NEXT WEEK: EUROPE: A CONTINENT IN TORMENT

By Jay Lovestone

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

GULF SEAMEN'S BREAK WITH N.M.U. by Jack Soderberg Page ROOSEVELT FOREIGN LOAN SCHEME by Robert Walters.....

5 CENTS

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone ===

THE VULTURES GATHER

terrific pressure of contemporary events is remoulding all countries A today. Here the United States is no exception, tho the remoulding does occur in certain specific, peculiar American forms.

It is urgent that labor now begin to take serious stock of prospects for 1940. After all, this crucial presidential year is less than six months off. For one thing, organized labor must stop slugging itself into a corpse-like condition. And the less help we get from our "friends" outside the working-class ranks-particularly in the restoration of tradeunion unity—the better off we will be. The sooner we ourselves close our ranks, the better for all organized and unorganized labor. Lest we forget: It is still true that where the carcass is, there the vultures will

Soaring high among the reactionary cultures expecting to fatten of thousands of Nazis were "colonizthemselves in 1940 are Democrat Garner and Republican Vandenberg. The former is preparing to swoop down upon next year by seeking to 'broaden the tax base". This Texas tommyrotter would slap an income tax on families getting as little as \$100 a month and on individuals earning a little under \$10 a week. This is what "Cactus Jack" (Wall Street's amorative for "our" Vice President) calls economic democracy! Little respect as we have for Garner's literacy, we would never say that he doesn't know that the great mass of the people are already badly overtaxed. Last year, such indirect taxes buried in retail prices produced at least 56% of all local, state and federal revenue.

Of the same stripe is vulture Vandenberg whose Senate Finance subcommittee has just come forward with a startlingly stale solution of the class struggle. The threadbare idea of "profit-sharing" is now offered English and French governments. crats. as a panacea by Michigan's self-styled Messiah. That in itself would be Without Anglo-French support, it meaningless. However, Vandenberg's committee has made an explanatory was hardly expected that Poland declaration which is replete with sinister significance. We need but cull would risk war. In French Foreign the Administration-sponsored Bloom this gem: "Wage increases create the same result as the serving of red Office circles, renewed suggestions bill escaped defeat thru recommitmeat to animals at the zoo-satisfaction for the moment, a more ravenous appetite later."

It is unnecessary for us to underline all the implications of this remarkable statement. This sentence should prove a political death sentence for Vandenberg. But let no one overlook the fact that the majority of gress in bringing the Anglo-Frenchthe sub-committee sponsoring this anti-labor policy consist of leaders of Russian mutual-security pact any block in the Senate intends to Roosevelt's Democratic party. No anemic New Dealers are Vandenberg's nearer to completion. Indeed, it becolleagues, Senator Herring of Iowa and Johnson of Colorado.

NO DEMOCRACY WITHOUT SOCIALISM

A BOUT no word is there as much talking and as little thinking as about "democracy". Time and again we have pitched in to provoke some thinking about the substance of what genuine democracy should or can be.

It is in this light that we ask our readers to give serious thought to the findings of President Milo Perkins of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation that twenty million Americans have only 15 cents a day for food. And Garner would lower even this miserable standard of American "democracy" by slapping an income tax on these "prosperous" inhabitants of the world's wealthiest land!

In the same light, we advise the defenders in labor's ranks of American "democracy" as it is-the status quo-to give some thought to the import of the following remarks made by Sidney Hollander of the Family Welfare Association of America and of the Child Welfare League of America before the recent National Conference of Social Workers:

"Will we go on shouting down efforts to find work for the workless because taxes are high? Will we complain that the burden of relief is too great? Are we forgetting that the heaviest burden of relief is borne by

"Talk with those who seek work-there are 10,000,000 of them-of the meaning of democracy, of the boon of liberty and equality. . .

"Furthermore, last year about 1,100,000 children were born to families on relief or in the very low income groups. In just one decade there will be 1,100,000 children growing up in homes that are but a travesty on

Here are true pictures of "democracy" at its peak in the strongest and materialize. From the difficulties the consequent small addition to the freest capitalist-operated land. It is up to labor to lend substance to de- and controversies that have obmocracy to make it real by working for a social system which will not structed the Anglo-Russian negotiabe anti-social, which will not be profit-motivated. In short, without supplanting capitalism by socialism, there can be no genuine and full de-likely to infer that discord among mocracy for the many millions who today are privileged to enjoy futile | London, Paris and Moscow is sure formalities and to suffer fatal deprivations.

British Labor Rallies

Nazi Coup on FDR Beaten Danzig Seen On Dollar and You Don't Know! In Offing

'Peaceful' Seizure Is Expected; Zhdanov Hits At Anglo-French Policy

Danzig came to the forefront again last week as all Europe waited tensely for Hitler's next step in the campaign to annex that city and gain control over the Polish Corrampant but it seemed pretty clear that a decisive German move was in the offing. It was said that scores ing" Danzig in preparation for a visit by Hitler very shortly, during or after which the seizure of the city would take place "peacefully."

In London, spokesmen of the slightly weakened form. The pro-Chamberlain government issued ceedings in the lower house were "firm warnings" against any further marked by furious debate and "aggressions" but informed opinion frantic parliamentary manouvering discounted these declarations and on the part of the Administration forecast that the German annexa- leadership. The majority for the tion of Danzig would be accepted arms embargo was composed of as an accomplished fact by the Republicans and isolationist Demowere heard urging the "settlement" of the Polish-German crisis thru negotiation.

Meanwhile, the week saw no procame increasingly unlikely that any vision in the House bill. (According such pact would ever be consummated. The sensation of the week in this connection was a front-page article in the Moscow Pravda under the name of Andrey A. Zhdanov, who is generally regarded as the most important political figure in the U.S.S.R. after Stalin. In this article, Mr. Zhdanov admitted that "no substantial progress has been observed in the course of the negotiations" and flatly accused the British and French governments of deliberately protracting the negotiations because they did not really want any pact but instead were trying to clear the way and "thus make easier for themselves the road to deal with the aggressors," that is, to return to the policy of "appeasement."

In London and sources were already minimizing the a "compromise" measure. Earlier in significance of a Russian pact even the week, the Senate had voted to if it was ultimately achieved, "It is strip the President of his devaluato be feared," wrote Pertinax in a tion power and to raise the Treasury Paris dispatch to the New York price of silver from 64 64 cents to Times (June 26), "that the in- 77.57 cents. This was made possible fluence a tripartite pact would by a strange log-rolling coalition certainly have exerted upon the consisting of the silver block, a German Fuehrer and his people if section of the farm block believing tions so long, the German ruler is to continue under the surface."

Against War Conscription London, England. Scarcely less significant were the The proceedings of the confer-THE nearer you get to the workdecisions of the Scottish Trades ences of some of the separate Union Congress.

ers, the stronger is the feeling against conscription and the greater the readiness to act against it.

executives of the trade unions rejected by 3,817,000 votes to 232,000 for Scotland and all affiliated unions a proposal that the labor movement were recommended to withdraw their national executive was given. should no longer cooperate in the their representatives from local government's National Service committees.

By 4,172,000 votes to 425,000, it rejected a proposal for a general strike against conscription.

The national executives of most of the trades unions are a long way away from their memberships. In many cases the burocratic machinery had not been influenced by any reference to the views of the members.

TRADES COUNCILS AND NATIONAL SERVICE

But the national conference of the executives was followed almost immediately by the national conference of the trades councils-and the temper was very different.

The trades councils are directly in touch with the rank and file. They THE N.U.R.! are composed of delegates directly from the trade-union branches. In most localities, the trades councils are the most authentic voice of the working class at present sounded.

Compare the view of the trades councils with the view of the national executives! By 129 votes to 62, the conference of trades councils referred back the section of the report submitted by the Joint Consultative Committee relating to National Service.

By an "overwhelming majority." a resolution was adopted opposing the government's scheme.

The General Council of the Scottish T.U.C. was instructed to with- justify a larger minority at last The national conference of the draw its representatives from the Central National Service Committee it is the duty of every trade-union

> A motion in favor of industrial action to combat conscription and instructing the General Council to obtain the views of the affiliated unions on the possibilities was carried by had acted as they have done, it 116 votes to 54.

The decisions of the Scottish T.U.C. are explained partly by the fact that the Scottish working-class | WE MUST BACK movement is more militant than the THESE DECISIONS movement in England, but only partly. Another explanation of the Scottish vote is the fact that its delegations have a more local contact with the rank and file than the national executives which attended the Lon-

WELL DONE

don conference.

Before considering the significance of these votes in greater detail, we cils conference must be made the wish to record our appreciation of basis of action in the localities. Let the attitude of the National Union the trades councils free themselves of Railwaymen at the conference of from responsibility for the National the national executives.

The N.U.R., which introduced the resolution in favor of strike action. and its spokesmen. Potts, the chairman, and Brown, the assistant secretary, made splendid speeches. Brown especially put up the full case for

The votes at the conference of the any register for National Service national executives require some exand viewing with dismay the T.U.C. planation. It is obvious that the and now thruout the working-class Further farm mechanization, with a General Council's collaboration with N.U.R. had little support from other movement. It is our duty to look

independent working-class action.

unions, particularly on the question of National Service, would seem to week's conference. We suggest that branch to enquire how the vote of Meanwhile, the Glasgow ap-

prentices have given a lead in their strike to the whole working-class movement. Even if they are defeated, they

have made history by their action. If the whole working-class movement would have been impossible for the government to impose conscription.

We must now intensify the struggle. In Scotland, despite the tremendous pressure which will be exerted by the national executives from their headquarters in London, support must be given to the Scottish T.U.C. decision and the Scottish General Council must be shown that it has the backing of the trade-union rank and file for industrial action.

The decisions of the trades coun-Service schemes whatever Transport House may do. The trades councils have a great role to play, whether in peace or war, in the working-class struggle. Let them not tie their hands by collaboration with the government.

Nor must we be content with the Scottish T.U.C. and the trades councils conference decisions. It is our duty to intensify the agitation here forward to the next step.

Neutrality

Washington, D. C. Congress dealt two terrific blows to the Administration last week when it failed to renew the President's power to devalue the dollar ridor. Rumors of all sorts were and defeated the President's plan to repeal the mandatory embargo on arms and munitions to warring countries.

Despite great pressure from the White House and the State Department, the House of Representatives voted 214 to 173 to continue the mandatory arms embargo in a

Even after the repeal of the arms embargo had been hacked out of it ment only by a margin of two votes, 196 to 194. The bill now goes to the Senate where the Administration is expected to meet with even stiffer resistance. The powerful isolationist to the House bill, only "arms and ammunition" are included in the embargo provision, leaving room for the interpretation that "implements of war," such as oil, airplanes and automobiles, are not under the legal ban. The Senate isolationists are determined to bring "implements of war" as well under the embargo provision.) There is a distinct possibility that the Senate may not even act on the bill this session, thus leaving in force the present legislation, so distasteful to the Administration.

On the monetary issue, a lastminute Senate filibuster allowed the President's power to devalue further the gold content of the dollar to expire at midnight of June 30. The filibuster came on a Senate-House conference committee report urging signed weeks ago might not now that a higher price for silver and currency would raise agricultural prices, and most of the Republicans eager to deprive the President of his devaluation authority.

After the House had voted to sustain the devaluation power, a conference of both houses took place, which came back with the "compromise" report calling for the continuation of the Presidential authority and fixing the silver price at 70 cents. It was this conference report that a Senate filbuster defeated by preventing action before the statutory expiration of the President's emergency monetary owers at midnight June 30.

Administration spokesmen said that a renewed effort to enact monetary legislation would be made after the July 4 holiday.

200,000 Farm Hands Displaced By Machines

Washington, D. C.

From 100,000 to 200,000 workers who used to follow the harvests in the Great Plains have been permanently displaced by machinery, according to a W.P.A. report, "Wheat and Oats," which was released by Administrator Harrington.

Mechanization has enabled farmers to increase their small-grain acreage 25% with only about twothirds of the labor required a quarter of a century ago. The introduction of tractors, combines and other mechanical aides has eliminated more than 400,000,000 men-hours of labor a year.

"Because of the comparatively simple set of operations used in growing the small-grain crops and the favorable topography and size of farms in the regions where they are cal potency by jumping on the old grown, mechanization of their production has gone further than has that of any other of the country's major crops," Corrington Gill, assistant administrator in charge of all W.P.A. research activities, said

in a letter transmitting the report. The letter added that 78% of the commercial wheat farms in the spein 1936, while the number of com-4,000 in 1920 to over 90,000 in 1937. farm labor, was predicted.

You Pay-But

ng the traceable indirect taxes paid by the average American family living on a monthly income of \$150 (\$1,800 a year). Here is the table:

Per Cent of Taxes Tax in Budget. in Cost. Dollars.

Also includes license and gas and oil taxes. provisions.

33rd Street, New York City.-Editor.)

movement of this country.

organizations can help us meet and overcome.

of the paper and the cause for which it stands.

on our own resources in the months to come.

Vice-Presidency

Washington, D. C.

We Appeal to Labor

(The following appeal was sent last week to a number of labor or-

ganizations in New York City and elsewhere. It is a plea addressed to every

single organized worker, to every single trade unionist, as well. We earnest-

ly appeal to every reader of the Workers Age to answer this plea himself

and to bring it to the attention of his fellow-workers and fellow-union

members. All contributions are to be sent to: Workers Age, 131 West

WE make this appeal to you because we are confronted with a

has fought the battle of labor on every front. In the face of mount-

ing difficulties, it has held aloft the banner of responsible progressive

unionism, of unity in the labor movement, of independent labor

politics. In return, it has won gratifying recognition in labor circles

as a sincere, independent, constructive force in the working-class

financial crisis. We have already been forced to get out one issue

in a pitifully reduced form. There is even the possibility of having

to suspend regular publication as a weekly. We need not stress what

a calamity this would be from the point of view of the effectiveness

labor movement which the Workers Age has loyally served these

many years. We have no outside "angels" or benefactors. We stand

or fall by the support we get from the ranks of labor. And we are

confident that our friends in the labor movement, conscious of the

services our paper has rendered in the past, will not let us down

at this difficult moment. If we are enabled to tide over the difficult

Summer months, we are certain that we will be able to continue

you may find it possible to extend to us at this time. You may be

received and will be devoted entirely towards advancing the interests

Murphy Boomed for

We therefore appeal to you for whatever financial assistance

Today the Workers Age is in the midst of an extremely grave

In this hour of emergency, we have no one to turn to but the

critical situation which only the prompt aid of friendly labor

For ten years, as you are aware, our paper, the Workers Age,

Congress Passes Arms Embargo Retained By House, Senate Filibuster Ends Devaluation Do you know the taxes levied on you indirectly, hidden in the food and clothing you buy, in the rent you pay? Last October, the Northwestern National Life Insurance Company made public the results of a survey.

Includes Drastic Cuts in WPA Rolls Mass Layoffs, Killing of Art Projects

Washington, D. C. As finally adopted, the relief In a last-minute rush to beat the measure included the following main

June 30 deadline, Congress passed features: the 1940 relief bill last week, after An ap

the differences that had arisen be- the House figure of \$1,735,000,000 tween the two houses. President and the Senate figure of \$1,808,300,-Roosevelt signed the bill with a 000. Of this sum, \$1,477,000,000 is sharp criticism of a number of its

An appropriation of \$1,755,600,a series of compromises in the con- 000 for relief for the new fiscal year, ference committee in order to adjust thus splitting the difference between

to go to the W.P.A., with no earmarking for P.W.A.

A one-man administrator for W. P.A., instead of the three-man board originally proposed by the

Beginning on September 1, a forced 30-day "vacation" for all on W.P.A. eighteen months or more, instead of the 60-day "furlough" originally proposed by the House.

Abolition of the guarantee of prevailing wage-rates, which had been included on every previous W.P.A. appropriation.

Scrapping of the federal theater projects, with other art projects being continued only if they get local sponsorship and financial back-

Appropriation of \$100,000,000 for he National Youth Administration. Top limit of \$52,000 for nonederal W.P.A. projects.

Elimination of the provision that would have barred from relief rolls any one receiving social-security benefits next year. Twenty-five percent of the cost of

W.P.A. projects to be furnished by local communities that sponsor contributions, these contributions being either in materials, cash or "in

A new method of allotment of relief funds to the states on the basis of population and unemploy-

The 1940 relief bill, as passed by Congress and signed by the President, is to all intents and purposes as vicious as the bill originally passed by the House.

The total appropriation is about one-third less than the \$2,250,000,-000 spent for work-relief the past year. It is a cut that will mean the dismissal of nearly a million relief workers, bringing the total down to less than 1,750,000, at a time when the economic situation shows no signs of improvement and unemployment is growing, if anything. Here the President must share the responsibility, for his original request for W.P.A. was but little more than what Congress finally

By dropping the prevailing-wage guarantee, the bill tends to undermine wage standards thruout the country, thus hitting at both the employed and the unemployed.

The mandatory mass dismissal of all those on W.P.A. for eighteen months, with the right to reapply only after 30 days, will not only cause widespread distress among W.P.A. workers but will also throw hundreds of thousands on the labor market at one time, thereby intensifying competition for jobs and lowering labor standards.

The bill abolishes the federal theatre project and virtually scraps the other arts projects, thus abanand an intention to carry forward doning some very promising experiments in encouraging cultural

That so pernicious a bill could be passed by Congress by such large majorities shows how utterly powerless is the organized unemployed movement in this country and how inadequate have been labor's efforts on behalf of the jobless. The Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance has functioned as nothing more than a W.P.A. company union with little regard for the needs of the jobless; ployed and relief workers. The various independent jobless organizations thruout the country are still too weak and unconsolidated to be very effective in the crisis.

The big task now is to build up and consolidate these independent organizations on a national scale and begin a fight immediately for supplementary appropriations and administrative modifications. The only hope of the unemployed is a powerful national organization of the jobless, closely associated with and supported by organized labor.

ials in the United States last year totaled \$171,564,167, a slight decrease over the previous year in dollars, but not in quantity of goods because of reduced prices, particularly for scrap iron. Cotton exports from the United States are not included, altho most military experts consider it an essential commodity. Most of Japan's imports, however, go into the manufacture of textiles

THE tallest tales are going the inflationist Democrats and staunch rounds here about how Frank sound-money Republicans. Anything

idency in 1940 and the presidency in 1944. At the bottom of these tales is probably a lot of truth. It is apparent that Murphy is inordinately ambitious. He has considerable administrative ability, political "it", a single-tracked devotion to justice as he understands it, and an over-all allegiance to a Roman Catholic humanitarianism which inspires respect if not confidence. His popularity with pious Protestants is astounding. For this reason, it is doubtful if his Roman Catholic convote-getting powers. For the present, however, this personal campaign of his, which is little too transparent in its objectives, is getting in Dealers who have not planned Sum-Whether the Attorney General will tain, but my bet is that he will and camp. that he has as good a chance as any Democrat to get the White House ob in 1944.

By FRANK HOWARD

C.I.O. ON PENSIONS BANDWAGON

Newspaper men are saying the smartest political trick of the month is the move of the C.I.O. to steal some of Grandpa Townsend's politihome territories—because of the number of the nasty letters they cialized grain regions had tractors have received. The reasons for the generous old-age pensions are overconsequent decline in the demand for League technique in advancing the plied less than 9%.

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter aspects of the Townsend plan are cockeyed does not guarantee its defeat in 1940. Look at the line-up on the silver inflationary measure by

Murphy is running for the vice-pres- can happen if a little anti-Rooseveltism is mixed with the potion. How far the C.I.O. will go in teaming up with the Townsendites is not yet evident but a representative of the C.I.O. was in Indianapolis at the convention. Furthermore, the Doctor has been shown speculations about a C.I.O.-Townsend block and he expressed pleasure negotiations. The interesting sidelight on all this is that it is being development in America. done without complete concurrence nections would interfere with his of New Deal strategists. General Hugh Johnson's increas-

ing anti-New Dealism and covert anti-Semitism has caused him to the hair of most reporters. They are split with his boss, Barney Baruch, earning to dislike this quality and according to reports here. It would they are being encouraged by New not surprise New Dealers to see the General backing the Republicans in mer political developments this way. 1940, if he continues along the path he is now traveling. Certainly, if he in fact, it has itself been responsible draw in his horns for a while and is politically consistent, which he is to a very great degree for alienating come back into good favor is uncer- not, he will be in the Republican popular sympathy from the unem-

'Democracies" **Bolster Japan's** War in China

Washington, D. C.

More than 85% of the imported age pension bandwagon. That it is a sinews of war, without which Japan bandwagon and going places, is increasingly clear in Washington. Socalled Townsendite Senators and from the dependencies and home-Representatives who voted against lands of three leading western "dethe Townsend Plan are shaking in their boots as they return to their Netherlands and the United States,

With the United States alone supstrength of the movement are the plying 57.07% of the Japanese imbines in use increased from about validity of the major contention that ports of essential war materials in 1938, Japan's Axis partners, Gerdue and the use of the Anti-Saloon many and Italy, by contrast, sup-

cause. The fact that the financing | Japan's purchases of war mater- for export.

Gulf Seamen's Break With NMU Forced by Curran

Prompt Affiliation to AFL Union Seen As Next Step

By JACK SODERBERG

June 26, 1939

time situation have appeared in the Socialist Appeal. However, the story on the Gulf in the June 23 issue, in advocating continued affiliation with the National Maritime Union, in my opinion, is not only poor advice but will lead to a state of complete impotence. The Appeal states that N.M.U., on the other hand, holds "the Gulf evidently is not taking the contracts on the Lyke Brothers fatal step of breaking completely ships. These ships are the mainstay with the organization." In my opinion, nothing could be more fatal than the S.I.U. has carried, a N.L.R.B. pletely with the N.M.U. and going failing to complete the break at vote on the Lykes Brothers ships this time. The similarity with the would establish the "legal" right of course of the MF.O.W.W. on the the S.I.U. That is why I say that West Coast, as claimed in the Ap- position—the men are able to bring peal article, is non-existent. There is the ships with them into the new orno similarity and hence there can ganization. be no analogy. On the West Coast, you had the organization as a whole breaking with the old I.S.U. and remaining independent, up and down have only part of the coast breaking with the Stalinist-controlled going to pile up on the breakers.

JOINING THE S.I.U. THE ONLY COURSE

The course for the Gulf to steer now is clear and plain. It must be a course which leads directly into the fold of the International of which that militant union on the West Coast, the Sailors Union of the Pacific, is a part—the Seafarers International Union. There can be no question of "reforming" the N.M.U. with its present leadership, appointed as well as elected. You might as well speak of reforming the Communist International. It can't be done and any endeavor in that direction would be just that much waste of time.

The Gulf membership must now riding the tide of revolt against controlled leadership, will try to sident groups and ports, thus formfasten themselves on the back of ing a solidly knit united organizathe opposition and snugly sail tion on all coasts. Only then can we into the port of the Gulf. For, begin to speak of a national organthe result for the union is the same

Without further delay, the Gulf must elect an emergency committee to consolidate the organization. IS BACK Complete break with the New York leadership must be first on the agenda. Then negotiations must be opened with the S.I.U. for the purpose of affiliating to that organization. the Gulf membership as a whole, the successor. But whether The

Kelcey Allen . WOMEN'S WEAR

"The revue is more enjoyable than before ... 'The Red Mikado' is funnier than the 'Hot Mikado' and the 'Swing Mikado'."

John Anderson..JOURNAL AM

"An even better show than it has been all these months and months, a gayer and more amusing show, brighter and surer in its touch."

Brooks Atkinson... N.Y. TIMES
"Run, don't walk, to the
nearest entrance. As funny
as anything an audience
has roared at all season."

John Mason Brown... POST
"Pins and Needles, 1939"
is an even better show
than was 'Pins and
Needles, 1937'... There
is one number which no
wise playgoer will want to
overlook—'The Red
Miksdo'. It is a Golden
Treasury of timely impertinences."

Eugene Burr ... BILLBOARD
"A complete delight."

J. Cambridge . DAILY WORKER

"Has taken on new life in every direction. A first class show."

Oliver Claxton . . . CUE

"The times may have changed for the worse, but this topical revue keeps pace by changing for the better."

Robert Coleman . . MIRROR

"Even better than the 1938 version. A bright and diverting frolic."

O. Ferguson . NEW REPUB.
"The Red Mikado'. . is
worth seeing the whole
show again for . . . It's
secrific."

and, provided the program is of such Mink or Hudson, the result will still a nature that the membership can be the same. And the sailors have see the end of the miserable boot- had their fill of Stalinist chicanery A T various times some excellent licking policy of the Curran gang, The bare mention of the Communist articles dealing with the mariof the referendum will be. This is the only course for the Gulf to steer now. There can be no other.

GULF IN FAVORABLE POSITION

The position of the Gulf is singularly favorable. Several closed-shop contracts are held by the S.I.U. The of the Gulf organization. After a referendum vote to affiliate with thing for it to do-breaking comthe Gulf is in a singularly favorable

Now, let's understand that altho the revolt in the Gulf has come to a head-that is, a visible head-before anywhere else, let's not make the error and assume that the Gulf the coast, in each and every port, alone is up in arms against the dic-On the East Coast, however, you tatorship of the Moscow ambassadors. Far from it. There isn't a single port on the coast of the Atlantic where there is not a movement New York headquarters. For the of opposition growing, devoid, per-Gulf to remain neither in nor out haps, of a clear-sighted leadership, (for that is what it means) is like but there just the same. In the port a rudderless ship in a gale with a fined to any particular division but of Providence, the revolt is not conlee shore. Sooner or later, she is all three divisions are up in arms over the recent miserable fiasco of what was supposed to be a tanker strike. No one really knows what it was, not even the clique calling it off. In the resolution officially making known the capitulation to Standard Oil, one paragraph speaks of calling off a "strike" and the ing a "lockout." Rest assured that once the Gulf has really shown the way thru affiliation with the S.I.U.,

next paragraph speaks of terminatall ports-with perhaps the possible exceptions of Boston, New York and Philadelphia-will come over one by one. And it seems reasonable to assume that eventually the rank and file in the three ports mentioned would also kick over, leaving the commissars stew in their own juice. And so, the advice of the Appeal should not be one which would tend watch sharply for the leeches that, to form still another independent union in maritime, but one which Curran and the rest of the Stalinist would bring into the S.I.U. the dis-

CRITICS ROAR APPROVAL

New PINS and NEEDLES"

(A Labor Stage Production)

SAY 1939 EDITION

"TERRIFIC"

"BRILLIANT"

"DELIGHTFUL"

"Best Musical in

Town"

"Should Run

Forever"

Music and Lyrics

BY HAROLD J. ROME

Sketches by

JOSEPH SCHRANK

Directed by

ROBERT H. GORDON

Settings by

S. SYRJALA

And THE RADIO Says:

Bide Dudley . . . W. O. R.
"A good evening's entertainment . . . full of youthful energy and talent."

Martin Starr . . . W. M. C.A. "Catchy, smart, witty tunes . . . brilliant material."

SPECIAL RATES

THEATRE PARTIES

BENEFITS

The Mink is back in New York, fresh from his recent G.P.U. job of putting the finger on revolutionists in Spain. It is in the cards that Commissar Hudson is about to be re-Having worked out a program, a placed as Commissar for Heavy newspaper headlines. What's so referendum vote should be taken of Transport and The Mink is to be

Wolcott Gibbs..NEW YORKER

lhee VARIETY
"Better than the original
. . . The socko addition to
the revue is "The Red
Mikado"."

Jos. W. Krutch . . . NATION

"No good reason now why it shouldn't last in-definitely. Ought to be an

Richard Lockridge . . N.Y. SUN

"Almost always very fun-ny. Better than ever."

Burns Mantle..DAILY NEWS

"I see no good reason why 'Pins and Needles' should not run on practically forever."

Arthur Pollock . B'KLYN EAGLE

"Spitfire revue . . . Goo

Edgar Price..B'KLYN CITIZEN

"In three little words, 'A Good Show'."

les. Shipley . . NEW LEADER "Bright social satire and rib tickling romp."

Walter Snew.. BX. HOME NEWS

"No Broadway musical in a decade has had a num-ber as funny as "The Red Mikado'."

Richard Watts, Jr... HER. TRIB.
"Still the best intimate revue of recent seasons... And that 'Red Mikado' is one of the delightful things of the town."

Sidney B. Whipple . WORLD TEL.
"Not a dull moment in the show . . . The Red Mikado' alone is worth the price of admission."

honest sailor on the waterfront.

The S.U.P. on the West Coast has shown the way. When the Stalinists, thru the active cooperation of Bridges, secured control of the Maritime Federation and the S.U.P. severed its connection with that organization. The Federation remains today but a feeble, emasculated shadow of its former self the result of two years of Stalinist control. If the Gulf does not want to experience the same tragedy, there is only one into the S.I.U.

Society for War Poll

Detroit, Mich. SUPPORT of the LaFollette-Lud-low war-referendum amendment was voted here recently by the City Central Committee of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, a labor fraternal society embracing

over 1,000 members in this city. The resolution adopted by this organization follows: "WHEREAS Senator LaFollette and Representative Ludlow have introduced into the Congress a bill petitioning an amendment to the United States Constitution to grant

referendum vote, whether this country shall be plunged into a foreign war; and "WHEREAS such a referendum would grant the people the right to time. decide directly on the most important issue facing the world today

the right of the people to decide, by

and affecting their very lives; and "WHEREAS such a referendum would defend the democratic rights of the people against the increasing bor movement. and dangerous powers of the President in the field of foreign policy;

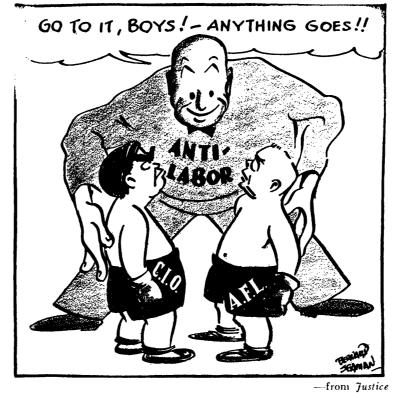
"WHEREAS such a referendum would constitute a serious obstacle to the plans of the war-mongers and imperialist jingoes of this country;

"WHEREAS this bill has been endorsed by numerous trade unions, farmers organizations and peace

"THEREFORE, be it resolved or just plain everyday racketeering, agreement covering all coasts and Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund supports wholeheartedly the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment: and

"Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the parties concerned."

"Mrs. Roosevelt addresses Workers Alliance Congress," run the the C.I.O. high command to strive honestly for labor peace.



Detroit Labor Is There a Tobin In the C. I. O.?

(The following is an editorial from the June 23 issue of the Kenosha Labor, official publication of the Kenosha (Wisc.) Trades and Labor Council.

THE reason given by John L. Lewis in breaking off the unity negoti ations with the A. F. of L.-begun several months ago at the in sistance of President Roosevelt-seems to us to be very thin.

Several officers of the A. F. of L., including two members of the A F. of L. negotiating committee, have a personal financial interest in preventing unity, Lewis asserted. Thomas A. Rickert, president of the United Garment Workers, was bequeathed part ownership of an advertising agency that sells space in the A. F. of L. monthly magazine, the Amercan Federationist.

Matthew Woll, another negotiatior, has a financial interest in the Inion Labor Life Insurance Company.

Lewis asserted that labor unity would deprive them of the income they now receive from these business enterprises. Rickert's and Woll's business connections may be inadvisable from the standpoint of labor's welfare, but we cannot see that this is an issue big enough to split the labor

For years, Lewis sat with them at the A. F. of L. Executive Council W.P.A. Workers Education Project table, and Woll's personal business connections, at least, were well known and set standards for its personnel. to him. There is no record that he ever made any public objection at that The project thrived and workers

Why then make a mountain now out of this molehill except for the purpose of distracting public attention from the fact that Lewis has broken off negotiations?

With many inside facts as yet unknown, we do not feel qualified to measure the responsibility of various labor leaders for the split in the la-

It seemed to us, however, that the major fault for the split rested with the A. F. of L. Executive Council when it suspended the original C.I.O. unions in the late Summer of 1936 in a fairly obvious violation of the A. F. of L. constitution (only a convention at that time had the power to suspend).

But if the A. F. of L. was at fault then, it seems to us that the C.I.O., in the person of its undisputed leader, John L. Lewis, is equally, if not more, guilty, in abruptly breaking off promising negotiations for reuniting the labor movement.

Some of the A. F. of L. negotiators, at least were working very earnestly for unity. According to Louis Stark, the highly reliable labor reporter for the New York Times, they had obtained A. F. of L. consent

whether it is Stalinist racketeering ization and a national unity and one that the Detroit District of the for very important concessions demanded by the C.I.O. The some of the C.I.O. unions have enlarged their jurisdiction since they left the A. F. of L., they would have been accepted back with their

new rather than their original jurisdictions. In spite of this. Lewis rebuffs them.

Since Lewis's announcement some high C.I.O. officers have privately said that his action is really not final, and that the C.I.O. would again enter into negotiations at the request of the President. We hope that they for young people. are right, and that both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. members will prevail on

We rejoiced when Tobin spoke out forcefully within the A. F. of L. remarkable about that? It's always for peace. Is there not some high-placed C.I.O. leader of equal indebeen customary for the boss's wife pendence-say Hillman, Rieve or Murray-who is willing to lead a fight to grace with her presence the big for unity regardless of Lewis's views? There are thousands of A. F. of get-togethers of the company union. L. and C.I.O. members who would like to have that encouragement,

Lack of Health Insurance Puts Big Burden on Masses

By SAUL N. MINKOFF

(The author of this article, a highly a thousand persons, there will be delegation in the 1938 session of the Justice, official paper of the I.L.G.W.U. -Editor.)

T a recent National Health Con-A ference in Washington, labor, farmer and consumer groups met and discussed the problems of medical care for the masses with the physicians. That was the first national conference of physicians and laymen ever held in this country.

Never before had doctors discussed the problems of medical care at a conference with such representative groups. In all, there were 174 delegates who represented over 50,000,-000 American people.

Three days were devoted to the presentation and discussion of a national health program. The various government officials who studied the problems of public health and medical care spoke about the nation's state of health. To those in the trade unions, the ravaging scourge of sickness is nothing new, but it took a national conference to bring these facts before the general public.

THE TOLL

OF SICKNESS Figures show that on each day of persons—more than 4% of the entire population-are incapacitated pecause of sickness.

That means not only the strain of meeting doctors bills, but also the loss of earning power. sickness

Hence, the tragedy of sickness means untold suffering falling not alone upon the individual but upon the entire family as well.

promising young specialist in the field five hundred sick each year. Per- cost and extent of sickness are preof public health, died recently at the haps for 1938 or 1939 a worker may age of 24. He was the son of Natha- have no sickness and be among the picture of a chaotic system of mediniel M. Minkoff, leader of the A.L.P. lucky five hundred of the one thou- cal care. Ever since physicians have sand persons-but in 1940, an acci- practised medicine in this country, New York State Assembly. The article dent or even a common cold might the system of medical care has not is taken from the June 15 issue of lay the same worker up for six materially changed. weeks.

From a study of sickness costs that individual patients spend \$2,- have been perfected-all for the 560,000,000 for medical care each benefit of mankind, yet mankind year. This is 80% of the total annual expenditure for medical care, as government, philanthropy and industry combined spend annually

28 Years and No Convention!

New York City. years, Supreme Court Justice Collins in Supreme Court last week restrained the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union, A. F. of L., from interfering in Local 147, known as the sand-hogs union.

and all records turned over to Union Health Center. the year, approximately 6,000,000 James Bove, International vice-president, with offices here.

Justice Collins labeled the International union, which has not elected convention since 1911, as undemopermanent injunction will probably not be held until Fall.

Gallagher said Justice Collins's decision was a "fitting rebuke to dic-Sickness, we are told, is unpre-tatorial and autocratic rule."

dictable; yet we know that among jonly \$650,000,000 of the entire cost. No matter how the figures on the sented, the net result is a dismal Great advances have been made in

medical science. New treatments made three years ago, it was found have been devised-new instruments cannot afford to pay for them. Today, when each day's work

neans another meal and another week's rent, a man just can't afford to get sick. It costs too much to become sick, and the longer a man goes around in poor health, the more t is going to cost when one morning he realizes that he can't go on any longer. Those of us who work in seasonal industries know what the loss of a day's work means at the height of the season. Work, ITING their admitted failure to work, all the time because next hold a convention in many week or the following week the shop closes down. And if you are not feeling well it matters little because the job won't wait for you.

What's the answer? Fortunately, nany I.L.G.W.U. locals have a system of sickness insurance, but there are less than one million trade Without making any formal unionists in this country who have charges against the tunnel-workers this protection. For them, the problocal and its president, James Gal- lems of sickness are more acute. lagher, the International Office of They have no sick benefit departthe union had ordered the treasury ment and no such institution as the The government's spokesmen at

the conference recommended a system of insurance so that the costs of sickness might be spread thruofficers by a national vote nor held a out the country, and second, that for those persons who could not aferatic. A trial on a motion for a ford to pay for medical care, the costs should be met from public funds. These recommendations trade unionists should endorse. It would mean an added security to that of (Continued on page 3)

ILLA. Convention Is Called for Labor Day

War Crisis, Labor Situation on Agenda

New York City Sunday and Monday, September 2, and 4, 1939, in New York City. The order of business for this con-

1. The International Situation and he War Crisis. 2. The American Labor Movement

vention is to be as follows:

Today—Our Problems and Tasks. 3. Problems of Organization.

Under these heads, most of the the I.R.M.C. basic problems confronting the labor movement of this country and should immediately get a copy of thoroly discussed and general lines its contents so as to be able to parof policy developed for the coming ticipate more effectively in the preperiod. Reporters on these subjects convention discussion in the branchhave not yet been selected.

some time ago within the I.L.L.A. discussion articles as soon as possi-A special Discussion Bulletin is be- ble.

ing published to all I.L.L.A. mem-THE call for the eighth national bers at 10 cents a copy. Among the convention of the Independent contents of this first issue are: the Labor League of America was is- draft trade-union resolution; the sued here recently by the National trade-union resolution adopted by Council of the I. L. L. A. The the November 1938 session of the convention is to take place during National Council; material on the the Labor Day week-end, Saturday, trade union discussion; and a number of documents relating to international matters, among which are the programmatic resolution of the International Revolutionary Marxist Center (I.R.M.C.), proposals on factions, a list of the I.R M.C. founding parties, the resolution of the International Front Against War on the present war crisis, and the letter of the C.P.G.O. disaffiliating from

Every member of the I.L.L.A. the I.L.L.A. in particular, will be the Discussion Bulletin and study nave not yet been selected.

In preparation for the convention, Editorial Board of the Bulletin a broad discussion was initiated urges I.L.L.A. members to submit

BackWorkers Lead Fight Education

(We publish below a statement of rotest against the threatened abolition of the W.P.A. Workers Education Project, signed by a number of outstanding rade unionists.-Editor.)

New York City. IN New York City, an active Labor Advisory Committee, representing the largest trade unions in the ity, guided the program of the education in New York City made unprecedented advances.

Today an attack has been launched y the W.P.A. administrators. They the people, The present attack upon have decided to do away with a the schools and the teachers affords workers education program. They a real opportunity and should enmaintain that such specialized services are not necessary; that workers should seek education thru the agencies of a general adult education program and not in union centers; that organized labor is to have no done much, that it has adopted apadvisory voice in such an education- propriate resolutions and called upal program.

We, representatives of labor, ascation is an attack on labor itself. received government aid in education for many years.

Vocational education is maintained for industry. Education is provided for agriculture thru the A.A.A. and federal subsidies to agricultural colleges. In New York City, union representatives advise the Board of Education on industrial education

We have every right to expect public support for education oriented to the special needs of labor. We assert that workers have a ight to workers education, particularly in times like these. It is our hind the campaign to protect the belief that labor must have a voice free public schools. in determining how adult workers are to secure essential educational dramatize the fact that labor appre-

We therefore reject any plan which does not include a workers education unit oriented toward the needs of the labor movement and tions in the city to cooperate with prepared to meet them as in the the A.L.P. on this matter. past. We call for the continuation of the workers education program and for a hearing before the W.P.A. and the Board of Education of the City of New York before further

steps are taken SIDNEY HILLMAN, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. DAVID DUBINSKY, International Ladies Garment Workers Union. MAX ZARITSKY, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers.

GEORGE BALDANZI, Textile Workers of America. ASHLEY TOTTEN, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

EMILE RIEVE, Textile Workers of

America

CHARLES ZIMMERMAN, Local 22,

HARRY GREENBERG, Local 91 I.L.G.W.U. LUIGI ANTONINI, Local 89, I.L G.W.U.

LOUIS HOLLANDER, New York Joint Board A.C.W.A. and member of the City Council. SALVATORE NINFO, member of the City Council.

ISIDORE NAGLER, Local 10, I. L. ALLAN HAYWOOD, Regional Di-

Union Heads ALP Urged to For Schools

(We publish below a communication ent recently by the New York District Committee of the Independent Labor League of America to the State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party.-Editor.)

American Labor Party New York City.

Dear Sirs and Brothers: TT is our opinion that the American Labor Party can render a real service to the workers and the people of New York City, and at the same time make clear that it is the political force that is on the alert to defend and advance the interests of able the American Labor Party to reach hundreds of thousands within the city with a vital social message.

We are aware of the fact that the American Labor Party has already on its affiliated organizations to do the same. However, it could dramasert that this attack on workers edu- tize this whole issue and, at the same time, bring prestige to itself Other groups in the population have by organizing a huge labor delegation to see the leaders of the New York State Legislature for the purpose of restoring full state aid to education and to make clear that it ies; also to organize a similar delegation to the Mayor of New York City in order to request him to reopen that part of the city budget that resulted in a three million dollar decrease in city appropriations for education.

This would make clear to the hundreds of thousands of parents, teachers, and students, that the A.L.P. is throwing its full resources be-

A mass meeting would serve to ciates the significance of this question. It certainly should not prove very difficult to convince many trade unions and teachers organiza-We would appreciate your consid-

eration of these proposals. Fraternally yours,

D. BENJAMIN For the New York District Committee, I.L.L.A.

rector C.I.O.

JULIUS HOCHMAN, Dress Joint Board and Vice-President I.L.G. ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN, New York Women's Trade Union

League and Secretary New York Department of Labor. MARK STARR, Chairman of Labor Advisory Committee of the Work-

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Roosevelt Foreign Loan Scheme Holds Big Danger

Will Mean Heavier Taxes, War Entanglement

posed to Congress by President cal and diplomatic repercussions. Roosevelt, is the fourth big effort of his Administration to fight the depression by large-scale spending. It greatest difficulty, if at all, will it can be judged properly only in the be possible to keep this country out ready started in Congress. Senators out eventually absorbing so much of light of a realistic analysis of the of this chaos abroad, especially with possibilities and limitations of gov- a President who believes it to be his cated their intentions of opposing tries as will prove intolerable," he ernmental spending at the present flicts and take sides in them. If the ter comes up on the floor of the stage of economic development. federal government is given the This general analysis will have to be left to another occasion because I want to comment here on one particular aspect of the President's new plan, which did not appear in any of his previous programs and which seems to be to be particularly dangerous.

FOREIGN LOANS

Among the "self-liquidating projects" which President Roosevelt has use" the stagnant pools of capital stored thruout the country is the proposal to advance half a billion dollars within the next two years in "development" loans to foreign governments thru a governmentally backed corporation. It would really be difficult to imagine a more dangerous or a more unsound proposition. Have we already forgotten our sad but instructive experience with foreign loans in the 1920's Hundreds of millions of dollars were gathered from the people of the United States-who were made to believe that they were buying security for themselves for the future-and "invested" abroad in loans to governmental bodies in Europe and Latin America. These vast sums were used for "development" purposes, all right-to build model houses in Germany while scores of millions of Americans lived in slums, to provide Latin American dictators with convenient slush funds to keep themselves in power, and so on. But the main point is that when the crisis came towards the end of 1929, almost all of these loans were de faulted and the American investors were left holding the bag. Not the banks or brokers, of course; they were "protected" and they made their commissions and profits anyhow. But thousands of middle-class investors all over the country suddenly found their treasured securities turned into worthless paper, and there was nothing they could do about it. This adventure in foreign loans was, to use Jerome Frank's graphic expression, a gra-

American investors. Now the President proposes to make another splurge to the tune of half a billion dollars. Only now, when the default comes, as it is bound to in the end, it will be the American government that will be left holding the bag and the American people that will have to make good thru heavier taxation.

the foreign countries financed by

Indeed, the fact that it will be the American government that will extend the foreign loans instead of private concerns, makes the whole thing even worse. If private groups make such loans and the borrowing government defaults, the question is largely one of private concern.

Health Insurance **Badly Needed**

(Continued from Page 2) unemployment and old age insurance that we now have.

Garment workers are in that vast group of the population just above the relief status. But, let them pay for the necessary medical care once they become ill, then they, too, become what is called "medically indigent." The garment workers having sickness insurance are obviously better off than millions of other workers having no such security at all. Their being just one degree better off than the next fellow is too risky. Despite the sick benefits, a long period of illness cannot be compensated for, and doctor bills for out of the worker's own pocket.

Sickness insurance, including medical as well as cash benefits, is one remedy that is worth trying. (An article by D. Davis on the Eng-

loan and the foreign government de-THE seven-year self-liquidating faults, the matter becomes one of loan program, recently pro- public concern, with serious politi-

> There is an even graver problem involved. The world is in a state of confusion and chaos. Only with the power to make such loans as is proposed in the new program, there is no doubt that the President will use over vast amounts of the taxpayers that power as a diplomatic weapon to advance his foreign policy and ticians to play with." to involve the United States even more in European entanglements.

to go? Most of the leading countries are barred from loans from economic influence in Latin Amer- tendant on the peoples of all counprivate individuals because of their President planning to circumvent Great Britain, which now owes this gerous from both an economic and country four billions which it has political standpoint.

By ROBERT WALTERS | But if the government makes the repudiated? There is some ground for supposing so, for the President now says that those old defaults ought not to stand in the way of new credits. This makes the whole scheme look even worse.

> It is encouraging to note that a fight against this aspect of the President's lending program has all the present rate of acceleration with-Borah, Lucas and others have indi- the national income of many counthe foreign loan plan when the mat- said. Senate

"This plan", declared the veteran Idaho Senator, "would simply turn money for the South American poli-

To what countries are these loans policy of "continental solidarity", Winant said. that is, of consolidating American oppose the plan for governmental

Worker Over 40 Faces Insecurity

Job Prospects Decrease, Earnings Cut

By ARTHUR GREEN

66 WORKERS are not thru after 'Any policy, private or governmental, which arbitrarily discri- ers. minates against employees or applicants on the basis of a fixed age is

undesirable from the point of view of employees, employers, and the public as a whole and is not justi-Older workers are, however, at the present time handicapped by the current general unemployment situation, by the prejudices of some employers, and by their own fears.

sonnel policies are helpful to the jobs, they find real difficulty in secur-

for older workers.

A study of employment and unand 29. Yet it is during the middle vears of life that workers acquire the heaviest family responsibilities. Their lack of employment during this period means both deprivation and added burdens for the young.

NO REASON FOR DISCRIMINATION

The Committee found no valid discrimination against older workers, particularly when around the age of 40. Examination of available workers was found to be greater than that of younger employees. and hospital bills have to be paid This is especially true in industries where skill, based upon long years of experience, is in demand. The younger workers have the edge in productivity over older employees only in occupations primarily requiring physical strength and endurance.

individuals, and any fixed age is unfair to many workers.

Most of the data on occupational reaching the age of 40" is injuries indicate that older workers the unanimous conclusion of the have fewer accidents, altho their Committee on Employment Problems injuries are as a rule more severe. of Older Workers, appointed in The result, according to the Com-February 1938 by the Secretary of mittee, is that the net cost of in-Labor to study the problem of older dustrial accidents to the employer workers in finding employment. remains about the same regardless of the age composition of his work-

Objections to hiring older workers, based on alleged increased cost of maintaining group life insurance wise found to be untenable. The employers share of the cost of group and such higher insurance rates as no less certain way." The seniority rules and general per- may be necessary can be met by proper allocation of premium costs. change of views by the nations may older employees in retaining their Private pension plans can also pave the way toward the enduring be revised in the light of recent peace that was hoped for so fering new employment if they are nation-wide legislation providing vently in 1919 by a weary soldiery phic expression, a gra-lic-works program for technological changes, plant merg-workers. Since workers covered by ers, shut-downs or other impersonal the Social Security Act may now ployers, and by elimination of age The returns of the 1937 census when they change jobs, their final ployment. of unemployment showed that men annuity or pension will depend upon after reaching the age of 40 and their total working time in insured WHAT UNIONS women after the age of 35 begin to employment rather than on the CAN DO experience additional difficulties in length of service with a particular finding new jobs and that their firm. This means that employers prospects for finding employment who hire older workers do not have to the Committee states: "We wish to decrease as they approach the retir- worry about retiring these workers ng age. These census data confirm on inadequate pensions or run the the experience of private and public risk of bankrupting their own penemployment offices in locating jobs sion plans in order to pay adequate old-age benefits.

Employment opportunities for employment in Philadelphia revealed older workers can be enlarged, acthat unemployment lasted almost cording to the Committee, by confour times as long among men be-certed action of trade unions and

Rearmament Saps Living **Standards**

Washington, D. C. REARMAMENT is reducing the standard of living everywhere, John G. Winant, American director of the International Labor Organization at Geneva, declared recently in his annual report. It is responsible, he pointed out, for declining wage rates, increased hours of work. and general lowering of safety, production and efficiency standards.

"Rearmament cannot continue at

A point may come, he added, when defense expenditures will cause actual starvation in the lowerincome groups.

"We know these (rearmament) costs are added to each loaf of bread we buy, to every acre of land we The President will probably insist cultivate, and to the length of the on his scheme as a support for his day we labor to earn a living," Mr.

Pointing to the cycle of evils atica. The masses of the American tries as a result of increased armadefaults on past obligations. Is the people, on the other hand, ought to ment costs, Mr. Winant declared that "the present state of armed in mind as channels for "putting to the Johnson Act and make loans to foreign loans as unsound and dan- peace means the speeding up of production, a concentration of productive energies on non-productive activities, the diversion of groups of the population to military service, the decrease of the supply of labor relative to the demand, the lapid increase in public budgets and the necessity of having recourse to loans to meet military expenditures, the inflationary effects of such fiscal policies, an inevitable tendency towards a rise in the cost of living and the hardship which that necessarily entails on the masses of the popula tion. As these manifestations are prolonged, they become steadily aggravated and the wastage they involve is not very different from that which would be produced by war it-

> The speeding up of production, Mr. Winant pointed out, leads to longer hours, diminished efficiency, danger to workers health and safety and the jeopardizing of legislative and collective agreements for workers protection.

"War not only affords no solution to the human wants with which the and private pension plans, were like- people are confronted," the I.L.O. director said, "but is the very negation of everything they seek. The life insurance is ordinarily so small existing condition of 'near war', tho that it should not influence em- | not so terrible in immediate destrucployers to establish hiring-age tion, produces results which are not limits, according to the Committee, | wholly dissimilar in a slower tho

"I hope and believe that an ex-

continue credits for these annuities requirements in government em-

With reference to agreements be tween trade unions and employers call attention to the fact that employees themselves can help break down the prejudices against older workers and that in some instances the problem has been successfully dealt with thru union contracts."

Concerning employment and production practises of employers, the Committee urges and recommends tween the ages of 40 and 44 as management, by modification of that employers who have in the past among those between the ages of 20 hiring methods followed by em-

Terror in Jaipur

League of England.—Editor.)

chased and beaten."... "Old men and women not spared."... "People turned out of their houses cidents, sickness, group insurance few of the headlines which announce Committee points out, that the age Jaipur. Below we quote from the recosts of operating the plant. In Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, who was asked many instances, productivity of older to go to Jaipur with a view to collect first-hand information regarding the above alleged atrocities. A sustained by the Kisans. medical practitioner, Dr. Basu Chaudhari, and a pleader, Mr. P. N. Shiromani, both of Agra, were present.

"The function arranged by the begins varies widely among different tary police and Meenas (criminal 21.

Bombay Chronicle.

(The following paragraphs are from | tribe). The gathering was charged the March 29, 1939 issue of the India with lathis by the foot police while Press Service, issued by the India the horsemen charged thru the crowd.

"Kisans from all over Shikhawati social or economic reason for such 66 DF OPLF taken to the jungle had assembled at Jhunghunu to observe Kisan Day. They were taken to the jungle in lorries by the police, made to prostrate themselves on factual data on productivity, ac- and shops looted." Such are only a their stomachs and they were beaten with shoes and lathis. . . . some of and pension plans all indicate, the the harrowing tales of terrorism in them being stripped at the time of the the assault. The leaders of the of workers has little effect upon the port of Mr. Damdardas, secretary to Kisan Jats were asked to declare that they had no connection with the Prajamandal. Dr. Basu Chadhari made examinations of the injuries

"On February 7, Chaudhari Jhabar Sinha and others were escorted by the police to Vavalgarh in The report was published in the connection with the payment of taxes. Two of the victims, aged seventy years, had their eyebrows rapidly, of course, with the onset of changes in the present neutrality Prajamandal to defy the ban placed and beard shaved from one side of the depression. Today, the problem lish system of sickness insurance will Even in such jobs the precise age at on a peasant demonstration was met their faces, were beaten with shoes is with us to stay and the labor appear in an early issue of this paper. which the decline in productivity from four sides by horsemen, mili- and released after payment of Rs. movement must develop an effective

FDR Has Soft Spot for Il Duce

66THOSE who have been world has seen in years.

possible semi-friend; one who can lay a restraining hand on Hitler at times when he is about to go off on a tangent. Therefore, Roosevelt has adopted the policy of playing up to and flattering Il Duce. ... "Hitler is appraised by Roo-

"This idea probably behind some of Roosevelt's recent peace moves."—Pearson and Allen in their "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of May 4, 1939.

L close to the President while he made his latest moves on the international chessboard say that he has rather a friendly feeling toward Mussolini, but considers Hitler the greatest menace to peace the

"Mussolini he considers a

sevelt as one of the shrewdest men of the age, with a little touch of insanity about him. Some time ago, Roosevelt toyed with the idea that if only he could sit down with Hitler, he could do what Chamberlain, Daladier and all the others failed to do-make him see that he was heading the world toward war and his own country toward ruin.

WE are writing to you today with To the Members of Congress:

and deep anxiety over the changes in

the American neutrality legislation

proposed by the Administration. We

are in hearty accord with every ef-

fort to strengthen the forces of de-

mocracy thruout the world, but we

are convinced, first, that participa-

tion in a fereign war would destroy

democracy in the United States, and,

second, that, regardless of the Ad-

ministration's announced desire to

avoid war, alteration of our neu-

trality policy to permit sale of arms

to belligerents would lead to partici-

The response which the under-

signed organizations continually re-

ceive from the country indicates

strong support for the present neu-

trality law. We believe, therefore,

that we are warranted in asking

you to consider once more the

present law and proposed changes

from the point of view of preven-

tinue this practise. "We believe that

those employers who have been

swayed in their hiring policies by a

preference for youth to the point of

excluding the applicants over 40

from serious consideration should

reexamine the basis of this pre-

ference in the light of this report,

and scan their productive processes

and work methods to determine

what occupations are particularly

Finally, as a part of a general

attack on the problem of employ-

ment for older workers, the Com-

mittee strongly recommends that

the Federal Civil Service Commis-

sion and appointing officers of the

government abolish age limits for

entrance into the government ser-

physical strength and endurance.

vice, except for positions requiring

"Altho the government provides

larger share of employment for

older workers than private industry,

nevertheless the practise of setting

age limits in public employment

does constitute an artificial and un-

justifiable limitation and does set

an undesirable example to private

industry. We further urge appoint-

ng officers thruout the government

service in making appointments and

reinstatements to do so solely on

the basis of qualifications and with-

The attention given by this Com-

mittee to the problems of the older

workers is indicative of the fast-

growing interest in the problems of

older people generally which has de-

veloped in recent years. Before 1929,

one heard little talk of security or

opportunity for older people except

liberals. Prosperity, we were told,

was here to stay. Things changed

By Seaman

program for meeting it.

out regard to age."

suitable for the employment of

older workers."

a sense of profound concern

Peace Groups Hit

Neutrality Change

Bloom Bill Branded War-Making Act

World Arms Cost Reaches 17 Billions

Munitioneers Profit At Expense of Masses

By M. P.

Paris, France. No world war is yet under way; nevertheless, the world spent did in 1918, the final year of the last cipal countries in 19381: war. And it looks as if the totals for 1939 will reach even higher.

As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to get an exact idea of the arms expenditures of the various Russia countries. Official figures are lower Germany than semi-official estimates; fur- Japan thermore, armament expenditures England are usually broken up and distribut- France ed under various heads and otherwise more or less camouflaged; Italy finally certain types of expenses are counted by one country and ignored by another. Thus, Germany excludes aviation from the total of its military budget. And then it should be added that the fiscal years are not the same for the various countries.

With these qualifications in mind, it can be said with a certain degree 1938, 363%. of assurance that world armament expenditures in 1938 amounted to between 16.5 and 17.0 billion dollars. It is probable that even this tremendous figure will be surpassed before 1939 is over; what we know of the

to "incidents" and those which led

Financial entanglement resulted

Arms were sold, at first for cash.

loans having been held to be "un-

neutral." To meet the demand for

arms, munition plants were rapidly

expanded, duPont stock rising from

\$20 to \$1,000 a share. When the ex-

panded munitions industry was

permitted, a prohibition on loans

would be retained.) The steps by

the President authorized Secretary

Lansing to give bankers the "im-

perity we must finance it." The Pres-

ident then authorized Lansing to

convey "orally" to the bankers the

opinion that the government would

take on action if loans were ex-

tended. When the Allies were hard

pressed in 1916, our Ambassador to

England cabled the President: "Per-

haps our going to war is the only

way in which our present preemi-

nent trade position can be main-

The present neutrality law pro-

hibits the sale of arms to belliger-

to one side only. The Administra-

tion's proposal to repeal the arms

embargo is, therefore, a proposal to

favor one side in any foreign con-

flict. In addition, the proposed grant

of power to the President to declare

"combat areas" would give the

President power to take sides in for-

eign wars by a declaration of com-

bat areas which might permit the

United States to trade with one side

but not with the other. Repeal of

the present arms embargo, combined

with a grant of power to the Pres-

ident to define "combat areas,"

would give the Executive the power

to choose sides and involve the

rise to "incidents" included permis-

zones and to transport munitions.

law would permit U.S. ships again

to carry arms to nations at war

(unless the President declared a

combat area) and to neutrals for

transshipment, exposing ships and

citizens to attack and the American

We urge that Congress enact neu-

trality legislation which will provide at least four safeguards against

Telephone: Kerhonkson 118 R.

World War policies which gave

United States in foreign war.

The Administration's

people to war hysteria.

SAFEGUARDS

from reformers, social workers and sion to U. S. ships to travel in war

tained and a panic averted."

from sale of arms to belligerents.

to financial entanglement.

THRU SALE OF ARMS

ENTANGLEMENT

armament plans of Germany, the United States, England and France compel us to regard this as virtually

We present below a table of the as much for ormaments in 1938 as it armament expenditures of the prin-

ARMS EXPENDITURES IN 1938 In millions In % of of dollars world total 10.1 9.6 6.2

13,956 The rate at which these expenditures have increased in recent years has been dizzying indeed. Taking 1932 as base year, the percentages of increase are: 1934, 31%; 1935, 131%; 1936, 242%; 1937, 255%;

In 1937, armament expenditures in the regular budget reached the following proportions: U.S.A., 11.7%; France 20.1%; Russia, 20.7%; Italy, 25.4%; United Kingdom, 29.3%; Poland, 37.7%; Japan, 56.0%.

These expenditures are only a small part of the real totals, since only items in the regular budget are included and the amounts in the special budgets or in special Treasry accounts are not taken into con-

In 1913, the various countries devoted between 1% and 6% of their revenues to armaments: U.S.A., 1.4%; Italy, 3.2%; United Kingdom, ting a repetition of policies which 3.4%; Germany, 4.6%; France, 5.5%. In 1935, arms expenditures, it made our entrance into the World is calculated,2 reached the following War inevitable. These policies were ratios to national revenues: U.S.A., of two kinds, those which gave rise | 1.5%; United Kingdom, 3.0%; France, 7.4%; Japan, 8.0%; Poland, 9.0%; Russia, 12.5%. But look at the figures today, as given in the above table!

> But every cloud has its silver lining. If the purchasing power of the great masses of consumers has been slashed by the diversion of resources to rearmament, at least the armament industry is booming and piling up profits. . . .

1. Based on a study published by the Foreign Policy Association.

threatened with collapse because 2. Quarterly Report of the Institut cash for purchases had given out, fuer Konjunkturforschung, vol. iii, our policy to regard loans was 1937. reversed. (In any future war, it is

unlikely that, once sale of arms is the nation's involvement in foreign conflicts: 1. An embargo on the sale of arms

which our policy was changed in to belligerents. 1914-16 were as follows: Reversing his refusal under the influence of | 2. Prohibition of American ships Secretary Bryan to permit loans, carrying any materials to belligerent

3. Prohibition of American citizens

pression" that they were free to exto travel in war areas. tend credits; when credits were ex-4. Determination by Congress as well as the President as to when the hausted, Secretary McAdoo wrote the President that "to maintain our proslaw should be invoked.

National Council for Prevention

Fellowship of Reconciliation Keep America Out of War Congress

Youth Committee Against War Women's International League for Peace and Freedom World Peaceways, Inc.

War Resisters League Labor Anti-War Council

ents. The Administration's proposals **Platten Purged** would again permit arms to be sold. Sale of arms to belligerents in any As "Spy" in USSR European war would, as it did in the World War, mean sale of arms

THE socialist Volksrecht of Zuerich, Switzerland, reports from Moscow the arrest of Fritz Platten, a Swiss communist, charged with 'espionage." It was Platten who arranged the

return of Lenin and twenty of his comrades to Russia during the World War. He was secretary of the Swiss Socialist Party and deputy in the Swiss Parliament. He joined the communist movement immediately after its organization and lived in Russia as an active Soviet worker since 1923. This is the man now accused of

being a "spy"!

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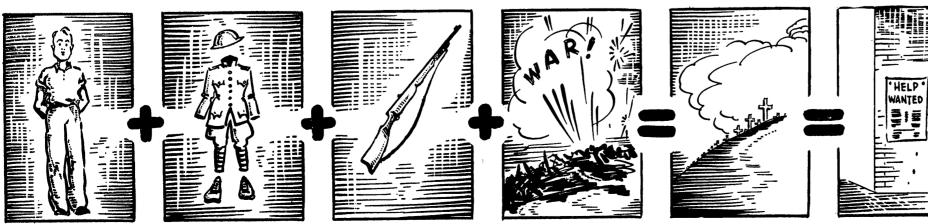
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HOW TO SOLVE THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM



-from Justice

Workers Age

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No. 27

HOW ABOUT IT, TOM MOONEY?

WE have received a very interesting letter from an active trade unionist in New York and we present this letter without comment as our editorial:

"I was surprised to see no comment in the Age on a very significant incident that took place at the Tom Mooney meeting

"A number of us made an effort to distribute to the crowds coming to hear Tom Mooney a leaflet announcing an anti-war meeting arranged by the Needle Trades Division of Labor's Anti-War Council which prominent trade unionists and other anti-war speakers were to address. Do you know what happened? These leaflets were torn out of our hands and every effort was made to prevent us from distributing them. Why? Because they were antiwar leaflets and the Stalinists who were running the Mooney meeting, being so hipped up with their 'collective-security' warmongering, could not tolerate the distribution of anti-war propaganda.

ing war hysteria that preceded America's entrance into the World War. He was a real victim of this war hysteria and his opposition to war and preparedness was one of the big counts against him in the eyes of the powers-that-be that railroaded him to prison. And now that Tom Mooney is finally free, the meeting to welcome him to this city is put into the hands of the war-mongers and super-jingoes of today, the Stalinists, and anti-war leaflets are destroyed and their distribution prevented.

"Is Tom Mooney aware of all this? Is he blind or is he, as they say, a willing tool of the Stalinists?"

BLOOM BILL MUST BE DEFEATED!

THE battle over neutrality has now reached the House and the lines are already forming in Congress and thruout the coun-

The Bloom bill, recommended by the House Foreign Affairs not mean at all that the inner crisis Committee, is avowedly an Administration measure. And, altho in the French Socialist Party is setit does not go all the way, as the "collective-security" advocates tled. The fact that Blum and Paul would like, it goes far enough in their direction to make it a thoroly dangerous measure whose net effect would undoubtedly be to facilitate American involvement in foreign war situations.

The essential distinction between the Bloom bill and the legislation at present on the statute books is that it gives much greater discretion to the President and does away with the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to countries at war. The President would be empowered by it to proclaim the existence of a war and to name the nations involved when he finds that such a state clared whenever there was a differof war exists and—this is decisive—that the invocation of the law ence of opinion about some question: is necessary in order "to promote the security and preserve the "It would be better not to mention peace of the United States". This latter proviso means that it this particular question in the resowould be entirely up to the President to decide in which war lution. The less we say in the resosituations to invoke the law and in which not to; such wide discretion would obviously give him the greatest leeway in putting thru his war-making policy of an Anglo-American alliance and a NO BIG DIFFERENCE "concerted front of the great democracies"

To drop the embargo on the export of arms and munitions to As a matter of fact, there was not by the ideas of those French bourwarring powers and to put such trade on a "cash-and-carry" basis, such a big difference even between geois circles who are friendly to the warring powers and to put such trade on a cash-and-carry basis, such a big difference even between a cash-and-carry basis, such a big difference even between would tend to tie up the economic machinery of our country with and Leon Blum, as submitted by the military needs and war economies of foreign imperialist belligerents, thus creating far-reaching involvements inevitably to the congress. making for war. Even an absolute embargo on arms exports to belligerents would hardly be protection enough; there would still, for example, remain trade in secondary articles of war (oil, scrap themselves in favor of "national deiron, etc.); but certainly to drop even this minimum protection would be to invite disaster.

The fact of the matter is that the Bloom bill is not a neutrality measure at all. It is a measure designed to break down as the support of war alliances between much as possible the already inadequate protection against involve much as possible the already inadequate protection against involvement in war provided in the present neutrality legislation and to armament in order to "defend facilitate its complete destruction at a more opportune moment. French democracy against fascism.' The Administration does not dare, in the face of overwhelming And both of them criticized the prespublic sentiment, to come out with its full program of giving the ent inner policy of the Daladier gov-President outright power to "name the aggressor" and to align ernment which is unwilling to accept this country with whatever side he may favor in an international the Socialist Party in its parliamenconflict. The Bloom bill is therefore regarded as the best under tary majority. The differences bethe circumstances, as a sort of stop-gap and transition to what the Administration really wants. If the effort to put over the Bloom bill is attended with any success, it will certainly mark the beginning of a drive to destroy every vestige of neutrality legislation and to enact the entire policy of "collective security" into lation and to enact the entire policy of "collective security" into as "collective," as all-embracing as

Fortunately, considerable opposition to the Bloom bill is demuch of "collective security." They veloping in Congress as an expression of the powerful anti-war would not like to see France ensentiment thruout the country. In the upper house, over twenty tangled in too many pacts and al-Senators, headed by Nye, LaFollette, Borah and Clark, have al- liances. While Blum and his friends ready made known their stand. They demand not a relaxation of are almost enthusiastic about French neutrality safeguards but their strengthening; not more arbitrary rearmament and see, as Blum said power for the President in foreign affairs but a tightening of the mandatory restrictions on his discretion. With determination, skill and popular backing, they should be able to defeat the Adminis- Paul Faure and his followers have tration drive. But they will need all the support that the anti- at least some notion that the growth war movement thruout the country can give them.

HOW MANY MORE VICTIMS?

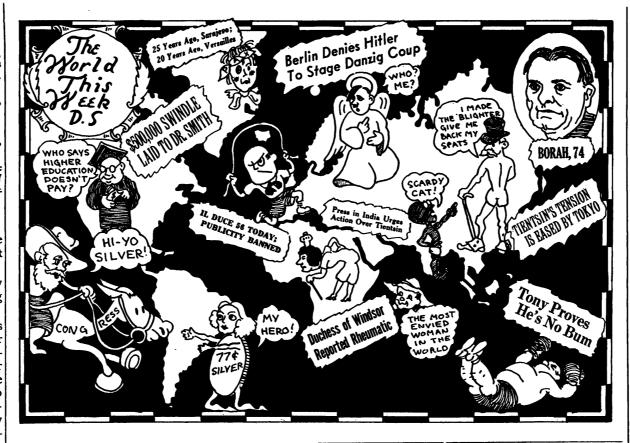
FIGHT died and thirteen were seriously injured in a dreadful states. Blum is an advocate of a fire in New York's Chinatown two weeks ago. For a day or sible and as close as possible. Peul two, spreading headlines filled the papers and then it was all for-

The eight that died and the thirteen that were injured are the latest victims of the dilatory, do-nothing policy of the federal, state and local authorities in slum clearance. Some of the worst slums in the country are to be found in Chinatown. In the newspaper reports of the fire, we read accounts of decayed, ramshackle buildings, veritable fire-traps, packed with miserable humans living under conditions of revolting squalor. But despite all talk of slum clearance and housing reform, nothing was done. The eight that died and the thirteen that were injured are the victims of this tragic failure.

The city is infested with slum areas almost if not quite as bad as the "Bloody Angle" of Chinatown, where the fire took place. How many more fires, how many more victims, will be necessary before something is really done to wipe out these infested spots and provide the masses who live in them with decent housing at Demand reinstatement of a dischargrents they can afford?

UR national debt," the President told the American Retail Federation recently, "is after all an internal debt owed not only by the nation but to the nation. If our children have to pay the interest on it, they will pay that interest to themselves."

How nice! The interest on the national debt will be paid by "our children"-by the great masses of people of coming generations-to "themselves", the holders of government securities, the big financial interests riots break out. Caused by bad food democracy. and coupon-clippers. Nothing could be fairer, could it?



"Do you appreciate the bitter irony of it? Tom Mooney was framed up, convicted and sent to prison in the midst of the growing war hysteria that preceded America's entrance into the World In Grip of Crisis

Nantes Congress Reveals Conflict of Tendencies

By G. SIMON

Paris, France. THE last National Congress of L the French Socialist Party in Nantes ended with the passage of a compromise resolution on foreign policy supported by the followers of both Leon Blum and Paul Faure. But this result of the congress does formula regarding foreign policy is not of decisive importance, especially when one knows how this formula was arrived at. It is reported that in the subcommittee which worked out the "synthesis" resolution, Riviere, former Minister of Pensions and main leader of the middle group, of the conciliators in the party, delution, the fewer quarrels we will have in the party.'

IN RESOLUTIONS

The group of Paul Faure, as well as the friends of Leon Blum declared fense" of French imperialism, of bourgeois France and its colonial possessions. Both groups were for possible, Paul Faure and his friends of militarism must wipe out all differences between the methods of capitalist rule in the fascist and in the "democratic" countries and bring about in the latter a totalitarian system similar to that of the fascist Faure and his followers, while not opposed to class collaboration in principle, do not want to tie up the workers organizations with all the

25 YEARS AGO

JULY 1-8, 1914

TULY 4, 1914.—In a note to his Ambassador at Vienna, the Kaiser writes: "The Serbs must be disposed of, and that right soon.'

July 4.-8,000 men in Woolwich Arsenal, England, go on strike. ed worker.

July 7.—Conference of railroad unions, representing about 80,000 workers, held in Chicago, votes to go out on strike July 14 unless granted the eight-hour day.

July 8.-600 prisoners mutiny on Blackwell's Island. Many injured as cialist party based on working-class conditions, crowded cells, no visitors.

right-wing bourgeois parties. But the important question is not to discover all the shadings by which the opinions of the "Blumists" differ from those of the "Paul Faurists." The important question is why such a sharp factional struggle arose between people who have worked together for about twenty years and between whom there is no difference in principles even now. After all, it is not so difficult to combine Blum's advocacy of "collective security" with Paul Faure's propaganda for a bargain between the different imperialist powers, allegedly in order to bring about "disarmament." As a matter of fact, in the "synthetic" resolution which was adopted by the congress, we find both of these re-

WHY THE CONFLICT? The conflict between the Blumists and the Paul Faurists is often explained as a mere reflection of the differences regarding questions of foreign policy which exist within the ranks of the French bourgeoisie. Undoubtedly, the top leaders of the Paul Faure faction are influenced On the other side, Blum and his friends follow the line of the bourgeois politicians who are for a 'strong hand" in foreign affairs. But it would not be correct to explain the conflict in the Socialist Party by saying that it is only a reflection of frictions and fights within

First of all, there is the fact that the factional fight in the Socialist Party became especially bitter precisely at a moment when the discussion for and against Munich within the ranks of the bourgeoisie had almost ceased. After the annexation of Czechoslovakia, even the supporters of Munich among the French capitalist class tended in their majority to regard the Munich policy as dead for quite a good while. But precisely this conversion of the majority of the French bourgeoisie to the policy of "firmness" towards their fascist imperialist rivals strengthened inside the Socialist Party the tendency of those who are opposed to this policy or are at least sceptical about it.

the ranks of the capitalist class.

the party. That the tendency of Paul Faure made headway in the party since the last congress at Montrouge where Blum had a considerable majority, is certainly not due to Paul Faure's professing the same principles as Blum and speaking likewise about the necessity of "national defense," etc. The rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party backed Paul Faure because of the things in which he differs from the open social-chauvinism of Blum and his friends. Certain utterances made by speakers of the Paul Faure faction at Nantes show that this faction won its strength by giving some expression to a yet unclear and, of course, not yet revolutionary sentiment of the rank-and-file members of the Socialist Party against rearmament, against imperialist war and against the policy of supporting preparation for war. One speaker criticized the political line of the Populaire, official S.P. paper. He dignantly the Papal benediction of Franco; how the Populaire greeted that notorious reactionary Kerillis as a fighter for the idea of a "world front of the democracies" and then had to admit soon afterwards that Kerillis was an agent of fascism and monarchism, etc., etc. Another speaker told Blum and his followers that with their policy they were helping to raise a wave of chauvinism, the first victims of which would be themselves. When in Montrouge last year, Zyromski, the leader of the Stalinites

It seems to us quite clear

that the fight between the two

groups of leaders of the Socialist

Party would never have assumed

such drastic forms if there were no

profound doubts and dissatisfaction

among the masses of the members of

nside the Socialist Party, said that it was necessary to work 50 and 60 hours a week in order to "defend democracy," the members of the Socialist Party may have considered it as an irresponsible and meaningless exaggeration. But since then, they have seen that longer hours were actually introduced in the name of 'national defense" and this has made them much less enthusiastic about the policy of Blum and Zy-

(Concluded in the next issue)

French PSOP Votes to Join International Center

By JOHN McNAIR

London, England. THE first regular national congress of the new Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France (P.S.O.P.), just held in Paris, has confirmed the hopes which we all

On the vital question of war, the following resolution was adopted: "The P.S.O.P. will oppose to the uttermost all forms of 'national union,' which, under the pretext of fighting against external fascism, delivers the proletariat defenseless to its exploiters, thereby assisting the development of internal fascism.

"It proclaims its unceasing opposition to capitalist war. The maintenance and, if possible, the strengthening, of the class struggle against our own bourgeoisie is one of the greatest elements which the workers can use in their common fight against international war. The enemy is at home.'

On the general question regarding the future organization of the party, there was a keen debate. A small section of the congress desired to give the P.S.O.P. the usual sectarian levelopment which appears to be the object of the Trotskyist and neo-Trotskyist groups, but this was defeated by an immense majority. It was clearly laid down that the P.S. O.P. would be a revolutionary so-

A full-dress debate took place as

to whether the P.S.O.P. should immediately join the International Re olutionary Marxist Center (I.R.M. C.), of which the I.L.P., the Swedish Socialist Party, the I.L.L.A., the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists), the Communist Party of Greece (Archio-Marxists), and nany other parties and groups are members. Marceau Pivert, Collinet and Consani urged immediate adhesion. This was opposed by certain delegates, but eventually, by 121 votes against 41, the immediate, unconditional adhesion to the International Center was adopted.

We welcome this democratic action of our French comrades. Their adhesion will almost certainly be folowed by that of the RS.A.P. of Holland, and then the International Center will comprise every revolu ionary socialist party in Europe.

For many years, we have realized hat an International Center, grouping socialist parties from all lands s an absolute necessity to the final emancipation of the workers. This part of our task is now accomplished. It remains for us to make this International Center into a real instrument of international solidarity.

(John McNair is general secretary of he Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.—Editor.)

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE

Talking It Over:

The Question of "Tone"

by Bertram D. Wolfe =

66 ROUGHLY, in general, one uses a harsh tone to those against whom one feels enmity, a friendly tone to friends, bitterness towards traitors, conciliation towards those whom one regards as misled, and so on. . . . We wish to make it perfectly clear that, insofar as we are technically able, we are ourselves quite deliberate and conscious in our 'tone'; we regard tone also as a political instrument."--James Burnham and Max Shachtman.

"The tone is inextricably linked to the political content. . . . He absolutely does not understand that a pitiless manner of posing the fundamental questions and a fierce polemic against vacillations are only the necessary ideological and pedagogical reflection of the implacable and cruel character of the class struggle in our time.—Leon Trotsky, on Marceau Pivert.

"I refer to those methods which consist in violating and brutalizing the revolutionary intelligence of those militants—numerous in France—who are accustomed to making up their own minds and who put themselves loyally to the school of hard facts. These are the methods which consist in interpreting with no indulgence whatever the inevitable fumblings in the search for revolutionary truth. Finally, these are the methods which attempt, by a colonization directed from without, to dictate to the labor movement attitudes, tactics or responses which do not come from the depths of its collective intelligence.— Marceau Pivert to Leon Trotsky.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

THE above three quotations offer much food for thought. They deal with the question of "tone", which as Trotsky rightly says, is inextricably linked to political content. The political content which they are linked to, is the question of attitude towards other groups and individuals in the labor movement. The question of "tone" is the question of how you deal with other forces in the labor movement, WHEN YOU HAVE NOT THE POLITICAL POWER IN YOUR HANDS, when you are limited to tone, to the use of words, in your treatment of those you differ with.

The only other weapon besides words, as Pivert points out, which you can use against those movements which are closest to you, is the method of "colonization," such as the Trotskyites tried on the S. P. in this country, on the P.O.U.M. in Spain, on the I.L.P. in England, and, with elaborate camouflages, upon the P.S.O.P. in France.

And it is only right to record that the German C.P.O. (Brandler-Thalheimer group) has recently gone the Trotskyites one better by openly developing and justifying the theory that it is its duty to build factions in the I.L.P., P.O.U.M., I L.L.A., and all movements that it is closest to, in order to "expose" their leaders and disrupt the organizations and build from the fragments "revolutionary parties."

One of the characteristics of these theories is that they are based upon a complex of superiority, a dogma of infallibility, and an intolerable arrogance towards all who do not follow the self-confessed monopolist of revolutionary consciousness in all his twists and turnings.

Without bothering to prove the point (what is admitted does not have to be proved), the infallible admits to infallibility, which makes all comradely discussion with those who don't see eye to eye with him unnecessary, nay, impossible.

There is no need for discussion to arrive at collective wisdom in such cases, since one faction in one country (and one person in that faction) already admits to having such wisdom. Discussion can only result in dilution of the wisdom already attained, or a use of it by the possessor "in a pitiless manner" as a "necessary ideological and pedagogical reflection of the implacable and cruel character of the class struggle in our time." Those who disagree, if they are in your ranks, you expel.

While expelling, you do not scruple, of course, to annihilate in a 'pitiless and implacable" manner. If they are close to you, your main fire must be directed against them, for they are the "most dangerous," the mentioned how this paper, the editor of which is Blum, hailed the new ting an eyelash, Trotsky can write to Guerin that the P.O.U.M. prevented published a few days later very in- | tionary, by refusing to make a sound analysis, refusing to play an inde pendent role, etc. But the Fourth Internationalists, he admits, did all these things. What then prevented them from taking power and giving victory to the Spanish proletariat? Trotsky's answer is ready: the P.O. U M. stood in the way. Therefore? The P.O.U.M. must be destroyed. That is the main task because the P.O.U.M. was the main obstacle to our victory. The logic is devastatingly simple, and it must be admitted that Trotskyist practice follows its theory.

REMOVING THE "ISOLATORS"

SIMILAR theory is advanced by Trotsky in his letter to Guerin concerning Marceau Pivert of the French Workers and Peasants Socialist Party. It was preceded by a letter to Pivert himself that was amazingly polite and "conciliatory." Are we to conclude, as suggested by Burnham and Shachtman, that the leader was using a tone of "conciliation" to one "whom one regards as misled"? At any rate, Trotsky's patience and conciliationism did not last long. When Pivert answered complaining of the "tone" of some of 'Irotsky's followers and saying that his party would welcome the Trotskyites, if they did not enter with the purposes of disruption, he got such an abusive, "pitiless and implacable" answer as made the tone of the French Trotskyites seem friendly by comparison. And the answer was not addressed to Marceau Pivert, but over his head or under his feet, to his comrades asking them to abandon and

The answer developed the same theory as Trotaky advanced concerning the P.O.U.M. in more general form. "Yes," he writes, "we are still isolated from the masses. By whom or by what? By the organizations of reformism, of Stalinism, of patriotism, of pacifism and by the intermediate centrist groupings of all kinds in which are expressedsometimes in an extremely indirect and complex form—the self-defensive reflex of expiring capitalism. . . . One of these isolators is centrism; an active exponent of this isolator is Pivert. Our tasks consist precisely in removing these 'isolators'; to convince some and win them to the cause of the revolution, to unmask and annihilate the others."

'TONE" -- PRE-POWER PURGE

OF course, polemics are not pink teas nor are polemicists pure minds without feelings. But a constant tendency to abuse persons rather than to analyze viewpoints, to assume correctness and infallibility of your own viewpoints, to assume insincerity and dishonesty and the role of agents of the enemy class in all those who do not agree with you, a tendency of your "tone" to become the persistent and wholesale condemnation of all other working-class organizations and groupings and all non-compliant intellectuals as villains and enemies—this smacks of a "pitiless and inplacable annihilation" which recent events in Russia have made only too familiar. "Tone" is no longer a mere forgetting of yourself in the eagerness of advancing your viewpoint. It is no longer the use of denunciation and scorn where reasoned argument might be more convincing to the one argued with, or at least to those who follow him or hold the same viewpoint.

"One uses a harsh tone," write Burnham and Shachtman "to those against whom one feels enmity, a friendly tone to friends, bitterness towards traitors, conciliation towards those whom one regards as misled,

We leave it to the reader to seek out the list of friends to whom a friendly tone is used by them. The list will not take long to compile.

And "those against whom one feels enmity"? Their name is legion. When one considers the "tone" used towards the P.O.U.M., not to mention the I.L.P., and the "tone" of Burnham and Shachtman use towards those intellectuals who have been nearest them, and how soon Trotsky's conciliatory tone was exhausted in the case of Pivert and, by implication, of the masses who have confidence in him and have made him the leader of their party, one begins to realize the well-nigh universal, not to say "totalitarian" nature of this enmity.

"Tone" here begins to take on the familiar outlines of the monopoly of leadership by a single party in the international movement, the monopoly of power by a single party in the democratic organs of the masses, the monopoly of truth and the apparatus by a single faction in the party, the monolithic party and the infallible leader. "Tone" there begins perilously to resemble the weapon of purge. Indeed, "tone" thus used IS the weapon of purge when you lack the state power to use other than words for its execution.