

**NEXT WEEK:**  
**CRISIS IN THE TEACHERS**  
**UNION — by D. Benjamin**

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

**AFTER THE LIMA CONGRESS . . . by**  
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**ONLY FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM CAN**  
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5 CENTS

## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### STALINIST UNION WRECKING

**S**PEAKING in behalf of the United Automobile Workers led by Homer Martin, Jack Little, president of Local 156, Flint, Michigan, shed timely light on the ravages of the Stalinist plague in the trade-union movement. Forcefully, Brother Little brought home the corruption and irresponsibility characterizing the course of Stalinism and its devotees in the labor unions when he declared in part in a radio address:

"In the fight in which we are now engaged to keep the U.A.W. an autonomous, democratic, clean and responsible union, the 35,000 members in Flint will be in the forefront of the battle, just as we were in the forefront during the history-making strikes. We have had a great deal of experience with the methods and tactics of the group of suspended Board members headed by R. J. Thomas, and we don't want any part of their type of unionism. . . .

"Now let me give you a few reasons why we stand with President Homer Martin.

"During the period following the General Motors strike, two men were in charge of the affairs of the U.A.W. in Flint. They were Robert Travis and Wyndham Mortimer. Under their direction, the financial affairs of the local union were in a state of chaos and confusion. Not only were the finances in a mess but some \$20,000.00 disappeared during this period when Travis and Mortimer were in charge that has never been satisfactorily accounted for. I am not today accusing anybody of personally profiting from this money, but I am accusing the Mortimer-Travis regime in Flint with being responsible for a state of affairs that resulted in \$20,000.00 going nobody knows where. . . .

"Mortimer and Travis personally expended \$95,000.00 of union funds during their administration. No adequate record of their expenditure of this sum could be found by the accountants. The local union to this day does not know whether all of this money was spent for legitimate union purposes or not. . . . But let me sum up by saying that from November 1, 1936, to July 31, 1937, this local union collected from dues and other sources \$199,801.53. On July 31, 1937, the local union was not only broke, but was \$3,845.99 in debt. That's only one of the reasons why we asked Homer Martin to step in. He stepped in and cleaned up this financial mess so that today we have a system which properly accounts for every cent paid the local union by its membership and from any other source. In addition, the local union, despite the recent recession, is in splendid financial condition with many thousands of dollars in the bank.

"Another reason why we prefer the type of unionism Homer Martin stands for is that during the administration of Mortimer and Travis, there were at least fifty wildcat strikes. . . .

In view of these facts it is easy to understand why the overwhelming majority of the auto workers in the city of Flint, replete with glorious traditions of working-class militancy, have rallied to the support of democratic healthy unionism now under the fire of Lewis, Hillman, Murray and their promiscuous partners of the moment—the Stalinist wrecking crew operating under the name of the Communist Party.

### ONLY SOCIALISM CAN BRING PEACE

**O**NE need not accept the conclusions drawn by the veteran journalist, Clarence K. Streit, in his book "Union Now" to recognize it as a stimulating discussion of the chaotic international situation. Mr. Streit, as an apostle of a brand of "collective security," raises, and here and there skirts about, some fundamental questions. In all that, he overlooks the pivotal and last-resort causes of the Axis Powers turning to the fascist state system.

Is there any biological reason for Italy going fascist, for the bubbling, temperamental, excitable, but yesterday branded "undisciplinable" Latins turning to ruthless regimentation and even the goose-step? Is there anything in the "German blood" itself making for Nazi savagery and reckless eradication of every sign of democracy and freedom? Are there any special peculiarities in the blood-cells of the Anglo-Saxons of Britain or the Latins of France making against these countries being subjected to fascism? In answering these questions emphatically in the negative one need not in the least disregard the specific historical experiences and background making for fascism.

We still adhere to the time-honored Marxian conclusion that there is direct and decisive correlation between the state form and class relations, between the structure of the state and economic conditions. In economic breakdown and the wearing-thin of the capitalist fabric, in the badly run-down condition and the wearing-out of the wheels of the capitalist machine must we look for the roots of fascism.

Thus, it is no accident that the fifteen countries (United States, United Kingdom, France, Netherlands, Scandinavian lands, Belgium and Switzerland, etc.) which produce more than 95% of the world's rubber and nickel, control a very high proportion of the world's oil and gold, and have ninety-eight billion dollars of bank deposits, are still able to maintain their capitalist class relations thru the so-called "democratic" form of state. Likewise, there is an organic correlation between the fascist form of state and the foreign policies of Italy, Germany and Japan and the fact that these imperialist powers have less than 1% of the world's oil and cotton, under 2% of the wool, tin and natural phosphates, less than 3% of the gold reserves, only fourteen billion dollars of bank deposits and one-fourth of the trade controlled by the "democratic" powers. Here is the soil in which are rooted the basic causes for the struggle among the imperialist powers for the redistribution of the world's resources and the redistribution of the world's markets.

But, while it is true that the ruling classes of unsatiated and economically weakened imperialist countries turn to fascism in one form or another, it does not at all follow that granting concessions to these hungry imperialist brigands will make them less savage, less ruthless, less aggressive and more democratic. The history of all such concessions shows that the very opposite follows on their heels. Nor will a conference among all the imperialist brigands and highwaymen to secure peacefully a more "equitable" distribution of the loot bring peace and progress. Such a "solution" is proposed by England's Lansbury and other European social-democratic leaders. This "solution" would only modify the contenders positions in the coming war. The colonial masses and the working people in the imperialist countries would pay dearly for such "peaceful arrangements" in preparation for an even fiercer and bloodier war.

Regardless of the volume or even the quality of tears of devotion shed in behalf of world peace by pacifist supporters of the present social and economic system, it is as plain as daylight that only the abolition of the imperialist war-breeding capitalist system can insure peace and progress.

## England, France to Recognize Franco

### U. S. Reported As Approving Move

Recognition of the Franco regime as the official government of Spain by great Britain and France is expected within a few days, informed sources in London and Paris declared last week. It is known that the British cabinet has already decided on such action and the French cabinet will do the same at its next meeting.

Recognition will take place unconditionally, it was said, since General Franco has categorically refused to promise amnesty to Loyalist leaders or to make any pledges as to foreign relations, as was at first demanded by Paris and London. The French Foreign Office made it clear that Foreign Minister Bonnet had already dropped all conditions.

The French Foreign Office, taking cognizance of comments in the press, issued an official statement declaring that "American diplomacy is not at all opposed to French and British recognition of the Spanish Nationalist [Franco] government when they judge fit." Foreign Office spokesmen also added that unofficial "contacts" with the American government on this question were being maintained.

England and France are particularly eager to establish immediately the closest possible relations with the Franco regime in order to be able to exert maximum pressure upon it, financially and otherwise, so as to offset the strong connections between Franco and the Italo-German block.

## Court Rules For Picket Rights

### Picketing To Effect Boycott Is Declared Within The Law

Two important court decisions directly affecting the labor movement were handed down last week, one in New York and the other in Philadelphia.

In New York City, the Appellate Part of the Court of Special Sessions ruled unanimously that peaceful picketing conducted in furtherance of a secondary boycott was legal and in no violation of the criminal law. The court reversed the conviction last October of two members of Local 3 of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who had been found guilty of picketing a handbag establishment in a controversy involving other unions. Louis Waldman was counsel for the union.

In Philadelphia, Judge William Kirkpatrick in the Federal Court refused to restrain three A. F. of L. unions from picketing the meat-packing plant of Wilson and Co. and "interfering" with the company's customers thru a boycott in an attempt to win a closed-shop agreement. Judge Kirkpatrick declared that the closed shop was a legitimate object of trade-union activity and therefore the federal courts were without power, under the Norris-LaGuardia Act, to issue injunctions in such a situation.

## Andrews Curbs Home-Work

### Threatens Complete Ban May Follow

Washington, D. C. Elmer F. Andrews, wage-hour administrator, promulgated last week more stringent regulations governing the keeping of industrial home-work records which, he said, "will at last test the practicability of this kind of control of industrial home-work."

Faced with an increasing amount of home-work, especially since the wage-hour act became effective last October 24, Andrews said the new regulations, which will become effective on March 15 and will be in effect for a six-month trial period, might "perhaps answer the question whether we can enforce the provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act as it now stands with respect to work of this nature."

In his report to Congress last month, Andrews cited the home-work problem, particularly in Puerto Rico, and told the legislators that it might be necessary to prohibit home-work if regulation failed.

Andrews' announcement said that participants in a hearing at which the regulations were devised "generally agreed that home-work was an evil which had recently shown a tendency to increase in a number of fields, notably men's neckwear, leather goods and some other items of manufacture."

The wage-hour act requires payment of 25 cent an hour (or its equivalent if work is done on a piece-work basis) and payment of time and one-half in cash for time over a 44-hour week.

The new home-work regulations require the keeping of a separate handbook for each industrial home-worker, and the wage-hour administrator will furnish this handbook free of charge after March 1.

The book, once in use, must remain in possession of the worker unless it is requested by wage-hour officials.

## S.W.P. Pickets Bund at Garden

New York City

Several hundred pickets, organized by the Socialist Workers Party, conducted a vigorous protest demonstration last week against the Nazi German-American Bund meeting at Madison Square Garden. Thousands of passers-by, including the early theater crowd, were attracted to the demonstration by curiosity and manifested their hostility to the Nazis in unmistakable form. A heavy police guard of nearly 1,500 kept the pickets quite a distance away from the Garden. Clashes and scuffles occurred at various points. Charges that the police had acted with particular brutality in driving back the pickets from the Garden, were lodged with the Mayor by the Socialist Workers Party.

Meanwhile, in the hall about twenty thousand members and sympathizers of the German-American Bund listened to speakers denounce Jews and radicals and exalt anti-Semitism and fascism.

## For the Dirty Work

**W**ORD is going the New Deal rounds that Mr. Roosevelt is to screen a definite shift toward the right in underlying government policy by appointments of left wingers to important and well-paid government jobs. The story is that the President is letting intimates know that he is much more impressed by the conservative swing of last November's election than published reports have indicated. —United States News, Jan. 30, 1939.

## U. S. Colonies Lack Rights

### Civil Liberties Union Reveals Conditions

Conditions in most of the insular possessions of the United States were described as "deplorable" and a "broad extension" of civil rights in the colonies was recommended in a report of the American Civil Liberties Union issued last week.

The report suggested these seven "obviously needed remedies":

1. Permit Puerto Ricans to vote on "genuine independence or on statehood."
  2. Change the present administration in Puerto Rico by appointing officials "who will permit the free exercise of civil rights and extend self-government."
  3. Adopt forms of civil government in Samoa and Guam "to replace naval rule," and give citizenship to the natives.
  4. Substitute school instruction in native languages for instruction in English in Guam, Samoa and Puerto Rico.
  5. Assure independence of the Philippines by 1946, and obtain Philippine Commonwealth.
  6. Extend native participation in government in the Virgin Islands.
  7. Permit Hawaii to vote on changing its territorial status to statehood.
- "The Filipinos," it added, "are being prepared not for democratic self-rule, but for a military and possibly fascist dictatorship."

## Soviets Sign Trade Pact With Italy

### Barter Treaty Gives Oil To Rome; Foreshadows Nazi Tie

An important development in international relations occurred last week when the Soviet Union renewed its commercial treaty with Italy, which was interrupted two years ago.

The new treaty is in the form of a barter arrangement under which trade is expected to rise to \$52,675,000 a year, almost two and half times the volume provided for in the last trade accord.

Italy will import such valuable potential war-time supplies as petroleum, manganese and such vital peace-time products as coal, lumber, wheat and barley. The day after the pact was signed, there took place at Livorno the launching of a

## Vinson Calls for War Alliance

### Administration Leader Urges Bond With Anglo-French Imperialism

Washington, D. C. Outspoken advocacy of an American war alliance with the so-called "democracies," Great Britain and France, was voiced last week by Representative Vinson of Georgia, chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee. Speaking as an acknowledged Administration spokesman,

small destroyer, built by Italy for the Russian navy.

The new Soviet-Italian trade treaty is said to foreshadow closer relations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany as well.

Mr. Vinson declared that American "interests" were linked with those of France and England and that the United States should help arm and in other ways assist the "democracies." Mr. Vinson spoke at the opening of the debate on the Naval, Air and Submarines Base Bill, which would authorize the expenditure of \$53,800,000 on the construction of more defense facilities on the mainland and in island possessions. This bill includes the proposal to fortify the island of Guam as an advance fleet base in the western Pacific, which was later defeated in the House by a vote of 205 to 168.

### "GO EAST, YOUNG MAN!"



## Martin Makes New Gains In U.A.W.

### Carries Chrysler Highland Park Local Sweeps Eastern District of Union

**A** PARTIAL check-up of those locals of the United Automobile Workers of America that have so far taken a position on the present conflict in the union, shows that almost 130 locals have already come out for President Martin and decided to send delegates to the Detroit convention on March 4. A list of these locals follows:

- EASTERN REGION:** Locals 110, 118, 148, 149, 197, 260, 338, 365, 377, 393, 425, 428, 440, 482, 511, 521, 559, 566, 571, 581.
- SOUTHERN REGION:** Local 464.
- CLEVELAND REGION:** Locals 28, 40, 46, 70, 88, 131, 158, 274, 318, 382.
- TOLEDO REGION:** Locals 11, 16, 30.
- DETROIT REGION:** Locals 15, 42, 51, 80, 84, 99, 142, 190, 203, 210, 247, 262, 272, 295, 303, 312, 313, 314, 332, 358, 368, 369, 410, 431, 483, 544, 549, 572, 588, 593, 600, 601, 614, 615.
- EASTERN MICHIGAN REGION:** Locals 156 (Flint), 159 (Pontiac), 461, 581, 598.
- WESTERN MICHIGAN REGION:** Locals 62, 87, 92, 113, 182, 196, 206, 220, 252, 253, 256, 293, 304, 337, 353, 389, 400, 404, 417, 422, 423, 444, 468, 471, 475, 480, 485, 491, 498, 523, 539, 567, 583, 602.
- INDIANA REGION:** Locals 146, 265, 411.
- WISCONSIN REGION:** Locals 95, 121, 136, 209, 395, 477, 556.
- MISSOURI REGION:** Locals 93, 249, 447, 529.
- CALIFORNIA REGION:** Local 228.

(Special to the Workers Age)

Detroit, Mich. The Martin forces in the United Automobile Workers of America continued last week to make big headway in winning the support of the membership of the union, a substantial majority of whom are already aligned against the Stalinist splitters working under the protection of the top leadership of the C.I.O. A significant victory was scored in the elections in Local 490, Highland Park, one of the big Chrysler locals, where the Martin slate carried every single office except one trustee, with the election of president still undecided. In the eastern district of the union, covering New York, New Jersey, New England and part of Pennsylvania, a clean sweep was registered, practically every local voting to back President Martin and send delegates to the Detroit convention on March 4. Particularly important in this region are Brewster Aircraft Local 265; Tarrytown Local 180, the General Motors locals at Linden, N. J., and Meriden, Conn., and the Ford local in Buffalo.

Frantic with desperation at having lost Plymouth Local 51, Detroit, to Martin, the dual-unionist clique

attempted last week to pull off a wildcat strike in order to grab control. Altho the pro-Martin local administration offered to allow the  
(Continued on Page 4)

## Nathaniel Minkoff

Leader, A.L.P. delegation in 1938 Assembly

speaks

FRIDAY, MARCH 3  
8:15 P. M.

## "American Labor and Politics"

Admission 25c

THE INDEPENDENT  
LABOR INSTITUTE  
131 West 33rd Street  
New York City

## Pecora Quits Law Guild

### Influential Liberals Hit Stalinist Control

A number of prominent liberal judges and attorneys, headed by State Supreme Court Justice Pecora, announced their resignation from the National Lawyers Guild last week because of the domination of that organization by a small group of Communist Party members and followers. In addition to Justice Pecora, the seceding group includes such outstanding figures as Frank P. Walsh, famous labor attorney; Lieutenant-Governor Charles Polett of New York State; Morris Ernst, nationally known champion of civil rights; Jerome Frank, member of the S.E.C.; Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold; Emil Schlesinger, attorney for the I.L.G. W.U. and other unions; Samuel Null, A.L.P. candidate for the Supreme Court; and others.

The conflict between the liberal

lawyers, including most of those who founded the National Lawyers Guild in 1936, and the Stalinist clique dominating the executive board, had been brewing for some time when it came to a head at the recent convention of the Guild in Chicago. At that convention, the executive committee refused to endorse Justice Pecora's presidential address denouncing totalitarian dictatorships of all stripes because they felt it hit at the Stalinist regime in Russia. A resolution introduced by Ernest Cuneo, well-known New York attorney, for specific approval of Justice Pecora's address was rejected by a vote of 18 to 9 on the executive board.

## A.L.P. Assails McNaboe State Sales Tax

### Proposal Would Put Burden on Masses

New York City The American Labor Party last week assailed the proposal submitted by Senator John J. McNaboe calling for a 2% state sales tax, in a statement issued by Lester Rosner, assistant state secretary of the party.

"Over the years, Senator McNaboe has achieved the unique distinction of being the most reactionary legislator in the State Legislature of New York," said Mr. Rosner. "His recent action in submitting a bill calling for a 2% state sales tax, lends further proof of the disdain he holds for the public will. Even the up-state Republicans who lay no claims to liberalism did not see fit to sponsor a state sales tax in the Legislature but Senator McNaboe deliberately defied his own party's program by submitting a measure that reflects the wishes and desires of big business and corporate interests in the State.

"Senator McNaboe's proposal of a sales tax does not even have the saving grace that it exempts food-stuffs and other necessities purchased by our relief and low-income

families. It means that 2 cents will be cut out of every dollar spent by every man, woman and child in the state. It hits with equal force and with like burden the financier and the relief recipient, the stock-exchange broker and the W.P.A. worker, the high-priced executive and the white-collar clerk, the big manufacturer and the low-paid wage-earner.

"The tax proposed by Senator McNaboe will disrupt almost completely the vast relief-financing program devised by New York City after long and detailed study. The proposal will increase enormously the burden and complexities of relief financing in the city. Its provisions are such as to make the tax much more inequitable than the present sales taxes in the city.

"The burden of taxation should and must fall on those best able to carry it. A state sales tax is a direct burden upon those groups in our community in greatest need of getting maximum value out of their purchasing dollar. The American Labor Party will throw its full resources into the fight against the adoption of this unjust tax."

# C.I.O. Convention In Massachusetts

## Progressives Muster Big Support

By D. S. D.

**T**HE second annual convention of the Massachusetts State Industrial Council of the C.I.O. was held Saturday and Sunday, February 11 and 12, in Springfield, Mass. The total number of delegates was 244, which was a decrease of almost 250 over the first convention in Boston. The unfortunate aspect of the convention was the unwillingness or inability of the C.I.O. leaders to recognize that the domination of the State C.I.O. Council by the Stalinists was becoming increasingly manifest to the detriment of the well-being of the C.I.O. in the state.

### MAIN FIGHT AT CONVENTION

The main slogan of the convention was the defense of the Wagner Labor Act, upon which all the delegates were unanimous. The main struggle of the convention centered around the amendment to the constitution, which was sponsored and proposed by the Communist Party forces. This amendment was to place two additional officers on the rolls of the C.I.O. Industrial Council, to wit, a first vice-president and an assistant financial-secretary and legislative agent, both jobs to be on a non-paying basis. The delegates from the Toy and Novelty Workers Union opened the fight on this amendment—not that they objected to the first vice-president but they did object to the inclusion of an assistant financial-secretary and legislative agent "who was to devote full time" without compensation. They contended that no man could devote full time to a job of that type without receiving compensation and that, if the C.I.O. did not pay him, some other organization would see to it that he got paid. The whole thing was, of course, nothing but a C.P. maneuver to get one of their men elected to this very important office. The amendment was passed over the strenuous objection of about 40% of the delegates present.

When nominations for this office were held, the C.P. steam-rollered thru one of their stooges, David Boynick, for this office. The progressive forces nominated Mike Flaherty, Boynick, a member of the C.P., was formerly a member of the Socialist Party; he worked for a while with the Workmen's Circle; and he was sent last year as a delegate from the Newspaper Guild. He was elected one of the vice-presidents of the C.I.O. at the last convention. In 1939, he was expelled from the Newspaper Guild, and in order to come to the convention, he joined the C.P.-controlled paper local of the office-workers union. This was but two months ago. A vigorous fight occurred in that local, waged by the progressive forces under the leadership of Sam Lee, to bar him from the union on the ground that he was neither a professional man nor an office worker. He was jammed thru by the C.P.-controlled faction; and they later amended their constitution—which prevented anyone who was not a member for one year or more from becoming an officer or attending a convention—to make it possible for David Boynick to attend as a delegate.

### STALINIST TACTICS

Despite a rally of all the progressive forces and a tremendous struggle, Boynick was elected to the office of assistant financial-secretary and legislative agent, by a margin of two votes. The fight for this office was spectacular and not only showed up the Stalinists as a group of demagogues bent on gaining domination regardless of the good of the organization but also exposed some of the tactics to which they stoop in order to attain that end. They used all manner of lies and slander to discredit the progressive candidate, Mike Flaherty, even going so far as to spread the rumor that Flaherty was seeking to organize a Catholic Action Group within the C.I.O. It so happens that Mike Flaherty is one

### "State of American Civilization"

March 3.—Nathaniel M. Minkoff (Leader of the American Labor Party delegation in the 1938 Assembly): American Labor and Politics.

March 10.—William Phillips (Editor, Partisan Review); Left Literature in America.

March 17.—Ludwig Lore (Columnist, New York Post); American Foreign Policy.

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.

April 7.—Bertram D. Wolfe ("Portrait of America"); Whither America? Fridays at 8:15. Admission 25c

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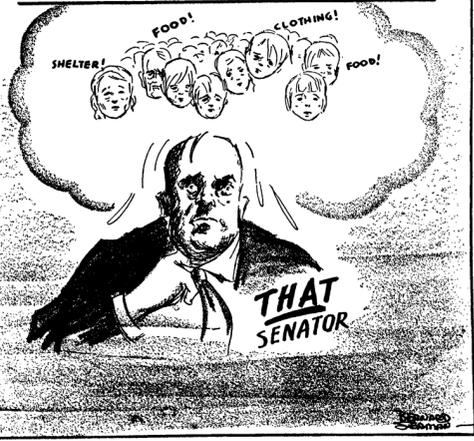
of the most highly respected and one of the best-known trade unionists in Massachusetts today. For twelve years, he was secretary of the District Council No. 11 of the Painters and Decorators Union of Boston, affiliated with the A. F. of L. He resigned his position to accept a sub-regional directorship of the C.I.O. in Rhode Island. Flaherty first attained prominence in the labor movement by his outstanding and constructive work in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. He is a member of the S.P. and is a progressive fighter for all liberal efforts in Massachusetts.

### STRUGGLE OVER ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

The second major feature of the convention was a struggle of the progressive forces to put thru an anti-war resolution. The Stalinists and their "fellow-travelers" called upon their most influential demagogues to fight this resolution. The resolution, in emasculated form, finally emerged from the resolutions committee, and was forced on the floor thru the insistence of Powers Hagood, the director of the United Shoe Workers of America. Sam Sandberg, of the Toy and Novelty Workers Union, led the fight for the original resolution which was proposed. Despite a hard fight, the original resolution was defeated and the substitute resolution adopted. It is noteworthy, however, that the progressive forces prevented the inclusion of a "collective security" clause in the substitute.

Let us hope it will soon become apparent to the leaders of the C.I.O. in Massachusetts that conventions peopled by delegates from Stalinist paper organizations will not add strength or prestige to the C.I.O. There were shoe workers entered as delegates of the Furniture Workers Union. There were delegates from food workers locals which were nonexistent. There were an extraordinary amount of delegates from the office-workers union and the Insurance Workers Union, the Retail Clerks Union, the American Communications Association, and from non-dues-paying T.W.O.C. locals. This was not the kind of convention the C.I.O. should have.

### WPA CUT PASSED IN SENATE BY ONE VOTE



—Justice

# What Can American Labor Learn From Abroad?

## U. S. Employers Use Commission Data Against Wagner Act

By ALBERT EASTON

**W**ILL the American labor movement learn as much and as fast from the reports of President Roosevelt's commissions on industrial relations in Great Britain and Sweden as the employers of this country? In the Voice of Business issue (January 7, 1939) of the New York Sun, for instance, Gerard Swope places great stress on the absence of "governmental interference" in both Great Britain and Sweden, with an eye, of course, to the "modification" of the Wagner Act.

### APPLYING "LESSONS" FROM ABROAD

Some American employers, impatient and resentful at "governmental interference," have already begun to apply the "lessons" from Sweden and England in various directions. A few months ago, for example, there was set up in the city

of San Francisco an Employers Council, a master organization of employers associations. The man behind the venture is Roger D. Lapham, a well-known shipowner, and the official head of the council is Almon E. Roth, now president of the notorious Pacific Coast Waterfront Employers Association. According to its sponsors, the San Francisco Employers Council is to serve as "the recognized spokesmen for all employers, whether group or individual," particularly in their relations with labor. It is in fact, intended as a "one big union" of the employing class in dealing with labor organizations. Mr. Lapham acknowledges that the idea was suggested to him by a study of the reports of the Presidential commissions on labor relations in Great Britain and Sweden. Apparently, big business, despite its well-known horror at "foreign isms," is quite ready to learn from abroad when it comes to ways and means of fighting the

# Form Group For Reform Measures

## Cleveland Conference Is Set Up

**C**leveland, Ohio. It is from the report on Sweden that Mr. Lapham learned his "lesson." And it would be worth while to examine the set-up in Sweden in regard to employer organization and labor relations.

The conference was called after several preliminary sessions at which the Cleveland Consumers League and several outstanding attorneys and labor leaders took active part. Miss Elizabeth McGee, Abraham Katovsky and Marvin Harrison are amongst them. The powerful teamsters organization was represented

by the report on Sweden in particular industries, with 5,000 employer members employing nearly 400,000 workers. It has a reserve and guarantee fund of approximately \$2,500,000. Each employer member makes himself individually responsible for the guarantee fund in the amount (subject to some exceptions) of not less than \$50 per adult male worker in his employ. If a member is engaged in a strike or lockout approved by the Federation, he is entitled to benefit payments from the Federation. The Federation has power to order a lockout and every member in the industry affected is bound to obey the order "on pain of damages" and of forfeiting his rights in the Federation.

At the end of 1906, an agreement was reached between the Employers Federation and the Confederation of Trade Unions whereby the employers undertook to respect the workers rights to organize, while the workers recognized the employers right to manage the concern and to engage and to dismiss workers without regard to whether they were union members or not. This agreement between the Employers Federation and the Confederation of Trade Unions, excludes the closed shop in plants belonging to members of the Employers Federation and there are no closed shop contracts with employers not members. Mr. Roerich, secretary of the Cleveland teamsters.

### EMPLOYER ORGANIZATIONS IN SWEDEN

For the most part, employers in Sweden are organized to deal with labor matters in industry-wide associations. Most of these associations are members of the Sweden Employers Federation.

The Federation now includes 37 associations of employers in particular industries, with 5,000 employer members employing nearly 400,000 workers. It has a reserve and guarantee fund of approximately \$2,500,000. Each employer member makes himself individually responsible for the guarantee fund in the amount (subject to some exceptions) of not less than \$50 per adult male worker in his employ. If a member is engaged in a strike or lockout approved by the Federation, he is entitled to benefit payments from the Federation. The Federation has power to order a lockout and every member in the industry affected is bound to obey the order "on pain of damages" and of forfeiting his rights in the Federation.

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The program resulting from the conference was primarily a statement of principles, since it was impossible actually to formulate legislation at so large a meeting. However, it is already possible to judge that this Conference for Progressive

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

by D. Benjamin

### NEW YORK ACTIVITIES

**P**LANS are under way for the establishment of a new Bronx branch. . . . During the past few months, the New York branches have been sending over regular contributions to Spain and France for the relief of members of the P.O. U.M. and of Spanish refugees. Arrangements are being made for the sending over of clothing also. . . . A thousand copies of the Workers Age, including John Cook's article on the hotel-union situation, were distributed before several of the large New York hotels as well as before the headquarters of the hotel workers

Legislation in Ohio is a much-needed institution and that, with the backing of the powerful labor groups here, it can make itself felt as a force fighting for the kind of legislation that the wage earners here need.

Outstanding first moves tend in the direction of pressing for a bill to outlaw injunctions in labor disputes, to set up a state labor act and to inaugurate a state minimum-wage and maximum-hour law. The problems of health and possible group and socialized medicine, relief, education, etc., played a large part in the conference.

The conference was not without its jingoistic super-patriots, and the session on youth problems in reporting back to the conference asked that the delegates be patient with the youth since in their group it was possible that a war might be proposed as a solution to all youth problems. Readers of the Age will recognize the source of such proposals.

But it should be noted that, whereas in Sweden the closed shop is not a significant issue because of the very large proportion of workers who are union members and "because the employers no longer try to break down union organization, preferring to deal with their workers thru strong trade unions," (Report of President's Commission), the problem in the United States is quite different. The closed shop in the United States has been the traditional goal of unionization. The closed shop has been labor's answer to the anti-union open shop and remains an essential part of American trade unionism. The same is true of the check-off, which has proved a big help in the coal industry as well as in other fields. (We are not here discussing the abuse of the check-off and closed shop, which are inner-union matters and do not enter into a consideration of the relationship of workers to employers.) But the employers of America will undoubtedly be eager to point to England and Sweden, where the closed shop and the check-off are "unheard of."

There is something about the Swedish Employers Federation which is not mentioned in the report of the President's commission but which is discussed in Crook's "The General Strike." That is the notorious Article 23 of its statutes, which compels every employer-member to submit any contract with a labor organization to the Federation for approval. Each such contract, moreover, must contain a clause recognizing the right of the employer to "hire and fire," to direct and apportion the work and to employ workers whether they belong to a union or not.

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### LET US LEARN FROM LABOR ABROAD

It is obvious that the employers of this country will try to exploit the reports of the President's commissions against the labor movement. The reports will probably come up in the Congressional attacks on the Wagner Act. Some of the British or Swedish practices, which may do little harm to the labor movements of those countries because of labor's strength and maturity, would be fatal to organized labor here in America. That is why the best way American labor can meet this situation is to learn and profit from the strong sides of the Swedish and British labor movements. Let us learn to supplement economic organization with independent political organization. Let us learn to raise the level of trade-union membership to what it is in Sweden, for example, where 65% of all manual workers, and nearly 90% of all those in manufacturing industry, are in unions. And, above all, let us learn to achieve lasting and effective unity in labor's ranks.

union. The comments on the article were all favorable. . . . A special program of action has been adopted by the Bronx and Manhattan youth branches. A most interesting forum to be held every three weeks on Wednesday evenings is being arranged. Among the speakers who have accepted invitations to speak at the forum are, Will Herberg, editor of the Workers Age; Lewis Corey, educational director of the Dressmakers Union Local 22; Guenther Reimann, author of "Germany—World Empire or World Revolution?" At the same time, the branches have made arrangements for a series of educational talks, the series as a whole to make up a course in "The Principles of Socialism." Plans were also laid for the holding of socials and for work in various youth clubs in the city.

### CHICAGO EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

**T**HE South Side branch in Chicago is combining business with a discussion on the history of the American labor and socialist movement at its regular fortnightly meetings. On the other weeks, informal discussion-group meetings are held, at which various books are reviewed and discussed. The last meeting considered Thalheimer's "Dialectical Materialism," and Corey's "Crisis of the Middle Class." The North Side branch is conducting a class on "Capitalism," with Harry Wicks as instructor.

### IN PHILADELPHIA

**A** MEMBERSHIP meeting of the Philadelphia organization was held on Friday evening, February 10, with D. Benjamin reporting on "International and American Labor Questions." During the week, the Philadelphia organization sent an additional \$43 on its pledge for Press Fund Drive, thus bringing its total up to \$123. An interesting program of inner educational meetings is being carried thru, with discussions on current questions and basic problems of labor. Plans are also under way for a large public meeting on Friday evening, March 17, with Jay Lovestone speaking on Spain.

### BOSTON DISCUSSION GROUP

**T**HE Book Review Discussion Group got under way February 5. Sam Sandberg reviewed Hamilton Fish Armstrong's "There Was No Peace." Many interesting questions and vigorous discussion ensued. On Saturday evening, February 18, there will be review, Ziff's "Rape of Palestine." Thereafter, the Circle will hold its meetings every two weeks.

### TORONTO FORUM

**A** REPRESENTATIVE of the I.L.L.A. spoke before the forum convened by the Freethinkers Society on the subject, "War—What About It?" The analysis of this important question was very well received.

# N. Y. 'Big Six' For Strike

Typos Adopt Militant Resolution

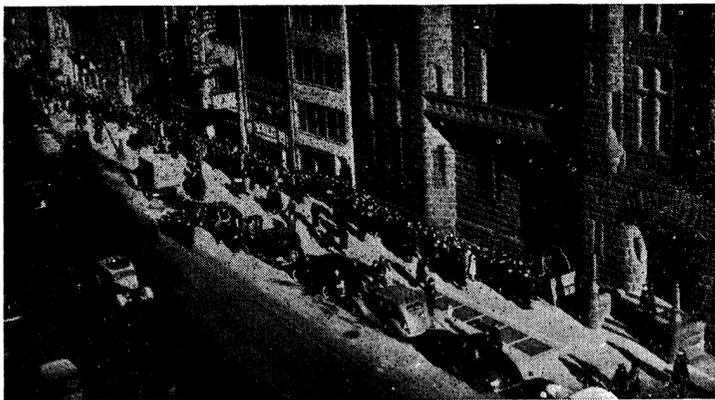
By CHARLES McDOWELL

**N**OTICE has been served upon the newspaper publishers of New York City that the members of Typographical Union No. 6 (Big 6) meant business when they voted last month by a 3-to-1 vote. At one of the most enthusiastic meetings in many years held last week, two resolutions were adopted, the first requesting that President Baker of the I.T.U. present the New York situation to the International Executive Board and the second requesting the Executive Board to sanction a strike vote. The first resolution passed unanimously and the second won by a vote of 991 to 7. A strike would affect 2,300 jobs in 25 newspaper offices in the city.

The old contract between the union and the publishers expired last June and negotiations have been carried on ever since, culminating in the proposed contract that was so decisively defeated last month. After this action, the old negotiating committee was disbanded and a new one elected. This new committee met with the publishers twice, and each time their demands for the three-point program of the union, the 6-hour day, elimination of the stagger system and vacations with pay, were turned down.

All three points are necessary, the union has stated, to alleviate the serious unemployment among the members. The shorter work-day would provide an extra shift; the elimination of the stagger system would provide many new jobs; and vacations with pay would enable a regular to engage a substitute for the period of the vacation. The union has been paying \$30 per month to its unemployed members for ten years and now believes that the publishers should shoulder part of the burden.

# IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE NEW DEAL



Over 4,150 waited in line for hours at a New York armory in order to apply for 12 jobs as cleaners in the Health Department at \$18 a week. Many of the applicants arrived at the armory a day ahead of the specified hour and remained on line all the time in order to have a better chance to obtain the job.

# Fur Union "Democracy"

Stalinists Break Up Progressive Meet

New York City

**T**HE United Progressive Furriers called an open forum for Thursday, February 9, in order to discuss the problems in the trade and the union.

The Stalinist union administration immediately mobilized its gang and before the meeting was open they were already there, out for trouble. The hall was jammed with furriers who wanted to hear the problems discussed. The chairman of the forum, J. Hoberman, opened the proceedings and introduced B. Baraz as the speaker. Thereupon the handful of Stalinist rowdies in the hall set up a terrific howl, made all sorts of obstructions and would not allow the meeting to go on. Even when the meeting was adjourned, they refused to leave the hall, despite the pleas of the owner of the place, who had to prepare the hall for another meeting. When they did leave finally, it was discovered that they had left their mark behind—they had cut thru the straw seats of about a dozen chairs!

The meeting was indeed an object lesson to the furriers as to the kind of administration that is running and ruining their union, a lesson better than any forum could have been. For hours, groups of furriers continued to discuss the affair in the market.

# Education For All?

**"B**UT in 1930 there were— and I am talking about the United States—810,000 children of elementary-school age who were not in school at all. Some 55% of the children of high-school age—or 5,500,000—were not in school. The American Federation of Teachers has estimated that there are 3,300,000 children from five to seventeen who are getting no education in the present year.

"In Wisconsin, 55,000 children get less than ninety days schooling a year. Almost 40% of the children of Alabama get no schooling at all. "Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas spend less than \$30 a year per pupil in the public schools, in contrast to the national average of \$74.30 for the whole country and the more than \$115 spent by New York, Nevada and California.

"Of the 2,500,000 physically handicapped children in the country, only 325,000 are receiving an education adapted to their needs. "In twelve states, the members of school boards outnumber the teachers.

"These and similar afflictions prevail in the rural sections of almost every state, in the poor states, and in the Southeast generally."—Robert M. Hutchins, Saturday Evening Post, January 28, 1939.

# Benefit Fund Offers Best Medical Insurance

By C. M.

**A**CCORDING to a news dispatch in the New York Times, based on a nation-wide cross-section survey, there are more than twenty-five million persons in the United States that would be willing to pay as much as \$3.00 per month for complete medical and hospital care. If you are one of these, or if you realize the necessity of being protected in the event of sickness, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund offers this service at a cost far below \$3.00 per month. Here are the services offered by this working-class organization:

1. Free doctor's services, unlimited, whether office or home calls.
2. Four weeks free hospital care.
3. A convalescent farm at a cost of but \$3.50 per week; which includes food, room, doctor and nurse.
4. Sick benefits up to \$12 per week for 50 weeks, and up to \$6.00 per week for another 50 weeks.
5. Life insurance up to \$550, based on the age of the member.

The cost for all these services ranges from \$1.10 to \$1.60 per month, plus a small local branch assessment. Certainly, every worker should take advantage of the full protection offered at these low prices. No one is secure from illness and very few workers, when they do become sick, can afford to call the doctor.

# P.S. THE BEST PROTECTION For Workers and Their Families can be offered only by consolidated forces of the workers.

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  - LIFE INSURANCE
  - MEDICAL CARE
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# Only Fight for Socialism Can Defeat Fascism

## Unity of Workers and Middle-Class Groups Vital

By LEWIS COREY

ALL people of decency, good will and progressive aspirations are horrified by the savagery and crimes of fascism.

Fascism is a monstrous glorification of the irrational, extolling prejudice, giving "scientific" sanctions to hatred, and twisting history to justify the most obscurantist ideas.

From the angle of the intelligent person, fascism is simply raising irrationalism into a challenge to all that civilization has achieved through centuries of struggles and progress.

That is all true. But it is only part of the truth. And we must understand the whole truth if we are to understand and effectively fight fascism.

For the hatreds, the psychopathic feelings, and the brutality of a nation are not erected into a state system simply because of the irrationalism that they involve. Those sentiments existed before the triumph of fascism. Why do they come to power at a particular moment in history?

Behind the irrationalism of fascism, or rather behind its appeal to the irrational, there are definite rational purposes. The purposes are reactionary and barbaric, but they are still rational from the angle of the interests that those purposes serve.

### INTERESTS SERVED BY FASCISM

The interests served by the irrationalism of fascism are dominant class and caste interests. They are the interests of the dominant economic class of capitalism, which wants to preserve its vested rights. And there are the interests of groups which, baffled by the decline of capitalism and the permanent economic crisis that it brings, reject a progressive solution of our problems and accept the program of fascism.

The cumulative character of capitalism, the tendency for wealth to be concentrated in the hands of financial and industrial leaders and the accompanying impoverishment of the lower classes, sharply cleaves the classes in society and makes a basic change in social relations essential. The ruling groups are willing to endure the expense and limitations of fascism as long as they retain their position of dominance. The threat of overthrow, bred by economic stress, forces the ruling class to crystallize its control of the government by forming a military police state—thus arming itself against social eruption from below.

The economic crisis is the starting point of any analysis of fascism. In post-war Germany, there was an economic crisis which could not be solved by the old parties. Neither the old bourgeois parties nor the labor parties were able to solve the crisis, to promote economic activity, to provide employment for millions of people out of work. The depression of the 1930's made matters worse. Unemployment multiplied and conditions became worse.

Along with the economic crisis came the greater inability and incompetence of the existing political parties to use that crisis to move onward toward a solution of economic problems and to a more equitable form of social organization. Reactionary parties turned to fascism. The Nazis rode the wave into power.

There was a split in the German labor movement. And there was, in addition, a split between wage workers on the one hand and salaried employees, professionals and peasants on the other. These two splits helped fascism come to power. Most tragic was the split between the wage workers and the "new" middle class of salaried employees and professionals. The labor movement made no definite appeal to that "new" middle class, and that class, unable to rally to a progressive struggle, moved over to fascism.

In our own country, today, we, too, have an economic crisis. For nine years now we have been tormented by depression or incomplete recovery. There are still 10,000,000 unemployed people, with tens of thousands of our young people graduating into unemployment, unable to use the skills for which they have been trained. They are denied a living and society is denied their services.

Economic crises in the past have always thrown their burdens upon the manual workers. The white-collar workers, the salaried employees and professionals, were largely exempt. But, in the recent depression, and now in our permanent economic crisis, the "new" middle class of salaried employees and professionals has been hit almost as hard as the manual wage workers.

### CRISIS IN AMERICA

That is something new in our history, and it is fraught with the ut-

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most significance for the future. The economic position of this section of the middle class becomes identical with that of the industrial wage earners.

Small merchants are steadily losing their positions because of the growth of monopoly forms—a process which is accelerated by fascism.

Unless the middle class unites with the wage workers to defend their mutual interests, this country will be driven in the direction of fascism.

We cannot fight fascism by standing still. We cannot avoid the destructive totalitarianism of fascism by simply defending the status-quo against its onslaught.

It is necessary to move onward to new measures of social-economic organization, to broaden and deepen democracy if we are to prevent the menace of fascism arising in our country.

Fascism serves its rational reactionary purposes by means of irrational progressive purposes of the people by a rational appeal and struggle that moves onward beyond the economic and social limitations of the existing system.

And, in this struggle, the interests of the manual wage workers and of salaried employees and professionals are one and the same. They will both gain from the defeat of fascism; they will both gain from a new social order that makes possible the full utilization of our productive resources for purposes of peace, that

broadens and deepens democracy instead of destroying it.

The unity of all constructive and creative workers is necessarily progressive. Reaction must destroy or limit human rights; it must move backward toward barbarism because the existing economic system has ceased to be progressive. It cannot halt the decline in the standard of living. Society can no longer benefit from private exploitation of technological progress. Capitalism is actually forced into further decline as a result of technological unemployment. Its retention is possible only by the destruction of all that is progressive and aspiring in our civilization. But any unity of the constructive and creative workers is necessarily progressive, since their interests compel them to organize society on terms that will increase abundance and strengthen democracy.

But remember this: Fascism is essentially an effort to maintain and defend a system that has ceased being progressive and has become reactionary. We cannot prevent fascism by striving to maintain that system which is in decline and decay, which cannot progressively solve its economic problems. We must go beyond the existing system, to a new social order of plenty and peace, of economic as well as political democracy. The struggle against fascism is a struggle against declining and decaying capitalism.

(This article first appeared in the December 19, 1938 issue of Avukah Student Action.—Editor.)

## Lenin's Personal Side

(We publish below a very interesting impression of Lenin as a man, from the pen of Dr. Klemperer, one of the German specialists who treated Lenin in his last illness. Dr. Klemperer is now in the United States. These paragraphs are taken from a letter of his to the New York Times of February 5.—Ed.)

I AGREE with Mr. Denny in his judgment of Lenin's character. I should like to confirm from my own experience that "he had the qualities best suited to win not only respect and admiration but affection." I looked forward to my first meeting with him with some apprehension. After all I had heard from many Russian refugees in Berlin, I expected to find a rude, bloodthirsty man, but to my great surprise I found a quiet, reserved and polite man with the air of a philosopher.

I saw him in his bedroom, a large plain apartment which contained only an old iron servant's bed, a plain desk, many wooden chairs and a table covered with books. There were no decorations or pictures on the walls, no rugs. One saw that this man lived according to the principle that no one is allowed privileges. When I saw him again in June of the same year, 1922, he was established in the magnificent country estate of the former Mayor of Moscow, where he hoped to find rest and relaxation. But he did not live in the fine house itself; instead he lay in a poor room of a small house near by which had been used by servants.

I was forced to argue with him that his health would suffer in this room before he would permit himself to be taken to the larger house. There he lay in a spacious, airy room which was elegantly furnished. When I allowed him to leave his bed for the first time, he slipped on the parquet floor and fell. "This is what happens," he said, laughing, "when a proletarian lives in a palace."

He was very informal and cordial with his physicians, especially with Dr. Alexander Lewin, who was then the chief physician of the Kremlin Hospital and always accompanied me on my visits to Lenin. Even this gifted physician did not belong to the Communist Party, he spoke in very enthusiastic terms of Lenin's human qualities. Dr. Lewin was one of the victims of last year's purge in Moscow.

When I think back on my days in Moscow I am particularly impressed with Lenin's freedom from racial prejudice. He made no distinction between the various races and nationalities which were present in Russia. Among the most outstanding officials, I found also men of German descent, Jews, Letts, Armenians and many others. The Social Revolutionary who attempted to assassinate him was a young Jewess. Neither Lenin nor any other official made

## The AMA Against Medical Progress

### Top Group Fights Socialized Medicine

By MEDICUS

THE American Medical Association is the official organization of doctors in the United States. Being the organization of the general practitioners and specialists, it would naturally be expected to defend the interests of all the doctors; but this is not the case. For various reasons, the general practitioner, who is the majority, is very seldom found among the convention delegates, among the members of the House of Delegates, or even in the less important committees. It is only the "aristocrats," the \$25 and \$50-a-visit men who lead the A.M.A. These "aristocrats" look down with disdain on the laborers of the medical profession—the general practitioners.

It is very interesting to note that, if you talk of socializing the bread industry, the baker-magnates say that they have invested hundreds of millions of dollars in the industry and that you can't take their property away from them. But talk about socializing medicine, and our lords of the A.M.A., our medicine-magnates who grow fat on the sweat and blood of the population with their exorbitant fees, will fight you to the last drop of blood in the name of medical ethics, progress of science, the best interests of humanity, etc., etc. And in the best interests of humanity, the A.M.A. was against accepting a million-dollar grant from the government for cancer research—because it would discourage private contributions. . . .

The A.M.A. is still against the government's national-health program because it is not the government's business to worry about the nation's health. What does the A.M.A. care that, as Dr. Parran, surgeon general of the United States, points out in the New York Times of January 7, 1938, "forty million people in the United States are unable to provide themselves with medical care during serious illness. . . . The country is short of 360,000 hospital beds." The A.M.A. does not seem to be

worried about the fact that over a thousand of the most prominent physicians and surgeons have declared in their manifesto published in the New York Times of November 7, 1937, that, "the health of the nation is the concern of the government," and that some form of socialized medicine is needed.

The A.M.A. has grown rich. It owns a huge building and a publishing plant in Chicago. Its weekly, the A.M.A. Journal, collects from subscriptions alone between eight and nine hundred thousand dollars a year and at least twice as much from drug-house and medical-publisher advertisements. It has concentrated around it a group of people who have lined their pockets and are determined to hold the fort by all means at their disposal.

BLACK-HAND METHODS  
The methods that the A.M.A. uses against any progressive thought and against socialized medicine deserve the condemnation of every intelligent person. The doctors who defend socialized medicine are "good-for-nothings who can't make a living," or else "foreigners." (I have a suspicion that Dr. Fishbein himself did not exactly arrive on the Mayflower.)

Says the former A.M.A. president, Dr. Pusey, in America's Future for November 1938: "Those Americans who have been here long enough to be imbued with the genius of the country do not readily adapt themselves, if they are competent and able, to bureaucratic control of their occupations." Just like that! The doctors who defend socialized medicine are "incompetents." But Drs. Riessman, Minot, Cecil, Cobot and thousands of others who have contributed so much for medical progress are fighting for socialized medicine! In the same magazine, Dr. Pusey's answer to a book praising socialized medicine written by an American professor, is: "The gentleman, the writer of the book, is not a citizen of the United States and has communistic tendencies." That's the answer!

The A.M.A. as an organization, in its desperate struggle against everything progressive, has taken up methods which are on the borderline of racketeering. They are persecuting physicians for doing group-clinic work. In one instance, they even tried thru pull to revoke the license of a physician for that "crime." For defending socialized medicine, doctors have been expelled from their organizations. In Washington, D. C. doctors have been boycotted and expelled from hospitals for doing group-clinic work. But the big fellows around the A.M.A. are doing all sorts of contract work for heavy money, like insurance, compensation, and other odd jobs. That's O.K., of course!

Recently, all the hospitals received a resolution of the House of Delegates of the A.M.A. demanding that every doctor on the staff become a member of the A.M.A. or else be expelled; if this was not complied with, the A.M.A. would not approve the hospital for training of interns. Since no hospital can exist without interns, every hospital is in mortal fear and is ready to drop from its staff the doctors who cannot become members. Why can't they become

## Deadly Trap of Armament

By JOHN T. FLYNN

THE vicious circle of armament economics opens as we stand on the brink of what is called a "national-defense" program. Louis Johnson, Assistant Secretary of War, points out that we must be prepared in the air, for instance, for the possibility of an attack. Preparation means an adequate supply of aircraft in existence and the means of producing rapidly and abundantly when the war comes.

### ONLY A BEGINNING

Therefore, he proposes an expenditure of \$300,000,000 in the air force to build approximately 3,000 planes. Washington correspondents know that this represents a mere minimum and that, if more is not asked, it is because it is felt caution is needed until the public mind is prepared for more.

Of course, these planes must be built in plane factories. There are now sixteen major aircraft producers, and Assistant Secretary Johnson points out that these have not been kept uniformly busy during the last five years.

We need these sixteen producers in the event of war. But we will not have them unless they can be kept in existence by business. Therefore, it is necessary to keep them busy so that we may have them when we need them. Therefore, we must spend millions now to "stabilize employment and utilize idle plant capacity in our airplane factories," Mr. Johnson tells us.

But these sixteen major producers are not enough. They will not be equal to the necessary production in case we have war. Therefore, although ordinary needs cannot keep the existing plants busy, we must create additional plants by placing

bigger orders for war planes. Then, when we get more plants, it will be necessary to keep them in operation in the event of war. And so, having expanded our plant capacity, we will be told that we must appropriate more millions to "stabilize employment in them" and to keep them alive in case of war.

### THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

Of course, after we do this it will be necessary to create more plants and, of course, to keep them busy. If we do not, we shall hear about "the great unemployment in the aviation industry," and, of course, the way to remedy that is for this government and every government to buy more planes.

Of course, the same thing is true of the warship industry, the gun industry, the chemical industry, and so on. We build the plants in order to have the necessary capacity in the event of war. Having built them, we must keep them employed; as we keep them employed we give another fillip to the armament race, which, in turn, necessitates the building of more plants, and so on until this country, like Germany and Italy and now gradually England and France, will be floating upon an armament economy which we dare not stop lest we crack up our economic structure.

Mr. Johnson warns us that, in addition to some \$110,000,000 for equipping our present army protective force, we must face the "larger expenditure which may conceivably be needed some day to provide a six-month supply for a quickly recruited 'first million.'" This is a good spot to pause and take note of where we are heading.

(This article is taken from the New York World-Telegram, Feb. 16, 1939.—Editor.)

## I.L.P. On Expulsion of Stafford Cripps

### Condemns His Views but Urges Tolerance

(We publish below the comment of the New Leader (Feb. 3, 1939), official paper of the British I.L.P., on the recent expulsion of Stafford Cripps from the Labor Party.—Editor.)

THE expulsion of Stafford Cripps from the Labor Party raises a number of issues.

1. The policy for which Cripps stands is muddled. Partly it should be supported—as, for instance, when (1) he condemns the appearance of Labor Party leaders on National Register platforms with government spokesmen; (2) he points out the danger of the youth movement passing from the leadership of Labor to that of Churchill and Co.; and (3) he sounds the warning that "democratic" forces may eventually become lined up behind Chamberlain in "national unity against fascist aggression."

2. But the conclusions which Cripps draws are dangerous and would lead to the very end which he seeks to avoid. He would have a

Popular Front arrangement on a program which would also make for "national unity against fascist aggression." His second point is: "a policy of peace by the collective action of the democracies against aggression." When that came to be applied, the Churchills and Co. would support it enthusiastically and, if war came, as it probably would, the Popular Front government would soon be extended into a National government.

3. But the Labor Party Executive is on weak ground when it expels Cripps. In the nature of things, the Labor Party cannot be a rigid organization. Basically, it is a federation of working-class organizations and, within that broad movement, there must be variety of views.

If the Cripps expulsion means that there is not room within the wide scope of the Labor Party to advocate views contrary to those of the Executive a dangerous precedent has been established which will be fatal to the democratic vitality of the Labor Party.

### Letters to the Editor

## Unemployment and War

Brooklyn, New York, January 18, 1939.

Editor, Workers Age: SINCE the Workers Age has increased in size and outward beauty, why not improve its effectiveness in propaganda and education to attract the masses by devoting more space to the real menace confronting the people—the plague of unemployment—instead of giving most of its prominence to the danger of militarism?

As a thinker and observer, you should be aware that the majority of the unemployed and millions of others who barely earn a livelihood now, find their lives so empty and are so fed up with misery, that the war is hell let loose, these men and women can hardly be expected to have their imagination aroused to such a pitch as to visualize any substantial difference between the life they are leading now, devoid of happiness and confidence for their future welfare, in contrast to what a war might mean to them.

You have before you the experience of Germany's catastrophe, where millions of unemployed were ready to cast their lot with the most militaristic gang rather than to continue starving amidst the complacent democratic regime, where nothing was done to employ them. It would seem that one of the main reasons the detestable Nazis find so little opposition from the millions who were formerly unemployed, is because they are grateful that they do not roam the streets in search of work. Little difference does it ap-

parently make to them as to whether they are engaged in creating armaments or otherwise. Do you believe that the millions of unemployed here are radically different? Don't you think the majority of them would even welcome a war, under the illusion that because of the war, they would find the blessing of employment, despite the probability that most of them might be butchered before they could enjoy the fruits of their anticipated jobs?

You assuredly are interested in converting the bulk of the people to the cause of progress, to a world of peace and plenty. Then why not devote the most precious space to an issue which should earn the admiration and gratitude of the multitude and would attract the millions of unemployed and starving employed, by hammering for a job with decent remuneration for these men and women—soon and not in some distant future.

True, you faintly mention the injustice of the impending curtailment threats on the W.P.A. But why so forgetfully gloss over the fate of those millions who are not on the W.P.A. even, and who are clamoring to get on its rolls? The W.P.A. at best was merely a drop in the bucket. The publicity given in the Workers Age to the millions of unemployed is negligible in comparison with the bombardment on the question of war. A campaign for a job for all would not sound extraneous at this time and would be a positive contribution to the immediate future.

MORRIS KURINSKY

### The Editor Answers:

LET us admit at the very outset that we have not given adequate attention in our paper to the problems of unemployment and relief. Measures are being taken to remedy this shortcoming. Nevertheless, we do not think our correspondent's line of argument to be entirely correct, especially when he tends to counterpose the struggle against war to the struggle against unemployment and fascism. Let us remember that fascism can come to America not merely along the "German" road—that is, thru the demoralization and disillusionment of masses in hopeless distress—but also along the road of an authoritarian military dictatorship that our involvement in war would be certain to bring. And it seems to us that the danger of fascism along the latter road is especially great at the present moment. That is one of the reasons why we stress the war question so much.

Whatever may be the sentiment of certain groups in the large cities, it is a fact that the vast majority of the people of this country don't want war and are emphatically opposed to anything that threatens to involve the United States in war. The Administration and allied forces are now engaged in a well-

planned and carefully calculated campaign to break down this popular resistance and steer this country into a war alliance with the "democracies," that is, with Great Britain against Japan. All sorts of methods are used—incitement of jingoistic passions, exploitation of the universal resentment against the fascist atrocities, the "argument" that armament economies would bring prosperity, etc. We regard it as our duty, as a socialist and anti-war paper, to raise an alarm and warn the American people against the deadly trap being prepared for us all.

There is a fundamental connection between unemployment and war: the failure of the New Deal to solve the domestic problems created by our broken-down capitalist system, especially by the problem of unemployment, is unquestionably one of the driving forces of the Administration war policy. In this sense, a radical program of social reform looking towards socialism is really the only answer to the war plans of the Administration. And, in this program, the slogan of a job for everyone at decent pay must undoubtedly take a central place.

—EDITOR

same city where he resides!—advertised his book with such captions as: "Buy Dr. Fishbein's Magic Key to Health" and "Save the Lives of the Ones You Love." When it suits his reactionary policies, he will even talk sensibly, as he did in Washington, when he said: "Why pick on the workers lack of medical care? They lack bread, clothes and other things, too. It's the system which is sick." Essentially, he is a dyed-in-the-wool reactionary, an enemy of the masses. See, for instance, his speech at the conference of the National Association of Science Writers when, all of a sudden, while speaking on another subject, he advised them against joining the C.I.O. because, "all the other cells of the body will dominate the cortex instead of having the cortex dominate the rest of the cells" (A.M. A. Journal, January 8, 1938). You see, the writers are the very cortex of the brain, and they were born to dominate others, not to help them.

### ORGANIZED LABOR'S TASK

Whether or not the A.M.A. changes its attitude toward socialized medicine is immaterial. One

thing is sure, we are facing socialized medicine in one form or another. The all-important question is: socialized medicine in what form? How is the expense going to be covered? Who is going to determine the quantity and quality of medical care? Organized labor must change its attitude from passive support of government plans to provide medical care for the masses to active participation in that movement by forwarding its own plans as to how socialized medicine should be financed and managed. The demands should be: full socialization of the hospitals, physicians, dentists, nurses, and druggists; all expenses to be covered by taxes and not by wage deductions; city, state and national mixed boards should manage the entire plan, those boards comprising doctors, dentists and a representation of organized labor.

(This is the last of a series of three articles on socialized medicine and related problems.—Editor.)

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## A SELF-DEFEATING POLICY

THE statement on business and economic conditions issued by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at Miami recently, proves conclusively that the leaders of the Federation have not yet learnt their lesson from the depression in which this country has been plunged since 1930. As to the roots of the problem, as to how the critical situation is to be met in terms of immediate or long-range action, the A. F. of L. leaders showed no more real understanding than Herbert Hoover or Al Smith.

If there is one thing that can no longer be doubted, it is that our economic system of private capitalist enterprise is definitely on the decline. Owing to certain fundamental structural changes since the World War and particularly since 1929, the long-term factors of capitalist expansion have been virtually exhausted and the whole economy has been forced to shift to a much narrower and definitely shrinking basis. In the nine years following 1929, despite all "booms" and "recoveries," private investment has not shown any serious revival and without a steady, rising stream of private investment, the normal functioning of the capitalist system is manifestly impossible.

The drying up of private investment is the most significant feature of the economic situation and has been such since 1930. The Executive Council ascribes it all to "fear, a lack of confidence and distrust in government . . . procedure" and therefore urges the "creation of favorable state of mind" as the remedy for our economic ills. It is hardly worth while to discuss this doctrine of economic Coueism seriously. Assuredly big business did not lack "confidence" in Hoover in 1930 to 1932; why, then, did private investment trickle down to nothing in precisely these years?

No; the causes lie much deeper and are essentially inherent in our present economic system. Under such circumstances, the only way to preserve capitalism is for the government to make up thru so-called "investment-spending" for the lack of private investment: that is the meaning of the spending policy of the New Deal. Whatever recovery there has been since Roosevelt took office in 1933 has been mainly due to governmental spending and the virtual cessation of such spending in 1936 was largely responsible for the so-called "recession" that followed.

From a long-range standpoint, it is true, the policy of "public investment" thru governmental spending is futile, for, at most, it keeps things going for the time being without materially affecting the fundamental situation. But that simply means that the whole system of private capitalist enterprise is hopelessly in decay and can be maintained only by constant active governmental intervention; in the long run, the only answer is socialism. This the Executive Council cannot admit for it declares itself "firmly committed to [the] economic philosophy of private enterprise and private initiative." But that leaves it in a completely untenable position. Sound criticism of the New Deal spending program is possible only from the socialist standpoint; rejecting that, the A. F. of L. leaders are forced to fall back upon threadbare phrases about "confidence" and the old discredited formula of the "highest and most perfect . . . cooperation between management and labor," which brought such disaster to the labor movement in the past.

There is still another angle to the problem of spending. Despite everything, there remain over ten million people jobless throughout the country and there have never been less than eight million for the last ten years. How are these people going to be kept from utter starvation if billions are not spent by the federal government thru the W.P.A. and other relief agencies? As it is, only three million out of the ten are reached thru the W.P.A. and not very many more in other ways. An attack on spending as such today must necessarily imply the curtailment of governmental relief activities, which surely the A. F. of L. leaders do not desire. Here, too, their position is completely untenable.

As a matter of fact, the interests of labor and of the great masses of the people require more extensive and better planned governmental spending rather than less, spending for relief and public-welfare projects rather than for armaments. It is true that "various forms of government spending . . . can only serve as temporary measures," but today such "temporary measures"—and they are as "temporary" as the whole capitalist system—are a matter of life and death for millions of people. And that is something that cannot be conjured away by any amount of talk about "sound business policy."

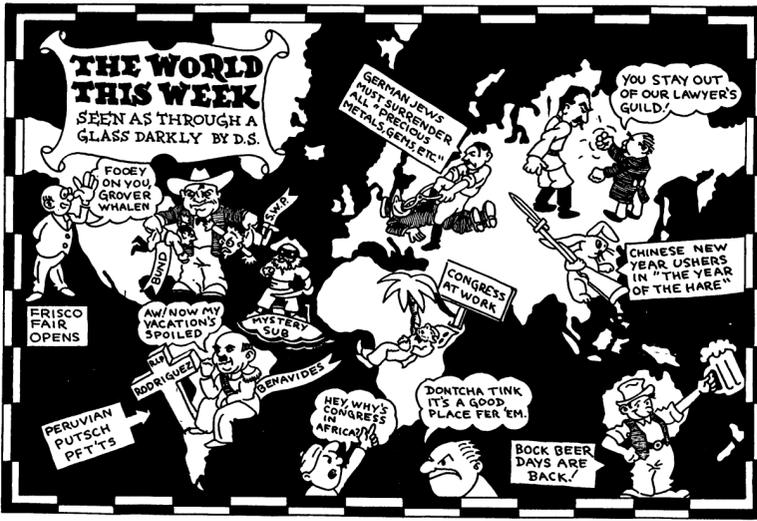
## SECRET DIPLOMACY

THE test of real democracy is foreign affairs. Traditionally regarded as the private preserve of kings and ministers, foreign policy has tended to remain particularly remote from popular influence and control even in the "great democracies," where the Executive power has replaced the king as the virtually arbitrary manipulator of secret diplomacy. And yet foreign policy comes closer to the lives of the great masses of the people and affects their future more directly than most other forms of governmental activity: the stakes of foreign policy are peace and war, life and death. If the people are deprived of decisive control over, or even direct knowledge of the foreign policy of their government, what is democracy but a fraud and a delusion?

Thru the accidental crashing of an airplane, a tiny corner of the heavy curtain of official secrecy hiding the fateful manoeuvres of the Roosevelt Administration in the field of international relations was recently lifted. We saw the President and the State Department deliberately engaged in forging the chains of a war alliance binding the United States to England and France in the world slaughter now being prepared—and doing this not merely without consulting the people but even without the knowledge and consent of Congress. In fact, there is every reason to believe that the President knew that what he was doing was directly contrary to the will and sentiment of the people, thus making secrecy imperative for the success of his schemes. In connection with the French airplanes-sale scandal, the New York Times (February 18) reports that "informed sources here (Washington) insist that the course [of secrecy] was followed [by the French government] on official American advice, probably emanating from President Roosevelt, who apparently was uncertain of the public reaction to a large-scale order for fighting planes which the French Air Ministry intended to place."

The same issue of the New York Times reports another significant incident. At a session of the Senate Military Affairs Committee so secret that even the stenographer was excluded to avoid "leaks," Ambassador Wilson, home for the time being from Germany, absolutely refused to answer the questions of the Senators on vital matters of foreign and military policy. "Whenever a 'pertinent' question was asked," the Times dispatch quotes a committee member as saying, "he (Ambassador Wilson) declined to answer because to do so might affect a 'delicate' international situation or impair his own future usefulness."

There you have the thing plain enough for all to see. The people are strongly opposed to having America help arm foreign countries for the next war or to anything else that might involve this country in foreign entanglements. But the President has his own policy of a war alliance with the imperialist "democracies," especially England, and this policy he pursues in secret, behind the back of the people and Congress, to the point even of having his Ambassadors refuse to give vital information to a Senate Committee in secret session! There you have "democracy" on the New Deal model!



# After the Pan-American Conference at Lima

## Official Statements Hide Defeat of U.S. Imperialism

By ELLEN WARD

NOW that the blare of trumpets and the fanfare have died down and the smoke has somewhat cleared, it is easier to see what actually happened at the conference in Lima. As one runs thru the proceedings of the sessions and compares their content with the hopes and plans and aspirations of American imperialism, one cannot be surprised at its keen disappointment.

### WHAT DID THE U.S. WANT AT LIMA?

What did the United States want at Lima? It wanted two things especially. First to forge an American League of Nations under the aegis of the United States in preparation for the coming war. Second, to take stock, to tie together all the loose commercial ends, and to stiffen its aggressive salesmanship in Latin-American markets; to strengthen its competition against the inroads being made by Nazi commodities.

That the world is creeping closer and closer to the precipice of war is now a generally accepted axiom. Only a few days ago, Senator Nye told us that the United States is today closer to war than it was in 1916, and, apropos of Latin America, Harold Hinton, discussing the war situation, reminds us that "if there is any major lesson for us to learn from what happened in Spain, it is the comforting one that the advantage in war lies eventually with those who have an assured food supply. During the last war, Latin America was the bread-basket of the world, and it is to secure this valuable source of food and war materials that the United States fought so desperately at Lima. The fight was made even more difficult by the slowly rising forces of fascist opposition who are fighting for the same things in the western world."

### LATIN AMERICAN REACTION

What was the reaction of Latin America to the American attitude? In this connection, we ought to bear in mind that, despite the fact that most of Latin America still lives under a semi-feudal economy, it boasts the most astute politicians in the entire world. It is not easy to lead them around by the nose unless they are willing to follow—and they will follow only if the pay is considerable. No Latin American at Lima was deceived for a single moment by the everlasting repetitions about saving the western world for democracy. They have listened to such speeches often and they have learned their lessons. They know what the world really looks like at the other end of the rainbow, and for once the strongest voices of Latin America spoke out sharply, clearly, and frankly against America's imperialist designs.

## 25 YEARS AGO

FEB. 22 — MARCH 1

FEBRUARY 27, 1914. — Lenin writes to Isaac A. Hourwich asking him to send him Volume 5 of the Agricultural Census of 1900 and the Census of 1910.

Feb. 27.—1,000 unemployed march to the Old Baptist Tabernacle, 164 2nd Avenue, and demand shelter for the night. Police drive them from church and disperse them.

Feb. 27. — United States backs Standard Oil in the company's fight against Germany's attempt to form an oil monopoly and to take over oil plants.

Feb. 26.—William Diamond, treasurer of the Trinidad, Colo., local of the U.M.W., arrested on the charge of urging the Colorado militia to desert.

Feb. 28.—British royalty breaks old tradition. Dinner guests may now open conversation with the King.

Cantilo, speaking for the River Plate countries, Argentina and Uruguay and their satellites, said: "We want continental solidarity but we insist on individual policy."

... These two terms are not irreconcilable. . . . The interests that the River Plate countries have in European markets weigh on their national and international policies. But these economic reasons are not the only ones; in fact, they may not be the most important ones in determining the direction of Argentina's international policy.

"We feel ourselves closely associated by the immigration we have received from her, by European capital which has developed our livestock and our agriculture, our railways and other industries. . . ."

**"A FAVORITE New Deal just now is this: 'When is a dictatorship not a dictatorship?' The answer, over which the New Dealers laugh, is this: 'When it's in Latin America.' Great official mirth is stirred by White House and other references to the 'democracies' of Latin America, most of which are ruled by dictators." — United States News, Dec. 19, 1938.**

French culture has contributed largely to the formation of our intellectual life, while Italy and Germany have contributed to important aspects of our evolution. European influence predominates in our education just as European methods predominate in our schools.

This extraordinary frankness struck a discordant note at Lima, which started out by being such a warm, gala celebration. Cantilo, for once, threw all diplomatic caution to the four winds and the vigor and challenge in his speech lined up a number of countries on the side of Argentina, and the Hull formula was doomed from that moment.

It is interesting to note that, in this connection, Cantilo does not mention Great Britain by name, although Great Britain is still the closest, keenest and most ruthless economic competitor of the U. S. A. in Argentina and just as anxious as

the fascists for an Argentina independent of United States influence.

Latin-American opposition to American imperialism was carried on two fronts, at Lima and back home in each country. While Cantilo was speaking at Lima, the River Plate press carried on a steady campaign of opposition, nourished not only by old memories of American misdeeds but, of course, by active fascist influence. The press poked fun at "Hull's fantasies of a German or an Italian army disembarking on Western shores." They characterized such fears as the sheerest nonsense. The press was almost unanimous in vigorously opposing any sort of contributions towards the building up of any defense against such "imaginary attacks." "If the United States wanted a navy large enough to defend both oceans, let her pay for it herself. We won't be a part to any military alliance, especially after what happened to Czechoslovakia. We won't be the victims of another Munich."

Does all this mean that there is really no fascist danger in Latin America? Not, not in the slightest. The above press releases are a cleverly combined synthesis of fascist opinion and Latin American dreams of economic independence. The Nazi and fascist elements, with the active aid of the Catholic Church and the large landowners, are determined to secure the almost limitless Latin American resources for their side in the coming struggle; but failing this, they hope to continue building and strengthening their propaganda against the "Colossus of the North," in an attempt to at least neutralize the countries of Central and South America in the coming war.

Every bit of American clumsiness in its policy toward Latin America is grist in the fascist mill and has enabled it to spread its influence and ideology at a very much accelerated rate during the past three years. This effort has now reached such a height that the Nazis have dared to order all important Latin-American business houses to discharge all Jewish employees or they would get no more German business. This order is not confined to German Jews but includes Jews born in the Latin-American countries as well. (Concluded in the Next Issue)

# Martin Forces Make New Gains in the U.A.W.

(Continued from Page 1)

anti-Martin elements in the plant to participate in negotiations with the management, Leo LaMotte, former local president recently ousted by the membership, demanded that the management grant his clique sole-bargaining rights. When he couldn't get that, he tried to precipitate an illegal stoppage. In the excitement, the Plymouth plant closed down for a few hours, but the next day the plant was running normally again, and LaMotte's maneuver had not only failed but had proved a boomerang. The panic in the camp of the Stalinist dual unionists may well be judged from this incident.

While the auto workers were rallying overwhelmingly to the support of the Martin leadership, intrigues among certain dubious Board members broke out again last week. A flurry was caused by the defection of Loren Houser and Charles Madden from the Martin camp. Charles Madden, it should be noted, had originally gone along with the Stalinists in the split; then he changed his mind and came back to the bona-fide U.A.W.; last week, he broke away again; and now there is a report that he has for a second time denounced the C.I.O. leaders as "corrupt" and what not. Auto workers here have their own opinion as to what motivated the somersaults of Houser and Madden, but they regard the whole thing as of little consequence.

In a radio address on February 21 over a hook-up covering the Detroit, Cleveland and Chicago areas, Homer Martin charged the existence of a "conspiracy to destroy the United Automobile Workers of America," with John L. Lewis as the "chief figure" and "Sidney Hillman, Philip Murray, John Brophy and a miscellaneous collection of former officers of the U.A.W." as accomplices. In his address, Martin reviewed events during recent months to describe the development of the assault of the C.I.O. leadership upon the autonomy and democratic set-up of the U.A.W. and showed the major part that Stalinist manoeuvres for control and domination had played in these efforts.

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## Talking It Over:

# End and a Beginning

by Bertram D. Wolfe

## A MELANCHOLY DUTY

AS JEREMIAH took no pleasure in the verification of the prophecies for which he was reviled and punished, and when his words were fulfilled he broke into lamentations, even so do we have the melancholy duty of recording that all those things which the Workers Age predicted concerning the fate of Spain if the People's Front Azana-Negrin government should consolidate its power, have come to pass.

In the very first year of the civil war we told the inside story of Azana's refusal to prepare for the military revolt, of his effort to surrender to Franco when the rebellion began, of how the uprising of the workers in Barcelona and Madrid prevented that betrayal, and how the bourgeois republicans, aided by the Stalinists, then decided to head the revolutionary government in order to head it off.

"All history teaches," we wrote at that time, "that truly democratic and popular wars can only be waged and won by revolutionary means. . . . Under the leadership of the embryonic workers and peasants government, the Spanish people armed themselves, recaptured Madrid, Valencia, much of the rest of Spain. The still virtually unarmed and untrained, they actually assumed the offensive and defeated and rolled back the trained troops of the professional army in more than two-thirds of Spain. . . . Once the authority of the impotent, discredited, non-revolutionary Azana government was restored and the overflowing tide of revolutionary enthusiasm channeled in the moldy ditches of bourgeois republicanism, neither arms, nor training, nor the fashioning of an officers corps, has enabled the government side to assume the offensive again. . . . On the side of reaction is necessarily the superiority in training, equipment, professional officers and support by foreign reaction. On the popular side, the only offset lies in numbers, in morale, in revolutionary enthusiasm, in the overwhelming tidal wave of the masses in motion that can dissolve opposing armies, create guerrilla support behind the enemy lines, stir up the masses to action in countries intriguing against them. . . . But a bourgeois coalition government such as that of the People's Front by its very nature is a government of the curbing of the revolutionary will of the masses, and a government of slow, concealed and inglorious surrender to fascism and reaction. . . . By its nature, it is a government bound hand and foot by the miserable ambitions of Spanish capitalism and imperialism and the voracious demands of British and French capital. . . . A revolutionary government would have sent the unreliable Azanas about their business, stripped them of their power and prerogatives, including their power to sabotage the will of the masses, to intrigue with foreign powers, to negotiate possible compromises at the expense of the workers and peasants. . . . As the 'Government of Victory,' the Negrin government has brought, as was inevitable from its composition and nature, nothing but defeats; defeat in international diplomacy where it has become a plaything in the treacherous hands of British and French diplomats; defeat on the field of battle where it has destroyed the initiative of the masses and consolidated Franco's forces.

"A revolutionary war can only be waged by a revolutionary government. If the Spanish government would give the land to the peasants, the factories to the workers, then the workers and peasants on Franco's side would be stirred to desertion, to insurrection, to guerrilla warfare. If they would give freedom to the North African colonies, the Moorish armies would melt away and come over to their side. A revolutionary policy in Spain would arouse the slumbering British and French masses and they would bring such pressure on their governments as would force them to behave differently, or cause their downfall. A revolutionary military policy with officers from the workers organizations and revolutionary military commissars where old officers had to be used for technical purposes, would put an end to the chain of betrayals which have lost Malaga, Cordoba, Bilbao, Santander (and now we have to add Barcelona!)"

## ONE PHASE COMES TO A CLOSE. . . .

THUS one phase of the civil war in Spain comes to an unhappy close. All the heroism, all the suffering, all the blood and tears, all the misdirected energies come to naught. The iron heel descends upon the neck of the Spanish masses. Bull-rings fill with prisoners; loyal proletarians are hunted out of their miserable hiding places; mass executions begin. But this cannot last; the ruling class needs its rebellious slaves for the sake of their labor. It will drive out and kill off some of the best, but the class it cannot destroy. And the Spanish working class has demonstrated that it is capable of begetting an entire race of heroes.

## TESTED IN THE FIRES OF CIVIL WAR

THE conflict has tested, in its frightful fashion, all theories, all parties, all forms of struggle. Let no one think that all is over. Bourgeois republicanism has been tried and found wanting. It has condemned itself as cowardly, treacherous and impotent. Stalinism has been the lackey and agent of that treachery and impotence inside the ranks of the working class and has stained itself with the blood of the revolutionaries in the Barcelona counter-revolution and in the murder of men like Andres Nin. Anarchism has demonstrated the magnificent courage of its rank-and-file adherents and the reactionary character of its theories and leadership. What kind of revolutionary theory is it that must be laid on the shelf for the duration of the civil war? What kind of leaders are these who, in the name of "no working-class politics" collaborate in bourgeois politics and aid the counter-revolution that frames up their own followers?

Only the P.O.U.M., imprisoned on both sides, hunted, in exile, and underground, comes out physically injured but morally unscathed. Only its program has stood the test of events, and even in the midst of their agony, increasing numbers of the masses begin to understand this and turn to them. Already driven underground by the Stalinist-G.P.U.-Negrin-Azana terror even while they were loyal serving on the Republican front, the P.O.U.M. is best equipped to continue the struggle underground against Franco rule.

## NOW IS THE TIME FOR SOLIDARITY!

THE predictions quoted above have already come true. In the same series of articles we wrote:

"Out of the Spanish civil war may come a temporary victory of fascism and a military dictatorship, the two months in Spain have convinced me that the fascists can never permanently hold the land. There may come a truce in which foreign and domestic rifles rule. . . . but that cannot be permanent either, for it is impossible to keep a permanent army of occupation in Spain of sufficient size to maintain such a regime indefinitely. There may come a partition of Spain into German, French and English spheres of influence, to be followed inevitably by a fresh flare-up of revolutionary war of independence, unification and socialism. . . . There is no foreseeing how many stages this struggle will go thru. . . . But this much is clear, or a fascist Spain, or a military dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. . . . 'The struggle will be a long one. . . . Spain's civil war has all of them been long and stubborn. The present cycle of civil war, national-revolutionary defense and proletarian revolution, will not prove an exception. . . ."

Already Franco has made his first blunder in Catalonia, the inevitably-to-be-predicted outlawing of the Catalan tongue. In a few weeks or months at most, the Spanish workers who are of the kind that do not know when they have been beaten will begin anew. The unions will begin forming underground. Masses who have tried republicanism, reformist socialism, Stalinism and syndicalism, will begin rallying to the banner that the P.O.U.M. has never lowered. The peasants will remember their taste of the land, the workers their taste of freedom, the masses the feel of the arms they held in their hands.

Now, more than ever, the Spanish workers need our solidarity and support. Now, when they are beaten to their knees and bleeding, and struggling with a mighty effort to rise afresh, now we must redouble, may quintuple the aid we give to Spain. Let them feel that the workers of other lands have understood their struggle. Let them know we have not abandoned them. It is easy to help a winning cause. It is far more important to help when a cause has sustained defeat.

And now every penny must go to the P.O.U.M. It alone is guiltless of the defeat. It alone advanced the program on which the struggle might have been, and must still be won. The struggle is entering a new stage. In this stage, the P.O.U.M. must lead. And, if the other prophecies contained in these columns have come true, there is reason to believe in and aid the realization of the last prophecy also. For the series of articles from which we quoted end with the following paragraph:

"The duty of the labor movement of the rest of the world is clear: Learn the lessons of the Spanish civil war; expose the treacherous policy of the People's Front; give all the help within our power to the Spanish proletariat in its struggle, and to the Workers Party of Marxist Unification, better known by its Spanish initials as the P.O.U.M., the party that will, with international solidarity and aid, yet lead the Spanish working class to victory!"