Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

ROSA LUXEMBURG: TWENTY YEARS
AFTER ... by Will Herberg . Page 4

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Vol. 8. No. 4.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1939.

5 CENTS

### AT FIRST GLANCE

= by Jay Lovestone ==

IN MEMORIAM-ROSA AND KARL

E are not digging up old grievances, nor are we stirring up old animatical relationships and the stirring up old animatical relationships are not digging up old grievances, nor are we stirring up old animatical relationships are not digging up old grievances, nor are we stirring up old animatical relationships are not digging up old grievances. mosities when we sadly remind our readers that twenty years ago this month, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by the forerunners of Hitler's Nazis, then working hand in glove with the socialdemocratic chieftains, Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske. On the eve of their murder, the social-democratic Vorwaerts published the following lines as inspiration and guidance to the hired assassins:

"Five hundred corpses in a row, Liebknecht, Rosa, Radek & Co. Are they not there also?"

Had Liebknecht and Luxemburg not been murdered by these gunmen serving as the capitalist "democratic" government (headed by so-called "socialists") twenty years ago, Germany and the world would not be plagued with Hitlerism today. The ground was prepared for Hitler and his Nazi regime by a whole series of coalition (People's Front) governments dedicated to the preservation of capitalism and its parliamentary form of class rule-devoted to the cause of crushing every effort to establish a workers republic and to develop a socialist society.

The best comrades and co-workers of Rosa and Karl-now in the German Communist Opposition (C.P.G.O.)—have long ago broken with planes of its own.) It is one Stalinism and its revised and worsened edition of the policy of collaboration with the employing class. These comrades are holding aloft, in under- partment has prepared to imground Germany today, the banner of the Spartacus League and the best days of communism as personified by Liebknecht and Luxemburg. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of this ghastliest murder in history, we repeat, in commemoration, from the letter of Leo Jogisches, on the morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their forms of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy, to Lenin: "Karl and Rosa have fulfilled their morrow of the tragedy t revolutionary duty to the last." It is in the ideas and idealism of Karl for the War Department, larger and Rosa, it is in the followers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg that we place our hope for a better and brighter Germany—for a world free from every vestige of capitalist exploitation and domination, for a socialist Germany and a socialist world.

#### UNSUNG HEROES

IT will be very appropriate to say a few words about some unsung heroes in the Mooney epic. We are not going to utter a syllable in reference to the noise-makers who are now seeking to appropriate for themselves Mooney, the symbol of working-class consciousness, the dramatic figure of the proletarian class fight against the fraud that parades as American "democracy." At this moment, we rather want to emphasize the splendid role played over many years by such genuinely progressive fighters as Mooney's attorney, Frank P. Walsh. Today, it is vital not to forget that such venerable figures of the American labor movement as Ed Nockles, now dead, unstintingly gave very much to the fight for Tom's freedom, to the struggle for the vindication of a great ideal. Regardless of what differences one may have with John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, it must be underscored that he has done more than his bit to make the American labor unions conscious of the issue at stake, to rouse labor for a stubborn campaign to release Mooney and Billings.

Champions of the cause symbolized by Mooney should not be judged by the noise they make, by the credit they crave, or by the cash they seek to make for their own narrow party clique thru capitalizing in a sordidly factional manner the cause of Mooney's freedom and now the cause of the liberation of Warren Billings.

### THE NEW DISPENSATION

dubious character, Roca by name, is at the moment of this writing A the leader of the Communist Party of Cuba. Cloistered in instructed ignorance or given to deliberate outraging of the truth, Mr. Roca told the recent national convention of the Cuban Stalinites (Daily Worker, January 13):

"The Roosevelt Administration represents to a great extent the growing . . . progressive movement and the forward march of the awakening millions of workers who suffered in the past from imperialist oppression as did the Cuban workers. The policies of the Roosevelt Administration are the product of the struggles of the masses of the American people . . . The struggle for liberation cannot be anti-United States."

We are quoting this in sorrow and restrained anger. The "freedom and democracy" that the Communist International blesses in the U.S.S.R. or even the decadent capitalist parliamentary democracy it shouts for elsewhere, could find no more fitting defender than Butcher Batista. Furthermore, the Daily Worker would have its readers believe that the best proof that the United States is no longer imperialistic is afforded by the gigantic armament appropriations just proposed by Roosevelt and hailed by the bankers and jingoes from coast to coast. Roca, Foster, Browder and even Stachel, may have become 22-carat converts to everything that has recently been peddled to them. Yet, somehow, we cannot get over our understanding and conviction that there is some slight connection between "our" commerce of today and "their" (Wall Street's) conquests of yesterday in Latin American territory. Finally, we do suggest that at the coming Lenin memorial meetings, the Communist Party artists division stage a demonstrative burning of Lenin's masterly works "Impardon and complete vindication of perialism" and "State and Revolution." In the same spirit, the Latin my co-defendant and co-sufferer, American Stalinist parties should on this occasion cable to the Kremlin Warren K. Billings, who is equally memorial wreaths bearing the inscription: "The struggle for our liberation cannot be anti-United States."

### PAPAL BLESSINGS

THE "appeasement-of-fascism" policy pursued by the greatest "demo-L cracies" and that redoubtable fortress of "social progress," the Vatican, was revealed in its ugliest nakedness at the recent ceremony opening Hitler's newest heartbreak house in Berlin, the Chancellery. On this occasion, the Papal Nuncio in Berlin, and incidentally, the dean of the diplomatic corps, solemnly chanted: "May Providence grant that the peaceful procedure that was so effective in Munich and that so completely conforms to the wishes of all peoples may become the accepted method in the future of mediating international controversies."

Here is the most wholesale blessing that any papal potentate has ever showered on any mailed fist. Franco, Mussolini, Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier and all species, sorts and ilks of reaction could ask for no more

### C.I.O. Maps State Bills

Demand Local Walsh-Healy Acts

One of the main things the Congress of Industrial Organizations wants state legislatures to do the coming year, according to the program it outlined recently, is may not be brought up at this sesto enact laws curbing the use of the sion of Congress, it was learned last National Guard in labor disputes. It week. also desires laws guaranteeing collective bargaining to employes of firms holding state contracts and keeping local officials from infring-

ing civil liberties. Other items in this legislative program are bills limiting the injunction right and the use of deputy sheriffs and private detectives, forbidding the eviction of workers on strike or unemployed, and regulating the payment of wages and setting up state labor relations boards and wages-hours acts. (Continued from Page 2)

### May Bill to Be Dropped

Is Postponed For War Emergency

The May "wartime-dictatorship" bill, opposed in the last Congress by labor, civil-liberties and other groups

Representative May explained that he still thought such a bill would be necessary in case of war. "But if war came," he said, "Congress could pass it in a few minutes. So it may be that the committee will decide it isn't worth while to stir up a fuss

"If we ever get into war with the dictatorships, we will have to vest unusual powers in the President in order to compete with them on an even footing."

### **Army Seeks** 3,000 New **Planes**

Plan Raises Total To 6.000; Doubles Last War Dept. Estimate

An Administration bill giving the Secretary of War blanket authority to provide up to 6,000 airplanes for the army air corps, was introduced into the House of Representatives last week by Representative May, chairman of the Military Affairs Committee. The next day a similar bill was introduced into the Senate by Senator Sheppard.

This bill implies the construction of at least 3,000 new planes, since the present strength is about 3,000. (This, of course, relates only to the army; the navy has about 3,000 of nine measures the War Deplement the President's "nationaldefense" message to Congress recently. The eight remaining bills provide for increased personnel, broadened powers of procurement authorization to place so-called "educational orders" with industries needed for war-time production, etc.

Before the House committee, Major-General Arnold, chief of the army air corps, insisted that the May bill was "absolutely necessary for defense." Yet, as recently as last October, the same Major-General Arnold had declared publicly that he regarded 2,320 planes for the army "a very good figure as things now stand." He refused to explain what had caused him to change his mind so suddenly.

### Mooney Urges Labor Unity

Letter To Zimmerman Thanks I.L.G.W.U.

The need for united labor action to safeguard our rights and our liberties" was urged by Tom Mooney in a personal message to Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager of Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I.L. G.W.U. The message came in answer to the following telegram sent by Zimmerman on the day of Mooney's liberation: "Hearty greetings upon your release. We rejoice with you upon the success of your long fight for vindication, which is a victory for the whole labor movement."

Tom Mooney's message, which was read entire over Station WEVD on Thursday, January 12, in the regular weekly broadcast of Local 22, states in part:

"I realize, that my freedom is much more than a personal victory It was a tremendous and significant victory for the whole labor movement. It gives great hope for what we can accomplish in the future to know that this battle has been won, and in such a glorious manner.

"My immediate concern is the innocent with me of this crime for which we have wrongly suffered almost a quarter of a century. A militant campaign must be gotten under way to put the pressure on the California Supreme Court to recommend a pardon for Billings.

"Next, my chief concern is to see the labor movement of America completely united in a progressive, forward-looking, aggressive organization which shall embrace every branch and organization of labor

"I want to express my deep and abiding thanks to the members and officers of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union who have loyally and steadfastly fought for me these many years. Without your help and that of the rest of labor, this victory would not have come. I know I can count on your continued aid, moral and financial, to win freedom for Warren Billings, and in the drive for a united powerful labor movement."

Russell Blackwell, American antifascist fighter imprisoned in Loyalist Spain thru the machinations of the Stalinists, has been acquitted and given into the custody of the American consul for safety, the State Department informed the Blackwell Defense Committee recently. The State Department also gave the as-

### The Race Grows Hotter!

COMPETITION in armaments was greatly accentuated in 1938, the new edition of the Armament Year Book, recently issued at Geneva, points out. The total world military expenditure in 1938 amounted to nearly \$9,500,-000,000 (old gold dollars used thruout) as compared with \$8,000,000,000 in 1937. (The sum of \$9,500,000,000 in old gold dollars represents about \$16,000,000,000.)

During the five years preceding the disarmament conference, from 1927 to 1931 inclusive, the world expenditure amounted to \$20,600,000,000.

Of the \$9,500,000,000 spent on arms by 64 countries in 1938, seven great powers spent \$7,400,000,000 or about 78.7% of the world military expenditure. In 1929, the same seven countries accounted for only \$2,800,000,000 out of a total of \$4,200,000,000, or about 65.7%.

CONGRESS

1939

# C.I.O. and A.F.L. Unite to Fight Against Relief Cut

# Call for Original \$875 Million Grant; Million in Danger of Job Loss

shed on this issue.

ference of Mayors and by a number of governors, including Governor

President Roosevelt had recommended a W. P. A. deficiency

CROWDING HIM OUT

Organized labor, both A.F. of L. appropriation of \$875,000,000, which | conference, President Roosevelt said and C.I.O., swung into action last itself was considerably less than the that more than a million workers on week in an effort to get the Senate C.I.O. and others felt was necessary W.P.A. would have to be dropped to restore the House's \$150,000,000 in the situation. But the House of before June 30 if Congress did not cut in the supplemental appropriation. Representatives, dominated by an tion for the W.P.A. Informal co"economy"-minded block of conAfter June 30, the President's own operation between the two sections servative Democrats and Republicans, 1940 budget provides for a slash of of the labor movement was establ- then proceeded to slash the Presi- almost a billion dollars in relief

Pressure in the same direction was exerted also by the White House, by the United States Conwhere the measure is at the present | PROTEST time, there is a strong determination on the part of the reactionary elements to follow the House action. In answer to a question at his press

I HOPE THERE'S

SOMETHING

and locals are being contested by the

The first attempt of the Interna-

lapsed completely and the Board it-

self was forced to issue an order to

President Martin to proceed with the

regotiations for a contract for the

President Martin then continued

to press for a union convention, a

to Martin spokesmen, the decisions

tion and the Board preparations for

it proved clearly that it would not

be a democratic convention, truly re-

each side was contemptuously re-

mittee was set up. In addition, the

gency convention would be held.

Board delayed its decision long

enough to fix up the payments of

locals backing it. It was clearly an

attempt to disqualify pro-Martin lo-

ruling to apportion delegates to lo-

jected and a 100% anti-Martin com-

presentative of the attitude of the

of the Board regulating the conven-

ATTEMPT AT

FRAME-UP

LEFT FOR ME.

dent's recommendation to \$725,000,- funds so that the situation is likely

Labor's solid front in support of the larger appropriation was completed when William Green, president of the A.F. of L., addressed a letter to Senator Adams, chairman of the Senate sub-committee, strongly urging restoration of the \$150,000,000.

The C.I.O. had already assumed a leading part in the relief fight and last week James B. Carey, C.I.O. secretary, followed with a sharp warning of the dangers to the people should the House reduction be allowed to stand.

Mayor LaGuardia of New York, chairman of the Conference of Mayors, pleaded with the Senate subcommittee to restore the fund at least to the figure proposed by the President. In the hearings the week before a House subcommittee, the Mayor had stated that \$915,000,000 was the minimum needed to finance the W.P.A. thru the current fiscal year. He reiterated this estimate before the Senate group and stressed that at least 1,150,000 W.P.A. workers would have to be discharged by June 30 should the House action be sustained by the Senate.

### Security to Be **Extended**

F. D. R. Proposes Wider Coverage Of Act

President Roosevelt last week asked Congress in a special message to strengthen the Social Security Act by extending its benefits to 16,-400,000 more workers and by providing earlier and larger old-age pensions. The act now covers about 42,500,000.

At the same time, he warned against adoption of "untried and demonstrably unsound panaceas. obviously referring to various oldage pension schemes, such as the Townsend plan, expected to come before Congress.

Roosevelt sent up the message along with a report by the Social Security Board recommending comprehensive changes in the act, including liberalization of its bene-

The Board specifically recommended that the act be amended to make old-age benefit payments begin in 1940 instead of 1942, together with increased monthly payments in early years of the system's operations.

It suggested that agricultural, domestic, and maritime workers be ional Board to oust President Mar- brought under the act's scope and tin came on a framed-up charge of that employees of national banks, promoting company unionism" by the federal government and char-"private negotiations" with the Ford | itable organizations also be infirm. This transparent frame-up col- cluded.

Other recommendations were: Payment of benefits to aged dependent wives of retired workers.

Payment of benefits to aged widows and young widows with dependent children. Calculation of benefits on the

Payments to widows of all per-

ons who would have qualified for old-age pensions, had they lived to Establishment of a federal fi-

nancial-assistance system to states membership. Martin's demand for a whereby the varying economic caconvention arrangements committee pacities of the states would be consisting of an equal number from taken into consideration, instead of the present system of uniform percentage grants.

Following closely the mendations of the National Adcals on the basis of dues payments visory Council on Social Security, as of December 31 was grossly ir- submitted a month ago, the mesregular. For regular conventions, all sage did not make any new suglocals know in advance that unless gestions regarding financing of payments are made up to a certain the pensions system but said that time they will lose the right to be if benefits are increased "it would represented. No such knowledge be sound public policy to pay part existed now because the locals had of the cost out of taxes other than no way of knowing when the emer- those on payrolls."

Martin sources charged that the ternational Board summarily expelled 150 local unions because "they were not in good standing," without notifying these locals and without giving them an opportunity to place themselves in good standing. When, in addition, the International Board carried out another packing of the Cleveland convention sweeping purge of pro-Martin of-(Continued on Page 3)

### **Blackwell Freed**

America "by the safest means avail-

### President Martin Acts Promptly to Protect Union Griswold Building are now being held by President Martin and his

U.A.W. Split As Board

### Latest Developments

TWO hundred local unions out of a total of about 350, representing some 70% of the membership of the U.A.W., convened in Detroit Union funds, funds in some regions Sunday, January 22, and pledged full support to President Martin A on Sunday, January 22, and pledged full support to President Martin. A committee of ten was set up to aid in the organization of the coming national convention of the union.

**Defies Membership** 

• There is a marked trend in the ranks in support of President Martin. The Indiana region, claimed by the Stalinists in its entirety, shows many locals lining up with Martin, now that Board member Merrill has joined up with the anti-Martin forces.-The Wisconsin Council of the U.A.W. refuses to rely on reports of Board member Michael and has sent a delegation to hear Martin's side of the controversy.—The Mack Division of the Briggs local, hitherto an almost 100% "unity" stronghold, has just selected a committee to supervise elections of delegates to the U.A.W. convention. Martin supporters took 3 out of 5 places.-Four thousand Plymouth workers in a local meeting reiterated their support of Martin despite disruptive activities of Stalinists. A separate meeting, called by Stalinists after adjournment of local union meeting, showed only 400 in attendance.—There was not a sign of support for the 15 suspended Board members when President Martin addressed 1,500 cheering members of Flint's Fisher Body Local 581.—Jackson, Michigan, auto workers turned out strong in support of President Martin and Regional Director Lester Washburn, to a banquet celebrating a successful contract recently signed demand which the International basis of average wages rather than and to a mass meeting at which Martin and Washburn discussed the Board finally granted. But, according total accumulated wages.

 Walter Reuther's West Side Council, tho voting to send its dues to the suspended secretary, George Addes, could not block the fight of Martin supporter, Stuart Strachan, for a general membership meeting to hear Martin. The motion carried when almost half of Council threatened to walk out. The Kelsey-Hayes division of the West Side local voted almost unanimously to ask for a local membership meeting to hear President

• The Missouri region of the U.A.W. has turned thumbs down on its Regional Director and Board member, Delmond Garst. With the exception of one local union all have placed themselves behind President

• Growing opposition is reported in Locals 12 and 14 of Toledo, hitherto strongholds of the "unity" faction.

(Special to the Workers Age)

Detroit. Mich. surance that he will be sent back to Disregarding all attempts of President Martin to secure a peaceful gone thru. solution of the recently developed | Headquarters of the union at the

| impasse by a resort to a democratically organized convention of the THE United Automobile Workers union, the International Board has • of America is split wide open. provoked the worst crisis that this young mass-production union has yet

**FRIDAY** January 27

8:00 P. M.

### ANGELICA BALABANOFF

speaks at the INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33 St. **ROOM 707** 

Rivera Hall

Martin supporters further substantiate their charge of planned by pointing to the fact that the Iners did not dare to repeat their cost-

The problems of the unemployed

in our union have received the seri-

ous attention of the progressive ad-

ministration. The Labor Buro has

distributed the available jobs in an

impartial manner according to the

one next on the unemployed list.

Hundreds of unemployed knitgoods

workers, refused relief by the city,

were assisted in obtaining relief.

dle of December 1938, in placing

1,253 unemployed knitgoods workers

The progressive administration,

continuing its traditional policies-

nilitancy, union democracy, respon-

sible and economical handling of

union funds and active participation

in the general labor movement—has

established our union as a progres-

The progressive administration

does not intend to rest on its laurels

but will continue throwing all its ef-

forts into solving the many problems

still confronting the knitgoods work-

ers and our union. To mention just

ganization of the unorganized; (2)

abolition of home-work in the indus-

try; (3) making jobbers responsible

for the conditions in the contracting

country; (5) union agreements in all

knitgoods centers to expire at the

same time; (6) all union agreements

The active support of the entire

ters to be of a similar character.

C.I.O. Proposes Plan

(Continued from Page 1)

The C.I.O. also is behind bills to

promote low-cost housing, to im-

prove and extend unemployment

compensation laws, to establish

state civil-liberties buros, and to

dicalism or against labor. Its pro-

The bill to guarantee collective

bargaining is like the proposed

federal measure which is the first

item on the C.I.O. national program.

**CLOAKMAKERS FORUM** 

1377-42nd St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

(14th Ave.)

SUNDAY, JANUARY 29

11:00 A. M.

George F. Miles

speaks on

The Meaning of

Munich

Auspices:

Local 117, L. L. G. W. U.

everything it wants.

BIG PROBLEMS

AHEAD

### **Labor Vote Grows** in **Toronto**

United Front Of Labor Could Increase Gains

By B. M.

Toronto, Canada. CTALINISTS deceive their friends without deceiving their enemies. This was made evident in the recent municipal election in Toronto when Tim Buck and other leading members of the C.P. sought election to the civic council and school board. The candidates were formally endorsed by the Labor Representation Association, comprising some bonafide trade union but Stalinist-dominated. It is significant that only one trade unionist outside the Stalinist fold received the endorsement of this body. The candidates ran as "Labor-Progressives." The conservative Evening Telegram remarked in an editorial that "communists by any other name would smell just the same," etc., and that, because of their control by Stalin, they were partners with him in the bloodpurges and the suppression of liberty in Russia. This refrain was taken up by other groups and persons including Ontario's "radio priest," Father Lamphier. Pointed remarks were addressed to Tim Buck to explain his source of funds. The Communist Party excelled itself with bigger ads and more radio programs. The Stalinists passed up the opportunity to reply to the attacks in working-class style. Instead, Joe Salzberg attacked his opponent, an employer by name of Balfour, as an "importation" who didn't live in the ward! The Daily Clarion referred to the "subversive element who want to rob us of our democratic rights." The C.P.ers campaigned on a program of tax reduction and civic economy. Their slogan was, "Make sure of Buck this time." One of the issues was

The Canadian Commonwealth Federation, in their organ, the New Commonwealth, raised an objection to the C.P. trying to control nominations for municipal office. The C.C.F. ran a number of unofficial candidates, who with one or two exceptions found it convenient to have a "united front" with the C.P. Orliffe, the provincial secretary of the C.C.F., refused to have this kind of unity. Orliffe topped the polls for the school board, displacing the C.P. member, Weir. In the same ward, Salzberg lost his aldermanic seat.

the need for an auxiliary sewage

system to cost millions. Buck prom-

ised to have this installed for mil-

lions less than estimated. A caption

in the Daily Clarion urged its read-

ers rather suggestively to "support Buck for a successful sewage

In spite of the capitalist barrage, all labor candidates received an increased vote, but as a result of the agitation, the greatest vote in the history of the city was recorded. It was this preponderance of votes going to the capitalist candidates that prevented the election of all but three of the labor men. Stewart Smith, Ontario organizer for the C.P., was reelected for his third term as city alderman. For a seat on the board of control, Buck got 45,112 votes, 953 more than last year but 4,500 less than the nearest successful candidate. The voting definitely shows a desire for labor representation. With a real united front, many seats can be won on a platform of militant struggle for socialism.

### **Dewey Fund Sponsors** Theater Benefit

The John Dewey Labor Research Fund announced last week that it is sponsoring an evening's performance of the comedy on education, "What

Friends of the Fund are to see the play on February 6, 1939, at the ends. At present, their only activity Mansfield Theatre, 256 West 47th in the union is to attempt to raise Street, New York City.

by Dr. Dewey.

The Fund is sponsored by Professors William H. Kilpatrick, J. L. Childs, George S. Counts and George W. Hartmann of Columbia University; Sidney Hook of New York University; Hillman Bishop of the College of the City of New York; Ernest Sutherland Bates, Alfred Bingham, Margaret DeSilver, S. Feinstone, Suzanne LaFollette and

Benjamin Stolberg. Its purpose is to provide funds for research studies which in Dr. office of the John Dewey Labor Dewey's judgment will be useful to Research Fund, Room 914, 22 East the American labor movement. The 17 Street, New York City.

### SHARECROPPERS ON MISSOURI HIGHWAY



A cropper family, driven from their land by the greed of the landowners, take part in the Southern Tenant Farmers Union demonstration.

## Progressive Achievements In Knitgoods Union

Conditions Greatly Improved Thru Strong Organization

By PAUL TAUBER

(Concluded from last issue) DURING this whole period, the confidence of the knitgoods workers in their progressive Faced with a powerful knitgoods our union functioned as a "permanent opposition." Since they found few real issues in the union, their opposition was based solely on narrow factional clique interests. While the dual "Industrial Union" existed, the Communist Party elements attempted to smash our union from without, while other Communist Party members in our union were attempting to disrupt from within. Their propaganda consisted of slogans such as "If the business agents and your manager will not attend to your complaints, take matters into your own hands." As soon as the so-called "Industrial Union" was dissolved and its members joined our union, the "rank-and-file" group (another name for the Communist Party element), reinforced by the leadership of the former "Industrial Union," began a "holy war" to capture the knitgoods workers union for the greater glory and benefit of the Communist Party. To accomplish this goal, all means were considered fit and proper. Provocative lies, falsifications and invented issues were the usual weapons employed by these people. At a time when the employers were attempting by all means to smash our union, the Communist Party elements, with little regard for consequences, permitted themselves to come out with scurrilous leaflets which accused our union of all kinds of "crimes." Attempting to exploit the misery of the thousands of unemployed workers left behind by the runaway mills, they carried on a whispering campaign that the shops were forced to close down and move out-of-town because the union

demands were "hard" on the em-These self-styled "friends" of the knitgoods workers consistently opposed every constructive proposal of the administration, such as the establishment of the Sick and Relief Fund and the maintenance of the Educational Department. Even during the 1936 general strike, these people functioned primarily to advance their own factional, political have failed since their "issues" are

facts presented by the administraion and because the knitgoods workers refuse to take them seriously. In the union elections of March despite the economic hardships, was again victorious on the basis of its awards will be made by Dr. Dewey Tickets are available at prices ranging from \$3.50 to 55c., at the

accomplishments as the leadership | able to renew the collective agree of the union. This was conclusive | ment with improved conditions withproof of the confidence of the knit- out resorting to a general strike. leadership. Altho the unfavorable union and with knitgoods organizaindustrial conditions continued, the tion on a national scale, the employprogressive administration for the past two years has made not- | ly 1936 experiences. able progress in the organization of the unorganized in the New York area. 125 shops, employing 2,000 workers, have been unionized. This was accomplished as a result of the whole-hearted support given by the



LOUIS NELSON Manager of Knitgoods Union

important union activity. During these strike struggles, hundreds of knitgoods workers were arrested on a few of these problems: (1) the orthe picket lines. Our organizer, William Shaefer, spent four months in jail on a framed-up charge and several other knitgoods workers were sent to jail for one to three months | shops; (4) equalizing conditions in because of their activity on the pic- all knitgoods centers thruout the significant as it includes the Teachket lines. In Ridgewood, where organization is a most difficult job because most of the workers and employers are of German descent and signed in the various knitgoods cenare influenced by Nazi tendencies, our union has carried thru prolonged strikes, mass demonstrations and union membership will be necessary several leaflet campaigns. All the ar- for the accomplishment of these rests, jail sentences, injunctions, tasks. And it will surely be forthgrand jury indictments, and severe coming. economic conditions could not deter the progressive administration from chaos and confusion in the ranks of | carrying thru intensive drives to orthe workers at membership meetings ganize the unorganized. According Of State Laws will be a message to the audience and elsewhere. In this, however, they to the financial statements issued by repudiated on every occasion by the for the years 1936 and 1937, out of a total income of \$178,473.52, our union has spent for organization expenses, strike relief and legal fees \$51,669.42, or close to one-third of 1937, the progressive administration, its entire income. This is a record matched by few other locals. In the repeal state laws on criminal synpast four years, the knitgoods industry and the union have experienced gram includes drafts of bills for vited to speak (thanks to the press-90% turnover in shops. The union, however, has recouped these losses with newly organized shops and is now firmly established in hundreds of mills.

### **OUT-OF-TOWN**

ORGANIZATION In the organization of the out-oftown centers, our union played a significant role. The vital importance of organizing these centers was continuously advocated by the progressive administration and presented thru our manager, Louis Nelson, to the G.E.B. of the International. Finally, at the 1937 convention of the I.L.G.W.U., the resolution introduced by the progressive delegation of our union to start a nation-wide campaign to organize the entire knitgoods industry, was unanimously adopted. Immediately after the convention, the International began an intensive organization drive, in which hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent and ten new locals thruout the country were organized. In these widespread campaigns, the progressive administration of our union participated with everything at its disposal, moral and financial support, man-power, organizing ability and valuable advice.

### **Anti-Semitic** Prejudice in **Midwest**

Letter From Ft. Wayne **Describes Conditions** 

By F. N.

Fort Wayne, Indiana THERE seems to be a growing anti-Semitic tendency here in this part of the country. The local Medical Association rejected the application of a Jewish emigre from Germany with only 32 favorable votes. There are 28 Jewish doctors in the Association. The main attack was launched on the grounds that the refugee doctor was not an American citizen, despite the obvious fact that he has not been here long enough to become one. The good doctors oppose him because he is not an American, and Hitler persecuted him because he is not a good German. Such is life.

The Democratic party in the state certainly is in a ferment. A large groups. section of it is in favor of getting as much as possible before 1940, resigning itself to certain defeat then. There has been a shake-up in the State Labor Department, with a local man, former president of the Fort Wayne Central Labor Union, getting the sack. He was Assistant Commissioner of the Department too. There were other casualties in the same department, and what is more, the purge is being extended to other departments.

It begins to look as the McNutt will not resign his sinecure in the Philippines. Moreover, he is probably going to be willing to take something other than the nomination for the Presidency. McHale, the Democratic National Committeeman from Indiana, and McNutt's manager, attributes the decline of the Democrats in the state to: (1) loss of the farm vote due to the failure of the A.A.A.; (2) "disturbances" caused by the Fair Labor Standards Act; (3) demagogy of the Republicans in regard to the Townsend plan. He credits the Townsend group with over 100,000 members.

ruled against a recount of seven no C.I.O. activity on this score.

## **Trade Union Notes**

= by George F. Miles =

Stalinism Repeats Itself

THIS is not a story on developments in the United Automobile Workers of America but of an A.F. of L. affiliate—the International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union. But so universal and systematized have become Stalinism's union-busting activities that we have here almost an exact replica of the U.A.W. situation.

in alliance with Ossip Wolinsky, a former union official who had been expelled from the union on discovery that he was a partner in a luggage firm while holding union office, they precipitated a split at the national convention of the union. After strenuous efforts by the A.F. of L., both groups were brought together and a "peace" pact was signed. A General Executive Board was set up which soon began to line up on all questions 11 to 8 for the Stalinist block and a president was chosen, Samuel Reinlieb, agreeable to both

But, as in the United Automobile Workers, the Stalinist faction led by Wolinsky, Gewirtzman and Lubliner used this pact as a cloak for their faction manipulations.

Desperate over the sabotage of the Stalinst clique, President Reinlieb, who had been not unfriendly to them, finally broke with them and called an emergency convention of the union to be held during the coming month.

The rage of the Stalinists knows no bounds. Sensing that their control is in danger, they shout about "political manouvers" against "political" opponents and shed bitter tears, strictly of the crocodile

counties, for which the Republicans petitioned, on the ground that either counted. There will probably be a Van Nuys his seat.

for a Fair Labor Standards Act to he enacted at the coming session of The State Supreme Court has the state legislature. I have heard of

chapter earlier in the year had con-

in this connection.

traditions."

demned the Educational Vanguard

He ended with a warning against

their own merits and in the light of

Professor Hartman followed, trac-

ing the crisis in the union to the

Stalinist domination and methods.

showing that, thru tight organiza-

tion, 10% of the union had succeeded

and for the latter to take the offen-

The Stalinist struggle for power came to a head last May when, variety, about the unity of the organization being endangered by this

> emergency convention. Another interesting parallel with the situation in the U.A.W. is the claim by President Reinlieb that the Stalinists had decided in caucus to oust him when they discovered that he would not take dictation from them. This the Stalinists in the Pocketbook Union deny just as vigorously as do "Comrade" Gebert and his pals in the U.A.W.

In a statement by President Reinieb on the situation in the union, ne says:

"It is to be regretted, but it became evident soon (after the peace' pact) that some of the members of the General Executive Board and some of the officers did not take the 'peace' pact seriously They looked upon it as a nuisance to be gotten rid of at the first opportunity and then to take full power. To achieve this, it became necessary for them to remove certain influential union leaders, both local and national.

"This group conducted an endless faction war in the International and also at the meetings of the General Executive Board so that it became impossible to conduct the real business of the union.'

"I also wish to add," continues President Reinlieb, "that on the basis of the 'peace' pact adopted at all or none of the votes must be re- at the last convention, the General Executive Board was composed of useless appeal to the Senate to deny 11 from one side and 8 from the other. I had hoped that after the The state A. F. of L. is pressing convention we would soon forget the numbers 11 and 8 and that we would act as one General Executive Board where each votes according to his convictions. But unfortunately the 11 maintained a permanent caucus and even sought to force me to vote according to their caucus decisions. For a time, I went along with them and participated in their caucus in the hope that I could convince them to stop the fighting and establish peace in the union.

"When I finally convinced myself that this was impossible, I left them and no longer had anything to do with their caucus. This made my situation that much more difficult because the caucus undertook a campaign against me and made mywork much more difficult. Not only "approaching problems of American did they do nothing for the union Teachers Union took another big labor as a faction of the Russian but they hindered and undermined ive force in every field of union step forward last week when on revolutionary movement and on the me and other officers who were con-

Very naive people believe, and clever politicians utilize, the Communist Party's sham cry of "Love-American conditions, background and stoneism" in the case of the U.A.W. Here, in the Pocketbook Workers Union, is a situation which in every essential parallels developments in the U.A.W. The common factor in these, as in so many other hardfought union battles now going on, in making the union an auxiliary of is not "Lovestoneism" but the the Stalinist party. He called for orunprincipled and ruthless struggle ganization of the independent forces for political domination of the trade unions by the Stalinists and the equally stubborn and widespread determination of rank-and-file workers to retain the trade unions as free institutions of labor unfettered by orders from Stalin.

### Columbia Teachers When industrial conditions improved somewhat, the union succeeded, in the period from August to the mid-

### **Revolt Against Stalinist Rule Mounts**

By D. BENJAMIN

New York City THE rebellion against Stalinist domination in the New York Thursday, January 12, the Columbia basis of its background, traditions ducting the union's business. University chapter of the College and problems; rather problems in Teachers Union, Local 537, A.F.T., this country must be tackled on adopted a resolution disavowing the public attacks by the local administration upon Professor Childs and calling for withdrawal of the attacks upon him as well as for a public apology. This took place after a three-hour debate on the question, with Professors Counts and Hartman leading the fight against the administration, all of whose leading spokesmen, Professors Burgum and Bernhard Stern and Mr. Shukatoff, took the floor. The action of the Columbia University chapter is most ers College division where the whole controversy originated and whose members are thoroly acquainted with the facts and issues involved in

Another sign of the rising tide of sentiment against the Stalinist domination of the union was indicated by the attendance of over 250 at the Independent Group meeting of Local 5, A.F.T., held on Thursday, January 19, with Professors Counts and Hartman, the latter chairman of the Columbia University chapter of the union, as speakers.

Dr. Counts expressed his regrets at having been prevented from presenting his views to the entire Local s membership, thru the action of the eadership in changing the union meeting at which he was to speak into an open meeting, in spite of the fact that he had been originally inure of the Independent Group) to a closed union membership meeting.

Real unity in the teachers union movement as in the labor movement, he pointed out, cannot be achieved on the basis of "superficial pacification" but only thru "getting to the roots of problems and working in a democratic manner." He emphasized that there must be "honesty, integrity, and fair-mindedness, if the democratic form was to be filled with democratic substance" and in this connection minced no words in his indictment of the leadership of the College Teachers Union, an indictment that would hit equally well the leadership of Local 5.

He refuted point by point the charges made by the College Teachers Union leadership in the campaign of character assassination against Dr. Childs. He showed the connection of the present crisis with the crisis at the time Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz left the union, and called for the unity of the Teachers Union and the Teachers Guild. Professor Counts denounced the Educational Vanguard, Communist Party organ in Columbia University

for its unscrupulousness and showed the damage it had done to the cause of unionism as well as of liberalism

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Voice"): Thought Control on the Feb. 24.—Benjamin Stolberg ("Story

of the C.I.O."): Figures and Figureheads of the Labor Movement. March 3.—Nathaniel M. Minkoff (Leader of the American Labor Party delegation in the 1938 Assembly): American Labor and Politics. March 10.—Lewis Corey ("Decline of

March 17.—Philip Rahv (Editor, Partisan Review): Left Literature in

Economy Today.

American Capitalism"): American

March 24.—Horace Coon ("Money To Burn"): Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life. March 31.—Will Herberg (Editor Workers Age): Trends in American Governmental Structure.

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#### DANGEROUSLY CLOSE DESULTS have just become

 $\blacksquare$  known of the balloting for a collective-bargaining agency among the utility workers in the Saginaw Valley. As in the case of the recent balloting here in New York among taxicab drivers, so also now, in fact more so, was the decision much too close for comfort. The Michigan utility workers cast a plurality for the Utility Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. headed by Ian. 27—Angelica Balabanoff ("My Allan Haywood, but it was a plurality of only 92. The vote was 1164 for the C.I.O., 1072 for the A. F. of L., while 506 expressed no choice whatever. Because the C.I.O. did not secure 51% of the vote, another election may be necessary.

Having been thru the Saginaw Valley during the days when the Stalinist adventurer, Stonkus, was running amuck in the region, I have not the slightest doubt that the loss of support by the C.I.O. affiliate can be charged to his activities and those of his party comrades. That the C.I.O. affiliate led at all is due to the praiseworthy support given the utility workers by President Homer Martin and the members of the United Automobile Workers and by the fact that Allan Haywood dispensed with the services of Stonkus and himself pitched in to do as good a job as could be expected under the circum-

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### **Shyster Politics Defeats Itself**

### Stachel Slays the "Lovestoneites"

By ROBERT WALTERS

66STOP thief!" has always been the favorite device of the miscreant caught red-handed in order to divert attention from himself. Now that the Stalinists are beginning to feel increasingly hard-pressed by the exposure of their unscrupulous intrigues in the trade-union movement, it is natural that they should try to "answer" by launching into frantic and incoherent attacks on the "Lovestoneites." And it is equally natural that a personage such as Jack Stachel should be chosen for

harangue at a meeting in New York and Harry Bridges was still fighting City a few weeks ago, as reported to keep his organization out of the in the Daily Worker of January 6. Most of his speech is not worth even slogan still was: "For a powerful phrases meaning nothing but hiding a great deal. There are one or two aspects of his remarks, however, that merit some attention, primarily because they throw light on the unsavory record and methods of the Communist Party itself.

#### STACHEL'S

"INDICTMENT"

Stachel's "indictment" of the "Lovestoneite disrupters" is somewhat hard to follow but, insofar as it makes sense, it seems to be based on three points: (1) the Lovestoneites have always been hostile to the justed to play a disruptive role [in the C.I.O.] . . . to coincide with the requirements of fascism"; (2) this is clearly proven by the fact that the Lovestoneite Zimmerman voted for the withdrawal of the I.L.G.W.U. from the C.I.O.; and (3) the Lovestoneites "place the blame on the C.I.O. for the failure of the [unity] negotiations.'

"Stachel recalled," the Daily Worker report states, "how before and during C.I.O. formative stages, thing short of fascism. the Lovestoneites took a pro-A. F. of L. Executive Council attitude, demanding surrender to it at any price." It is hardly necessary to add that this is nothing but a clumsy

We were among the first to endorse the original program and purposes of the C.I.O. and to stress its progressive mission in driving for permanent and competitive labor the organization of the mass-production industries in the only way they could possibly be organized, along industrial lines. We recognized that to accomplish this task, a life-and-death task for American labor, it might be necessary to break thru the official framework of the that the I.L.G.W.U. remain indepenview of the diehard attitude of the Federation leadership. We took active part in the with both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. in great historical struggles that estable every way possible, was a statement lished unionism in the basic indus- of realistic and broad-visioned policy tries of this country. Our members and certainly deserved the unanimand supporters were always to be ous support it received. Chas. S. ification of any sort.

**STALINITES** AND THE C.I.O.

And the Stalinites? What were they saying and doing just about this time? It was in June 1935 that Jack Stachel, the very Jack Stachel who now presumes to indict us, wrote as follows in the Communist, official publication of the Communist

"The crisis within the A.F. of L. over policies for or against the in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself, these labor lieutenants of capitalism are fighting over questions of how best to check and control the rank and file, how to prevent strikes, how to keep the masses chained to the policies of class collaboration. Moreover, people like John L. Lewis fear that the old craft-union policies, applied to such industries as auto. rubber and steel, may well lead to the formation of mass industrial unions outside the A. F. of L. Furthermore, Lewis believes that thru strongly centralized national industrial unions, led by people like himself, he can convince the employers that he can offer the best guarantees against strikes by agreements such as he signed in the name of the coal miners. In this view, John L. Lewis and Major Berry, both the most outspoken and infamous strike-breakers in the country, are joined by such men as Hugh Johnson, Moley, the original brain-truster of President Roosevelt, and many industrialists and bankers. It is clear the fight for pose in the attack on Zimmerman is militant industrial class trade unions

lagainst the Greens and the Wolls, but against the Lewises and Berrys as well" — (The Communist, June,

For months thereafter, the Communist Party remained more than dubious about the C.I.O. even tho it began to scrap its dual unionism. Towards the end of 1936, the Stalinites were still playing their shady game of intrigue with President Wharton of the machinists, whom they hailed as a "real progressive." As late as the Spring of 1937, the progressives in the furriers and office-workers unions were savagely attacked by the Stalinist leadership All this is apropos of Stachel's for urging affiliation to the C.I.O. Lewis camp. At this time, the C.P.

a word of passing comment; it is A. F. of L.", completely ignoring made up of the old, well-worn the C.I.O. Then, towards the Summer of 1937, they made their shift. aligned themselves with the C.I.O. and began to permeate it, primarily in order to advance their own partisan, factional interests. And these are the people who dare to question our position in the labor movement!

But precisely because our policy

s determined by the interests of the labor movement and not by any nar- ficers row partisan considerations, we have | Martin of the editorship of the union refused to adopt the worshipful, un- paper and filled the vacancy with critical attitude towards the C.I.O. the well-know Communist Party that is so common in certain member, Carl Haessler, and when it quarters. We have never hesitated finally proceeded to raise once again to put our finger on the sore spot, the impeachment of President Mar-C.I.O. and their "policy always ad- to uncover and direct attention to tin, then it became clear to President mistakes, abuses and dangerous Martin and his supporters that delipolicies in the C.I.O. whenever they have manifested themselves, and national Board was carrying thru a unfortunately they have been manifesting themselves all too frequently of late. To Stachel, this apparently amounts to "adjustments . . . to naked fact of the previously executcoincide with the requirements of ed split and to give it a fictitious fascism." And naturally so; to any- legality. one bred in the Stalinist hero-cult, any sign of independent thinking must necessarily appear to be no-

### WITHDRAWAL OF I.L.G.W.U.

FROM C.I.O. In view of the traditional attitude of the I.L.G.W.U., in view of the very basis on which it had originally joined the C.I.O., the withdrawal of this union, once the C.I.O. had decided to set itself up officially as a federation, was obviously the only logical step under the circumstances, all the more so in view of the intolerable regime prevalent in the C.I.O. The resolution adopted by the recent General Executive Board meeting in Washington, providing lent for the time being, keep on working for unity and cooperate

found in the front ranks where con- Zimmerman voted for this resolustructive service was required. Our tion, along with the others, declaring record during this critical period | that he agreed with it in spirit and speaks for itself and needs no just- in letter. He added, however, a suggestion that the Board send a delegation to the Pittsburgh convention of the C.I.O., then beginning its sessions, for the purpose of making another last plea on behalf of its unity program. Zimmerman's proposal was not accepted. Now Stachel whips himself up into a frenzy of abuse against Zimmerman for the latter's alleged "support of the anti-C.I.O. elements in the I.L.G.W.U." by voting for the Executive Council is, of course, not ident Dubinsky. But notice! Stachel workers. Reflecting the differences President Dubinsky ("We can understand Dubinsky's problem").

He says nothing at all about the real anti-C.I.O. elements in the I.L. G.W.U., such as Vice-President Breslaw, who opposed any connection with the C.I.O. in the first place and were overruled only by the pressure of President Dubinsky. But he roars like a very lion-altho the lion's skin does not quite hide the ass's ears—at Zimmerman, the most consistent advocate of the C.I.O. on the Board, the only one, moreover, to urge sending a delegation to the Pittsburgh convention.

Figure this out for yourself. SHYSTER POLITICS

It can easily be figured out if it is remembered that what concerns the Stalinites is not the welfare of the labor movement, not the welfare of the C.I.O. as part if it, but their own narrow, factional interests as a clique striving unscrupulously to subject what they can of the labor movement to their power. Their purobviously to sow dissension in the is the fight of the masses and will I.L.G.W.U., to play off one against be won, not only in the struggle another, to "isolate" the Lovestone-

### The "Enemy At Home"

TIME, the weekly news-magazine, which is known to be very close to official sources of information, reported in its August 22

"Today, the U.S. army has no idea where it will have to fight next, but its job is to be ready whatever the spot. Purely on the laws of political probability the army's present guesses rate future wars in the following order of likelihood: 1) civil uprisings on the U.S. mainland—some sort of trouble in the social order; 2) war in South America in case fascist economic penetration rubs the U.S. past endurance; 3) war in Europe or Asia for any reason; 4) least likely of all, invasion of the U.S. mainland.

In the same connection, it called attention to the existence of the General Staff "White Paper"—a "thoro plan for suppressing

civil disorder in the U. S. Somewhat later, in its September 12 issue, it noted a shift of General Headquarters of the Army's Air Force from Langley Field, near Hampton, Va., to Scott Field, near Chicago, and commented: 'Incidental (unpublicized) advantage: if the U.S. ever goes to the barricades and the army has to put out its 'White Paper' for combating civil insurrection, the air command will be centrally placed for operations in any direction."

No wonder they call it "national defense"—the defense of the "haves" against the "have-nots"!

### $\it UAWSplitAsBoard$ Defies Membership

### **President Martin Acts to Protect Union**

(Continued from Page 1) and organizers, stripped berately and in cold blood the Intersplit in the union. The packed convention in Cleveland was to serve merely as a fig-leaf to cover up the

Under these circumstances, Martin supporters state, they had no choice but to fight to protect the interests of the membership of the union which, in overwhelming numbers, had shown their loyalty to President Martin and his policies and their opposition to the Stalinists and their allies. The result was the suspension of fifteen Board members, a strategical move of considerable shrewdness in that it threw into chaos the well-laid plans of the International Board and exposed its true role as a faction and not as a

leadership of the union. President Martin has now an nounced that a convention of the union will be held in Detroit during the first part of March. Exact information as to date and arrangements are still lacking.

by the Board a few days before.

66 ■ N a situation so tense and volatile, it is difficult to say what will happen. The International Board is jittery and panicky. That the disaffected membership looks to Martin for leadership they know; that President Martin's position has become stronger they concede. And they are fearful lest continued delay will strengthen President Martin to a point where any resistance on their part will be futile. The danger now exists that this feeling of despair may give rise to some adventurist and irresponsible move on the part of the Board which might endanger the unity of the organization."—George F. Miles, Workers Age, January 14, 1939.

The suspended Board members then met and "impeached" and "suspended" Martin from the presidency. An interesting item in the long indictment is the revival of the Ford 'company-union" slander which the Board had itself discarded two days Ford workers.

### C.I.O. ATTITUDE

A meeting of the International statement whatever as to its at- goods requires far more labor than Board, in the absence of the sus- titude but the suspended Board for the normal products. The cost plants to manufacturing military pended members, approved Presi- members are loud in their claim of of manufacturing synthetic rubber airplanes, tanks, etc.; still more men dent Martin's action, appointed support by C.I.O. This claim appears and synthetic gasoline is more than put to work. Then withdraw two mil-Loren Houser to serve as secretary- to be substantiated by the large contreasurer, restored Martin's editor- tingents of C.I.O. organizers from ship of the United Automobile all over the country who have been Worker, and reinstated Managing converging on Detroit to aid the Editor John Tate who had been fired suspended officers carry thru the split in the organization.

by fishing in troubled waters. It is state of division in labor's ranks the kind of shyster politics that is the essence of Stalinism and for chieftains who would not allow the which Stachel is particularly fitted industrial organization of the massby nature and training.

But all in vain, we can safely preworld to be taken in with such shabby trickery and the dressmakers of Local 22, who know Zimmerman and the progressive administration, are not at all the gullible fools Stachel thinks they are. Just let his stooges in the Dressmakers Union try his shyster "strategy" and see how far they get.

### OF UNITY

As for unity, there is little that can be said here that has not been repeatedly emphasized in this paper. Unity was always necessary but today it is absolutely indispensable. The continuation of the civil war in labor's ranks for another year would be a veritable disaster. It is surely not necessary to pile up evidence to prove that today two labor movements may come in effect to mean no labor movement at all. The events of the past year speak plainly

enough on that score. in labor's ranks. In a resolution published in the November 12, 1938 issue of this paper, we pointed out

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ites, and then see what they can get | that "ultimate responsibility for the rests with the diehard craft-union production workers to take place within the framework of the A. F. dict. Dubinsky is the last man in the of L." But we do say that certain top leaders of the C.I.O. have shown a total failure to understand both the urgency of trade-union unity and their responsibility in helping to bring it about. This was to be seen clearly at the Pittsburgh convention which, in its official action, slammed the door on unity at least as hard as the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. a few weeks before.

We maintain, too, that the basis for unity developed at the negotiations at Washington in December 1937 are quite acceptable in the sense of guaranteeing the C.I.O. the essentials of any genuine "peace" plan: a guarantee of industrial inionism for the mass-production industries and the preservation of the great achievements of the C.I.O. in organizing the mass-production workers. We believe it was a big mistake for the C.I.O. to have rejected the December proposals as at least a tentative basis for peace negotiations. We believe, too, that It is not true, and Stachel of the sooner negotiations are resumed course knows it is not true, that we on this or any equivalent basis, the "blame" the C.I.O. for the disunity better it will be for the labor movement. And the labor movement can't

afford to wait too long.

What about the Stalinites? They vork the word "unity" until it is literally done to death; in the Stachel report, it is repeated fifty times if it is mentioned once. And yet the Stalinites are the bitterest, the most treacherous foes of unity. Read the minutes of the Pittsburgh C. I.O. convention and you will see that the most furious opposition to taking any practical steps towards unity came from such Stalinites as Bridges, Quill, Flaxer, Mortimer and Merril. The Stalinites understand very well that unity would deal a fatal blow to their schemes and speculations, to their sinister manouvers for clique control, to their whole strategy of "rule or ruin." Stalinism thrives on the difficulties and misfortunes of the labor movement and naturally tries to aggravate and perpetuate them.

That is wh, a prime requisite for a healthy and effective labor move-Stalinist influence wherever it may show itself.

## Shall We Follow In Nazi Ways?

### Fascism Does Not Solve Problems

By ALBERT EASTON

N his recent message to Congress, President Roosevelt said: "We are compelled to admit that they (the dictators) have obtained substantial utilization of all their material and human resources. Like it or not, they have solved, for a time at least, the problem of idle men and idle capital." There are grave implications in these two sentences, for once you accept the claim that fascism can solve the problem of unemployment and "idle capital," you have broken one of the ideological barriers to fascism. Yet a few elementary facts and a few moments of thought are enough to show how false the claims of the

APPEARANCES

Since the war, Germany has never nad the problem of "idle capital" in real sense, for the simple reason that it had become a debtor instead of a creditor nation. Have we forgotten the huge credits extended for some time from a superabundcountry that has a lack of capital is

lack of "idle capital." At the very outset, it should be realized that the absence of unemployment in Germany is no indication of economic health. An English writer, Geoffrey Crowther, showed in an article in the New York Times Magazine of September 18, 1938 that, in spite of all Nazi boasts, ahead of that chronic economic invalid, Great Britain. According to ahead of those of Germany for the same period. At the same time, according to official figures, real income fell 2% in Germany and rose COPY 11% in the United Kingdom. The figure for Germany does not take account of the forced "voluntary" contributions of the German masses. Nor is the quality of goods con-

l sidered. But the poor quality of many types of German goods is a decisive factor before when it ordered Martin to in the absence of "idle men." The proceed with negotiations for the | plan to make Germany economically self-sufficient (autarchy) calls for the building up of a huge industry of manufacturing "ersatz" (subfive times as high as the production of the natural raw materials. The of the dictator countries. Then take extraction of iron from the poor Ger- away the jobs of a million more on man mines takes four times as long some racial or political ground and as from the rich Swedish mines, strike them from the roll of "emcolossal waste of human effort. And emulation.

this waste of human effort means a terrific lowering of the living standards of the people.

The Nazis have solved the "prob-

WHY NO "IDLE MEN"?

lem of idle men" because idleness has become a form of mass punishment and mass reward. The official unemployment figures are computed exclusively on the basis of persons registered at the state unemployment agencies. The thousands of anti-fascist workers who are shut off from any possibility of finding employment, are either omitted or put down as "unemployables." These 'unemployables" are, of course, not counted. That the extent of unemployment in Germany is falsified by official sources is made clear by the discrepancy of a full million between the unemployment figures as published by the government employment agencies and those given out by the sick-benefit associations. It must be remembered, too, that more than a million able-bodied workers thru the Dawes Plan and later thru were absorbed into the army, that the Young Plan? It is a complete 500,000 or more young men eighteen miscomprehension to think that be- years or older are in labor camps cause the United States has suffered and that at least 500,000 are wearing the uniform of the Storm ance of capital, that therefore every Troopers or some similar group, to say nothing of the tremendous staff economically sound. The problem of functionaries employed by the for Nazi Germany is precisely the German Labor Front and other Nazi party organizations. In addition, there has been a monstrous swelling

in the size of the civil-service staff. By way of illustration, we might mention the shortage of engineers which is mounting steadily in Germany. But such shortages can very easily be created anywhere. Drive out all the non-Aryans and anti-German industrial recovery was not fascists from the engineering profession, place the remainder in war industry; and, to complete the job, dustrial production and employment we will guarantee that every refrom 1929 to 1937 were considerably maining engineer will have a job as long as he lives.

### EASY TO

Such "substantial utilization of all their material and human resources' in his message could easily be achieved here. Require every automobile to be manufactured of American materials only. What does it lion men for an army to match those from which ore would ordinarily be ployable." By this time, unemployimported. The net result of the ment, as officially recorded, will manufacture of substitutes is an ap- probably have "disappeared." These parent reduction of unemployment are conditions that President Roose which, in reality, is nothing but a velt holds up for our envy and

### MARTIN STATES THE FACTS



Homer Martin, (at extreme right) president of the United Automobile Workers, gives the press the straight story on the U.A.W. faction fight.

### Sacrifice for What?

By FRANK D. SLOCUM

A N ounce of renunciation is worth a pound of denunciation.

'democraciès' to renounce any profits from trade with aggressor fascist for their profits, they will sacrifice, powers, lies the trouble. And all the life, liberty and security of their their high-sounding denunciation of people. the latter cannot succeed in concealing this fact.

There is no weaker reed to depend on, in resisting fascism, than capitalist "democracy." Profits at any makers and money-lenders have themselves built up. Profits at any unwilling to renounce anythingprice—at the price of what liberties the profiteers.

peoples do possess, of security of their life and livelihood. To make the world safe for de-

mocracy, capitalist "democracies" In the unwillingness of capitalist will not sacrifice one jot of their profits, but to make the world safe

It is for those called upon to make the sacrifices to determine the object for which they make them. For a deeper democracy than political, for higher liberties than those of exprice is their motto. Their munition- ploitation, workers must be prepared to make sacrifices. Nothing is profited in building up anti-demo- gained without sacrifice. But never cratic forces. They will profit again again must denunciations delude ment is the thoro elimination of in an attempt to destroy what they them into making sacrifices for those

### Who Learns From Whom?

ROM the New York World-Telegram of December 27,

"NAZIS URGE JIM-CROW CARS FOR JEWS 'ON U. S.

"BERLIN, Dec. 27. — Jim-Crow cars for the segregation of traveling Jews were demanded today by Das Schwarze Korps, organ of Adolf Hitler's elite guard, which pointed to the example of southern sections of the United States.

"'If the state railways, be cause of well-considered financial grounds, cannot decide to forbid Jews completely the use of railroad sleepers, then at least they should assign Jews special sections,' the weekly publication said.

"In ordinary cars, it said, special compartments should be labeled for Jews only, just as travelers with dogs may use only those sections assigned them. By that we do not mean to say anything against gentlemen with dogs.

"In the freest land on earth, Das Schwarze Korps said, it is not permitted for Negro citizens to sit next a white person in a train even if the white person may only be a sewer cleaner and the Negro a world champion boxer or otherwise a national hero. The democratic example shows us all how we have to solve the problem of traveling Jews."

### Books =by Jim Cork =

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERN-MENT IN ENGLAND: a Commentary, by Harold J. Laski Viking Press, New York. 1938.

IKE most of Mr. Laski's works, this book is lucid, spiritedly this writer, England's gains in in- disrupt the educational system—and written and eminently sound in its main thesis—as far as it goes.

It is more than a commentary on parliamentary government in England. Mr. Laski's method is first to describe the traditional conventions and institutions of the English variety of parliamentary democracy and to examine them critically in as the President credits to Germany their own terms. The next step is to show that these terms, within which parliamentary democracy is a stable, going concern, imply an expanding capitalism and the genera! matter if twenty or so component agreement of all parties on the materials have to be imported? Re- economic foundations of society. place them with poorer but more ex- Until after the World War, Mr. pensive substitutes. That will put Laski maintains, these conditions more men to work. The cars will existed by and large and parliawear out faster; more will be mentary democracy was quite work-Officially, the C.I.O. has made no stitute) products. Producing ersatz bought; that will put still more men able. Since then, however, these conditions have been rapidly disappearing: capitalism is obviously in decline and one of the two great parties in the state, the Labor party, is officially challenging the basic postulates of capitalism. Parliamentary democracy, therefore, is necessarily breaking down. It is no longer adequate. Capitalism in decay drives towards authoritarianism while socialism, Mr. Laski implies, requires some other type of political organization of society.

This fundamental thesis the author develops in a series of really brilliant essays on the party system, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the cabinet, the civil service, the courts and the monarchy. The conclusion is the same in each: the conditions that once made the parliamentary system so eminently workable are now rapidly passing away.

The great shortcoming of the work-and there are a number of minor defects—is that it never gets beyond its negative conclusion. In his book on the state, published four years ago, Mr. Laski, if I remember correctly, never even raised the question whether the fundamental structural form of the state might not have to change with its changing class-economic content. In this book, he goes one step beyond. He does recognize "the general thesis that forms of government are contained by the economic principle they express and that they disappear as that principle ceases to meet the needs of the new time." But, altho the idea is repeated several times in various forms, this is as far as Mr. Laski ever gets. What "new forms of government" would be suitable to socialism? How about the n o n-parliamentary, non-burocratic type of democracy that Marx saw in the Paris Commune and Lenin advocated in his "State and Revolution?" Such questions receive no answer in these pages, except as Mr. Laski's unconvincing criticism of non-territorial types of representation and uncritical acceptance of the professional officialdom as an eternal necessity, may be regarded as an answer by implication.

WILL HERBERG

### Timely Pamphlets

People's Front Illusion, by Jay Lovestone ..

Where We stand: Program of the I.L.L.A.

New Frontiers for Labor, by Jay Lovestone .....

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1939. NO.

### CRISIS IN THE C.I.O.

WHEN the top leaders of the C.I.O. openly back a breakaway movement in the United Automobile Workers of America to the point even of "suspending" its regularly elected president, who is there left who can close his eyes to the profound crisis in the grip of which the C.I.O. finds itself today?

The situation in the U.A.W. is the most dramatic expression of the crisis but by no means the only one. The rupture with the I L.G.W.U. a few months ago was a manifestation of equal significance. At that time, the C.I.O. lost what is probably the most progressive, most effective and best established of the older unions in this country; now the C.I.O. is losing its banner union among the new organizations. And fundamentally for the same causes.

At the root of the crisis in the C.I.O. is the utter failure of the top leadership to live up to its great responsibilities and tasks. This top leadership has inflicted upon the movement a regime more undemocratic in its super-centralized control than anything ever seen in the American labor movement before. It has turned a deaf ear to the growing demand for labor unity in the ranks of the workers, despite the fact that the possibility for a constructive, lasting peace already exists. It has entered into an unacknowledged alliance with the Stalinist wreckers in the C.I.O., giving them aid and comfort at every turn, protecting them against the well-justified wrath of the rank and file on the increasingly numerous occasions when the latter arise in a determination to clean house in their unions. Taken all in all, it is by no means an exaggeration to say that this top leadership, symbolized by (perhaps "embodied in" would be more nearly correct!) John L. Lewis, is today one of the most serious handicaps the industrial-union movement has to face.

The I.L.G.W.U. was forced to break with the C.I.O. primarily Lenin the man died, his work because of Lewis's stubborn refusal to take any practical step has suffered untold outrage at the ly declared the soviets to be useless leading to unity. The breach, however, was greatly widened by hands of his self-styled followers. the intolerable regime in the C.I.O. which virtually excludes everypooly except John L. Lewis and those whom he may choose to such transformation in goal, structure and philosophy that, among we may be sure that the arrogant way in which the Stalinites have wide sections of the labor movebody except John L. Lewis and those whom he may choose to been using their foothold in the C.I.O. to advance their narrow ment, all of the original teachings partisan interests, with the blessings and connivance of important and practises of V. I. Lenin have C.I.O. leaders, did not help matters any.

In the case of the U.A.W., we have another aspect of the same situation. In a desire to prevent the emergence of an independent, self-reliant leadership in this union, in a desire, too, to aid the Stalinites in their intrigues for control, Lewis and his associates have striven for more than a year to get rid of President Martin and take over the union under their direct control thru a puppet tion of perfection. That Catholic regime. To accomplish this, they have ridden roughshod over all principles, traditions and decencies of the labor movement, even over their own constitution, tho that certainly gives them wide enough powers in all conscience. But what are principles, traditions or constitutions to these people hell-bent for domination without regard to consequences?

The most promising movement—experience teaches us—may be brought to ruin by the folly, blindness or wrongheadedness critical revaluation that has been of its leadership. So it may be with the C.I.O.

### No Thank You, Mr. Corcoran!

TOM CORCORAN, New Deal man for "inside" jobs, is in New York for an extended stay, according to a report in the New treason of his followers, Lenin still country. York Herald-Tribune last week. Tommy, as is well known, hopes against hope to make the Democratic party a New Deal party, even the "advanced" and "progressive" program of the Roosevelt group is itself fast being devoured by the hungry flames of war preparations and will soon find itself distinguished from the conservative Democrats by only the vaguest of phrases.

But the New Dealers are already worried about the 1940 convention and have a special interest in the New York delegation. Mr. Corcoran is, they say, in deep pow-pow with the Tammany sachems to discover their price for supporting his presidential candidate. More important than such inner-party manouverings, even tho they give us a glimpse of New Deal "progressivism," is the very especial future Mr. Corcoran has devised for the American Labor Party.

"The Corcoran program," the Herald-Tribune report runs, "to annex the New York delegation to the New Deal chariot is said to call for the wholesale enrollment of American Labor Party members as Democrats this Fall so they may vote for delegates in the Democratic presidential primary the following Spring.

"New Deal chiefs insist that the shop foremen of the needletrades industry, who control the bulk of the American Labor Party vote, can deliver at least 75,000 votes in Manhattan, and an equal number in the Bronx, and a high as 100,000 in Brooklyn."

This might enable Mr. Corcoran to capture a majority of the New York convention delegation, even if Tammany turned a cold shoulder to his proposition.

But just where would it get the American Labor Party as an independent party of labor with its own program and goal and its already recorded achievements? Not for the New Deal to worry about, perhaps, but plenty for labor in New York and nationally to think about.

Tommy Corcoran's "program" would mean nothing less than the complete dismantling of the American Labor Party! The A.L.P. was born by separation from the New Deal tendency in the Democratic party, and has grown in struggle against the official New York City organization of that party, Tammany Hall. Its city Both are ultra-democratic forms, councilmen find the Democratic delegation a bitter foe; its state assemblymen bucked the Democratic as well as the Republican block in order to make their voice heard. Yet now the New Deal schemes to get one of the most politically advanced and stable of the popular will thru parliamensections of the labor movement to lie down like a lamb with the tarism or burocracy. The ideal of lion of Tammany!

What the American Labor Party has achieved has been precisely because of its independent organization—because it stood on its own feet. It is now asked to dissolve itself as a party and disappear into nothingness for the sake of a dubious "primary done to the Russian soviets. progressivism."

No thank you, Mr. Corcoran!

### Courses In New School Term

SOME CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISM, Will Herberg Monday-7. P. M. Begins January 30) 10 Sessions. \$2 for

LABOR'S ROAD FORWARD: Principles of Revolutionary M. S. Mautner Socialism . . Tues.-8:15 P. M. (Beg. Jan. 31). 10 Sessions. \$2 for course.

LARGER ASPECTS OF THE NEW DEAL . . . Jay Lovestone A critical examination of the political, social and economic aspects of the New Deal. Wed.—8:15 P. M. (Beg. Feb. 1) Course fee \$1.

(The course on "The State of American Civilization" is described elsewhere in this issue.)

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE, 131 W. 33rd St. N. Y. C.



### The Universal and the Russian in Lenin

### For Him Theory Was No Dogma but Guide to Action

By M. S. MAUTNER

N the short fifteen years since been cast into disrepute.

#### CRITICAL REVALUATION

Now these notes are not intended to counter such an attitude with unquestioning and dogmatic asserpretension to infallibility, which has cursed the revolutionary movement so long and made impossible the flourishing of the true Marxist spirit of scientific inquiry and analysis, is fortunately foreign to our ideas What we need is a discussion of the problem in line with the spirit of permeating the international labor movement during the past five years or so. Such an investigation, written even in these days, cannot but convince us that despite the Byzantine hero-cult around his name or the form was to be, the great Marxists.

Lenin's greatness lay not merely in his zealous defense of proletarian class interests or his militant, unyielding policy driving towards socialism, but in his recognition of the conditional validity, in time and place, of many of his own major strategical concepts. Let us examine, to glimpse what was Russian and what universal, what was Lenin's thought and what the cult's dogma, the ideas of Lenin on the basic structure of the workers state and on the nature of a revolutionary international organization of labor.

#### SOVIETS "EVERYWHERE"?

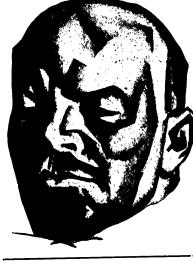
The political experience of the working class in revolutionary crises has been that the governmental machine, the state, is molded to the needs of the ruling class, and that labor must develop its own state form to carry on its socialist work. Such is the lesson of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution; such, in negative fashion, is the lesson of the German events. The form this new state is to take was, until the Spanish civil war, regarded as hardly more than a replica of the Russian soviet, described by Lenin as the historical development and successor of the Paris Commune.

Now what is there common to both the Commune and the soviet, as types of governmental structure? designed to make possible self-government and self-administration by the masses without the stultification the democratic commune-state, analyzed with such passion and clarity by Lenin, is the heart of his teachings and retains its universal validity in spite of what Stalin has

But with the universal, there is INTERNATIONAL also the conditional and specific. The actual form which the Russian commune-state took was largely conditioned by the country in which it most numerous class, a country own unions, which were economic extensions of the political party, the feeder for the party and its belt-

connection with the masses. Without a long tradition of mass labor organization, the Russian workers groped for some time to

as August 1917, at the semi-illegal ample of his profound political 6th congress of the Bolshevik party, vision. the leadership of the party practicalas vehicles for the socialist aspira- revolutionary socialist movement, tions of the Russian workers. In a few weeks, Lenin changed his mind, to defeat itself. Socialist parquite correctly; but it is clear that, once granting the need of a new state-form, Lenin had no preconceived notion of exactly what that



The specific Russian soviet form was effective in Russia because there existed no other well-established mass labor organizations. In Spain, on the other hand, the tendency in the early days of 1936 insofar as it developed enough to be observed, was to rally the workers around the trade unions, as military and state organs, as well as economic institu-

Altho the very term soviet is linked so closely with the name of Lenin that it appears to be a pillar of Leninism, the fact is that the probability of its being limited in its specific form to Russia was clearly recognized by Lenin himself, especially in connection with the Shop Stewards movement that spread over England immediately after the war.

For Lenin, the Russian soviet was no dogma, no universal, unchangeable form, which, once "discoverd" by himself as "beloved leader" of the working class, was then to be deeded without change to a grateful international movement. For Lenin, the revolution was motion-constant change, experience, discovery, new analysis.

How sensitive Lenin was to the specific, to the "exceptional," to the changing conditions from one country to another, is shown by the striking fact that the validity of his own (Russian) teachings on party structure for the West European and American movements was questioned by no one as much as by himself. Having written "What is to be Done?" in 1902 for the Russian movement working under conditions of Czarist illegality, Lenin believed mechanical imitation of the teachings of this work to be not only useless but positively dangerous to the non-Russian parties of the Communist International, and, in 1921, even objected to having it translated

### THE NEW

With the collapse of capitalism in jail. thruout so much of Europe at the end of the war and with the tremendous, blinding enthusiasm arose. This was a country with only that pulsed thru the veins of the the beginnings of capitalism and working class after the Russian industry, a country in which the Revolution, came the conviction that peasantry was overwhelmingly the world revolution was on the order of the day everywhere. This eage: without a trade-union movement of anticipation accentuated the already any important size or tradition. fundamental cleavage in the social The Russian Bolsheviks formed their ist movement on the war question. If world proletarian revolution was in the offing, and this forecast could be verified only by revolutionary struggle, then a revolutionary party capable of living up to its historical role was obviously necessary. Lenin's emphasis on the fundamental find a suitable vehicle for their task of recreating revolutionary inrevolutionary aspirations. As late ternational socialism is another ex- is a state and not a federal matter.

But today we can see that the mechanical process of creating a frequently followed by Lenin, tended ties were split the world over, without regard to time or circumstances, in order to create "vanguards of the proletariat." These split parties, by the very nature of their formation, directed their energies in such a way against the social-democratic movement as to isolate and obstruct the very revolutionary influence they were to spread. Even the famous "twentyone points" made dual revolutionary unionism mandatory upon the parties applying for admission to the Communist International.

Repeatedly Lenin fought, even in nimself, the tendency to elevate the specifically Russian in revolutionary experience to the plane of universal validity. He certainly cannot be accused of having attempted to freeze his teachings indiscriminately into a sacred system of religious orthodoxy. In his last few active years, one of his main concerns was the tendency to Russianize the Communist International. And in the Lenin revealed the super-awareness of his genius.

### 25 YEARS AGO

JAN. 30—FEB. 4, 1914

**TANUARY 30, 1914.**—A \$10,000, 000 loan has been granted by France to the Putilov Munition Works of Russia. Money was immediately granted after owners threatened to sell out to the Krupps

Feb. 2.-Four hundred working girls representing the Women's Trade Union League of six eastern states leave for Washington for a conference with President Wilson on voman's suffrage

Feb. 2.-Frank Tannenbaum, 21 youthful leader of the I.W.W. spends the night with 500 unem ployed men in St. Paul's Church, New York City. Feb. 2.—Teachers of Hereford-

shire, England, go on strike closing 80 schools. They demand an annual wage of \$500.

Feb. 2.-Villa, at the head of an army of 15,000 men, moves for Torreon, Mexico.

Feb. 2.—Asked his opinion as to a possible war between the U.S.A. and Japan, Eugene V. Debs made the following statement: "If we ever have war with Japan, it will be owing to commercial rivalry in the struggle to control the world market and not to the California complication, altho the latter may furnish the excuse and possibly precipitate such a war."

Feb. 2.—Sidney Hillman appointed Chief Clerk of the Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U.

Feb. 2.—Joseph Cassidy, Democratic boss of Queens, is convicted of selling Supreme Court nomination in 1911 to William Willett. He is fined \$1,000 and given 18 months Feb. 2.—President Wilson sees the

delegation from the Women's Trade Union League and tells them that he "could not see his way to go on record on the matter of equal suffrage.' Feb. 3.—Superintendant Harry

Hopkins of the Buro of Employment of the Association for the Improvement of the Conditions of the Poor announces that there are 325,000 unemployed in New York City. Feb. 3.—President Wilson issues

proclamation lifting the embargo on the shipment of arms to Mexico. Huerta is silent, Villa jubilant.

Feb. 3.—Caucus of House Democratis declare that woman's suffrage

### Talking It Over:

### The War Party's Game

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

OUR country is really in danger—in grave and imminent danger. And the danger is growing; of that there can no longer be any doubt. The Gallup polls, reliable and dependable, show that the war party is making headway, that 90% of the voters favor a larger air force, that 86% are for a navy increase, that the sentiment for further arming of our superarmed nation has gained 20% since 1935. Yet the same Gallup polls show that 70% of the American voters think our participation in the last world war was a mistake, that 67% are for the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment, that 95%-virtually the whole nation-say that if another war like the World War develops in Europe, the United States should keep out of it. The last figure shows that, despite its noisiness, the war party is actually very small, but, under false slogans of "defense of our soil," it has sold the case for super-armament to the American people, and a strong tide of preparedness sentiment has set in. The war party has thus proved more skillful than we; it knows that with militarism comes reaction, hysteria, increasing dictatorship, and in time, the rest will be easy.

Earlier than last time, we are reaching our 1916. Tom Mooney, leaving jail after twenty-three years, framed-up amid the excitement of a preparedness hysteria, can say, as if he were seeing the same movie over again: "Here's where I came in!" The tide of militarization and jingoism, masking under the weasel words of "defense of our shores" and "defense of democracy and religion," threaten to become powerful enough to overwhelm us and sweep our land, our times and ourselves into a catastrophe the results of which can not even be calculated. Plainly, tho the sentiment for keeping out of war has been, and is, on our side, our opponents have been more effective, and in subtle fashion are gaining ground.

#### STRATEGY OF DECEPTION

E have been letting the hypocrisy and demagogy of the war party get away with it. And the commander-in-chief of the preparedness forces has been infinitely skillful. From the White House, thru the back door, come wild rumors of 10,000, even 13,000 new planes. Then, when the President actually proposes to add to 3,800 planes in army and navy service and 5,320 authorized, "only" 3,000 more, people breathe a sigh of relief and say: "How moderate!" Actually, the President has proposed more planes than can at present be built, so many that they will become obsolete in great numbers by the time they are delivered. He asks an appropriation of \$300,000,000 more for planes. Since a Bellanca bomber costs about \$45,000 it means that if the entire appropriation is granted and spent on planes, it will yield not 3,000 as he says, but over 6,000 new machines. Thus does the apostle of "democracy" deliberately fool the people.

Again, every person moderately acquainted with military affairs knows that there is a need of ten ground-men and mechanics per plane for every airship added. Add to this the open proposal to train 20,000 new civilian aviators and enlist thousands more and you get an expansion of our armed forces thru fliers and ground-men alone of at least 100,000

The President does not talk of militarization, but against militarization. He says "we must not become hysterical" but proposes a hysterical arms program that even the professional militarists at the head of the army do not know what to do with. He proposes "an additional 500,-000,000 dollars for defense" but omits to mention that the military-naval budget WITHOUT THAT is already one billion, one-hundred-odd million dollars for the current year. He strikes a billion from the relief and social security appropriations—which was inevitable: you can't spend like a drunken sailor on war and still safeguard the welfare of your own people —and says nothing about it, following a strategy which makes it seem as if the whole question were the ADDITIONAL hundred million or two hundred million that Congress, encouraged by his example, proposes to strike off. Thus, the issue is joined not on the billion, but on the additional hundred million, and the billion-dollar cut is gotten away with, without so much as a fight. Thus does the chief apostle of "democracy" emphasize the 'mock" in that much abused word by distracting attention from his sight-of-hand with rapid-fire talk like a prestidigitator at a country fair.

### **GUAM AND MANILA**

THE same strategy is being used on the fortification of far-flung Pacific islands, under the pretense of "defense of our shores." Hawaii is 2,300 miles west of San Francisco. Guam is nearly 4,000 miles recognition of that danger alone, west of Hawaii. You could put two Atlantic Oceans, end-to-end, between San Francisco and Guam! Manila is 7,500 miles away from the Coast of the United States. These islands were originally seized, when we embarked on the imperialist road in 1898, not to defend our shoresthey are closer to Asia's shores than to ours—but to get a wedge for imperialist adventure in the Far East. The taking of such islands is a step on the imperialist road, the fortification of them shows the course the President is steering. The chase for the dollar, the flag that is to be followed or preceded by investment or trade, the exchange of the red blood of millions for a few millions for the "blue-blooded," the denunciation of Hitler while in reality Roosevelt prepares for war with Japan- that is the real meaning of these fantastic proposals.

Every military man knows that Guam is indefensible, and Manila ditto. "It is far-fetched," Major General William C. Rivers has written (Quick, Gannes, the "drool"!); "It is far-fetched to designate Guam, or Manila, as a base—6,200 and 7,500 miles, respectively, from the West Coast of the United States. The customary strategy designation would be to call a fortification at either of these ports simply a salient—an exposed and indefensible salient."

I have no doubt that we will defeat the President on the flagrant Guam proposal. Already the Keep America Out of War Congress and allied organizations have gotten up so much steam that the President is beginning to evade and retreat. But once more he is trying to put thru the strategy of narrowing the ground of conflict to secondary matters. Put thru the whole fantastic imperialist armament program, while yielding gracefully on Guam alone: that is his strategy. Once more, nothing left but the ill-fated second syllable in the slogan of "democracy."

### 'REVISING" NEUTRALITY

A ND a similar strategy is being attempted with reference to the neutrality laws. It was Roosevelt, who, while talking so sweetly of "stopping aggressors" and "defending democracy," cut off arms from Spain (no doubt the "aggressor"!) and continued to ship them to those stalwart 'democracies," Italy and Germany! Now he wrings his hands and sheds crocodile tears on how "neutrality" has worked out. But that was never 'neutrality"; it was active, deliberate blockade of Loyalist Spain; it was active, deliberate aid to Mussolini and Hitler. Now, when Spain is strangled and bleeding and driven to its knees, when he thinks munitions will no longer help, he proposes to revise the neutrality legislation, "for Spain's sake," but actually, to give even more absolute power to himself, the President, to discriminate between nations and to decide which ones to back, in the event of war, thereby taking the steps towards involvement of America. More cynical hocus-pocus. And many of the self-same people who pretended to shriek with alarm over the "dictatorial powers" given the President by the Reorganization bill, are against the Ludlow amendment, are for castrating the already largely impotent neutrality law, are for giving the President absolute power to decide alone the issues of peace and war and to make secret agreements and involve us in war without consultation or consent. Such is the strategy of the war party. As to what our counter-strategy must be, and what the implications of all this are for American life, we will return to them next week. Those who are really aroused by what is happening may well employ the time in between in explaining some of these matters to friends and all who will listen, in multiplying the readers of this paper so that the ideas and understanding reach ever greater numbers, in spreading the light of clarity and honesty thru the dark masses of secret diplomacy with other nations and with our own people, whereby the war party is preparing to plunge If you, reader, and you, and you, take this lying down, inactive, just

exclaiming with satisfaction or with horror: "How true," you will yet have to take much more and have much worse to exclaim at. It is later than you think, but not yet too late! But all of us will have to do a better job than we've done so far, or we will lost the fight.

### Wednesday, February 15, 8 P. M. JAY LOVESTONE speaks on

C.I.O. and A. F. of L.

GOLD ROOM-6th Floor-MANHATTAN CENTER 34th STREET AND 8th AVENUE

Auspices: Independent Labor League