutive days. These men were also barred from home relief and were made ineligible for reinstatement. Further discharges were threatened by the authorities. In Minnesota, all W.P.A. projects were closed down for a time on the pretext of violence in Minneapolis.

But these reprisals and threats of coercion did not daunt the strikers or their leaders. They laid it down as an immovable principle that "no union man holding a union card can work below union wage scales for anyone, anywhere." William Green, president of the A. F. of L., addressing a special gathering of over a

(Continued on page 3)

LAST CALL

Unless YOU—every reader and friend of the Workers Age—respond NOW in the drive to sustain this paper thru the Summer, THERE WILL BE NO ISSUE NEXT WEEK. Rush every cent you can spare or collect to: Workers Age, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City.

FOR HELP!

Structure of the A. F. of L. Unions

N.L.R.B. Economists Analyze Recent Basic Changes

By DAVID J. SAPOSS and SOL DAVIDSON

(We publish below the most important paragraphs of the very instructive report on the structure of A. F. of L. unions made recently by David J. Saposs, chief economist, and Sol Davidson, assistant economist, of the National Labor Relations Board.—Editor.)

ALTHOUGH historically most unions began as craft unions, their structure has so changed that today very few of the unions may be called craft unions, including those in the A. F. of L. As far back as 1915, one of the eminent groups of Johns Hopkins University labor students found that out of 133 national unions, only 28 were craft unions. Today, even a smaller number of unions may be called craft unions.

A preliminary examination reveals that there is no regular, standard definition of a craft union, and that but a few of the A. F. of L. unions come under this category. The A. F. of L. has not offered any standard definition of the term. Its affiliated unions, although they may claim to be craft unions, offer no definition of the term. All that they do in their constitutions is to describe their jurisdictions. . . .

Indeed, the A. F. of L. has recognized the difficulty of defining craft and craft limits. In its "Scranton Declaration" of 1901, and reaffirmed in 1912, the A. F. of L. held that:

"We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins. . . ."

Understanding this situation, the Executive Council of the Federation reported that "every effort has been made by the A. F. of L., the Executive Council, and our organizations to bring about amalgamation of national and international unions. . . ." The Executive Council then proceeds to list a series of amalgamations and extensions of jurisdiction that have come about under its encouragement. . . .

We have attempted to classify the unions by the jurisdictions claimed in their constitutions. It has been practically impossible to devise a classification that is absolute, and will include all types of unions and will not permit any overlapping. In order to classify the A. F. of L. unions in some few categories, we examined the constitutions of 85 out of the 102 national unions reported in good-standing by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in 1938. The remaining 17 consisted of unions solely of government employees, railroad employees, and air-line pilots, over which classes the N.L.R.B. has no jurisdiction.

The following is the classification that we have made:

Craft Unions

Number—12 Membership—25,800

A craft union consists of workers requiring identical skill and training who can carry thru to completion a particular whole process.

Many of the unions that originally banded together to form the A. F. of L. were pure craft unions. Their members were highly skilled people who had acquired skill after long periods of training or apprenticeship. Neither the division of labor nor technological changes had affected them very much. Many of them were able to carry thru to completion the particular commodity or service. In modern industry, however, there is very little demand for the highly skilled work of the craftsman. The invention of machinery, the ever increasing division of labor, the massing of production in factories and the resultant growth of large-scale industry has made the craftsman all but obsolete. The consequence is that many craft unions have extended their jurisdiction beyond the bounds of craft. In the group which we have labeled craft union, we have attempted to be very liberal. Only a few of them are of the pure type, such as the sideographers, the wire-weavers, and horseshoers. Some of them have widened their jurisdiction to include machine as well as hand processes. Such, for instance, is the case of the coopers, whose jurisdiction now includes "the operation of coo-perage machinery of every description wherever used."

The organizations coming under the head of craft unions are:

- American Wire Weavers Protective Association.
- Coopers, International Union of North America.
- Diamond Workers Protective Union of America.
- International Association of Heat and Frost Insulation and Asbestos Workers.
- International Association of Sideographers.
- International Spinners Union.
- International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada.
- International Wood Carvers Association.
- Pattern Makers League of North America.
- Sheep Shearers International Union

of North America. Window Glass Cutters League. Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers International Union.

Multiple Craft Unions

Number—19 Membership—458,300

A multiple craft consists of a combination of allied skilled occupations needed to carry thru to completion a particular process.

The multiple-craft unions are an outgrowth of the craft unions. Many of them are the result of amalgamation of related crafts. One of the best examples of how these unions are constituted is to be found in the American Federation of Musicians. This union is composed of highly skilled men. Yet, it is not common for the player of one instrument to be able to operate (play) another. The violinist is a member of one craft and the trombonist of another. The fact that they all work together, however, makes it natural for them to combine their various crafts to form the multiple-craft union. To complete the picture, this union also includes the copyists, arrangers and orchestral librarians, all highly skilled craftsmen who work in conjunction with the orchestra.

The Journeymen Barbers International Union of America is another example of the multiple-craft unions. Its constitution provides that its membership "shall be composed of journeymen barbers, hair dressers, wavers, marcellers, cosmeticians and manicurists." Each of the enumerated occupations requires skill that comes only after a period of training. The skills are not interchangeable; yet several of them are necessary to the operation of a barber or beauty shop. The American Flint Glass Workers Union is another example of the multiple

craft. Its jurisdiction includes the "blower, presser, finisher, foot-finisher, mould-blower, gatherer, mould-maker, cutter, engraver or lamp worker." These are skilled occupations which, jointly, were needed in the industry.

The organizations coming under the head of multiple-craft unions are:

- Amalgamated Lithographers of America.
- American Flint Glass Workers Union of North America.
- American Federation of Musicians.
- Associated Actors and Artists of America.
- Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.
- Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.
- International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America.
- International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.
- International Metal Engravers Union.
- International Photo Engravers Union of North America.
- International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America.
- International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America.
- International Union of Operating Engineers.
- Journeymen Barbers International Union of America.
- Journeymen Stone Cutters Association of North America.
- National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.
- Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers International Union.
- United State, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association.
- Granite Cutters International Union of America.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Lack of Democracy Seen in AFL Rules

Typo Union Leader Hits Denial of Rights

By CHARLES CAMPBELL

IN view of the sharp criticism made by A. F. of L. leaders, and in most cases quite justifiably, of the undemocratic methods and procedures of the C.I.O., it would be well for the Federation leaders to look closer to home and see to it that identically the same undemocratic abuses do not flourish in their own organization.

In an article in a recent issue of the Typographical Journal, official paper of the International Typographical Union, Woodruff Randolph, secretary-treasurer of the I. T. U., directs attention to certain actions of the A. F. of L. that must give rise to a great deal of foreboding. They concern the application of the notorious "Rule 2," which was adopted and approved by the A. F. of L. convention at Tampa in 1936. This rule is as follows:

"Rule 2—State federations of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any state federation of labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any state federation of labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such state federation of labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council in the manner provided for in Rule 1 above for dealing with national and international unions."

HOW "RULE 2" WORKS OUT

Mr. Randolph cites two examples of how the application of this rule is working to the detriment of the members of the A. F. of L. The first is the case of the Cascade County (Montana) Trades and Labor Assembly, which passed a resolution opposing any amendments to the Wagner Labor Relations Act and asking for the retention of D. W. Smith on the National Labor Relations Board.

President Green, in a letter addressed to the Cascade County body, stated as follows: "The Executive Council (of the A. F. of L.) directed me to call upon your Trades and Labor Assembly to rescind the resolution. . . . The Council was very firm in its opinion that unless you took such action, I would be under obligation to deal vigorously with your central body. I must therefore ask you to advise me what you will do. Will you rescind the resolution, or will you refuse to do so? In case of your refusal, I will then understand your attitude, and I will take such action as is deemed necessary. . . . even tho it may be necessary for us to revoke your charter and reorganize the central body. . . ." Thus, as Randolph says, all legislative freedom is snatched from a local central body under threat of extreme and dire penalty.

The second case cited by Randolph is one in which a member of the I. T. U. was elected a delegate to the Georgia Federation of Labor convention. He was refused a seat because he was a member of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and,

when he protested, he was told that he would be seated when he repudiated that membership. He refused and was not seated.

This is a direct result of a letter sent out over the name of the Executive Council, and signed by William Green, to all national and international unions state labor federations, city central bodies, and directly affiliated local unions. The letter, after a brief discussion of Labor's Non-Partisan League, states:

"If any American Federation of labor unions, central labor bodies or state federations of labor have accepted membership in Labor's Non-Partisan League, they are directed by the Executive Council to immediately withdraw and sever all connections with Labor's Non-Partisan League. . . ."

"Central bodies, state federations of labor and federal labor unions which refuse to carry out these instructions sent by direction of the Executive Council subject themselves to the revocation of their charters for insubordination to the rulings, laws and principles of the American Federation of Labor."

QUESTION OF SPECIAL TAX

In a previous article, Randolph had commented on the discussion that has been raging in the I. T. U. about the threat of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to suspend the I. T. U. In 1936, the I. T. U. membership, in a national referendum, voted 36,760 to 12,101 against paying the special assessment of the A. F. of L. to fight the C.I.O. The A. F. of L. Executive Council thereupon stated that, unless this decision was reversed, the I. T. U. would be suspended from the Federation.

The whole question will come before the annual convention of the I. T. U., which will be held at Fort Worth in August. Claude Baker, president of the union, has promised the A. F. of L. that he will propose a new referendum, but it is being freely predicted that he will meet defeat, as supporters of Randolph will probably be in the majority.

It remains to be seen if the A. F. of L. Executive Council will carry out this ruinous policy. We earnestly hope it will not.

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Labor Against War

By WILLIAM GREEN

(We publish below an editorial in the May 1939 issue of the American Federationist, official paper of the A. F. of L. William Green is editor of the Federationist.—Editor.)

OUR political institutions are controlled by democratic ideals and have grown out of a deep-rooted desire for freedom. Independence from foreign control and the principle of representation made possible the development of political democracy within our boundaries. As a new and relatively unimportant nation, we were not concerned with the struggle for territorial expansion and aggrandizement that harried the Old World. Of world powers, we asked only to be let alone to develop in peace and freedom. In our own affairs, we have found that political democracy must go hand in hand with economic democracy. Doubtless this is a general principle.

In our federal government, it has seemed wise to establish and maintain a balance of power between the Executive and Congress. We have tried to maintain the same balance in the field of foreign policy, with Congress deciding policies and the President dealing with specific situations in principle and to change our foreign policy. Any change may add to war fears. American labor wants peace—not war. We therefore ask that the present Neutrality Act be continued in effect.

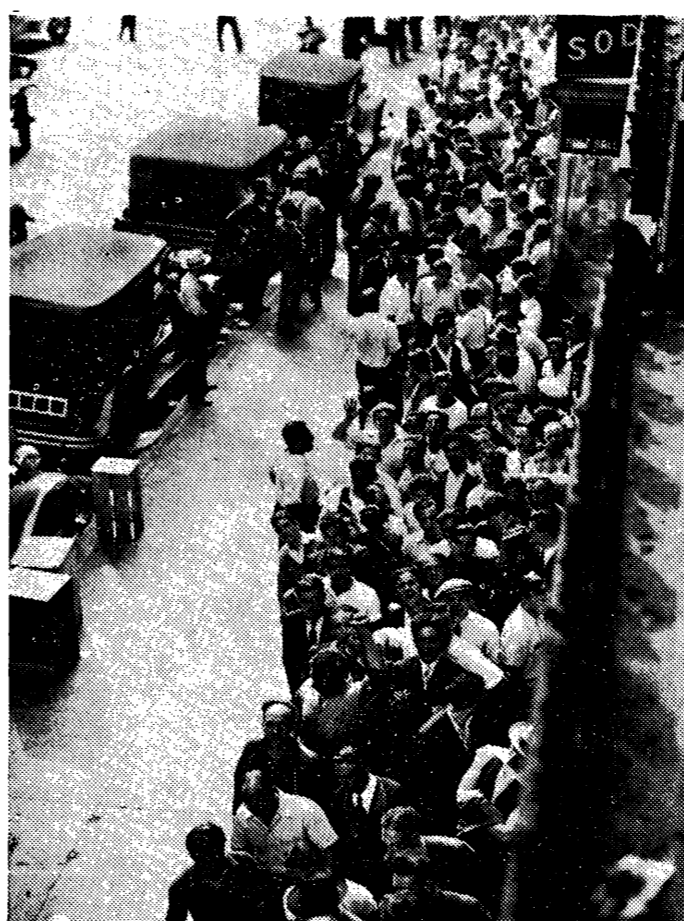
In the present difficult international situation, strong pressure has been behind a proposal to increase the President's authority and responsibility under the Neutrality Act. The purpose is to make possible quick and efficient action in crisis. To follow this course is to adopt the procedure of foreign countries and to abandon the safeguards of our traditional democracy without assuring peace in the world.

For centuries, the nations of Europe have relied upon force in their relations with other countries. Power-politics still dominate this field. Some countries have their spheres of influence defined and established; others are less fortunate, or more recently set to the task of developing power. Foreign influence rests on territories and armaments. If the United States is asked to participate in Europe and matters, we must come into the zone of power-politics after policies have been determined, commitments have been made, and a crisis reached. Our interference would mean nothing for peace. The aggressor nation of one generation defends the status-quo of the next.

The welfare of the United States is tied up with the progress of democracy in living and we have found that political democracy is inseparable from economic democracy. Any basis for cooperation between the United States and other governments for world peace must be in accord with these basic principles so that there might be mutual understanding and joint action for industrial and political democracy for all nations.

We are not insensitive to the struggle going on in the world, but amending our Neutrality Act in such a crisis would not express our desire for world peace but would be interpreted as partisan action. American labor is profoundly concerned for peace and for developing the practices and agencies for maintaining peace between nations. In the light of World War experience, we hold that war settles nothing and that future generations should not be asked to serve in the trenches. The Neutrality Act of 1937 is a defense against entanglements in the disputes of other countries.

IN SEVENTH YEAR OF NEW DEAL



Some of the 6,000 men who waited in line to apply for the 58 jobs open to city chauffeurs. Many of them waited in line all night and a number said they had lost their jobs with W.P.A. in the recent slashes.

Protest Rule in Millinery Union

Progressives Charge Misuse of Power

(We publish below a communication from a veteran trade unionist, an outstanding member of Millinery Workers Local 24.—Editor.)

New York City. Editor, Workers Age:

MAY I request you to give some publicity to an intolerable condition existing in Millinery Workers Union Local 24, an organization with a progressive membership and a good record in the labor movement, whose name is now being besmirched by the grossly undemocratic conduct of its administration, of which, incidentally, Alex Rose, state secretary of the American Labor Party, is secretary-treasurer.

Four workers, members of the union for years, have been deprived of their right to speak at local or other union meetings for three years and fined \$25 each (the fine was later suspended), for the terrible

"crime" of writing a letter to the president of the International union, Max Zaritsky, on the evils in the millinery trade and the problems of the union, and then giving a copy of this letter to each delegate of the International convention, recently held in New York. If this is not an example of the disregard of democracy and the gross misuse of power by union officials, I don't know what it is!

The executive board of Local 24 urged this punishment against the four workers—A. Shaykin, H. Schmuckler, D. Graff and H. Zukowsky—at a local membership meeting held on June 22. And the way this meeting was called and conducted is characteristic of the way in which our union is run. For the first time in the history of Local 24, there was no public notice given of the meeting. It is no exaggeration to say that the meeting was kept from the membership, only administration supporters receiving letters announcing it. At the meeting, the report of our International convention was made incidental to an incitement against the four members under charges for writing and handing a letter to our International President and the delegates.

The four members under charges naturally spoke in their own defense. They praised the work of the International convention and the stand it took on the Wagner Act, on unity between A. F. of L. and C.I.O., on fascism and anti-Semitism, and at the same time criticized the decision of the convention to do away with a

Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

I.F.T.U. AND RUSSIAN UNIONS

WE have three very good reasons for feeling neither sad nor downcast over the decision of the Zurich conference of the International Federation of Trade Unions to bar the Russian trade unions.

First, proposed opening of negotiations for admission of the Russian unions was predicated on the hectic S.O.S. and "Rally Round The Flag" cry which would have us believe there is strength in unity under all circumstances. The Popular Front, the result of this drive for "national unity," has run its course in France and Spain and has proved just the opposite. There is no strength in a unity which ties labor's hands and renders it helpless before its enemies—the ruling capitalist classes.

"We are at the parting ways," was the melodramatic cry of Leon Jouhaux of the French C.G.T., when he realized that the majority would

vote against admitting the Russian unions. "Labor unity," he continued, "will assure peace. If we want peace, then we must have unity. This is no matter of mere ideology. It is a problem of peace or war, life or death."

But this unity is to be achieved on the bases of the Popular Front ideology and its offspring—rabid war-mongering. Under such circumstances unity would assure not peace and life but war and death. Secondly, the sudden revival of interest in the affiliation of the Russian unions is traceable directly to the desire of the British trade-union leaders to do their bit in executing a difficult piece of British diplomacy. "One of our greatest tasks," said Walter Citrine sponsoring the Russian unions, "is to assist in the formation of a peace block with the U.S.S.R. I must underline the great importance we attach to collaboration with the U.S.S.R. and formation of a firm alliance of the peace-loving states."

This remark is a dead give-away. It gives the lie to Jouhaux's glibly tears about "peace and life." It exposes the true nature of this unity movement. It is a direct attempt to aid the British government in involving the Russian workers in the coming holocaust on the side of the "democratic" capitalist powers as against the fascist capitalist powers. Those who aid this scheme thereby become the recruiting agents and the drill sergeants for the next war.

In addition, the spectacle of outstanding leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions openly serving as messenger boys for the British Foreign Office, is enough to fill one with disgust. It is difficult enough for the trade unions to retain their freedom in the face of the constant and subtle efforts of even the so-called "democratic" governments to curb and limit the traditional rights of unionism. With the trade-union leaders lending themselves to the task of harnessing the labor movement to government policy, the danger becomes a thousand times greater.

Finally, even if the above considerations were not present, there is still the problem of whether a federation of free trade unions can afford to open its doors to organizations which are today trade unions in name only, whose functions have long ceased to resemble even faintly the protection of working-class interests. Even criticism as to lack of attention to working-class problems has become a state function in the Soviet Union, so complete is the rule of the state over these organizations, so thoro the repression of every dissident opinion within them.

A free trade-union movement cannot admit into its ranks an organization such as the Russian unions without itself becoming infected with the virus of totalitarianism and destroying itself as an effective spokesman for free and unfettered trade unionism.

Information, Please!

"Hearst Tries Arrests To Break Strike Spirit," reads headline in the C.I.O. News. Will whoever it may concern please deny the report that a resolution condemning Hearst, presented by John Brophy at the recent meeting of the C.I.O. Executive Board in Washington, D.C., was withdrawn after a speech by an outstanding leader of the C.I.O. to the effect that Hearst was now "playing ball" with the C.I.O.

Cost of Dual Unionism

The Progressive Miner reports that "the officials of the United Mine Workers of America have done themselves proud in negotiating a working agreement for the mine workers of the state of Tennessee. Particularly is this true at Mt. Airy, where the U.M.W. of A. leaders signed a contract on June 12 with the Pikeville Coal Company, Inc., providing for an 8-hour day and a wage scale ranging from \$2.00 to \$3.60 per day."

Nothing could better illustrate the menace and cost of dual unionism than this item. The mighty U.M.W.A. rushed in to sign a contract of this sort, obviously for fear that its competitor in the field would underbid it and get the contract.

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MILLINERY WORKER

One Year of the Federal Wage-Hour Act

Labor Backs Law But Criticizes Administration

By ARTHUR GREEN

ONE year ago, the Fair Labor Standards Act (wage-hour law) was adopted by Congress and signed by the President. During the past twelve months, we have had our first experience with governmental controls of this sort. Of course, there once were many N.R.A. codes which attempted to regulate wages and hours in their own field, but this is the first general statute of its kind in the history of this country.

What does the record of one year show?

The tasks of the law are, very briefly this: On October 24, 1938, all wage-earners except those specifically exempted from the act were to be paid at least 25 cents an hour and work no more than 44 hours a week, special compensation for overtime.

Then, minimum pay rates are to rise to 30 cents an hour next October 24 and to 40 cents an hour in October 1945, for industries that can "afford" it.

Maximum hours of work are to shorten to 42 next October and to 40 hours a week on October 24, 1940.

In addition, the law provides for special committees for each industry to recommend appropriate industry wage scales. The law also carries a federal ban against child labor.

So a triple task faced Elmer F. Andrews, Wage-Hour Administrator, and his staff: First, there had to be arrangements and interpretive bulletins for covering under the act the 11,000,000 wage earners whom it affects.

Second, there was the work of organizing industry committees.

Third, the law had to be enforced. How the wage-hour law is gradually opening to cover more workers each year is briefly described.

Raises in pay to 25 cents an hour came on October 24 to 300,000 wage-earners who were making less than that minimum. The number of wage earners who receive raises due to the law swells to some 550,000 next Fall when a 30-cent minimum takes effect. Some 1,418,000 persons were paid less than 40 cents an hour last Fall and could theoretically be raised to that figure in 1945.

A larger number of persons are affected by the hours provisions of the law. The work-week was cut down to 44 hours last October 24 for 1,384,000 wage-earners. The number benefiting from a shorter work-week swells to 1,751,000 next Fall when the legal work-week is chopped to 42 hours, and some 2,184,000 are likely to find themselves working less hours when the 40-hour week goes into effect on October 24, 1940.

The seemingly large numbers of workers are affected, yet the wage-hour law really is limited in scope. It covers only about one-third of all wage-earners and will give higher pay or shorter hours to no more than one worker in every 15. This year only one in every 20 is directly affected by the law's limitation on hours and minimum level for wages.

In a few important industries, however, the law has brought action looking toward establishment of minimum wages that are considerably above the previous minimums. Committees for seven industries have been formed, and some of them have made recommendations to the Administrator which he is reviewing at public hearings, as the law requires.

The significance of these industry-committee recommendations is that in many cases they go rather further than the law itself prescribes. Covered by some of these committee actions are thousands of better-paid workers who are not touched by the lowest minimum standards written into the act.

A committee for the cotton-textile industry, for instance, has recommended a minimum wage of 32½ cents an hour for the 365,000 employees of this industry. Raises would come to 120,000 cotton-textile workers, chiefly in the South, by dint of this minimum.

Hearings are now taking place on the recommendation, and into the debate has been injected the usual rivalry between factories of the North and the South. A majority of the committee recommends a flat wage, with no differential for southern workers, while the old N.R.A. codes gave the South a minimum 2½ cents lower.

Raised by these hearings is a problem that is expected to face the regulators of wages and hours again and again: How to reconcile rivalry and claimed differences in living conditions between North and South with the objective of a flat nationwide minimum wage.

The problem is expected to recur when hearings begin on recommendations of the wool industry committee. A minimum wage of 36 cents an hour for the industry's 150,000 employees is asked. This would raise the pay for 13,000 workers. Four committee members dissented.

Unanimous was the apparel industry's recommendation of minimums ranging from 32½ cents to 40 cents an hour for work on different types of apparel. Some increases in pay would result for 200,000 of the industry's 600,000 wage earners.

On Administrator Andrews's desk already are recommendations of the hosiery industry committee. Public hearings have been completed and only the Administrator's favorable decision is needed before the pay scales go into effect. Of the 140,000 employed by the industry, 16,000 workers in the full-fashioned hosiery branch would be raised to 40 cents an hour, while 30,000 working on seamless hosiery would be lifted to 32½ cents an hour.

Tho the hat industry has yet to make a recommendation, the millinery industry has asked approval of a 40-cent minimum wage scale. Employed in this work are 43,000 persons, and 2,300 would get more money. A committee for the shoe industry, which numbers 215,000 wage-earning employees, is still meeting.

A very great deal of work in setting up industry committees still remains to be done. Present committees account for less than two million of the eleven million workers covered by the act. Only seven of the country's many industries affected by the law have formed committees.

Enforcement of this first wage-hour law of its kind has made relatively little progress, to an extent because Administrator Andrews has had only 114 inspectors in the field and 13 lawyers, only 7 of whom are available for litigation work.

The start of a new fiscal year in July brings more funds for enforcement. Accordingly, a network of 14 regional offices will be opened shortly, 16 eventually. This, it is hoped, will speed up enforcement of the law.

During the past year, the Wage-Hour Division instituted 22 civil cases and 18 criminal cases to enforce the law.

Its score in the courts has not been unfavorable. In 16 of the 22 civil suits, the court granted injunctions ordering the defendants to stop violating the wage-hour act. Five injunctions sought by the wage-hour officials are still pending, while the outcome of one decision is in doubt.

Criminal cases so far show a record favorable to the Wage-Hour Administrator. Of 18 such cases, 10 defendants have pleaded guilty and paid fines running as high as \$44,000.

Courts have fined manufacturers for not producing records requested by the government and for not keeping the proper records of hours worked and wages paid, as the law requires.

On the other side of the ledger, there is a temporary injunction against the Wage-Hour Administration pending in Florida, where citrus growers have challenged a regulation of the Administrator.

Reviewing the record of one year, organized labor is not overly enthusiastic about it. Tho, of course, endorsing the wage-hour law and determined to protect it, labor is very much dissatisfied with its administration. As a matter of fact, immediately after the convention of the T.W.O.C. in Philadelphia some months ago, Sidney Hillman went to the White House to make his complaints directly to Roosevelt. In labor circles, Administrator Andrews is assailed as a "procrustean" and is charged with "yielding to the pressure of the reactionary employers" and failing to take active steps to raise wages above the 25-cent an hour minimum within the limits of his discretion. Trade unionists are up in arms too because thousands of their complaints have gone unheeded; because the enforcement machinery remains woefully weak and nothing is done about it; because committees to formulate wage-hour standards have been set up in only seven industries, with not one wage-hour schedule issued; and finally because Andrews recommended a list of amendments to the act, without even so much as consulting the unions. These amendments, trade-union spokesmen declare, set up a number of new exemptions which labor vigorously opposes. The law as it stands, it is contended, is already too limited. Particularly are the unions incensed at Andrews's proposal to exclude Puerto Rico from the operations of the act, which would undoubtedly tend to make that land even more of a sweatshop stronghold than it is today.

Lauck Urges New Industrial Plan

Must Go Beyond New Deal, He Declares

Washington, D. C. — A crisis worse than that of 1932-33 may occur unless the government takes action to control the nation's basic industries under a program of economic planning, William Jett Lauck, acting chairman of the American Association for Economic Freedom, said last week.

"The problems now pressing for solution are more fundamental than those which prevailed in 1932-33," he declared. "On one hand, we have the leaders of our old system of finance-capitalism using their full powers to reestablish pre-depression conditions so that they may wield their disastrous dominance over American industrial and political life."

"On the other hand, we find that the New Deal, so far as fundamental, constructive policies are concerned, is at an impasse. It has come to a dead-end in that it now has nothing to offer which enables us to contemplate the possibility of a future in which there will be assurance of reemployment, economic well-being, and genuine democracy."

Lauck proposed a plan which has been drafted in a bill to be known as the "Industrial Reconstruction Act" and will be introduced into Congress this session.

"The plan is predicated on the fundamental assumption that Amer-

PSOP Meet Defines Socialist Policy

French Militants Consolidate Forces

By G. SIMON

Paris, France. LAST month, the French Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.) held its second congress, attended by more than 180 delegates from 42 departments of France, at St. Ouen, a suburb of Paris. The P.S.O.P. was founded a year ago. It has had to face tremendous difficulties during the first year of its existence. This year was marked by a decline of the labor movement in France as well as internationally. The defeat of the Spanish revolution was felt by the French workers with particular intensity. The P.S.O.P. has shown that it is able to make a stand and fight against the stream, against the demoralization and the wave of chauvinism which have spread in the labor movement.

P.S.O.P. JOINS INTERNATIONAL CENTER

The congress decided by a majority of 121 to 41, with 25 abstentions, to affiliate with the new International Revolutionary Marxist Center. This decision will be greeted by the members of the I.L.L.A. with particular satisfaction. The affiliation of the P.S.O.P. will considerably strengthen the new Center and will certainly prove to be very helpful both from the point of view of the further development of the Center as well as of the P.S.O.P. itself.

The congress approved the participation of the P.S.O.P. in the activities of the International Workers Front Against War and emphasized the necessity for the Front to establish contacts with pacifist and other anti-war movements of a mass character.

The debates at the congress centered around a discussion between the majority of the delegates and certain delegates who either were former members of the French Trotskyist organization or were more or less influenced by the Trotskyist policy. In view of the fact that certain among the former

members of the Trotskyist party had shown that they had entered the P.S.O.P. only for the purpose of doing factional work there on behalf of the Fourth International, the congress adopted a resolution against such disruptive activities. The majority of the delegates felt very keenly that the methods of Trotskyism were of the same origin and character as those of Stalinism. They resented the Trotskyist spirit of sectarianism and its pretensions to infallibility, its methods of factionalism, of disruptive work directed from the outside, and its slanderous attacks upon revolutionaries who happen to disagree with the Oracle of Comintern. In opposing the Trotskyist conceptions, the delegates were inspired by the consideration that their party must strive to preserve every possibility of influencing the broad masses of the working class and that the Trotskyist policy could only have the effect of destroying all such possibilities. In an article on "P.S.O.P. and Trotskyism" written after the congress, Marceau Pivert, secretary of the P.S.O.P., says that "the revolutionary party which the proletariat of this country needs at the moment . . . must be an organization sensible of the profound changes which take place at the present time in the very midst of the popular masses." And Pivert emphasizes the necessity for the revolutionary vanguard to preserve "all possibilities of direct contact with the broadest strata of workers and peasants."

ATTITUDE TO TRADE UNIONS

A resolution was also adopted by the congress stating that the members of the party must respect the independence and the autonomy of the trade-union movement. The resolution proposes that the party form sub-committees for the study of the great problems of the economic struggle of the working class. But, says the resolution, the results of the work of these sub-committees should not be considered as rules to be applied mechanically on the trade-union field; the party should not impose upon its members a discipline of voting on instructions in the meetings of the unions nor should it organize them in party fractions inside the unions. On the other side, the resolution declares that the party maintains its right to express independently its own position on political issues, even if the unions have taken decisions upon these issues. Furthermore, the party reserves its right to take all necessary measures against those of its members who, in their union activities, defend or propagate principles which contradict the program of the party or party decisions applying this program. The congress urged all members of the party to join the minority movements in the unions which are fighting for a revolutionary regeneration of the C.G.T.

A minority draft resolution, which was rejected by the congress, proposed the creation of party "nuclei" inside the unions and a fight against the conception of trade-union independence. The adoption of this resolution would not only have given the trade-union officialdom a very comfortable pretext for expelling every P.S.O.P. member from the unions because the constitution of the C.G.T. expressly forbids factions and requires from its members the recognition of the principle of the independence of the unions. It would also have completely isolated the P.S.O.P. members in their unions from many trade unionists who are dissatisfied with the policy of class collaboration professed and practised by the C.G.T. leadership. These workers are largely fed up with the methods of the Stalinist fractions in the unions and with the attempts of the Stalinists to transform the unions into subordinate organs of their party.

We think that what is wrong is not trade-union independence as such but the false anarcho-syndicalist interpretation of it according to which the existence of trade unions makes superfluous political parties of the working class. And we think that the P.S.O.P. congress was right in taking a decision which, on the one side, guarantees that party members maintain in their union activities the principles and the policy of the party but, on the other side, gives the members of the unions the assurance that the P.S.O.P. is not going to adopt the Stalinist methods of deciding upon practical union questions behind their back in meetings of party committees.

ON THE WAR QUESTION

The congress adopted a resolution on the struggle against the danger of war which states that the "contingency and, if possible, the strengthening of the class struggle is one of the factors able to defer" the outbreak of war and emphasizes the necessity of fighting against militarism and for the defense of the standards of living of the working masses. The resolution also denounces the conception that the workers should make sacrifices, unilateral or otherwise, for the sake of the so-called "national defense." It emphasizes that the P.S.O.P. is prepared to collaborate with all organizations who are against "national unity" and war preparations; it makes clear that such collabora-

(The third article in this series by Jay Lovestone on "Tomorrow's War" will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

Tomorrow's World War—When?

(Continued from page 1)

eventuality. However, should the Nazis seek to grab the Polish Corridor, the likelihood of the big explosion would be infinitely more serious. Such a move would arouse beyond measure the chauvinist ire of Polish imperialism. If unchallenged or successful, it would almost insure the doom of Polish imperialist aspirations and perhaps even independence.

But why has British imperialism become so excited over the safety of Poland, Rumania, and Greece? Why the sudden solicitude? Certainly it isn't because England loves these peoples or admires their cultures. Even the very heavy British investments in Poland and the importance of Greece to the Empire's lifeline do not in themselves explain Britain's present determination. There is much more involved here. Should Nazi imperialism succeed in gobbling up these "guaranteed" countries, it would be provided with such an abundance of raw materials that it would no longer have to fear the stifling efficiency of a British naval blockade. To rob England of this prime weapon or even to undermine its deadliness would spell a staggering loss of prestige and incalculable disaster to Great Britain.

WITHIN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

In fact, the second world war has been going on for some time. What

we have had in the devouring of Czechoslovakia, in the bloody invasion of Spain, and in the two years of fighting in China has been a major war in every horrible respect. But no one can fix the day when this war will spread to involve the biggest "civilized" powers in Europe. It would be suicidal, on this account, to lull oneself into senseless security. Formalities or their lack cannot extinguish the embers of conflict—nor prevent their bursting into flames and bringing affairs to the melting point. In comparison with the complexities of today, the problems of the last world war appear to be of pastoral simplicity. Nowadays we are living in a period when war comes to nations even more often than nations go to war.

More than that, lots of war moves that once came after a formal declaration now occur long before war is officially proclaimed. Today, we witness the withdrawal of ambassadors by nations at peace with each other; the reorganization of governments in preparation for war; the cancellation of relations in the field of sports as part of psychological preparation. And what unrelenting campaigns in the war of nerves! Twenty-five years ago, conscription came because Britain was at war. Now England's manpower is conscripted because the country is no longer at peace. No wonder Earl De La Warr, Minister of Education, could advise a group of

French professors on an Easter visit to England to "prepare for the next peace!"

WHEN PEACE VANISHES

Only deliberate indifference to reality can keep us from seeing the war purposes of the increasingly insidious control of the press through the world. Of course, the control of news means the control of views. In every land we see a systematic wiping out of the rights and standards of the working people as an integral part of feverish, gigantic war preparations.

In the present war crisis, treaties mean even less than a quarter of a century ago when their value hovered around zero. Let any one forget: At that time Rumania and Italy were bound by treaty to Germany but fought alongside of the Allies against Kaiser imperialism. How foolish it would be for any one to put any stock in these treaties, pacts, alliances and guarantees of today! No one can repeat too often the great truth that nothing genuine, least of all genuine peace, can be forged in the chancelleries of the world. With all that, inestimable import must be attached to Roosevelt's letter to Hitler and Mussolini as definite notice of early American participation on the side of the Anglo-French block. Here is unmistakable notice, not after three years of bitter warfare but well in advance

Beating the War Drums

"IN the last analysis, opinion in America was divided . . . upon lines of wealth and education; it was the country clubs against the country . . ."

"Starting as early as August 1914, prominent men of America hastened to join [the Allied] cause . . . Industrialists and financiers were by one took up the cudgels for the belligerents with whom they were doing so much profitable business. Preceding them came the imposing array of American society women . . . Politicians, with the instinct of the chameleon, caught and reflected the popular shades of opinion. College professors and school-teachers repeated with a great show of wisdom the arguments which had originated in Wellington House or in La Maison de la Presse (the English and French propaganda centers respectively.—Editor). Close behind the educators came the ministers, and before long the American clergy were preaching a holy war, enlisting God and the Bible in the cause which newspapers told them was righteous. Just as strange as the enlistment of the clergy was the enlistment of liberals (throughout the country. Usually such individuals spend most of their time talking about the value of peace. When it came down to hard realities, a large number of these people were found . . . assisting in establishing a climate of opinion favorable to war . . ."

"The success of the British propagandists corroborates the statement that there are no limits to the field of propaganda. The only restrictions are on the manner of approach. The wealthy can be persuaded to support a cause by getting them to invest their money in it; educators can be controlled simply thru controlling their reading matter; liberals and preachers are the easiest of all to enlist by the mere introduction of an idealistic flavor to the propaganda . . ."

"In contradistinction to the easy surrender of American leaders to war hysteria was the stubborn pacifism of the great mass of the people. The passionate belligerence of many prominent Americans was not shared by the common people . . . They did not desire to take part in the war . . . The plain people clung to the belief that the war was not our fight and that the United States should remain neutral. Sir Gilbert Parker's official and unofficial agents in this country (the British propagandists.—Editor) did all they could to label this pacifism contemptible and the most patriotic trend of thought which was current during that period and British propagandists themselves conceded that it was 'inaccurate to identify pacifism as pro-Germanism.' They had to admit that the pacifist sentiment was 'a genuine American article.' — H. C. Peterson: 'Propaganda for War' (1939).

Letters to the Editor

On Socialist Unity

Seconds Round-Table Proposal

Newark, N. J.
Editor, Workers Age:

As a former member of the Socialist Party, I want to commend you for the discussion of socialist unity that has been running in your columns for the past year. It seems to me that if the other radical papers followed your example and took up this question seriously, it would be for the welfare of socialism all around.

No one can read the letters in your columns or think this problem over seriously without feeling keenly how disastrous the existing state of division in socialist ranks is. I am not one of those who say: "We all want the same thing, don't we? So there aren't any differences worth mentioning." I know that there are differences that are important, but it seems to me that two things should be clear: (1) that there is enough agreement to make socialist unity possible (unless we think in terms of a "monolithic" party with only one permitted opinion, which I'm sure we don't); and (2) the differences on theory and policy could surely best be discussed and ironed out in a united party.

I would second the proposal of a recent correspondent in your columns for a sort of round-table discussion by representatives of all socialist tendencies—the Socialist Party, your organization, the Socialist-Democratic Federation, the Trotskyites, even the C.P., only I'm sure they won't accept—to bring the real problems out into the open and see where we agree and where we disagree.

Doubts Results Of Discussion

New York City.
Editor, Workers Age:

I have not been a member of any political organization for many years, altho I voted for Foster in 1932 and for Thomas in 1936. So I guess I am an "independent radical." And I want to say that unless there is some people like me, who are loyal socialists but not affiliated—and there must be thousands of them—never become a real active part of the movement. But if unity is established, I for one would be glad to work actively for such a united socialist party, and I am sure the others would also.

You are doing a real service with the forum on socialist unity you are running in your paper. But I must confess that I don't think you are getting anywhere with it, up to the present at least. Perhaps you are making an impression on the rank and file, but how about the leaders of the other organizations? They don't seem to be sympathetic to the idea at all, and as long as they remain opposed, how can socialist unity be brought about? It's a pity too, because it seems to me that unless we have unity mighty soon, we're not going to have any movement to unify.

JOSEPH GLANZ

Urges Less Stress On Stalinism

New York City.
Editor, Workers Age:

I TAKE it for granted that the goal of all socialist or communist parties and groups is the abolition of the profit system and with it, hate, greed and poverty, and the establishment of a society of the brotherhood of man, where love of our fellow-men shall be the theme and the guiding force for our actions. With this same common goal, there should be no valid reason why all these groups and parties should not be united into one large, powerful organization. The sooner it is accomplished the

better it will be for all of us.

In the meantime, I think we have fallen into a grave, dangerous error. We spend less and less time and space to talk about and teach socialism in our press and in our meetings, and more and more time and space on how to combat Stalinism and the Stalinists. How many of us individual members have fallen into the same error? I remember that I used to make a post of myself talking socialism and telling what a wonderful country and world we would have under socialism. Whenever, in a discussion, a question would arise about "overproduction," unemployment, machine displacement of labor, housing, electric power, to name but a few, I was ready, willing and eager to show that these problems could not be solved under capitalism, but that it was only under a socialist system that they could be satisfactorily solved. Now I find myself falling into the habit of dwelling entirely on Stalinism and its evils, and forgetting all about socialism.

How many others are falling into the same attitude? I think the number is entirely too many. Instead of teaching and preaching socialism, we are degenerating into an anti-Stalinist organization. We do, of course, carry on our work in the trade unions, but here, too, our anti-Stalinism is reflected in our work and we spend entirely too much time in fighting the Stalinists. There is no doubt but that the Stalinists with their opportunism and their despicable tactics are to a great extent responsible for this, but we must take a great deal of the responsibility.

I believe that one of the reasons that we have fallen into this anti-Stalinist trap is because our numbers are small and our efforts do not seem to accomplish much. It is the same with other organizations. I am convinced that unity of these organizations, bringing with it a much stronger and more powerful organization, will enable us to forget a great deal of our bitterness toward the Stalinists and concentrate on building an organization that will be able to go a long way toward reaching our goals of averting war and achieving socialism.

CHARLES McDOWELL

W.P.A. Strikes Extended

(Continued from page 1)
hundred heads of international unions, stated that ultimate solution of the conflict would have to come from action by Congress, but that under all circumstances union scales would be preserved. Speakers at this conference proclaimed solidarity with the striking workers and expressed bitter resentment against the Administration for its anti-labor attitude.

A delegation of A. F. of L. officials, headed by President Green, conferred with the President last week and laid before him a proposal that prevailing wage rates be restored on projects already started or authorized, while additional W.P.A. construction projects be held up until the relief act was amended. No definite answer to these proposals was forthcoming from the White House.

Contending that President Roosevelt possessed the necessary power to restore the prevailing wage under existing law, Senator Murray and a group of legislators attending a conference called by him announced that they would cease their efforts to get amendments adopted by Congress before adjournment. Some of the Murray group said that they were "embarrassed" by "conditions resulting from strikes on W.P.A. projects," but it was understood that Administration pressure was having its effect.

(Read the editorials on pages 1 and 4.—Editor.)

Workers Age

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

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

WILL HERBERG, Editor

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VOL. 8. SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1939 No. 29

GOVERNMENT THREATENS WAGES

PRESIDENT Green has just concluded his conference with over a hundred heads of international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. called in order to consider ways and means of exerting the full economic and political power of the Federation to obtain prompt Congressional action to right the outrageous wrongs done to the masses of the jobless and to all labor by the 1940 relief bill.

What the Federation chiefs have decided to do we report and comment on elsewhere in this paper. Here it is only necessary to say that the energetic way in which the A. F. of L. unions in the building and construction trades have taken up the challenge flung down by a reactionary Congress and have called upon the workers to strike to protect their wage scales, undeterred by the dishonest hue-and-cry about "striking against the government," gives us good reason to believe that President Green and his associates will rise to their responsibility and meet the expectations of the millions who look to them anxiously for guidance. It is too bad that the A. F. of L., or for that matter, the C.I.O. as well, did not exert the full measure of its influence before the relief bill became law, for that was obviously the most favorable time to act. But better late than never. Even now it is still possible, thru militant, united and energetic action, to undo a great deal of the evil that Representative Woodrum and his colleagues did in those last few days of June.

The fight to restore prevailing (or union) wage scales on W.P.A. is not merely an effort to ward off injustice and hardship for hundreds of thousands on work-relief; it is above all a fight to preserve labor's hard-won gains, the fruits of years of sacrifice and struggle, the tangible results of union organization and collective bargaining over decades. For once union wage scales are broken down on W.P.A., how long will they remain untouched in private industry? And once union scales are destroyed in building and construction, how long will they prevail in other branches of industry? In literal truth, the abolition of the prevailing-wage guarantee in the relief act is a signal to the employing class of the entire country to attack and undermine wage and labor standards all along the line. It is obviously something that labor cannot permit to go unchallenged.

In this connection, we wish to direct attention to certain less obvious angles of the situation, which we feel are of prime significance. The attack on union wage scales in the building trades is not simply an aspect of the reactionary drive on relief in Congress in defiance of the Administration. It goes much deeper. Let us recall that President Roosevelt himself has more than once scored the "high" wage scales in building trades as a "deterrent" to recovery in the construction field. If they are improper in private industry, are they any more justified on W.P.A.? Let us note that in the midst of this conflict over wage scales in building, Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold saw fit to blazon forth to the world his intention of bringing nationwide and simultaneous anti-trust law prosecutions against restraints of trade in the building industry, restraints in which, he charges, the building-trades unions "often participate . . . and add new (ones) of their own." Let us above all not ignore the significance of the fact that Col. Harrington, a mere administrative official and therefore no more than an agent of the Executive, has been given a free hand in making public propaganda against the prevailing-wage system and in launching all sorts of dire threats against workers who dare to defend their standards.

In short, we believe that the elimination of the prevailing-wage guarantee from the 1940 relief bill was but one aspect of a broad, concerted campaign, being waged with the collusion or at least connivance of the Administration, to break down union wage scales in the building trades. It would be well for the leaders of the A. F. of L., upon whom so much responsibility falls at this critical moment, to look into this aspect of the situation.

DOUBLECROSS AS A SYSTEM

A CONSPIRACY is under way, we are warned by the strongly New Deal New York Post (July 13), to "emasculate the wage-hour law." "The scheme," the report continues, "is to bring moderate modifying amendments prepared by the (House) Labor Committee to the floor and then substitute for them the drastic amendments prepared by Representative Barden of North Carolina." Behind this move is a "newly organized big business-farmer-packer lobby."

And who do you suppose are the political agents of this reactionary lobby in Congress? Why—believe it or not!—none other than the "Democratic leaders of the House"! "Majority Leader Sam Rayburn," the Post story goes on, "has approved the plan and is working with the lobby. He recently attended breakfast meetings with its members to plan strategy."

President Roosevelt, we are assured, "is opposed to the Barden amendments." Strange, the President is "opposed" to the amendments but his key men in Congress are working hand in glove with the lobby to put them over!

The same puzzling state of affairs cropped up in the relief situation recently. President Roosevelt declared himself "opposed" to the Woodrum bill with all its iniquities, but somehow President Roosevelt's spokesmen in Congress, whom he is able to make do his bidding when it comes to neutrality or the war-referendum bill, paid no attention to his "opposition" in this case and helped engineer the bill thru the two houses. And now it appears that the President isn't so much "opposed" to the 1940 relief bill after all, at least not to the point of supporting the efforts to amend it made in Congress as a result of the widespread strikes on W.P.A.

At that time, we pointed out in these columns that the whole thing bore all the earmarks of a political doublecross, with the President voicing his "opposition" for public effect and his men in Congress doing the dirty work anyway.

Now we fear that something very much the same is happening in regard to the wage-hour law. In fact, we have the distinct impression that this system of political doublecross, with the division of labor between the President and his key men in Congress, is becoming a habit.

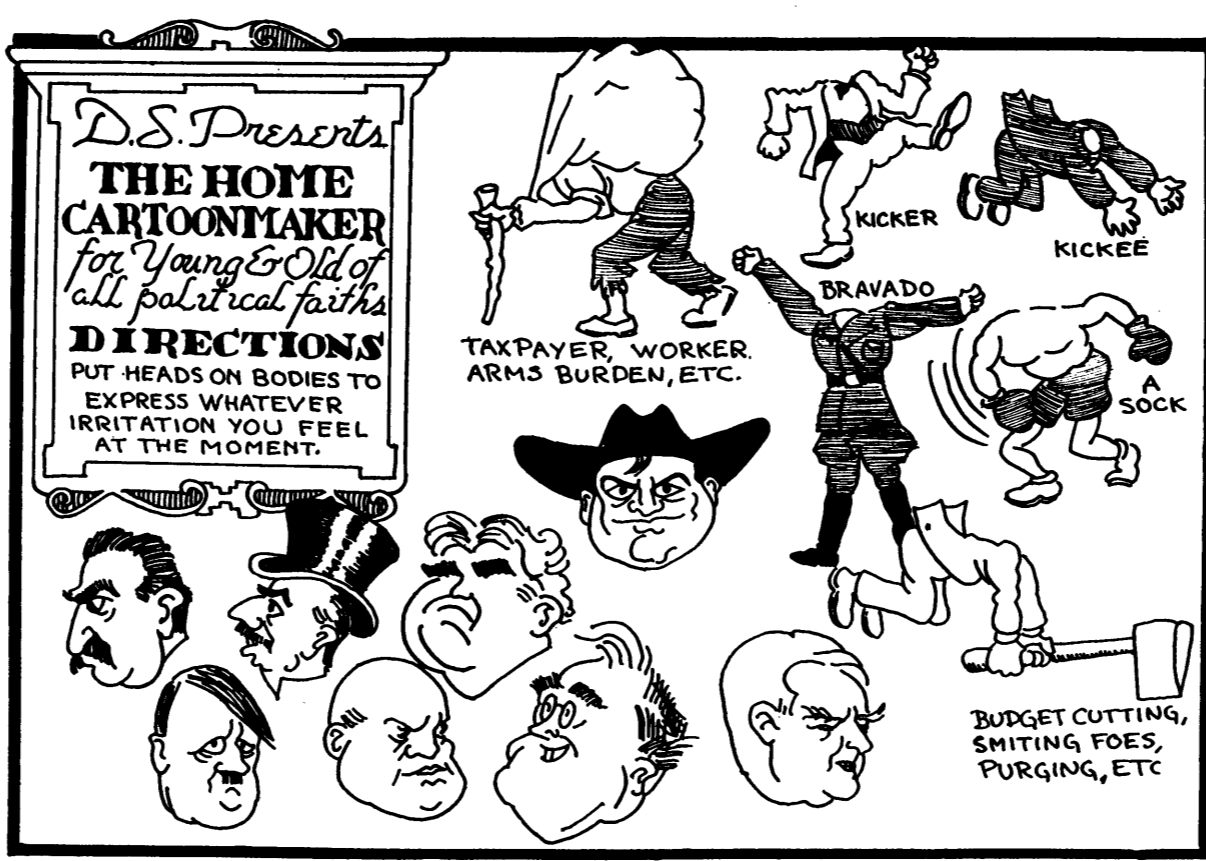
The Fourth New Deal—war-mongering in foreign affairs, the doublecross in domestic policy!

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's appointments have always been of great significance in indicating which way the political wind is blowing. Now he has appointed Paul V. McNutt as head of the new Federal Security Agency, one of the most important offices at the disposal of the White House.

And who is Paul V. McNutt? We will not recite his long and rather checkered career. We will merely recall that Mr. McNutt was governor of Indiana during the famous general strike in Terre Haute in July 1935. His ruthless suppression of civil liberties under cover of martial law and his use of state militia to crush the strikers gave currency to the phrase "Terre Haute" and gained for him the epithet of "Facist McNutt" in the labor and liberal press.

And now Paul V. McNutt is the New Deal's fair-haired boy!

CORRECTION: The editorial in Hoy, official paper of the Cuban Communist Party, quoted in these columns last week, was from the May 28, 1939 issue and not 1938, as mistakenly printed.—Editor.



Collectivism, Socialism and The Democratic Ideal

A Review of Alfred Bingham's "Man's Estate"

By LYMAN FRASER

MAN'S ESTATE, by Alfred Bingham. W. W. Norton and Company. New York, 1939.

THIS new book by the author of "Insurgent America, the Revolt of the Middle Classes," is a curious mixture of intellectual autobiography, social criticism and suggestions for a new social program to replace all other programs. It is sometimes penetrating and often suggestive, yet the final effect is one of utter confusion.

The confusion is partly an expression of the author's background. The son of wealthy and aristocratic parents, enjoying a youth of snobbery, luxury and ease, Bingham, shortly after graduating from college, became interested in social questions. At first, he was attracted by communism, but the attraction was short-lived. He drew back not only because of the inadequacies of Russian communism, but also because he is repelled by the masses. His approach to social problems is tainted with upper-class noblesse oblige—he is the sort of convert from the upper classes who, in the old Roman Empire, transformed the primitive Christianity of the masses into a new hierarchy organized in the Catholic Church, which oppressed the masses.

As part of his intellectual autobiography, Bingham surveys the Soviet Union, which he visited. His discussion of the economics of Soviet planning, although incomplete and marred by some weird errors, is very suggestive. His conclusion is an acceptance, by and large, of the economics of the Soviet Union (which in many respects he considers no great departure from capitalist economics), while rejecting Soviet politics and totalitarianism.

Bingham's approach to the Soviet Union is to create a point of departure for a new social program. Since he feels that Marxism in the way of such a program, he makes an effort to demolish Marxism. This is a really ludicrous performance. Bingham knows little of Marxist economics and he makes the most absurd elementary errors. Here is an example from his criticism of Soviet economics, which is related to the Marxist theory of value:

"They (the Soviet planners) apparently realized that if a billion rubles were being paid in wages in the construction of new plants, and another billion to workers manufacturing goods in existing plants (and if under the labor theory of value the consumer goods were valued at a billion rubles), no consumer goods would be available in the stores to match the first billion paid out to workers building the new plants."

It is a monstrous elementary error to assume that, under the labor theory of value, the output of consumer goods equals the labor (or wages) of the workers directly engaged in their production.

25 YEARS AGO

JULY 15-22, 1914

JUNE 16, 1914.—It is reported that Huerta took \$6,000,000 in drafts on Europe when he left Mexico City.

June 18.—Local 190 of the I.W.W. receives a charter from the I.L.G. W.U. and becomes Local 7 of Boston.

June 19.—Affidavits of convicts reveal wholesale drug traffic at Sing Sing.

June 19.—Over 300,000 workers strike in St. Petersburg. Barricades and street fighting. All labor papers suppressed.

June 20.—Baseball players of the American and National Leagues, organized in the Baseball Players' Fraternity, win salary demands after threatening to strike.

June 21.—Pravda, Bolshevik paper in St. Petersburg, suppressed. (It will not appear again until February 1917.)

gaged in their production, since the total value of the consumer goods must include the labor costs (or wages) of the machinery used up and its raw materials as well!

The whole of Bingham's criticism of Marxist economics is marred by such elementary errors, and by a misunderstanding of the general nature of Marxist economics. Bingham has two objectives. One is to destroy the validity of Marxism in order to prepare the way for an alternative program; many similar attempts in the past have always failed. He is also exercised by the fact that Marx throws no light on the economics of socialist production. But Marxist economics is the economics of capitalism, was never intended to be anything else, and to criticize it because it is not something else is nonsense.

But while Bingham's attempt to destroy Marxist economics is laughable, his effort to find something progressive in fascism is dangerous—an effort he also made in his previous book. Bingham is an anti-fascist; he wants a democratic collectivism, but he is so intent on basing his social program decisively on the middle classes that, when these classes create the monstrosity that is fascism, Bingham tries to find something progressive in that development. Hence his "Man's Estate" is strewn with such apologetic statements as the following:

"Fascism necessarily hastens the transition from a capitalist to a collectivist economy."

"Yet it is probably true that many elements in the Nazi regime saw in anti-Semitism more a means of hastening the transition from capitalism to a planned economy than a mere outlet for bestiality."

These statements, and many of a similar kind, betray a dangerous confusion. Fascism is not the transition to a planned economy or social-

ism; it becomes increasingly collectivist not for progressive purposes but largely for the reactionary purposes of maintaining fascist power and preparing for war. It is no accident that fascist ideology is a medley of the most reactionary ideas in the world today, including anti-Semitism, because fascism starts from reactionary premises and moves toward reactionary objectives. Bingham wants to convince himself that fascism moves toward socialism; it moves, however, toward the destruction of civilization. Only overthrow of fascism can prepare the way for socialism.

Bingham's main trouble is that he sees the world moving, under any and all forms of government, toward greater collectivism and state control of industry, and identifies that with a progressive planned economy. He is little concerned whether that movement toward collectivism is progressive or reactionary, democratic or totalitarian. Hence he can write the following absurdity: "Catholic doctrine was one of the elements driving fascism to the left. And it appears that the Church of Rome may become one of the important factors in the construction of a new socialist order rather than its enemy."

And so Bingham, who professes to aim for a democratic collectivism, or socialism, considers the Catholic Church, the oldest totalitarian institution in the world, to be a force working for the new social order! General Franco's hordes become the architects of a new civilization!

Yes, the whole world is moving toward collectivism. But we cannot unthinkingly go along mechanically with that movement, which of itself may move toward totalitarianism. Our job is selectively and creatively to influence that movement in the direction of democratic socialism.

Popular Pressure Killed FDR Neutrality Change

(Continued from page 1)

He says he will not go down the middle of the road, that he is more radical than Roosevelt and less of a weather-vane. You can guess, if you want to, whether this means Mr. McNutt will be vice-president or president in 1940. I don't know and few in Washington are putting up any money on the matter. But he is a man to watch.

STALINISTS RAGE AGAINST LAUCK

Lee Pressman and C.Pers in the C.I.O. are mad as hops about Jett Lauck's speech at the Virginia Institute and his article in the New Republic in which he, objectively, criticizes the New Deal for not going further along the road of economic planning. This is the Industrial Expansion Plan of the American Association for Economic Freedom on which Mordecai Ezekiel, some members of the Securities and Exchange Commission and others have been working. Lauck's Charlottesville speech was reported in such a way as to imply that he was speaking for John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. Lewis probably does not object because Lauck has influenced him a great deal in this direction, it is reported. But Pressman finds in this incident just one more evidence of an influence on Lewis which he most emphatically does not like. Furthermore, the Stalinists are all for the New Deal, as it now is, and they don't want to get mixed up in something or to have the C.I.O. mixed up in something which the Administration refuses to support.

C.I.O. AND BUILDING TRADES

It is said here that the C.I.O. will never enter the building-trades field because the treasuries of the A. F. of L. unions in this jurisdiction total about \$40,000,000. This money has not yet been used to fight the C.I.O. but if it were tapped for this purpose, the reserve of the miners,

the Amalgamated and all the other funds on which the C.I.O. could lay its hand would be pitiful in comparison.

A keen observer of the labor movement in the Middle West writes me: "The Stalinists must have put all the heat and honey they had on Lewis to get him to make that stupid and detrimental move against unity. Hillman is thereby behind the eight ball. From one prominent in the Amalgamated, I understand that Hillman is in a panic." Echoing Paul Porter's editorial in Kenosha Labor, "Why, Brother Hillman, don't you speak up and play the role in the C.I.O. which Dan Tobin has been playing in the A. F. of L.?"

PSOP Meet Frames Policy

(Continued from Page 3)

tion will in no way affect the activities of the party itself.

There were two resolutions dealing with the question of what the party should do if war breaks out; both resolutions received an equal number of votes. Therefore, the question will be submitted to the party membership for discussion. The question which aroused some differences of opinion was that of "revolutionary defeatism." The one draft resolution, moved by Guerin, Rous and Weitz, proposed the adoption of the "tactics of revolutionary defeatism." The other draft, proposed by Collinet, does not mention the word "defeatism," but states that in "war-time it is necessary for the working class to continue the class struggle against its own capitalism and to utilize the difficulties of the bourgeoisie in order to overthrow capitalism and to establish a workers and peasants government." But "revolutionary defeatism" does not mean anything

Talking It Over:

"Lenin in 1918"

by Bertram D. Wolfe

A HORRIBLE DISTORTION

I have just seen the new Soviet movie, "Lenin in 1918." It is an exciting and horrible thing. Done with more drama, containing more interest and excitement than "Lenin in October," of which it is the continuation, its cynical distortion of truth, rewriting of history and brutal forgery, are rendered all the more horrible because of the skill and artistry and appeal to human feeling that are enlisted in their service.

In "Lenin in October," Lenin is pictured as a sort of lovable old foxey grandpa who had to be told by the Central Committee and its "leader" Stalin (even then!) when to put on an overcoat, when to pull his head in out of a train window so as not to be recognized, and when to take some nourishment or rest. The central biographical episode was undramatic and on a diminutive scale: his return from Finland in disguise on a railway engine, and his participation in meetings preparatory to the taking of power. His chief desires seemed to be to look out the window of the locomotive in order to see the Russian land which he loves, and to get in touch with Stalin so that he can know what's what and what to do. The whole thing was rather dull and stupid and only mildly revolting.

But "Lenin in 1918" is done with greater skill, better acting, more intensity. The events are themselves exciting: the rising tide of counter-revolution and foreign intervention, the near strangulation of the contracting Soviet power, the carrying of the class war to the village, the first successes of the Red Army, the assassination of Uritsky, the shooting of Lenin by Dora Kaplan, the days of doubt for the life of Lenin, his escape from the very jaws of death. All of this is told in ways which make it highly stirring, except where the melodrama is overplayed, as in the stock-villain, dope-fied figure of Dora Kaplan, who always has a cigarette hanging limply from her mouth and is able to blow smoke out of both mouth corners, both nostrils, and probably both ears at once, without taking her never diminishing cigarette out of her mouth.

The political purpose of the film, and it is highly political, is to make propaganda for the following ideas: (1) Lenin was for ruthlessness in dealing with all enemies and opponents of the Soviet regime, "for iron, not for steel, pitilessness"; (2) he taught this to Stalin, which was the only thing he had to teach, as his bequest, since he seems to be dependent on Stalin for everything else; (3) these enemies include all other Bolshevik leaders, all those who took part in the revolution except (a) those who died too early to be reached by the purge, and (b) Joseph Stalin; (4) there were only two people of importance for Lenin and they were Maxim Gorki, whom he loved as a friend and tried to teach ruthlessness, and Joseph Stalin, whom he loved no less and admired and depended on completely and succeeded in teaching ruthlessness; and (5) Stalin was the organizer of the Red Army and its victories over intervention and counter-revolution, no one else mattering except Voroshilov who took orders from him.

The other leaders of the Russian revolution (Stalin was still a secondary figure in actuality) do not appear at all (with the exception of Dzerzhinski, Sverdlov, etc., who, having died in time, do not have to be purged or slandered, and Bukharin). Bukharin appears only as one whom Lenin despises and detests, whom he denounces before he is shot, who plots with an unnamed foreign power (at the trial it was England, but now Stalin may want an alliance with England), and who personally assists Dora Kaplan's bullet to find its mark in Lenin's body by deliberately misdirecting the Cheka officer who would otherwise arrive in time to save Lenin from the assassination. Lenin is so disgusted by the physical presence of Bukharin that, when he is lying on his bed of pain, he becomes dangerously excited with revulsion and dislike because Bukharin wants to stay in the sickroom. He wants to see only Gorki, Krupskaya and Stalin; but the slimy traitor Bukharin he cannot abide. (Actually, when he thought he was dying, what he wrote of Bukharin was: "Bukharin is not only the most valuable and best theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party.")

Zinoviev and Kamenev do not appear, except as names in the mouths of ambassadors, White Russians and other plotters, as "people who are with us in our plot." Lenin did not find out about them, nor Stalin until almost twenty years later when they themselves confessed, because at the time one of their agents in the Cheka shot the dying Chekist who knew all about them and was going to tell.

THE YEAR 1918

THE year 1918 was the year in which the Ukraine was occupied by Red troops under Antonov-Avseyenko and George Piatakov, who became the first head of the Ukrainian Soviets. But Piatakov's name is mentioned only as one of the arch-plotters against the Soviets and Lenin's life, Antonov-Avseyenko's not at all. (Both were executed by Stalin in the Great Purge). For the film the winning of the Ukraine does not exist, since Stalin could claim no part in it.

The year 1918 was also the year when Dutov was defeated by Bluecher in the Urals. (Where is Bluecher now?) When Kornilov and Kaledin were defeated by Avseyenko. The year when Trotsky organized a Red Army out of guerilla bands. The year when Putna and Tukhachevsky, under Trotsky's personal supervision on the spot, took Sviyask, Simbirsk and Kazan and freed the middle Volga. But Putna and Tukhachevsky, who have since been murdered by Stalin, do not appear at all, and Trotsky only by name signed to a telegram ordering the surrender of an entire front to the Whites at Tsaritsyn, which order Stalin countermands and then he and Voroshilov immediately capture Tsaritsyn. Apparently the whole civil war centered there, judging from the film, and either there were no other fronts or all the generals on them were traitors.

The year 1918 was also the year in which Joseph Stalin wrote: (Pravda, November 6, 1918):

"All the work and practical organization of the rising was carried out under the immediate leadership of Trotsky, the chairman of the Petrograd Soviet. We can state with full certainty that we owe the garrison's prompt adherence to the Soviet cause and the skillful organization of the work of the party's Revolutionary Military Committee first and foremost to Comrade Trotsky."

LENIN'S DYING WORDS

THE high point of "Lenin in 1918" is the moment when, after the attempted assassination by Dora Kaplan, Lenin (and his doctors), believe he is dying. "You and I are Bolsheviks," he pleads with one of them, "and Bolsheviks must tell the truth and face reality honestly and clearly. Tell me, is this the end? If it is, I must know, as I have arrangements to make. If I am dying, I must send for Comrade Stalin."

Actually, when Lenin thought he was dying, what he dictated from his sickbed was:

"Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution" (December 25, 1922).

And a little later, still more firmly convinced that the end was approaching, Lenin added this postscript:

"Postscript: Stalin is too rude, and this fault . . . becomes insupportable in the office of general secretary. Therefore, I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint another man who in all respects differs from Stalin only in superiority—namely, more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

Thus the whole film is an obvious forgery of Lenin's life, of his attitude towards Stalin and words concerning him, of Stalin's role and Bukharin's and Trotsky's and Piatakov's and of all the purged, of the facts of the history of the civil war, military and political, an obscene forgery from first to last. Intended as a justification of the purges and falsification of history, it makes clear once more that these purges were based on forgery, conspiracy against the revolution, and murder of those who helped it to win. It leaves a question in the mind of every thinking visitor to the Cameo:

"What shall we think of a man, and a movement constructed in his image, which needs to resort to forgery and deception of an entire people concerning the most glorious pages in their history, and a foul besmirching of its heroes and their wholesome murder?"

else than the continuation of class struggle in war-time and the utilization of the difficulties of the bourgeoisie for the purposes of revolution. We have the impression that Collinet and others who voted with him were not opposed to the essence of the conception of "revolutionary defeatism"; their objection that "defeatism" would mean the advocacy of a victory for Hitler shows that they simply misunderstood the sense of the formula of Lenin who, as we all know, never thought of advocating a victory of the Kaiser in the World War. The sound and courageous practical attitude of the P.S.O.P. on the war question will undoubtedly bring about complete clarification as a result of further discussions of the problem of imperialist war.

The P.S.O.P. congress has shown that this young party represents the vanguard of the French working class, its hope and its future.