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AT FIRST GLANCE

= by Jay Lovestone

CONFLICT IN THE WORLD MARKET

BY NO stretch of calculation can one exaggerate the intensity of the present conflict in the world market. The Lima Conference, important as it was, marked but a single round in the combat. Here the giant imperialist powers-the United States, England and Germany-were the chief antagonists. Ideology was not involved, except as a means of

Let the London Economist (December 10, 1938) bear witness to what we say: "It is almost a self-evident truth that the old technique of commercial treaties and tariff adjustments is unavailing against the in genuity of the German devices. New methods are required.

It is in this "spirit of the era" that the House of Commons is now considering a proposal to have the Export Credit Guarantee Department enlarge both the variety and scale of its activities. In the last twelve years this Department has helped in financing no less than 900 million dollars of British exports. Of marked significance is the fact that one-fourth of this sum was involved in the last twelve months. Very correctly, the Lon don Economist comments: "There is a very direct parallel between measures of this nature and the more familiar forms of rearmament. In their sane moments, few would deny that funds expended on expor subsidies are less a sheer waste than cash invested in submarines.

No wonder that, in his discussion of this bill in the House of Commons, Oliver Stanley, president of the Board of Trade, summed up his argument by reciting the British imperialist battle-cry of sixty years ago "We don't want to fight, but by jingo, if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too.'

Wall Street imperialism is not asleep in preparing for a battle-roya in defense of its "own democracy." According to the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the first nine months of 1938 saw the first major setback in the upward movement of American exports in the last five years.

"THE BANK ALWAYS WINS!"

IN the growing volume of talk and in the declining quality of thought L on the nature and future of parliamentary democracy, some fundamentals are overlooked and some essentials are confused.

Too often do experts and devotees confound specific democratic rights won by the masses thru years of struggle with the system of capitalist "democracy" itself. In many instances, such rights have been won only after bitter conflict with the "democratic" ruling clique—and against the whole so-called "democratic" system. Nowadays, it has also become fashionable in too many circles to forget that the state is much more than the occasionally elected government officials. The churches and the banks, for instance, are vital parts of the power machinery employed by the employing class to insure its domination and privileges. These are two anti-democratic institutions that are organic parts of capitalist "democra- French S.P.

The French Republic affords strong confirmation of our thesis. In the last decade, France has had 28 governments. Perhaps this is what prompted the late Franklin-Bouillon to compare the French government to a flower: "Its life is so short." To the superficial observer, this frequency of change in government might appear as proof final that France is a living, responsive democracy. In reality, nothing could be further from the truth. Thru its power to veto the emergency funds that a government can draw, the Bank of France can determine the life of every French government. This is precisely what has been happening in France since Napoleonic days. If and when this Bank says "no," out goes a government. When Daladier removed Jouhaux from the Directorate of the Bank of France after the recent general strike, it was more a move to hold up this symbol of power to French labor than to punish the head of the C.G.T. As an individual voter in this powerful bank directorate, Jouhaux was impotent.

This reveals the real meaning of what has come to be an adage in French politics: "France votes left, but is governed right. France has its heart on the left side, but its pocketbook on the right." That is why sober students of statecraft have time and again told us: "The Bank of France the Rome-Berlin axis. The minority

A SIGNIFICANT APPOINTMENT

A PPOINTMENTS to high office at the hands of President Roosevelt are no matters of chance or slipshod practise. Such appointments have meaning for the voters as well as content for their recipients.

Hence we look askance at Roosevelt's appointment of Colonel F. C Harrington, a regular army officer, as chief of the W.P.A. To us, this is more than a straw in the wind. An army man in full charge of relief is solution, Leon Blum adopted an more than an ordinary gesture of friendship for biggest business. It is a out-and-out imperialist position, sign of the new times to be ushered in gradually by Roosevelt, beginning completely abandoning the pacifistic with his forthcoming message.

It is symbolic that a military man should be put in charge of this department precisely at a moment when our inadequate social security is spoke, the press commented, as if he being seriously endangered by a campaign for "more adequate national

And the new Colonel Administrator of the W.P.A. was frank enough to declare the moment he took over the Hopkins post, that "money must go to real needy and they must give their best work." His cry that there Faure had no difficulty pointing out must be "no politics in disbursing" is merely an echo of the demands of the complete collapse of the "colthe reactionary opponents of federal government aid to the millions dis- lective-security" idea in recent employed by capitalist industry itself. Watch Harrington-and Roosevelt.

Gigantic Swindle Part of Private Profit

the character of conservative, con- Musica in his exploits.

Remember, it is no hole-in-the-dorner in nicely in such a system?

the chief lieutenant of Connecticut's dabbler in these mystic arts com-

late Republican boss, John Henry pared to the big shots on Wall

Roraback. Working for Coster- Street, or to the Kreugers and the

Pattern of Economic Set-up

millions. Entire business depart- ciety.

"right-thinking citizens."

confidence game that is involved, but big-business operations of the most

Musica as paid "lecturer" for an Insulls.

Roosevelt Boosts Armaments Program UAW Head Blasts

Says Race Prejudice Aids Union Smashing

Labor Must Fight Efforts To Sow Seeds Of Intolerance And Bigotry In The United States

Anti-Semitism

By HOMER MARTIN

(These paragraphs are from a radio address delivered by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, on December 10, 1938.—Editor.)

ALL of us who live in the United States and who are familiar with its history, perhaps sometimes do not realize the value of living in a country which has been relatively free from intolerance and racial pre-

To most of us, tolerance of those who differ from us in religious beliefs or ancestry is a matter of course, perhaps because America is so much an immigrant nation, made up of an amalgamation of hundreds of nationalities from every corner of the earth. There is no one who, in looking back over the history of his family, does not have to say: "My grandfather or great-grandfather came over from Europe in this year

Backs Arms

Congress Votes Support Of Daladier Military Budget; Faure In Opposition

By a majority of 4,322 to 2,837 vith 1,004 abstentions, the annual congress of the Socialist Party of France held last week in Paris, endorsed the standpoint of Leon Blum fully supporting the government's armament program and urging a "collective-security" alliance France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union against position, embodied in a resolution presented by Paul Faure, general secretary of the party, took its stand in favor of disarmament and no "entangling alliances." Upon his defeat, Paul Faure announced his resignation from the party secretaryship.

In his address defending his reand anti-militaristic phrases common to French socialism in the past. He were addressing a patriotic rally rather than a congress of the French section of the Socialist International. The minority headed by Paul

months and in proving that the (Continued on Page 2)

Coster-Musica: The One That Didn't Get Away

HOMER MARTIN

or that year." If there is any place on earth where it has been demonstrated that nationalism and racial intolerance are completely unjustified and without basis, it is the United States. To most of us, then. what has been happening in Europe recently is a source of amazement. The violent hatreds, leading to unheard-of brutalities by the dictator countries causes us to shudder. To think that mankind of any section of the world could degenerate to such

Sowing Seeds Of Fascism

ticularly in the last few weeks, a was a truly sad affair. Especially against the "fascist aggressors" series of attempts to sow the seeds of intolerance and racial hatreds in ticipated in its formation as a milithe jingo atmosphere were the re-What is so desirable about the mass and all the other forms of prejudice in action that we, in this country, nization, advocating an "adequate should seek to adopt and imitate? defense" program.

We need an offensive army to defend ourselves." Another delegate The spreading of prejudice and intolerance might be more understandbrotherhood of man, we are truly anti-war minority.

super-structure of totalitarianism. stepping-stone. (Continued on Page 4)

"Land of Equality"

WO newspaper reports appearing in the metropolitan press on the same day last week:

BRENDA FRAZIER, 18, society's latest "glamor girl," "came out" last night in a party at the Ritz-Carlton that set her back anywhere between \$30,000 and \$50,000 . . . Brenda "came out" in a practically solid gold setting. The ballroom had been pointedly decorated in massed gold flower arrangements. . . . The color tone was significant as Miss Frazier is truly a gilt-edged social security, having received a hand-me-down of \$3,000,000 from her paternal grandmother and a mere change purse of \$800,000 from her father.

ORMA MILLES, 12, was taken to St. John's Hospital yesterday in a serious condition as a result of long-continued undernourishment. "It's plain starvation," the doctor said.

Her father, John Milles, 51, an unemployed carpenter, explained that he had been on W.P.A. until some months ago when he accepted a temporary outside job. When that job was over, he found he couldn't get back on W.P.A. "We gave Norma everything we had," he insisted, "but she kept sinking. She couldn't go to school all last week before the holidays." There are two other children, younger than Norma, in the Milles family. Mrs. Milles died four

ASU Convention Takes Open Pro-War Stand

Student Group Endorses Arms Plan

It is all the more amazing, then, during the Christmas week, at the what kind of navy is needed, how when we find in this country, par- College of the City of New York, many battleships, and how the war the minds of American citizens. tant anti-war organization and then marks of the delegates. Said a delesaw it follow the logic of the "colexecutions, the concentration camps lective-security" delusion until today maments are used to extend our comit stands as a jingo pro-war organ-

York, where the Young Communist selves. We're going to eventually able, altho no more excusable, if it League leadership could cover up the need an army to fig came from some ignorant and back-decline in membership with Y.C.L. try." ward person prevented by circum and stooge delegates. The A.S.U.'s stances from being familiar with the own figures state that of the 600 southern secretary of the A.S.U. traditions of American democracy, delegates 450 or 75% were from smacked of Goering's "Guns Not But. when the fountain stream of New York. (Actually no more than Butter" slogan. He said: "The peothis un-American and dangerous pro- 450 delegates participated in the paganda comes from one who is edu- convention.) The convention was schools, but they prefer battleships cated and presumably intelligent, characterized by its utterly tame who has had advantages of culture spirit and lack of discussion, except and who by profession ought to be for the occasions when the Y.C.L more concerned with promoting the sharpshooters went to work on the

The discussion on political pro-Under the dictatorships of Europe, gram was thoroly dominated by where every avenue of publicity Mrs. McAllister, the main speaker and every source of information has a member of the National Commitbecome merely a funnel thru which tee of the Democratic party. The to pour falsehoods and deceptive one mention of independent labor propaganda into the minds of the action was sneered at by a large citizens, we expect demagogic ap- number of delegates, many of whom peals to prejudice, fictitious argu- participated in the Democratic parments and manufactured evidence, ty's election campaign in November, because, if the truth were known, it and for whose political ambitions would shake to the core the rotten the A.S.U. will probably serve as a

The main work of the convention

New York City. | was the third session, devoted to the To anyone concerned about the formulation of a "peace" resolution, future of the American youth in the but which actually rallied the delepresent period of impending war, gates to a program of preparedness the fourth annual convention of the for war. The "peace" discussion was American Student Union, held concerned to a large degree with gate from Chicago: "So what if armerce? We need our commerce. . . fend ourselves." Another delegate The convention was held in New from New York: "Let's not kid our-

The remarks of Howard Lee, ple of the South need homes and because of the world situation. Today, we need battleships instead!"

The "peace" resolution adopted embodies the Stalinist "collectivesecurity" war program. The prediction of the anti-war forces at the 1937 convention, then denied by the Stalinist leadership, that "collective (Continued on Page 2)

Steel Workers Face Job Loss

New Mill Processes Throw Thousands Out Of Work As SWOC Fights Cuts

Pittsburgh, Pa. The pinch of the new high-speed steel mills clamped down last week on 2,200 workers of the McKeesport Tin Plate Co., as they faced the ultimatum: "Take a wage-cut or no jobs for the new year." The cuts demanded ranged from 6% to 25%.

Harold Ruttenberg, research director for the C.I.O.'s Steel Workers Organizing Committee, explained the situation frankly to a mass meeting of the workers and their families on December 22.

The speaker told the workers that the same situation faced the employees of many other steel concerns, with the introduction of multimillion dollar mills like the recently dedicated \$60,000,000 Irvin Works, of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp.

"That big monster on the hill." Mr. Ruttenberg told his listeners, is taking your jobs. By the end of motion to reject the wage cut. 1939, it alone will have replaced between 15,000 and 16,000 workers." The \$250,000,000 McKeesport Co.

the first of its size to notify the ceptance of the cut.

Asks 13,000 New Planes For War

> Federal Youth Aid Turned To Militarist Purposes; Opposition Is Expected As Congress Convenes

5 CENTS

The whole country was shocked last week at an authorized report from Washington that President Roosevelt was planning to ask for 10,000 new planes in his message to Congress on January 4. On the very same day, it was announced by J. W. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education, that more than 7,000 young men were being trained in government-aided vocational schools to become aviation mechanics. It was also said that the President intended to ask Congress to permit the training of 20,000 young men as aviation pilots thru the facilities of the N.Y.A.

These reports confirmed previous indications that the Administration super-armaments program would run far ahead of even the highest previous estimates. In financial terms, it will mean an armaments budget vastly bigger than anything yet seen in times of peace, bound to cut in very considerably on social-welfare expenditures such as relief, W.P.A., housing and the like.

If the President does ask for 10,000 planes, it will bring the total of new planes up to 13,000, for 3,000 were authorized some months ago. Of course, 13,000 planes mean that the other parts of the armament program will be on a correspondingly gigantic scale. It is expected that the President will ask for considerable naval expansion as well as for measures to make possible the raising of an army of millions. In the face of a program such as this, all of the Administration's talk of the "defense of our shores" is shown up as mere camouflage. As recently as last October, Major General Henry H. Arnold, chief of the air corps, regarded 2,320 planes for the army "a very good figure as things now stand." For both the army and navy, the New York Times survey (Dec. 18, 1938) urged a maximum of 6,000 planes, while Major George Fielding Eliot in his recent book, "The Ramparts We Watch," put the figure a trifle lower. The President's program has any meaning at all only if what is contemplated is America's involvement in a foreign war somewhere in Asia or Europe. This has obviously been the direction of the Administration's foreign policy in the last vear and a half.

With the new session about to open, it was clear that the President's war-preparations program would meet with considerable questioning and opposition in Congress. altho its passage is regarded as very probable.

(Read the editorial, "A Race Against Disaster," on page 4.—Ed.)

union it intended to cancel its labor contract unless a lower wage scale could be set. The plant normally employs about 3,000 steel workers, but recently 800 men were laid off.

Mr. Ruttenberg told the audience it was up to them to make the decision, altho his organization was strongly against accepting wage reductions. The labor leader said the C.I.O.

would swing behind the workers if they refused to accept the cut, but warned he did not believe they could hope to retain their present jobs as long as two years, even with a cut. Mr. Ruttenberg said he had stud-

ied the new and old mills and found that the McKeesport type of mill required 120 "hand operations" to a box (100 pounds) of tin plate, while in the Irvin works "they use electric buttons so that ten or eleven operations are all that are necessary.'

After listening to the labor leaders the crowd shouted approval of a

The action was not binding on the union's negotiation committee, which still is empowered to accept the comranks fourth among producers of tin pany's proposal. However, members plate in America and third among of the committee, privately, told metal container producers. It was newsmen they were opposed to ac-

NEXT WEEK

Special Issue of the New Workers Age

REARMAMENT

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THE UNDERWORLD MEETS WALL ST.



F. Donald Coster-Philip Musica (left), shortly before he committed \$118,500 worth of the company's suicide. With him are: (right) his brother, George Musica, alias George common stock nearly two weeks Dietrich, assistant-treasurer of McKesson and Robbins; and Samuel after the financial unsoundness of anti-chain store bill in which he was Did Coster-Musica coin profits out Reich, their attorney.

absolutely nothing, out of industrial operations that never took place? How much different is that from the eminently respectable Hartford-Empire Company, supposedly a bottlemaking concern, which, according to testimony before the federal monopoly committee recently, "earned" over forty million dollars without manufacturing a single bottle,

without producing a single machine? Did Coster-Musica doctor his accounts and fix up his books in the course of his exploits? Why do you suppose big-business men hire experts in making out tax reports or financial statements?

As long as the production of the means of life is carried on for private profit and not for the public welfare, the whole system must necessarily remain a profit-making racket operating under the slogan: "Get rich—and the public be damned!" All talk of "business ethics" is just camouflage and the law itself is simply there to be circumvented if possible. At bottom, a Wall Street financier, even the most "respectable" of the breed, is but a big-time Coster-Musica who knows how to get away with it!

The whole system is rotten thru and thru. The Coster-Musica scandal is merely a surface outbreak indicative of the poison that infects every part of the economic body. It now turns out that Charles F. Michaels, co-trustee of McKesson and Robbins and the successor of Coster-Musica as head of the firm, unloaded (Continued on Page 3)

UAW Girds Against International Board Faction Moves

STRIKERS CHOOSE JAIL INSTEAD OF BAIL



Entering the Woodbury county jail are some of the 39 strikers from the Swift and Co. packing plant at Sioux City. Iowa. The men, indicted for their strike activities at this plant, marched in a body to the jail rather than raise \$124,000 in bail.

Paterson Progressives In Fight to Save Union

Imposed Stalinist Leaders Without Knowledge of Industry

By SILK WORKER

Paterson, N. J. THE great promise of the C.I.O. called for in the agreement were imworkers with a certain air of ex- methods by which they were to be pectation. So many great movements arrived at, according to the agreehad come to Paterson in the past to ment, could not work in practise. lift the silk workers out of the cellar | This, too, contributed to a growing of industrial life, each leaving them unrest among the union members. in conditions, if not the same, perhaps even a little worse than before. However, with much enthusiasm and pledges of support from all sides, another silk campaign was

Offices were opened, all existing locals gave up their charters and every effort was bent toward the success of the T.W.O.C. Communists, socialists (Old Guard and "Militants"), "Lovestoneites," Trotskyites and conservatives, all were united in Aaron Sawicky, was laid off by the campaign—so much so that the Abramson on the excuse of "eco-Stalinist press published an article nomy." The Executive Board, at its corgratulating the Communist Party next meeting, decided officially to reof Paterson on the successful united quest Abramson to reinstate Sawiwith an Old Guard socialist, Aaron Sawicky, and that this would be a "slap in the the "Lovestoneites," Meyer Laks face for him" and appealed to the and Meyer Chanatzky.

The Strike And Settlement

tled with the same outward unity, Executive Board outlaw all caucus altho there was some resentment meetings. Abramson and the Stalinagainst the terms of the agreement. This was explained, however, by the mocracy," opposed this. Such releadership as the first agreement in mained the condition for some an attempt to stabilize a chaotic in- months, a definite cleavage with dustry. That the terms of the agreement as to working conditions were pretty bad is evident, inasmuch as it established the worst features already in existence (the six-loom system) as union conditions. However, the workers did gain union recognition and, with the growth of the organization, it was hoped that power would come to stabilize the industry and control the stretchout.

In the meantime, Irving Abramson, a New York lawyer, appointed by Sidney Hillman before the strike to direct the Paterson campaign, was encountering many difficulties. Acning, he soon became identified with son and his crew of organizers, did the matter out—that is, discuss the the Stalinists who soon became his only support in the Executive Board. For, altho the active people in the union presented to the outside world a solid front supporting all T.W.O.C. policies, in the policymaking councils there were many disagreements between the old, experienced silk workers and Abramson, who had the power of the T.W. O.C. but lacked a knowledge of the industry and its conditions.

cepted by the workers and they were per 100M as a rock-bottom price sent back to work. The job of policing the agreement became a tremendous task, as practically every manufacturer chose, as the agree-

French Socialists Back Armaments

(Continued from Page 1) Blum policy would lead straight to war. But against the majority standpoint, the Faure tendency had nothing to offer but the old pacifist phrases, which, for a section of the party leadership, really masked approval of the Chamberlain-Daladier "appeasement" policy. No genuinely socialist position was presented, to be found among the large number of abstentions. On this question as on others, the revolutionary socialist position is represented by the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France, headed by Marceau

Under pressure from the great bulk of the delegates, Leon Blum withdrew a resolution he had introduced urging cooperation with the Communist Party. The relation between the two parties are now severely strained.

▲ was met by the Paterson silk possible to enforce because the

Stalinists Begin To Intrigue

Nevertheless, there were as yet no open breaks and it was not until the Stalinists began to call their caucuses that trouble began. At one of the first of their caucuses, it was decided that, inasmuch as two of the organizers had refused to make a donation to the Daily Worker, they were to be the first objects of attack. Two weeks later, one of these cky. Abramson refused on the basis Progressives supporting Sawicky not to start any factional disputes in the union. It was suggested at this meet-A strike was called and was set- ing by the Progressives that the ists, speaking in the name of "desome sharp clashes at membership meetings and Abramson so completely ignoring the Executive Board that finally most of its members did with an effort could the Stalinists

to "rubber-stamp" some decision made by Abramson. The agreement was to expire in necessary to plan for a new one. not want to entrust to them the affairs of the union-with Earl power a check-off system would Browder and Clarence Hathaway! bring. The Progressives altho in that the opposition to it was a prospoke neither for nor against it at the meetings. On the question of wages, tho, they proposed a rate of \$1.25 per 100M picks. It took three meetings before Abramson and the Stalinists put over their proposition of a check-off and a price of \$1.15 with once again the unenforceable minimum of \$18 per week. This was it should be understood, after the first agreement had given the work-

ers \$1.20 per 100M picks. A strike was called and after one day had passed, Abramson came in for \$1.12 per 1000M, this time garnished with another so-called "absolute minimum" of \$14. The strike meeting of about 800 members voted almost unanimously against the entire proposition reaffirming their stand on the \$1.15 per 1000M without regard for "mini mums." There are three different groups of manufacturers in Paterson and four days later, after two of these groups had been settled satisaltho sentiment for it was probably factorily, at a meeting of about 60 members, Abramson put over the agreement for \$1.12. This left only a few shops unsettled, which worked on a particular type of work. Abramson had promised the workers in these shops that they would not go back to work on any greater loomload than they had come out (four looms) and these bosses were insisting on a six-loom system.

> Dictatorship On A Rampage It was because of one of these shops that the entire situation was election campaign. Baraz and the Mine Workers Journal.

ment specified he could, to start a brought to a head and the latest six-loom system, and the minimums chapter in the development of dic- and their stooges and handing over phenomenal. It decided to stop tatorship in the union was begun. A the autonomy of the U.A.W. to a publication of the union's paper, os meeting of silk workers was called C.I.O. committee, they were perfect- tensibly for reasons of "economy," by the Progressives to raise financial support for one of these shops, which was still on strike. However, between the calling of the meeting and the day it took place, the shop was on the prestige of the C.I.O. to the C.I.O. representatives force the and the fact that the shop was setbe thrown open for discussion or general conditions in the union. All settlement and the growing tendency toward a "one-man" union, were brought out. After much discussion, it was decided that a committee be

settled. The meeting was presided offset the pressure from the ranks Board to reverse itself. over by Meyer Chanatzky, president against the pact. They also counted of the union local, and he explained on the weakness, inexperience, the reason for calling the meeting vanity and careerism of some on tled. It was decided that the floor not altogether wrong. of the grievances of the preceding year and particularly the strike elected to appeal to the New Jersey of the membership meetings for al-State Joint Board, to Carl Holder- most a year but had been ignored, as man, the regional director, and to the national office of the T.W.O.C.,

Battle Lines Forming As "Peace Pact" Shows Colors By GEORGE F. MILES

Garst, International Board member autonomy. The membership received the pact in silence, interpreted as of the United Automobile Workers of America, arose to say that the internal situation in the U.A.W. left absolutely nothing to be desired, that the "peace" plan rammed down the throat of the union by a weakened International Board, was receiving the unanimous appproval of the membership, and that peace and harmony ruled where factionalism and disruption had held sway.

Needless to say, I was more than skeptical about the accuracy of this pastoral but, after covering the entire mid-western automobile area and discussing with workers in the most important auto-producing centers. I am convinced that those who continue to prattle about or believe in the "peace and harmony" which supposedly reigns in the union are living in a fool's paradise and are due for a very severe jolt.

If any single fact were needed to prove this conclusion, then the recent controversy over the appointnent of the vice-presidents was it But as dramatic as this clash may have been, it is but a superficial manifestation of a much deeper crisis which has held the U.A.W. in grip and continues to do so now.

Impact Of "Peace"

Regardless of how loudly C.I.O. spokesmen may have raged against the "factionalists" who stirred up resistance to their proposed 'peace" plan calling for the reinstatement of the expelled Stalinists ly well aware that the articulate but really for its own factional ends sections of the membership had ex- It is said in union ranks that only pressed themselves against the after President Martin threatened "peace" plan. C.I.O. leaders counted to take the issue to the ranks did the Board. In both cases, they were

if necessary, for the following reforms: (1) election of business agents; and (2) recognition of the Excutive Board as head of the union between membership meetings. These two points had been decisions

A majority of the Board was

were all others.

Trade Union Notes

= by George F. Miles =

DEVOLT against Stalinist domination continues to break out, n in the A. F. of L. as well as in the C.I.O. Last week, New York had its attention drawn to the misdeeds of the Stalinites in locals of the American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. affiliate. In a public statement, Dr. John L. Childs of Teachers College, Columbia University, described his own experiences and the sident Martin. It is for this reason experiences of other genuinely liberal, pro-labor members of and no other that these people had not even come to meetings and only Teachers College faculty in one of the A.F.T. locals, the College to go. And, for the same reason

Teachers Union, under Stalinist conmuster a quorum when they wanted trol. Decisions were generally taken, he said, "in sectarian caucuses, not in the assembly.... The favored interests of the Stalinist group would September and soon it became always emerge in frequently wholly irrelevant resolutions." The Stalinist Membership meetings were held and policy, he emphasized, was "to des-Abramson proposed that the first de- troy what it could not control." mand be for a check-off. The work- When he expressed dissatisfaction ers, however, already disturbed by with the way the union was being the high-handed methods of Abram- run, he was told to go and straighten

Dr. Childs's disclosures were conprinciple not against a check-off, felt firmed and extended by Dr. George S. Counts, Edmund De S. Brunner, test against the administration and Harold Rugg and others from Teachers College.

As a result of his experiences, Dr Childs resigned from the union. Dr. Counts, on the other hand, declared that he would remain in the union to fight to eliminate the "evils and

CHRISTMAS SPIRIT

66 THE Grievance Board of the Joint Council," reads a letter from the New York furriers union to B. Baraz, leader of the progressive opposition to Stalinist dominawith the proposal that it be settled tion in that union, "have therefore found you guilty of the grave and serious charges made against you. Your accusations constituted unwarranted and malicious slander, which cannot be tolerated by any respon-

sible labor organization. . "In accordance with our International Constitution, you are therefore to be fined, suspended or expelled for your misconduct, your slanders and anti-union behavior. Our united union will, however, postpone and suspend such disciplinary action against you, subject to your future behavior.'

Such display of tactful tolerance is really amazing, coming as it does from a leadership which did not

other progressives frankly and publicly admitted that the term "embezzlement" was a translator's error, the original Jewish leaflet, distributed simultaneously with the English version and from which the English version was translated, used a term the English equivalent of which is "mismanagement."

Defendant Baraz and the other defendants challenged the grievance committee to investigate other serious charges made against the administration and by which the defendants stood. The administration refused. The "peace on earth, good will to

men" spirit of the Joint Council is, therefore, one dictated by purely political considerations. It dare not pick up the challenge of the progressives for an investigation of the mismanagement and misleadership of the union by its Stalinist leaders.

TRUE OR FALSE

IN a recent test of strength in Union, the administration forces it also indicated that the Board pushed over the Stalinist-inspired | members were completely out of opposition slate to the tune of more than 4 to 1, which is as it should be. But there are some ugly rumors going the rounds. Is it true that business agents collected dues-books from workers prior to the elections on the promise that these would be "fixed up," and returned these same due-books after the elections, "fixed up" indeed as far as dues stamps go, but also stamped in the book was the word "VOTED?" Is that

DIVINE RIGHT

66 OU set in motion," says a **L** priest to a young miner, "huge electric dynamoes, which in turn could set in motion millions of machines, which in turn could set in motion millions of workers, who shrink from using the black-jack could produce so much of everything and the knife against its opponents that the whole nation could be happy in the union. But the light begins and prosperous. My son, that is the to dawn when we note that the will of God. And that is also the charges against Brother Baraz are desire and aim of your divinely confined to the use of the phrase inspired leader and champion, John "embezzlement of funds" in one of L. Lewis."—Excerpt from the the leaflets issued in the recent December 15 issue of the United

| manufactured, the pact was ap-A T a meeting I addressed recently in St. Louis, Mo., Delmond autonomy. The membership of its assent by the C.I.O. It was really speechless amazement at the capitulation and collapse of their leadership.

Very much depended upon the

policies and activities of the International Board. In the absence of any organized opposition on a national scale and the weariness of ing in the organization, a constructive, union-building program could easily have carried the membership forward, could have rallied the organization to new accomplishments. But precisely this program was not forthcoming. Instead, the International Board, under the protection of the C.I.O., entered upon a course of factional manipulation, political purges, organizational gerrymandering and restriction of union activities which branded it as a narrow faction and not a union leadership. Its almost religious abstinence from guidance and leadership on the economic problems which faced the union, out of fear of placing itself on the spot, increased the gap between it and the membership. It is difficult to find another union in the country in which the leadership is held in such low regard, unless it be the National Maritime Union.

Ferment In Ranks

In a negative sense, the accomplishments of the Board are truly

Similarly, there are few today who believe that the purge of active workers in the union was due to the need of ousting the "Lovestoneites" from political control. The list of victims includes: Eve Stone, Francis Henson, Elmer Davis, Morris Sil-Eunice Crooks, Pete Wells, George Stafford and Zygmund Dobrzynski Of these, only one is identified with the Independent Labor League of America. Tucker Smith, whose personal sympathies were with Martin, is a leading member of the Socialist Party which, in the state of Miassist the Stalinists in their drive identified with any workers political ception of Mr. Henson, who has expressed his sympathies for the policies of the I.L.L.A. on the tradeunion field.

Purge Against Progressives

But there is one thing that does inite all the above into one group ing and that is their active support of the progressive policies of Pre-Research Director William Munger is on the list to go.

In flagrant violation of the

twenty-point program which all

Board members signed and osten sibly agreed with, the Board not only discontinued all of the anti-war activities in which Tucker Smith was engaged and which represented the policy of the union but also, without any new statement of policy, permitted its vice-president. Richard Frankensteen, to serve as vice-president of the Stalinistdominated American League for Peace and Democracy. This latter body is an outright pro-war organization hiding under the garb of 'peace and democracy." (U.A.W. members will remember that the "unity" caucus conducted its most vicious union-busting activities under the slogan of "unity and

democracy"). The decision of the Board to give the reinstated officers full back-pay for the time they were under suspension violated the C.I.O. pact Local 202 of the Teamsters which reinstated them. In addition, touch with the mood of the membership or they would never have

> DRESSMAKERS FORUM 1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx

SUNDAY, JAN. 8 11:00 A. M.

Ben Lifschitz Speaks in Jewish on A.F.L, and C.I.O.—

Admission Free

What Next?

Auspices: Dressmakers Branch, I.L.L.A.

The I.L.L.A. At Work

by D. Benjamin=

YOUTH SECTION IN ACTION

THE Youth Section of the I.L.L.A. **L** was quite busy during the Christmas holidays. Delegates from various parts of the country were sent to the National Conference of the Youth Committee Against War held at Columbus, Ohio, recently. Twenty-five hundred copies of a special leaflet entitled "Convention For What?" were distributed to the membership with faction fight- delegates and members attending the convention of the pro-war American Students Union in New York City last week. Special arrangements were made for selling the December issue of the Youth Frontier and distributing other material to the delegates attending the sessions of both

conventions. A plan of action was adopted by City at a recent joint membership meeting. The Bronx Youth Branch has already started to put some of the plans into effect. A discussion circle was organized to discuss problems of socialism. The first session was held recently with D. Benjamin speaking on "Why Socialism?"

CLEVELAND

Our branch in Cleveland reports PLANS FO under way. Such topics as "Results of the Elections," "Implications of the New Deal," "New Problems of American Labor," have been taken

Members of the Cleveland branch have been working to interest local labor leaders and organizations in the campaign to aid the victims of German Nazism and to open the doors of the United States to the

NEEDLE TRADES BRANCHES

velt Administration was issued last | and Chicago branches of the I.L.L.A.

L.A. and the Socialist Party. Four thousand of these were distributed

in the New York dress market. New members are being taken in by the New York Dressmakers Branch, with prospects for still more in the future. But in this regard, the Cloakmakers Branch of New York takes first prize. Eight new members have come into this latter division within a very short period.

NEW WORKERS AGE DRIVE

MORE and more answers continue to come in on the questionnaire sent to readers of the Workers Age. The onward march toward \$3,500, the minimum sum required to publish the new Workers Age and the theoretical magazine, has reached the \$2,300 mark. Detroit has pledged the youth branches in New York \$110. Philadelphia has paid \$110 in cash on a pledge of \$250. Pittsburgh has sent in \$18. All members of the I.L.L.A., all readers of the Workers Age, are asked to rush in their contributions. The sum of \$3,500 must be reached by January 15 if the plans are to be fully put into effect. Most important—say it with

PLANS FOR THIS

TN this new Workers Age it is the I plan of this column not only to give brief, itemized accounts of some of the activities carried on by the I.L.L.A. in various parts of the country but also to discuss certain important organizational problems confronting the I.L.L.A. We want the members and branches thruout the country to make this column their own by sending in items and reports as well as brief discussion articles dealing with various organizational questions and steps that should be taken to improve the LEAFLET against the huge ar- | functioning of the organization. We mament program of the Roose- are glad to report that the Detroit week jointly by the New York have already appointed special cor-Dressmakers Branches of the I.L. respondents for this column.

verman, Tucker P. Smith, Ed Bishop, Eurice Crooks Pete Wells George A.S. U. Convention Takes Open Pro-War Stand

(Continued from Page 1) "The A.S.U. instructs its N.E.C. to for control. None of the rest are undertake . . . a study of what are the defense needs of the United organization, with the possible ex- States. . . ." In similar spirit, the resolution drops completely the fight against the R.O.T.C., merely urging that it be made optional.

> The traditional student strike against war, which gave rise to the A.S.U., was dropped without any

> Capping the A.S.U. drive for preparedness is part 7 of the "peace' resolution which "welcomes the an nouncement . . . of an experimental program in the training of student pilots and the appropriation of \$100,000 for his purpose. . . . We beieve that it should be an integral

dared to pass such a proposal. The decision on back-pay aroused more in the spirit of reaction. This year's resentment against the Board than convention should prove to all any other single act of that august doubters that is has become a rebody, unless it be the decision to cruiting agency for the New Deal's place a one-dollar assessment on the preparedness drive. In the United entire membership, which followed the back-pay act. This assessment Against War stands forth as the can hardly be considered a master stroke, coming as it did when unemployment is widespread and the membership is having a tough time keeping up with dues payments, let alone paying additional taxes.

Breaking Up The W.P.A. Auxiliary In addition, the Board has at last realized the Stalinist dream of wrecking the W.P.A. auxiliary. The decision to eliminate any national coordination and to split up the organization now in existence by placing it under complete charge of the regional directors, many of whom have been opposed to it from the first, amounts to leaving the field open for the Workers Alliance to secure a foothold among auto workers. It also undermines the very idea of keeping the unemployed close to and interested in their own union organization even while or W.P.A., as a means of meeting the danger of de-unionization.

Organizationally, the Board and its members have been very active The seed ye sow, another reaps; in trying to undermine local unior suppport for President Martin and repairing their own fences. The C.I O. Coordinating Committee has been used as a faction weapon in practically all cases brought before it. Find wealth—let no imposter heap; Similarly, the decision to break up | Weave robes-let no idler wear; the large amalgamated locals has Forge arms-in your defense to bear been used factionally. While the Board is attempting to split the Shrink to your cellars, holes, and cells; amalgamated locals in Flint, Lans- In halls ye deck, another dwells. been said and not a move has been made against the West Side local in Detroit, of which their caucus friend, Walter Reuther, is the head. Thus the International Executive Board has proceeded on its destructive factional path totally oblivious And weave your winding-sheet, fair of the ever-growing and ever- England be your sepulchre. spreading dissatisfaction which is

sweeping the ranks.

part of the N.Y.A. program." In security" meant commitment to an answering the opposition aroused by armaments program, has been force- this section of the resolution. Joe fully underscored by part 3 of the Lash, national secretary, said: chigan, has worked overtime to "peace" resolution, which states: "Wouldn't you want to be a pilot?

.. Think of how exciting it is!" The only voices raised against war came from delegates who are also members of the Youth Committee Against War. The splendid work of Robin Myers, observer for the

Y.C.A.W., must be mentioned. In the course of the nomination of a southern vice-chairman, the Jim-Crow spirit manifested by a majority of the convention reared its head. In answer to several indignant Negro delegates, Frances Jones of Bennet College said: "You cannot build the A.S.U. on the basis of interracial cooperation, It cannot be done,"

So do we witness the end of the American Student Union as a progressive anti-war organization, led on its path by the Young Communist League. Born in 1935 in the spirit of militancy, it died in 1937 States, the Youth Committee only anti-war youth organization of students and workers.

Men of England

MEN of England, wherefore plow For the lords who lay ye low? Wherefore weave with toil and care The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed, and clothe, and save,

From the cradle to the grave, Those ungrateful drones who would Drain your sweat—nay, drink your

That these stingless drones may spoil The forced produce of your toil? Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,

Wherefore, Bees of England, forge

Many a weapon, chain and scourge,

Shelter, food, love's gentle balm Or what is it ye buy so dear With your pain and with your fear?

The wealth ye find, another keeps; The robes ye weave, another wears; The arms ye forge, another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant read:

ing and Pontiac, not a word has Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye

The steel ye tempered glance on ye.

With plow and spade, and hoe and loom, Trace your grave and build you tomb,

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

We Can Use Our Labor and Resources Purger Purged

300 Billion Wasted In Depression

By LYMAN FRASER

THE waste of labor and productive resources thru unemployment is the most tragic, and the most idiotic, spectacle of our age.

It is a spectacle unknown in other times and other places. Among the people of the middle ages or among primitive tribes, there might be need because of insufficient productive capacity, or because of war, pestilence or natural catastrophes. There never was need because of unused capacity and unemployment; there never was need while the means of satisfying that need lay unused.

But consider the millions of unemployed today. They include clothing workers and steel workers and automobile workers and building workers and scores of other occupations capable of producing useful goods that the people need. Among them are tens of thousands of professional and other white-collar workers capable of rendering useful services that the people need.

There are the millions of workers, eager and able to work.

There are the plants and the mines now operating part-time, operating far below their capacity to produce. And there are the raw materials. yielded up by our abundant natural

Yes, there they are, what the economists call the "factors of production," unemployed and unable to combine and produce useful goods and services because of a fatal defect in the capitalist set-up.

Witchcraft Of Capitalism It is sheer idiocy, this unemployment of available labor and resources. The common-sense thing to do is to bring together the unemployed labor, factories and raw materials, to brush aside whatever stands in the way of using all our

the common-sense thing. Nor are the unemployed alone punished by that witchcraft. For the resulting economic losses, in terms of additional goods and services that might be produced, are enormous and lower the standards of living of the great masses of the people.

productive resources all the time.

But the witchcraft of capitalist

Coster-Musica

(Continued from Page 1)

the concern became known to him. Mr. Michaels, an eminently respect-billion of additional goods and able business man, explains that it services that might have been was just an arrangement to "lighten produced during the nine years of the debt burden." Unfortunately, depressed economic activity. Coster-Musica committed suicide be-

profit gives way to the socialist system of production for use! might have been produced.

Here's the new

publication costs of a new socialist press.

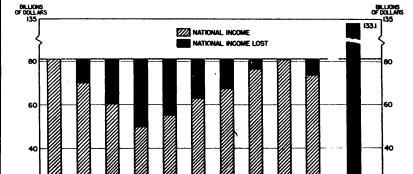
of \$3.500.

of socialism!

Sign

UP

NOW



NATIONAL INCOME LOST IN DEPRESSION

According to this chart, which graphically pictures the estimates of one of putting all our available labor Isador Lubin, of the United States Buro of Labor Statistics, there was a and resources to work producing the loss during the years 1930-38 of \$133 billion in the national income, that goods and services that our people is, in the amount of goods and services that might have been produced. need. There can be no prosperity, Actually, as appears from Lyman Fraser's article, the loss was almost there can be no improvement in three times as great-\$300 billion.

It is now more than nine years During those nine years, a large of over \$300 billion as a result of proportion of our capacity to produce has lain unused; the shortbelow the productive levels of 1929, with an unused productive capacity of 40% and about 10,000,000 workers unemployed.

According to Isador Lubin, of the United States Buro of Labor Statistics, the cost to the American people of nine years of depressed economic activity is \$133 billion (1929 prices) of goods and services that might have been produced.

That is truly an enormous economic waste. But even these figures really underestimate the

1. Dr. Lubin makes his calculation on the basis of "maintaining" the 1929 national income during the following nine years. But that makes no allowance for an increasing national income as a result of profit prevents society from doing the increase in productivity and in the number of gainfully employed workers (5,000,000 workers have been added to the labor supply since 1929.) Lewis Corey, in the Marxist Quarterly of October-December 1937, by allowing for that "normal" increase in the national income. concluded that in the years 1930-35 there might have been an added production of goods and services of \$153 billion if prosperity had not broken down in 1929. By applying Corey's methods to the years 1936-38, we get a total of around \$200

fore he could think of the proper in Dr. Lubin's calculation. Unused capacity to produce is not confined The whole system is rotten thru to depression; it is a fact in the and thru because it is a system most piping years of prosperitydriven by the mad thirst for private capitalism is never able to use all profit. In such a system, anything its existing productive resources and can happen—and does. If the Cos-labor. In 1929, there was an unused Musica scandal teaches us any-capacity to produce of 20%, the use thm. at all, it teaches us that we of which might have added \$15 bilwill never have a decent, honest lion to the national income. Projecteconomic and social order worthy of ing that thru the nine years of civilized human beings until the depressed economic activity, we get capitalist system of production for an absolute minimum of \$100 billion of additional goods and services that

WORKERS AGE

Contribute to the \$3,500 Press Fund to pay

for the extra publication costs

THE new Workers Age is out—as promised and on schedule—the grand, thrilling begin-

promise of greater mass appeal and influence. The new Age is going places! It will be a

For we are still far behind in raising the \$3,500 needed to pay the extra

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helping to raise the money for its publication. Don't fail, for your failure means a failure

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_

.....as my contribution to the Special Press Fund

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ning of a new socialist press. Within six weeks, the new theoretical journal will ap-

Think of what the new Age means; its greater coverage of events and problems, its

But we've got our fingers crossed and our hearts are in our mouths.

We've kept our promise and done our share. Do your share by making a contribution

NOW DO YOUR SHARE

Thus, during the past nine years since prosperity broke down in 1929. there has been an economic waste capitalist inability to use all the available productive resources and ived prosperity of 1936-37 was well labor. And mark well the word "available" in this connection: we are speaking of additional production on the basis of existing pro ductive forces, not of what might be produced if efficiency were im-

proved or new methods introduced. That \$300 billion of additional goods and services could have been produced here and now if only all our resources and labor had been fully employed.

Meaning Of The Economic Waste What does this enormous economic waste mean?

The \$300 billion of additional been produced is equal to four times the total national income for 1929. the most prosperous year in our history.

The \$300 billion of additional peen produced includes \$200 million | Stalinism.—Editor.) in wages and salaries that might have been earned. (Lubin's figure is \$120 billion but to that must be added the potential wages and salaries of the unemployed who were a carry-over from 1929 and the increase since that year in the number of workers in the labor market.) That is equal to four times the total amount of wages and salaries paid

One-sixth of the additional goods and services that might have been it gave of far-sighted, constructive sion had already been very largely produced, or \$50 billion, would be able to provide every American family with a decent home to live

Do your own figuring on what years. Plenty might have been done. human effort could have enormously added to our capacity to produce and completely wiped out poverty in this

The capitalist witchcraft that produces unused capacity is always at work. It is working during prosperity years; it is most malevolent during the depression

Sign

UP

NOW

End of Capitalism Only Way Out

years. And more important still, it will continue to work during the years ahead. An increase of unused capacity to produce, that is, the waste of labor and resources, is the most definite expression of capital-Recovery is slowly moving toward

prosperity, with little increase, how-

ever, in employment. No one believes that in the next year or two prosperity will go much beyond the levels of 1936-37, when there were over 8,000,000 unemployed and probably 40% unused capacity. Capitalist witchcraft promises to continue its malevolent operations. But it is precisely this witchcraft that must be overcome. The problem of our generation, economically, is mass living standards, there can be no peace until that problem is solved. It is idiotic and tragic, this unemployment in the midst of ample

TROM a Moscow dispatch in the | fame and power. From the Workers

Stalinist Slanderer of POUM in GPU Clutch

New York Times of December 27, 1938, we learn that Mikhail Koltsov, chief journalistic spokesman of the Stalin regime, is now under arrest, the latest victim of the purge that he himself glorified only yesterday. He is, of course, accused of "treason," "counter-revolution," conspiracy with the German and

Japanese fascists" and the like. Mikhail Koltsov was until recently Pravda's special correspondent in Loyalist Spain. As such, he set the pace for the world Stalinist press in unscrupulous slander of the revolutionary sections of the Spanish working class, the P.O.U.M., the Left socialists and the C.N.T. At the height of the campaign, hardly a week would pass without two or three of his hysterical outbursts appearing in the Daily Worker. where he was lauded to the skies in the peculiarly disgusting manner characteristic of the Stalinist press. Now the G.P.U. purge has reached

him. It will soon be "revealed" that Koltsov performed his horrid acts of "treason" precisely at the time when he was penning his impudent diatribes against the P.O.U.M. We can think of no better obituary

means of working, this scarcity in for Mikhail Koltsov-for it is only the midst of potential abundance a matter of days before he will need

Age of October 23, 1937, we reprint:

"WHO IS MIKHAIL KOLTSOV?

"In the Moscow Pravda and in the Stalinist press all over the world, including the Daily Worker, there recently appeared an article by Mikhail Koltsov, Pravda corresponthem of being 'fascist spies,' 'Gestapo agents' and the like.

lution (November 1917) and thruout sight. the civil war that followed, he was reconciled' to the Soviet power.

front of the labor struggle.

In short, thru the C.I.O. the

American labor movement has suc-

ceeded in rising to a new and higher

store, this great achievement is al-

ture development will have to take

The Other Side Of The Picture

Because it registered this histori-

cal achievement—the transformation

of industrial unionism from an idea

tions in many of the big mass-pro-

convention possessed a definite posi-

tive significance. But it registered

aspect of the movement far from

nealthy and pointing to a state of

concern to those who can read the

signs of the times. For it is obvious

C.I.O. Shortcomings and errors of

hoped would be outgrown with the

maturing of the movement, are

today. Conditions insistently de-

for prompt action, are systematical-

with outbursts of high-powered ora-

tory. Problems clamoring for solu-

no longer relevant formula. Senti-

ments and viewpoints widespread

how unable to find official recogni-

tion. Dangerous practises, discred-

ited by years of experience at home

and abroad, have become prevalent.

Despite all of the usual jubilation

and surface unanimity, there were

signs even at Pittsburgh that a real-

ization of this aspect of affairs was

not far from the minds of many of

The Pittsburgh convention re

of the top leadership of the C.I.O.

that emanates from the very top

Next article: "Democracy and Re-

ELLEN WARD

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I.L.L.A.

Conference"

"The

Lima

ranks of the organization.

THURSDAY.

JANUARY

12th

gime in the C.I.O."

the delegates

it as its point of departure.

BOOKS of the Age

=by Jim Cork=

GOLIATH, THE MARCH OF FAS-CISM, by G. A. Borgese. The Viking Press, New York. 1938.

TT is the author's intention to ▲ analyze Italian fascism not merely in its own terms and meaning dent in Spain, headed "Trotskyist but in the light of its "debt" to Spies in Spain.' The article is full Italian history and culture. Going as of the most shameless slanders far back as Dante, Borgese roams against the P.O.U.M. and other far afield amongst Italian poets, revolutionary elements of the novelists, statesmen, politicians, and Spanish working class, accusing the like, looking for the ideological thread supposed to bind fascism with its ancestral past. A very unusual "Who is this Mikhail Koltsov who book is the result, more interesting dares speak in this way? Im- in its cultural archeology, however, mediately after the Russian Revo- than important for its political in-

It is easy to see why this book has a steady contributor to the White drawn such hosannas of praise in Guardist counter-revolutionary spite of its great and obvious depress. His specialty was—'proving' fects. The work of an oustanding that Lenin and the Bolsheviks were literary critic, possessing an en-'agents of the Kaiser'! Only after cyclopaedic knowledge of Italian the defeat of Denikin, did he become history and culture, and an unusual master of language, the book "In trying to frame up the P.O. abounds in miniature masterpieces U.M., Koltsov is merely following of literary criticism, of individual his old occupation-slandering the portraiture, of historical description, revolutionary Marxists in the in- in language beautiful, witty or vitriterests of reaction. Only he is doing olically sarcastic as the case may be. Let there be work! And let nothing one—than the paragraphs we it today at the behest of a different stand in the way of providing work. devoted to him at the height of his paymaster—the Stalinist burocracy." tent, the forced nature of its historical analogies, the fantastic unrealism of its analysis of contemporary phenomena.

These defects have their common root in the author's fundamental outlook. Borgese is a liberal, his philosophy idealist, his values spiritual. His idealist outlook affects his analysis thruout. Social, economic and class factors are continuously and consistently minimized, whether dealing with a person, a nation, a culture or an historical phenomenon like fascism. Values, spirit, ideas, rational or irrational, are stressed as major determinants. A few scattered quotations make this abundantly clear:

level of class organization. What-"Men are ruled by passions more than interests. . . . The Divine Coever the coming years may hold in medy created a nation. . . . The ready an historical fact and all fu- meaning and aim of history is the perfectibility of human intellect and will. . . . A nation rose not as the natural issue of social struggle and economic determinism but as the embodiment of spiritual principles. . . .'

To what utterly fantastic conclusions this type of idealist analysis into a potent reality, the establish- can lead is evident in Borgese's exment of powerful labor organiza- ploration of the rise and nature of fascism. Quite consistently again, he duction industries—the Pittsburgh pooh-poohs such trivialities as social, economic and class factors:

"It is now sufficiently clear that also another side of the situation, an the social and economic factors and results which have accompanied the affairs that is giving increasing the mushrooms crowding at the foot rise of fascism explain it as little as of the tree or the mistletoe clamber ing on its branches explains the tree that all is by no means well in the itself. The interpretation of faspolicy and method, which we once warfare is utterly inadequate. . . . cism in terms of economic, class

After this brilliant hit, one is preflourishing more rankly than ever pared for the "real" solution, for a more flexible and broader conception manding attention, abuses calling of fascism than the narrow "classstruggle" type. And we get it with y ignored or else conjured away a vengeance:

"Fascism remains what it is, an outburst of emotionalism and tion are passed over without notice pseudo-intellectualism thoroly irraor else met with some well-worn but tional in nature."

After this arduous excavation of all the buried past of history and among the rank and file seem some- culture, we get this. Verily the mountain labored and brought forth a titmouse! I suppose the projected cure for fascism ought to be to psychoanalyze it away. It would be quite a logical proposal in the light of the above diagnosis of the disease.

For Marxism and socialism, the author saves his choicest bits, his sharpest bon-mots. He literally flected the strength and vitality of froths at the mouth at times:

"Marxian mythology . . . common it reflected also the utter inadequacy misery with a beast king . . . German-Jewish tutors of deformed adolescence (this in an 'anti-fascist.' -J. C.) . . . intellectual drunkards . . . romantic cloud-gatherers . . . C.I.O. finds itself today is a crisis group resentments with eagerness for cataclysms unparalleled. Inflamed by the grandeur of Napoleonic or Prussian militarism. . . .

As for the class struggle, there just ain't no such animal. It was merely an imposition on history and the innocent and peaceful bourgeoisie by the fiendish Marxists:

"No victorious resistance could be expected from the so-called proletariat since no such thing exists as the resolute dualism of warring classes. . . . Capitalism and the bourgeoisie, which therefore had lacked any definite class consciousness (!), now, spurred by Marxism, hurriedly donned an armour fit to match the challenge and turned from conservatism to aggression.'

Mazzini, the nineteenth-century apostle of nationalism, a convinced anti-socialist, and Woodrow Wilson, whose monument is the Versailes treaty, are the sources and fountain-heads of Borgese's ideals. Naturally, he has no real message for a world facing the alternative of fascism or socialism. His is a voice from a vacuum. · JIM CORK

66H IGH-RANKING insiders at W.P.A. are saying privately than an even chance exists that this program of work relief will gradually be liquidated over the next year." -United States News, Dec.

The CIO-From Atlantic City to Pittsburgh

Convention Reflected Achievements and Dangers

By WILL HERBERG

goods and services that might have cles by Will Herberg on the C.I.O. tries the only way they could postoday. These articles will discuss its sibly be organized, that is, along inpast achievements and present position dustrial lines-or else stagnation and policies as well those fundamental and death thru dry-rot! problems the failure to solve which are largely responsible for the present crisis goods and services that might have in the C.I.O.—unity, democracy and was to draw the labor movement

weeks ago will undoubtedly go down the framework of the A. F. of L. in history as one of the most signifi- to do so. For this great purpose, the cant labor gatherings in recent decades. But it was significant much tion was brought into existence at more for the vital idea it embodied and the sweeping changes in the 1935. trade-union movement it registered ly accomplished or for any evidence l vision.

For years it was obvious to all with eyes to see that industrial unionism was the only organizational strategy idea into the standard form of ormight have been done with the that could adequately meet the chal- ganization for the most decisive sececonomic waste of the past nine lenge of the new industrial condi- tions of American industry. Labor tions. Large-scale mass production, organization had been brought to the One thing is sure: that wasted made possible by the technological great mass-production fields, which developments of the last half-century, was rapidly destroying the basis and justification that craft unionism had once had as the standard form of labor organization. The tightening overhead control of industry by powerful financial groups was making necessary greater consolidation and solidarity in the ranks of labor. Everything pointed to industrial unionismas the way out.

The Alternative Before Labor

Yet, thru all these years, industrial unionism as a standard form convention, there were represented of organization remained no more than an idea ardently advocated by great labor organizations in the the "radicals" in the labor movement. Craft fetishism, buttressed by the vested interests of control, held full sway in the American Federation of Labor. As a result, the labor movement was becoming ever more impotent in a situation that demanded ever greater vigor, aggressiveness and power. In fact, the labor movement was in real danger of shrivelling up into a few traditional societies maintaining an uncertain existence in some sheltered spots immediate objectives of the C.I.O. upon it. The crisis in which the away from the main flow of Amer-

legislation: Either the organization | that has made itself felt on ever (This is the first of a series of arti- of the great mass-production indus-

The C.I.O. was born out of this alternative. Its historical mission out of the hopeless craft-unionist rut and to set it on the new road THE convention of the C.I.O. that of industrial organization, even the L took place at Pittsburgh some it might be necessary to break thru Committee for Industrial Organiza-Atlantic City towards the end of

The convention of the C.I.O. at than for anything positive it actual- Pittsburgh just about three years later was living proof that this misaccomplished. In this very short The idea was industrial unionism. period of time as such things are measured, industrial unionism had been transformed from a "radical" for almost a generation had been held to be virtually immune to the inroads of unionism. The face of the American labor movement had been fundamentally changed, far more fundamentally changed, in these three years, perhaps, than in the whole preceding half-century.

> Decades Of Development In Three Years

So rapidly have these things hap-

pened that it is sometimes hard for us to realize exactly what it is that has happened. At the Pittsburgh for the first time in our history steel, automobile, rubber and electrical-appliance industries, recognized by and under contractual relations with the biggest and most powerful industrial concerns in the country. This in itself is enough to show how many decades of ordinary "normal" development were com- the industrial-union movement; but pressed in the three years from Atlantic City to Pittsburgh.

Nor have the effects of this tre- its tragic failure to measure up to mendous upsurge been limited to the the great responsibilities falling or even to its own ranks. It has ican industrial life. The alternative brought with it a new spirit of colwas plain, made even plainer by the lective self-reliance and militancy new opportunities for trade-union among the workers, organized and expansion under the early New Deal unorganized, A. F. of L. and C.I.O.,

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A RACE AGAINST DISASTER

T is just about a year since the President is reported to have said to a close circle of advisers: "There was a time when the American people were ready to fight at the drop of a hat. This is no longer the case. Something must be done to bring that condition about again!" Now that we look back at the past twelve months we can easily see how big a part of the foreign and even domestic policy of the Administration has been directed towards this end, towards putting the American people in the state of mind where they will be ready to rush into war at the given signal.

Every Administration pronouncement, from the President's October 1937 address on "quarantining the aggressors" to Mr. Hull's recent sermons at Lima, was made with that end in view. Every incident or event, from the sinking of the Panay to Anthony Eden's visit, was turned to use, if not actually contrived for that purpose. Every New Deal measure, however liberal in appearance and apparently unrelated to war, was made to serve the same end, at least in part. Even the horror and indignation of the people of this country at the Hitlerite atrocities in Germany were exploited to build up an hysterical war spirit among the masses.

And, let us not deceive ourselves, the Administration can boast of more than ordinary success in its efforts. All signs seem to indicate that there has been an appreciable shift in public opinion in recent months. Popular support for the Administration's big armaments program has definitely grown. So has sentiment for "continental defense" and even for "collective security." Most significant of all, a heavy feeling of the inevitability of American involvement in war seems to be spreading thruout the country, threatening to paralyze any active resistance on the part of the masses.

Of course, the Administration has been aided immeasurably operate in all efforts to give effecby developments in Europe in the last few months, especially the Munich "peace" and the anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany. It is quite understandable that with the horror of European fascism staring them in the face, hundreds of thousands of workers in America should fall victim to the subtle "war-for-democracy" propaganda emanating from the White House.

The opening guns in the Administration mobilization-for-war campaign were also the signal for the formation of an organized anti-war movement in this country, officially launched at the Washington convention of the Keep America Out of War Congress towards the end of last May. Since then, it has, in a sense, been a race between the two, between the war party, with all the vast resources of the government at its command, and the anti-war forces, who could depend on nothing but the deep-seated peace sentiments of the vast masses of the American people. Upon more than one occasion, the President has been forced to retreat and manouver because of the flare-up of public opinion against his plans. But it would be folly to blind ourselves to the fact that, on the whole, the war party has made great headway. It certainly is in a much stronger position today than it was a year ago.

Yet all is by no means lost. The Administration still has a a manner more befitting the Jehovah long way to go before the American people will be ready to "fight of the Bible than a modern man at the drop of a hat." And it is still possible for the anti-war seeking to discuss crucial contempomovement embodied in the K.A.O.W.C., to see to it that it never rary issues and to arouse the modgets there. But there is not a moment to waste.

"ANTI-FASCIST" BARBARISM

LASCIST barbarism, Ignazio Silone tells us in his brilliant book on dictators, "frequently succeeds in contaminating many of its political opponents, who, struggling against fascism by fascist methods, become barbarians themselves..." Two recent incidents serve to indicate hands of the war-mongers of both the type of propaganda which has how close to home and how menacing is this type of fascistic frenzy in the the Right and the Left, aiding them been the basic for the destruction of ganized labor had brought to Ger-

Some weeks ago, in a Christmas letter to the magazine Time, Van! Wyck Brooks, suggested the following plan "by which American people" may express their opinion of the present German government." "Why establishment of totalitarianism in should not committees be formed in towns to make house-to-house collections of objects made in Germany, which might be destroyed in public fascism lie in a sick economy and a bonfires? Almost every house contains some broken toy or picture-book of no great value to the owner that would serve as a symbol for this pur-Van Wyck Brooks is the author of "The Flowering of New England," a remarkable appreciation of early nineteenth-century New Eng-

In New York City, just about the same time, the publishing house of Simon and Schuster announced the withdrawal of three of its books be- terly confused and bewildered concause of protests by "race-conscious Jewish groups." The books are Jerome cerning the causes and nature of Weidman's highly-praised novels, "I Can Get It For You Wholesale" and fascism. The task of writers and in-"What's In It For Me?," and "Miniature Photography," written by Richard! tellectuals is to struggle against this Simon, a member of the firm. The Weidman books were objected to because the central figure, a garment-industry chiseler, is a Jew; Simon's book on photography, because he commended some German-built cameras.

How thoroly infected with the plague of fascist vandalism are these would-be anti-fascists! Van Wyck Brooks would protest against the cul- the face of modern problems. The tural barbarism of the Nazi book-burners by bonfires of books and toys manifesto can only add to public rivalling those in Berlin. The anonymous "Jewish groups" would show | confusion. It is a document which their abhorrence of the Nazi "racial censorship in Germany by setting up a "tace-conscious" censorship of their own in this country. In Mr. Brooks's bonfires would be consumed not merely some German toys and picture-books but also whatever remains of our cultural internationalism, of our participation in the universal cultural tradition of mankind, our most precious heritage from the past. The real victim of the brazen attempt at censorship by the "race-conscious Jewish groups" would be not Mr. Weidman's excellent novels-and that is outrage enough!-but our freedom of artistic creation and our liberty of the press.

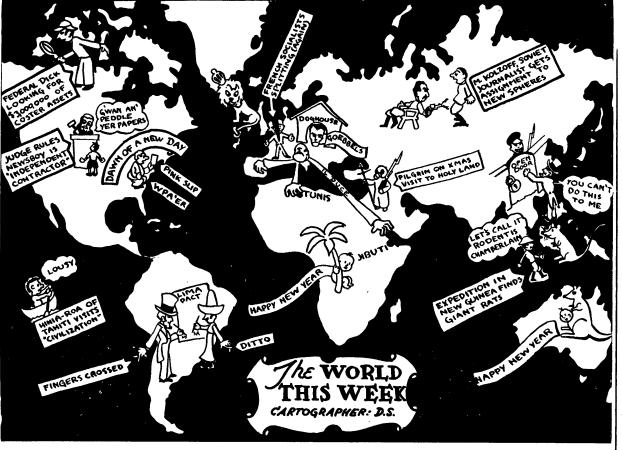
Yes, we are menaced by a new barbarian invasion, by a new epoch me to be pointless to attempt the of the Dark Ages. But among the bearers of darkness are those whom formation of a united front of intelthe horror of fascism has caused to lose their orientation, their sense of direction, their judgment of values. When a man such as Van Wyck Brooks can urge Nazi book-burnings in the name of anti-fascism, then we are far gone indeed!

DIPLOMACY is certainly a wonderful thing. Pulling rabbits out of a top hat is nothing at all in comparison. Take the recent Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru. A solemn parley to "unite the democracies of the Americas against the menace of foreign dictatorships"and it turns out that all but four or five of these "American democracies" are as ruthless dictatorships as any in Europe. According to John W White of the New York Times, moreover, the very city in which the conferences was held, Lima, Peru, was all bedecked with Nazi swastikas and Japanese and Italian emblems, while the conference itself was under the constant and hostile surveillance of the secret police of the Benavides

regime, whose "sympathies are intensely fascist." And out of it all, we are assured by the press, there has come a "solidarity pact cementing a solid front of the American democracies." It must be done with mirrors!

TIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA, made mayor of New York by the tre-sian revolution. Further, Thomas mendous vote piled up by the American Labor Party, has again dis- Mann describes the practices of covered that the A.L.P. "is ruthless in its patronage demands." Well, as totalitarianism under the heading of a matter of fact, the A.L.P. has been too modest in demanding badly "Bolshevism" and declares unmisneeded strategical posts, and in the future can afford to take especial care takably that in this sense Hitler that a trustworthy A.L.P. man sits in the Mayor's chair. Such "ruthless- alone is a "Bolshevist." The pracness" would be quite welcome.

THE attention of Elmer Andrews, wage-hour administrator, has been L called to the fact that while the wages of sin more or less meet the these practises only to Hitler, Workers. Union, convicted for constandards, the hours are far too long.



Farrell Answers Mann on **Anti-Fascist Manifesto**

Mysticism No Weapon Against Totalitarianism

HAVE received a copy of Thomas Mann's manifesto "To the Civilized World." I am prepared to cotive aid to German refugees and in causative factors of fascism, Thomassisting the German people who as Mann wastes space in quarrelling must suffer and struggle under the knout of Nazism. I am bitterly opposed not only to Hitler's totali-tarianism, but to all totalitarianism, me as being senseless. including that of Stalin and Mussoini. However, I cannot sign Thomas Mann's manifesto for the following

1. It is too vague. Written in the anguage of incantation and exhortation, it is full of luminous abstractions. It lacks clarity of thought and a clean, straightforward style of presentation. It contains no analysis of the social, political and economic background of German fascism. To the contrary, it erects two sets of hypostatized abstractions-one good and the other evil.

In the name of abstract and fro zen good, it thunders against evil in ern public to the importance of these issues. It does not even name Hitler and fascism. It erects a devil-theory of fascism. This is both inadequate and dangerous. It is inadequate because it can explain nothing concerning the causes of fascism.

It is dangerous in America for in their efforts to corral American anti-fascist sentiment as a means of Europe. that will help to drive this country into a war which must result in the the United States, b. The roots of demoralized political and social life. A devil-theory of fascism distracts attention from these root causes and channels anti-fascist sentiment away from them and into other directions Already the American public is utconfusion, not to add to it. American writers and intellectuals who sign this manifesto are merely signing a statement which is an implicit confession of their own bankruptcy in can only mystify the public.

2. Thomas Mann, in this manifesto, declares that there is no difference between the "conservative" and the "revolutionist." This is an utterly unacceptable statement that is without historic warrant. It merely hides irreconcilable differences that it is blindness to hide. It seems to lectuals that is based on blindness.

3. Thomas Mann states that his manifesto is not a political document and "that it is a long time since the issue at stake has had anything in common with political action." I refuse to accept this statement and the conclusion drawn from it, a conclusion isolating "moral and spiritual life" from politics. Any attack on totalitarianism is and must be a political attack. When I sign a political manifesto, I do not believe in declaring that I am sign-

ing something else. 4. Thomas Mann's use of the word "Bolshevism" in this manifesto i utterly unacceptable. In the public mind "Bolshevism" is still associated with the Russian revolution of October 1917. I am not prepared to sign a manifesto attacking the Rustices he describes are equally applicable to the counter-revolutionary regime of Stalin and to the fascist regime of Mussolini. In attributing Thomas Mann is giving a coat of spiracy

Stalin and Stalinism.

5. Neglecting to discuss important 6. Thomas Mann's claim that fas-

cism will wither away because writers, intellectuals and other men of good will condemn it is a non-sequitur. Fascism establishes a regime of reaction with arms in hand and state power in its control. When in history has reaction, with such powers, withered away instead of being overthrown? This type of counsel of patience is false and delusory.

7. I am neither a religious nor a mystical man, and I believe in no appeals to God and spirit. I cannot sign a manifesto containing such appeals. The manifesto contains varible New York, Dec. 21, 1938.

whitewash and a blank check to ous statements concerning the rela tionship of language to spirit, the word and the like, which are without the slightest scientific warrant. These run counter to everything that I have written and thought. They are irrelevant to the crucial issues of fascism and the kind of a threat against modern culture which fascism constitutes. They contribute nothing to the understanding of Hitlerism.

I state that, while I am unable to sign this manifesto because it violates my principles and my convictions and runs counter to the conclusions at which I have arrived as a result of my own thought and study, I am nevertheless still willing to cooperate concerning the aid of refugees and the effective struggle against fascism.

JAMES T. FARRELL

Auto Union Head Blasts Anti-Semitic Bigotry

(Continued from Page 1) But, in this country where, comparatively, there is still freedom of speech and freedom of press, where a Judas would take advantage of two reasons. a. It plays into the these liberties which exist to spread tirely the organized labor movethese same liberties in the countries

Cloak For Reaction

Labor is not only interested in ighting a relentless war against intolerance and racial bigotry for its own sake. Labor knows and has seen how anti-Semitism and other types of racial prejudice are but the thin edge of a wedge seeking to destroy democracy and democratic institutions, and which will lead toward the

25 Years Ago

JANUARY 1 — 6, 1914

TAN. 1, 1914—Lloyd George opens Peace Campaign. Says people are sick of armies and this is the time for a bold anti-military move. The French press is very critical of his peace activities.

Jan. 1-Frank B. Noyes of the and Art Young indicted for criminal purpose and the soundness of their libel for a cartoon which appeared in the Masses. Jan. 2-J. P. Morgan and Co. an-

nounce their withdrawal from the directorships of 27 corporations. Jan. 3-New armament tax passed in Germany on all incomes over \$250

a year.

Jan. 3—Government to investigate the mobbing of Charles Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners. He had been driven out of Calumet mining district.

Jan. 3-1,500 New York coalbargemen go out on strike, tying up 100,000 tons of coal.

Jan. 4 — Colorado troops oust Mother Jones from Trinidad strike district. Jan. 4-Cloak, Suit and Skirt

Makers Protective Association demand the dismissal of Dr. Hourwich, I.L.G.W.U., because of alleged insults to Association. Jan. 5-Rear-Admiral Mahan of

the British Navy suggests a naval compact with America to insure safety of Pacific colonies.

the \$5 per-day minimum. Changes production schedule to three 8-hour shifts. Jan. 6-II S. Circuit Court of Ap-

destruction itself.

It is no accident that in Germany for example, a movement which had man can say what he believes, only its origin in anti-Semitism succeeded in destroying and breaking up enment and all the benefits which orman workers. The fires which are kindled under one form of intolerance in time encourage all other forms of intolerance.

> Thus, let me point out that or ganized labor is fighting in its own defense when it fights all forms of bigotry and all efforts to narrow down the basis of democracy.

> But those advocates of bigotry we have referred to above have an answer: they say they are protecting the world from communism. And I say in reply: May we be protected from such protectors against communism! One reason why such peo ple claim to be filling the hole-in-the dike to stem the onrush of commu nism is that it enables them to labe anyone who opposes them and their tactics as being communists. This is an old trick which has been used by every demogogue since the world began. This claim is only a mask and a front to throw the public off the scent and give them a free rein to promote their propaganda, in the hope that since they claim to be working for such a noble cause, no one can doubt their integrity of ment that Hitler and Mussolini have coated the bitter pill which the Ger man and Italian people have been forced to swallow and which has placed them on the verge of barbarism. Every American should look behind the window-dressing and examine the real objectives of promoters of anti-democratic and totalitarian principles. It is, indeed, a welcome thing that there has been such a response thruout the nation in protest against the spreading of racial bigotry in the United States.

Dangerous Quacks

Mankind, since civilization began has always had a few crafty para sites who seek to capitalize upon the must take if we wish to continue as dies during the Winter term. We physical, spiritual and economic ills a democratic nation, that we must also feel sure that there are a numof man. A broader education and the allow freedom of expression to those ber of you ready to join with us in chief clerk of the Joint Board of the efforts of science have served to who seek to set in motion forces reduce the number of quacks who which would destroy freedom of ex- most to the labor movement, at home exploit man's physical ills. We even have laws to prevent dangerous ever, that we do not have the right medicines from being sold to an unsuspecting public under false labels. It is probable that this type of quack Jan. 5-Henry Ford establishes also protested that he was saving would be remiss in our duty if we mankind from dangerous diseases while at the same time he was really a representative of organized labor, giving them poison. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to deal with the peals affirms sentences of 24 officials type of quack who claims to have of the International Structural Iron the solution to all man's economic and social ills.

It is one of the risks which we any kind,

Talking It Over:

'Coordinating' Marxism

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

DRAVDA of November 14 publishes a lengthy decree for the coordingtion of socialist education into the burocratic totalitarian pattern that is slowly strangling democratic life and socialist advance in the Soviet Union. It is entitled "Decision of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the Direction of Party Propaganda in Connection with the Publication of the 'Short Course of Study of the History of the C.P.S.U." but its scope goes far beyond the implications of its title.

The new party history, which is used as text and pretext for the decree, has been heralded for many months. It was needed, the resolution declares, to provide "unified guide-lines which represent the official exposition examined and approved by the Central Committee, of the main questions of the history of the C.P.S.U. and of Marxism-Leninism." It will serve "to put an end to arbitrariness and confusion in the expounding of party history . . . as exemplified in a number of earlier published texts." (They, too, were official in their day!) In short, the new party history is to be the official, canonical gospel according to the present dispensation, and all previous ones are to be cast out as apocrypha.

Further to erase the true roles of Bukharin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, Stalin, in 1917 and the years that followed and preceded, the new text, "in contrast with many old texts which presented the history of the party mainly in connection with historical personalities and aimed at the education of the cadres in personalities and their biographies," is to base itself on "the ideas of Marxism-Leninism." One personality, of course, will remain -Joseph the Redeemer with Lenin serving as a sort of John the Baptist to proclaim his coming and pour the water of the Holy Spirit upon him. None of the other disciples remain-having been purged from life, they must be purged from books. And new personalities do not last long enough for the ink to dry; witness the fate of Yezhov and of Michael Koltsov. The "ideas of Marxisim-Leninism," as here expounded, will not last long either, as a single passage from the new history should convince the reader:

The outstanding characteristic of the second imperialist war," reads the history, "lies, at present, in the fact that it is being carried on and developed by aggressive powers while other powers, 'democratic' powers, against whom the war is really directed, act as if the war did not concern them, wash their hands in innocence, shrink back, boast their love of peace, scold the fascist aggressors and gradually abandon their positions to the aggressors while they assert that they are preparing themselves for defense." Such is the new "education" in "Marxism-Leninism" that is to be offered to the Russian workers!

BUT not to the Russian workers either, for the resolution denounces "the hunt for quantity" which has hitherto characterized socialist propaganda in Russia. There were "too many study circles, which robbed the party organs of the possibility of controlling them and converted them into independent and uncontrollable organizations which carried on their

activity at their own risk and danger." (What tell-tale words, these last!) "The practise of our party propaganda, which has concentrated till now especially on the workers at the bench, neglected the cadres of command (another tell-tale word!) . . . The 'Short Course' concerns itself above all with the leading cadres of party, Komsomol, economic and other

functionaries . . . The workers, no longer important in the new scheme of things, can be more adequately regimented without oral instruction thru the press which "has been neglected and which offers the possibility of making one or another truth the common property of all with a single blow; therefore, it is superior to oral education.

IME was when the Soviet state claimed to be a dictatorship of the proletariat itself, of the great mass "at the bench," and regarded the officials, functionaries, "cadres of command" as mere delegates and servants of the mass of workers, a necessary evil till the general level of culture, precisely of those at the bench, could be raised to the point where they could dispense in the main with professional administrators. Hence, education was a "hunt for quantity," a "concentration on the workers at the bench." But the Soviet state is being transformed and the new

resolution baldly proclaims the transformation: "The most significant deficiency in the matter of party propaganda has been the underestimation of the political training of . . . our Soviet intelligentsia: party, soviet, economic, mercantile, educational and military officers corps, that is, the cadres . . . with whose help (!) the working

class and peasantry administers the Soviet land." The resolution expatiates at length on the importance of this burocracy, and indeed, the burocracy of every land. "No single state," it reads, "can get along without its intelligentsia, still less the socialist state of workers and peasants . . . Of especial importance is it in a land such as ours where the state leads all branches of economy and culture." It denounces the underestimation of these "cadres of command" as "senseless. rowdyish and dangerous to the Soviet state" and indicates that this 'neglect" of the burocracy in favor of the workers at the bench led to the fact that many of these officials "landed on side paths, found no political way out and became the prey of foreign spy services and their Trotskyist Bukharinist and bourgeois-nationalist agents." Hence, the study circles in factories must be cut down from "dozens and even hundreds in each factory" to "two or three" for each cadre type, and none for the common workers, who will get their pap predigested from the press.

MARXISM, too, is to suffer a bold revision under the slogan that it is a science which "does not fear to replace individual outgrown conceptions and conclusions with new ones corresponding to the new historical relationships." It is to cease to be taught as a separate discipline or subject-matter, and is to become a subordinate part of the course in party history. For example: "In place of the today existing separate chairs of dialectic and historical materialism, Leninism and party history, in the higher schools, there is created a unified chair of Marxism-Leninism,' based on the study of the "Short Course" of the History of the C.P.S.U." and its references or source material.

THE lengthy resolution—too long even to summarize fully here—ends off with the following verdict: "The Central Committee of the C.P. S.U. (B.) emphasizes that the appearance of the 'History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviki)' must become the beginning of a turn for our cadres, party, youth, soviet, union, economic and cultural functionaries, . . . the basis for a new powerful ideological and political

upswing in the life of our party and people." This at least is right: it is the beginning of a turn, a turn in the conduct of socialist education and propaganda to coordinate it with the growing burocratization of the Soviet state, and to purge the past of the very memory of the names of those who led the revolution, the views of those who made it, and of their aims for a ruthless war on "burocratic excrescences" (Lenin), and for an ever widening workers democracy looking towards a stateless and classless society where rule over persons was to give way to an administration of things.

Yet we venture to hope and believe that Soviet education has too long committed the "error" of "concentration on the worker at the bench" to be able to complete this turn successfully. The "worker at the bench" has not yet said his last word.

JOIN THE I. L. L. A.!

Independent Labor Institute is fascism and war. more than just an educational institution. It is a labor school organized

pression. This does not mean, howin a democracy to answer and to defend ourselves and our principles before such attacks. Indeed, we failed to speak up. This is why, as which is a bulwark against those who would destroy the principles of democracy, it gives me great pleasure to speak to you in a plea for tolerance and against bigotry of

(We publish below an appeal to the | to train its students to become efstudents of the Independent Labor In- fective participants in the daily stitute issued recently by Jim Cork, di- class struggle-between the working rector of the Institute, and Jay Love- class struggling towards a socialist stone, secretary of the I.L.L.A.—Ed.) society and decaying capitalism trying desperately to hold on thru in-TOU undoubtedly realize that the creasing exploitation of the masses,

We are confident that we have not failed in our task. We know that many of you will continue your stuour organized effort to give our ut-

and abroad. No matter what your present economic status may be, you must realize that, with the constant threat of fascism and war, with terror and destruction sweeping the world, no one is safe, no one can stand aside, no one can remain outside the labor

Join the Independent Labor

movement.

League of America today! Help us—help the working class -help yourselves become more effective fighters for socialism!