

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## FDR Hints Relief Cuts

### Urges Private Charity For Unemployed To Balance Budget

Announcement of "progress" towards a balanced budget was made last week by President Roosevelt when he indicated that the federal deficit would be decreased by two billion dollars from last year and thus reach a total of only \$695,000,000. The major effort at curtailment of expenditure was expected to affect the P.W.A. and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, thus putting an effective, if tacit, end to "government spending", the bugaboo of the anti-New Deal forces. It should be noted that government spending and appropriations in these two fields, that is for unemployment relief and for "pump-priming", has appreciably decreased since November 1936. Naturally, the effect has been greatest on funds marked for unemployment relief.

For the first time since the institution of the New Deal's policies, the President has raised the idea of "help-thy neighbor" as a genuine form of unemployment relief. The significance of this speech on the budget lies primarily in this threat to unemployment relief, especially grave since the outlook for the country in the next period of time is for economic decline rather than limited recovery.

It is also of interest that the liberal elements who have waxed enthusiastic over the New Deal since its initiation find much to criticize in this latest turn to the right on the part of the President. The New York Post, for example, grows quite excited about the new "Hooverism" of Roosevelt. Primarily, of course these elements are concerned, not so much with the effect this policy of retrenchment will have on the meagre millions for unemployment relief but with the effect it must have on government billions formerly poured into stagnant industry. The retreat from one of the basic aspects of the New Deal's program to stabilize capitalism has them jittery with visions of the militant 1932 demonstrations of the unemployed workers and farmers.

## UAW HITS CHRYSLER BEFORE THE NLRB

Detroit, Mich. The United Automobile Workers Union has lodged a complaint against the Chrysler Corporation with the National Labor Relations Board. In an open letter to Walter P. Chrysler, made public under the signatures of President Homer Martin, Assistant President Richard Frankenstein and R. J. Thomas, Vice-President in charge of Chrysler, it is charged that Chrysler has violated the Wagner Act by sponsoring company unions in its plants.

The union, which had been participating in an inquiry to determine the relation between the company union and the firm, now withdraws charging the firm has not been cooperating.

Numerous other violations of the pact with the union are claimed.

## Stalinist Hooligans Attack Auto Workers Selling Age

Detroit, Mich.

Workers selling a recent issue of Workers Age in which appeared the article entitled "Unity' Clique Finds Friend in William Green" were assaulted and brutally beaten by a gang of Communist Party hoodlums headed by a Mr. Hulley, a "unity" official of Local 157, United Automobile Workers. The attack occurred in front of 51 Sproat Street where Norman Thomas was addressing a mass meeting. Socialist Party members, who in the same "unity" caucus with the Communist Party, denied any responsibility for the attack.

One Workers Age seller got off with a split lip and a swollen face but Austin Winston, an auto worker, had to receive medical treatment for a gashed head and a broken nose. Bleeding profusely, Winston walked into the hall where the socialist meeting was about to start and denounced his assailants for this unprovoked attack. When other members of the Independent Communist Labor League continued selling the Age, the same Hulley called the police and, as secretary of the local union which owns the hall, said: "Officer, drive these men away. They are selling a revolutionary paper. They are communists!"

The assault was carried out in full sight of a number of prominent union leaders. These declared the attack to be a good example of the type of "unity" and "democracy" the Communist Party would hand out to its opponents were it in control of the union.

## American Foreign Policy In Chinese Crisis

By JIM CORK

**A**MERICAN imperialism is driving ahead towards war. Indeed, its executive committee, the Roosevelt administration, has been preparing for this eventuality from the very beginning. Roosevelt's recent Chicago speech must have come as a rude awakening to those naive souls who imagined that the Far-Eastern policy of the administration has been one of increasing isolation and retreat before the aggressive pressure of Japan. Some have even gone so far as to assert that Roosevelt was preparing to draw America out of the Far East altogether! The strong anti-isolationist tendency of Roosevelt's speech served definite notice that, on the contrary, the American bourgeoisie was prepared to defend its imperialist interests against all comers.

### The Policy of the "Open Door"

There is nothing new in the position taken by Roosevelt so far as he or his administration is concerned. From the very beginning, the Roosevelt administration has been a strong and consistent champion of the traditional Far-Eastern policy of American imperialism and therefore of the economic interests of the American bourgeoisie.

The "open door" policy has been the cornerstone of American imperialist policy in China ever since its enunciation by Secretary Hay in 1899. It was a "natural" for an imperialist state coming late upon the scene, after other powers had already begun to carve up China. A guarantee of the "integrity" of China was its inevitable corollary, i.e., a guarantee

demanded by America against China being exclusively gobbled up by any other power or powers; a guarantee of China's being left open to capital investment on the part of America amongst others. "Amongst others" was no obstacle to a country rapidly becoming the strongest capitalist power on the face of the earth, with its great advantage in surplus capital for investment overseas. It goes without saying that the interests of China or its people were the last things to be considered. They represented only the stakes in the rapacious game for control going on chiefly between England, America and Japan. The Nine-Power Treaty in 1922 represented merely a tall signpost in this continuous imperialist struggle, in which the combined pressure of British and American imperialism forced Japan to retreat from a too rapid attempt to penetrate into China and, in return for some concessions on naval parity, to recognize, nominally at least, the aforementioned twin principles of the "open door" and the "integrity" of China.

These twin principles have been jealously guarded and zealously defended by every administration as the executive committee of the American ruling class. Roosevelt's administration has been no exception in standing pat upon them. Any number of times it has made its record crystal clear on this matter. In 1933, for instance, as soon as it took office, it had to face the question of Japan's grabbing Manchukuo. It officially gave its support to the non-recognition doctrine.

On April 1, 1934, when it felt

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## Anglo-Italian Pact To Strangle Spain

### "Democratic" Diplomats Accept Italian Plan To Give Franco Advantage Over Valencia Regime; Soviet Union Balks At Scheme

After many days of sinister diplomatic maneuvering, the big powers of Europe finally got down last week to a tentative agreement on the Spanish situation by accepting the Italian proposal for a "token" withdrawal of "volunteers" from Spain as a preliminary to recognizing the Franco regime as a belligerent. This arrangement was universally estimated by the press and public opinion as a bad blow to the Valencia government and a tremendous advantage to Franco and his fascist clique.

The question of Italian troops in Spain, politely known as the "volunteer" question, had been referred to the so-called Non-Intervention Committee at London upon

the insistence of the Italian government. There a stalemate had been reached because Mussolini continued to insist on the recognition of Franco as a preliminary to any action on "volunteers". England and France were greatly embarrassed because they knew that they would not dare to call Italy's

The authoritative United States News reports, in its issue of October 18, on American diplomatic information the following estimate of British policy in Spain:

"The British government hesitates to take any step that would upset the rule of Benito Mussolini in Spain on the ground that his regime's collapse could only be followed by chaos (read: socialism.—The Editor.) in that country with important repercussions elsewhere."

In other words, Great Britain the "mother of democracies", is ready to support fascism as an insurance against socialism. How comforting this must be to the Stalinist worshippers of "democracy", to the hysterical champions of the "great democracies" as a bulwark against fascism!

## AFL Ranks For O'Brien

### Detroit A.F.L.'s Decision Against CIO Ticket Angers Workers

Detroit, Mich.

The Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor last week endorsed the candidacy of Richard W. Reading for mayor as against Patrick O'Brien, the candidate supported by the C.I.O. Frank X. Martel declared the Reading proposal carried on a viva-voce vote and quickly adjourned the meeting amid enraged protests and demands for a roll call. Those opposed to Reading were firm in the belief that a roll call would have given a majority to O'Brien.

The discussion at the federation meeting came over the endorsement of Reading by the Political Action Committee earlier in the day by a vote of 22 to 3. The A.F. of L. position was frankly stated as one inspired by general A. F. of L. hostility to the C.I.O. "We are seeking", stated Frank Martel, "to protect the A.F. of L. and local unions from the threat of police power which a C.I.O. political government would have at its command". Given the choice of the pro-labor O'Brien as against the Klansman Reading, the A.F. of L. placed the confidence in the representative of the "Invisible Empire."

The Detroit mayoralty campaign had attracted the attention of the A.F. of L. nationally. The resolution adopted in Denver, warning against endorsing any political friend of the C.I.O., was a signal to A.F. of L. locals to back Reading. To make doubly sure that Detroit locals do not miss the signal, A.F. of L. international presidents dispatched telegrams to Detroit warning that

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bluff. "Nor was Count Grandi afraid of what Britain and France might do if he did not yield," Ferdinand Kuhn Jr. reports in the New York Times of October 21. "He knew that France would not open the Franco-Spanish frontier and that Britain had not the least intention of lifting her own embargo to help the Valencia government." He knew, in fact, that Anglo-French imperialism was mortally afraid of a decisive loyalist victory in Spain because that would inevitably open the door to socialism. He knew that the British cabinet was planning concessions in the event all else failed to break the deadlock. Undertaking a clever diplomatic maneuver, the Italian representative came in with a new proposal to "solve" the crisis. Let an equal number of Italian troops and foreign volunteers on the loyalist side be withdrawn as a "token"; that accomplished, the committee could settle down to the task of recognizing Franco as belligerent! The effect was electrical. The Anglo-French diplomats were able to save face and preserve the appearance of "impartiality", even "sympathy," for the Spanish republican cause. The Italo-German group got what it wanted. Everybody was happy, Mr. Kuhn reports somewhat sarcastically. "One might imagine from some of the first delighted comments here that Premier Mussolini of Italy had finally decided to liquidate his Spanish adventure. . . ."

Actually, the Italian "compromise" will inevitably be extremely harmful to the Spanish republican cause and equally beneficial to Franco. In the first place, the withdrawal of a "token" quantity,

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# VOTE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY TICKET!

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ROOSEVELT LIBERALISM AND WAR

WAR strips all things to their bare essentials. All secondary features, qualifying circumstances, differentiating conditions, disappear in the stark reality of war and leave exposed class society in the raw, in all its ferocity.

As Marxian realists, we have often had occasion to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the New Deal liberalism of the Roosevelt administration and the Old Deal reaction of his conservative opponents. We have indicated that this distinction is to be traced back to profound differences among the business interests of the country on how best to stabilize and perpetuate the capitalistic system, endangered by the acute and long drawn out crisis thru which we have just passed and into which we seem to be about to relapse. We have emphasized that these differences of policy, especially as they express themselves in relation to labor, must be taken into careful consideration by the labor movement in framing a practical course of action in the present difficult situation. We have always repudiated that abstract radicalism that can see no differences and make no distinctions and whose one fetish-guide is the slogan "class against class" in its "third-period" sense!

But all of these differentiating considerations, absolutely essential as they are in "ordinary" politics, tend to evaporate in the blazing furnace of war—and what is bound to come in war times already makes itself felt in the period of preparation for war thru which the United States is now passing. In war time, the distinction between liberal and conservative vanishes into thin air; all who stand on the basis of capitalism are joined together in the unholy bonds of the "sacred union" of imperialistic patriotism, arrayed in implacable hostility against the unyielding forces of international socialism. On all essential questions of the war, Roosevelt will stand shoulder to shoulder with Browder on the left and duPont on the right!

In war, the silken glove gives way to the mailed fist. No matter what the previous regime may have been, the advent of war means an end to democracy and democratic rights; it means a regime of fascist-like dictatorship and regimentation exclusively in the interests of the war—and the war-makers! Here, too, it is bound to mean the evaporation of Rooseveltian liberalism.

The war of tomorrow already casts its sinister shadow before. Norman Davis is again in the limelight. It was he who, many months ago, elaborated with President Roosevelt the policy of the "active search for peace"; it was his spirit, if not his hand, that was visible in the Chicago address; and now he is the American delegate to the Nine-Power Treaty conference! In this Norman Davis, the appointee of Hoover and the trusted adviser of Roosevelt, in this living link between the House of Morgan and the two big parties of American capitalism, is embodied the pure spirit of the "sacred union", that above-party imperialism in which the New Deal clasps hand with the Liberty League, to the applause of the Stalinists and their rag tag-and-bobtail "People's Front".

How closely does Roosevelt's political development begin to parallel the ill-omened course of Woodrow Wilson, his predecessor as Democratic president! The liberal, the friend of labor, the lover of peace, of the first term, turned into the war-maker, the reactionary, the strike-breaker, the inspirer and protector of Burleson and Palmer, during the next four years. Under the same old, muddrugged banner of "keeping us out of war", Roosevelt is now again driving towards American participation in a world war, this time precipitated in the Far East and the Mediterranean rather than the Balkans. And with this start once made, the rest is inevitable. . . .

It would be well for the labor movement to take account of these facts and prepare accordingly. To be forewarned is to be forearmed.

THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY MEETING

By JAMES ATKINS

London, England. THE press of the employing class of Great Britain concedes that the 1937 conference of the British Labor Party was a "good" conference. There were no unseemly scenes, neither did the extremists disturb the order of the proceedings, and so British labor has proven conclusively that it knows how to approach the issues of the day with that high degree of responsibility so characteristic of the British race.

The "United Front" Issue

The discussion on the policy of a united front of the working class was illuminating inasmuch as it was the tactics of the Communist Party that proved the strongest weapons in the armory of Mr. Herbert Morrison, who was put up by the Executive to administer the death blow to the "united front." Mr. Morrison read to the conference a letter, signed by Pollitt addressed to a Labor council in London, urging them to hand over two seats on the London Council to Liberals! When the C.P. talks of unity—asked Mr. Morrison—would Mr. Pollitt speak on the same platform with the leaders of P.O.U.M.? If it is wrong for members of the Labor Party to speak on the same platform as Mr. Churchill, is it right for Harry Pollitt to appear on the same platform as the Duchess of Atholl? The conference, overwhelmingly rejected and moved towards a "united front." It is a profound mistake but the Communist Party must share the greater responsibility for the defeat of the proposal.

The Question Of Rearmament

The debate on rearmament was more significant than the discussion on the "united front." In case it seems impossible to imagine such sentiments being expressed at a labor conference, here is the official speech:

"I would be quite true to say that the imperialism of Great Britain in the past is not in any way the imperialism of Great Britain today. He asked the conference to defeat the first of the two composite resolutions (Mr. Silverman's). The conference could not instruct the Parliamentary party how to vote, and the other points in the resolutions were covered in the Executive's statement of policy.

As for Mr. Kennedy's resolution, he gave an assurance that the democratization of the armed forces would be considered, but the Executive could not agree to the part which proposed a citizen army. Of Mr. Lansbury's speech, he said he had never yet heard of the tiger that was moved to pity by the helplessness of the lamb.

"They had passed a resolution urging economic support for China, and they had to face the possibility of having to defend people giving that support. . . .

"Were they to say: 'Because you do not agree to do everything we want we will not agree to any armed forces?' They were a responsible party affiliated to international organizations, and the people of other countries, not the governments but the socialist movements in other countries, would feel very much more secure with an armed Britain, not because of the National government but because Britain, mother of democracies, had always stood democratic liberty. (Cries of 'Oh!') Would you leave India for Japan, Italy, or Germany to walk in? Under the British flag there is more democracy than in any other country in the world. That does not mean that we are backing the National government. I cannot understand you. We have had a La-

bor political movement for forty years. We have had a trade-union movement for a hundred years and we have been telling the people how we fought and fought building up our democratic principles. And now you say we have no democratic rights.

"What is the biggest thing they (the fascists) can attack? The British Empire. Where does more democracy exist than in Great Britain? (Cries of 'Sweden!') Does it exist in Russia? (Loud cries of 'Yes!') It does not. (Cries of 'Question!') You can question as much as you like. I know more about it than you do. I think the best thing you can do is, go to the next meeting that Mr. Gallacher and Mr. Harry Pollitt run and get them to tell you all about it, for it is Gallacher who tells me all about it. (Laughter and applause.)"

The speaker was Mr. James Walker of the Iron and Steel Trades Federation. The vote was decided by 2,169,000 to 282,000, to support the rearmament program of the British government.

Whether Laski And Cripps?

It is true Stafford Cripps and Professor Laski have secured seats on the Executive but even Stafford Cripps felt it advisable to ask permission of the Executive to address a meeting of the Left Book Club. The Executive kindly gave permission, which leads one to believe that Cripps and Laski having sown their wild oats, are now penitent.

While the Labor Party was in session so were the Conservatives. Mr. Winston Churchill applauded the decisions of the Labor Party conference saying: "Better late than never." He also agreed—along with Earl Browder, it seems—that the sentiments expressed by Pres-

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AFL Members Back CIO Labor Slate

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support of O'Brien would mean the loss of their charters.

Despite this pressure, the opposition was powerful. In the forefront were such local unions as the typographical union (Frank Martel's own local), teachers, hotel and restaurant workers, auto workers, street car men, electrical workers, printing pressmen, brewery workers and brewery drivers. Especially sharp in their denunciation of Reading's endorsement were Mr. Harry Reiffin of the types, Mr. Bergman and Miss Comfott of the teachers, and Miss Mira Komaroff of the restaurant workers. The latter characterized the committee proposal as "the greatest betrayal in our history"

Nat Ganley, local Communist Party leader, made matters much easier for Martel by bringing the Communist Party into the discussion. He asked whether Martel would in the future oppose President Roosevelt just because Earl Browder recently came out for Roosevelt's program and closed by urging endorsement of "our beloved O'Brien", regardless of the fact that "we" endorse him.

Supporters of the labor slate were gratified at the fine showing and now are busy making plans for organizing the widespread support for O'Brien in the ranks of the federation.

Informed of the decision, Mr. O'Brien issued the following statement:

"I don't believe the endorsement will persuade the rank and file of the A.F. of L. to vote against me. The great majority of them recognize me as the labor candidate, even tho they follow Martel's lead publicly."

By Lambda WORLD TODAY

Hitler and Mussolini Stage Show For Home Opinion; Cortes Opens

London, Oct. 1, 1937.

THE much publicized meeting of Hitler and Mussolini was primarily staged for the benefit of the German and Italian people. Both dictators are facing economic and financial difficulties and in both countries the masses are becoming more and more dissatisfied. Yet neither country is in a position to start a war and to realize its imperialist program. Hence the attempt to provide substitute pleasure thru demonstrations and speeches. Actually, they demonstrated the fear of the German and Italian peoples for the war which their "leaders" are preparing.

For the benefit of the outside world, both "leaders" denounced the "ideas of 1789", the Third International and "democracy". Mussolini, in particular, stressed his plan of propagating fascism in Europe with the sword.

Fascist "peace" was defined as the granting of the imperialist demands of both fascist countries. Discarding their peace talk for a while, they hoped to impress the world with their joint efforts at bluffing and extortion. That they succeeded to a great extent is evidenced by the Temps of September 25, 1937:

"Precisely because of their original program of combating communism and of crippling the influence of Soviet Russia it would not be to the interest of Germany and Italy to break off any and all possibilities for cooperation with democratic nations and to force the latter to accept an international set-up which is totally unacceptable to them."

Splendid Isolation

In the Socialist Call of October 16, there appears a rather silly, amateurish article by Frank Trager on the labor situation, in the course of which this problem is considered. What Frank Trager has to say in this article is what socialists of his persuasion have been repeating on every occasion recently under the fond illusion that they are talking like Marxists.

The movement towards independent political action developing under the banners of Labor's Non-Partisan League, even the American Labor Party of New York—we are told—is not heading towards a labor party at all but towards something "similar to the British Liberal Party" and all because of the connections it still retains with the "so-called left-wing New Deal Democrats". In New York, the situation is especially deplorable for here the A.L.P. has—believe it or not!—shown "no hesitancy in endorsing Republican nominees for office".

In fact, the whole movement is nothing but the American form of the People's Front. The Stalinists say so out loud and they are right. The Lovestonites, too, are "capitulating" to the "American People's Front". "From these sources revolutionary socialists can expect little assistance. Nor can much assistance for independent political action be expected from the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation in Wisconsin and the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party." "In politics, the C.I.O. movement will not play an independent role." The "revolutionary socialists"—is the final conclusion—will just have to go it alone, comforted in their splendid isolation by the consciousness of their own rectitude! All this is, no doubt, very profound and noble—but, if it is true, what does the S. P. mean by its decision to "coop-

MAURA AND VALLADARA RETURN TO SPAIN

IN Geneva, France and England vigorously opposed the demand of the Spanish and Soviet representatives that the Valencia government be supplied with munitions. The French representative once again went thru the gesture of demanding the withdrawal of German and Italian troops from Spain.

The C.P. of Spain is continuing its campaign of terror against the anarchists. The prisons are filled with F.A.I. comrades. The U.G.T. is at present the scene of a fight between the Caballero wing and the reformist-communist wing. The C.N.T., we regret to state, is not distinguishing itself by political clarity.

\* Add to the Museum of Sectarian Horrors: The Trotskyites reproach the S.P. for supporting Isidore Nagler, general manager of the New York Cloakmakers Joint Board, who is running for Bronx Boro President on the A.L.P. ticket. Why? Because Mr. Nagler has also been endorsed by the Fusion party which, as is well known, is the "most capitalist of capitalist parties in New York" (Socialist Appeal, Oct. 16, 1937).

THE SOCIALISTS AND THE LABOR PARTY

By WILL HERBERG

Where Else Can a Communist Go? By Jay Lovestone

AMONG the great difficulties in fashioning a revolutionary Marxist policy is undoubtedly the dangerous tendency to slide into an abstract, mechanical radicalism that can yield only the Dead Sea fruits of isolation and sterility. To combine revolutionary intransigence as to aim and objective with the utmost realism in analysis and flexibility in tactics may, indeed, be difficult but it is the secret of Marxist politics.

The Socialist Party is now passing thru another of its cyclical crises. From all appearances, a section of the membership, in the Clarity group but outside of it as well, is attempting to approach a revolutionary socialist position, as against the reformism of the S.P. right wingers and the Stalinists, on the one hand, and the cliquish sectarianism of the Trotskyites, on the other. Unfortunately, however, they don't seem to be getting very far; they appear to be trapped in the blind-alley of abstract radicalism, running round and round in the same squirrel's cage of empty revolutionary phrases. It would not be difficult to justify this description by examining any phase of party policy but perhaps it would be most instructive to consider a question that is of such vital importance to the American labor movement at the present time, the question of independent working class political action.

"The consistency of the Independent Communist Labor League objective criticism of the C.P.S.U. and its analysis of Soviet Russia's development, the clarity of the many fine trade-union notes and

articles, the adherence to communist principles and the foresight displayed in estimating trends and formulating correct trade union tactics are the things which impel me to ask: 'Where else can a communist go?'"

That's all we have received to date—in three weeks—from our members and friends.

This is not a tempo that spells success. Here's the kind of lag that can only drag down even the best of us. And we are very far from being satisfied with ourselves.

But the membership and recruiting drives are not better. It isn't so much that class-conscious workers don't realize where they belong. Much more is the lag in recruiting to be attributed to our own members not being energetically enough on the job in the unions and factories.

Members can be gotten for the Independent Communist Labor League by the scores, by hundreds. Our experience is that when efforts are made results are attained. For instance, a worker from Detroit writes us:

"The consistency of the Independent Communist Labor League objective criticism of the C.P.S.U. and its analysis of Soviet Russia's development, the clarity of the many fine trade-union notes and articles with the A. L. P. in New York? As a matter of fact, however, Frank Trager's analysis is just a tissue of radical phrases strung along, one after the other, without rhyme or reason. Neither his premises nor his conclusion will bear the slightest examination. But they do show to perfection the inner nature of the mechanical radicalism that is dominant in certain sections of the S. P. today.

Nature Of Abstract Radicalism. Abstract radicalism is the fetishistic worship of revolutionary formulas. Marxism is regarded not as a practical guide to analysis and action, to be applied concretely in each particular set of circumstances, but as an abstract dogma, valid as such at all times, places and circumstances. Lenin tried to impress upon the abstentionist fraction ("Otsovists" and "Ultimatists") of Bolsheviks that it is quite possible to be for participation in the Duma today and against it tomorrow, to favor it here and oppose it there. But—replied Bogdanov in shocked reproach—where are your principles?"

To Frank Trager, in his wisdom, the A.L.P. is identical with the French People's Front because both are, according to him, a "mixed class political coalition on a non-working class program". Every word here is false. The A.L.P. is not a "mixed class coalition" but is, on the contrary, of the purest working class composition conceivable—a political federation of trade unions. The fact that it makes agreements—some good, some bad—with other parties, the fact that some of its candidates are also endorsed by its partisans, does not change its class character one bit nor does it make it less of a labor party, altho it does point to its political immaturity. Let us recall that the British Labor Party, whose labor character not even so fastidious a critic as Frank Trager would deny, went thru many years' of such dubious agreements and such joint endorsements.

Nor is the program of the A.L.P. "non-working class". It is non-socialist, certainly, but anyone who thinks that an American labor party is going to have a socialist, or even a "production-for-use", program in its first years, had better get down to earth. The A.L.P. platform is not a good

one; it is inadequate in many respects—but this inadequacy is again a reflection of the inadequacy and immaturity of the whole movement. Undoubtedly, Frank Trager could work out a better program but might he not have some difficulty in finding a mass movement to suit it?

A.L.P. And People's Front. Abstract radicalism sees everything in fixed and final form; it ignores—because it cannot understand—direction of motion or stages of development. It judges by the same measure, and condemns with the same moral admonition, the A.L.P. because it has not yet broken the novel-strings that still binds it to progressive bourgeois politics out of which it has emerged, and the French Communist Party because it is attempting to liquidate the independent proletarian movement and drag the workers back to bourgeois liberalism, after decades of independent proletarian politics! Naturally, Frank Trager is scornful of such trifles. To his critical eye, stumbling along is just stumbling along, whether it is that of a child learning to walk or of a drunken man going wrong. Both the A.L.P. and the French C. P. have connections with bourgeois liberalism; therefore they are both the same thing, both the People's Front! Does it make any difference that the A.L.P. is moving forward towards ever greater political independence while the French C. P. is moving backwards, and trying to drag the French working class with it, to ever greater subservience to liberalism? Not to Frank Trager, it doesn't! To insist on such a difference would condemn you forever in his eyes of being "deviant", of "being critical of the 'Popular Front Illusion' abroad" while "de-facto one of the prime movers in its creation in this country."

Well, so be it! I am afraid our brand of Marxism is as little likely to prove pleasing to the super-critical doctrinaires of the S.P. as to the obedient hacks of the C.P.—for the former, it is too realistic and flexible; for the latter, too independent and uncompromising.

Living Marxism Not Dead Dogma. We are no worshippers of formulas; we do not sacrifice reality at the altar of the fetish, Dogma,

owned. All American shares were later acquired by Pan-American Airways. American aviators have assisted in establishing training schools where they help train Chinese pilots. American firms in China are turning out military planes for the Chinese government. Sales of American aircraft and accessories to China show the following significant steady increase. Notice the great jump in 1933, the year of the inception of the Roosevelt Administration.

On December 29, 1934, Wake Island was placed under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department by express order of President Roosevelt and on March 14, 1935, permits were granted by Secretary Swanson to Pan-American Airways to construct landing facilities at Guam Midway and Wake Islands. Recently, Hongkong has become operative as the western terminus of the Trans-Pacific Airline and the air link to China was complete.

Philippine "Independence". We come finally to the "joker" of Philippine independence. As one Far-Eastern specialist has put it, "the act for the independence of the Philippines has had the anomalous result of involving the United States even more closely in the political and military developments of Eastern Asia." The soundness of this judgment can be seen from the following facts. Until 1946, when independence is supposed to come to the Philippines, the American government retains full responsibility for the defense of the islands, maintains its military and naval reservations and fueling stations. A national defense program has been launched, in charge of American generals, which establishes a conscription system, with military training beginning in the public schools. Its end purpose is an army of 400,000 men and a partially trained reserve force of over a million by 1946. This army is to constitute a part of the United States army. Can anybody doubt for what purpose this army is being prepared?

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American Foreign Policy In the Far Eastern Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

that the international situation warranted it, Japan issued the "Aman statement", in which it challenged the validity of the principles of the "open door" by announcing that Japan had the right "to act singlehandedly in maintaining peace and order in Eastern Asia." The American State Department promptly issued an official document in answer on April 30, 1934, in which it was stated that ". . . in the opinion of the American people and the American government, no nation can without the assent of the other nations concerned, rightfully endeavor to make conclusive its will in situations where there are involved the rights, the obligations and the legitimate interests of other sovereign states."

On December 5, 1935, at a time when Japan was already preparing the ground for her North China drive, Secretary Hull officially gave out the following statement: ". . . It seems to this government most important . . . that governments and peoples keep faith in principles and pledges. . . . This government adheres to the provisions of the treaties to which it is a party and continues to be speak respect for the provisions of treaties solemnly entered into."

During 1936, we had similar statements. Recently, Secretary Hull reiterated again that ". . . the independence and integrity of China remain a goal of American diplomacy." And now, Roosevelt's Chicago speech, the mailed fist hidden behind a smokescreen of honeyed, democratic phrases of respect for international law and order, etc! At least the stated attitude, the written record, has been consistent and clear from the very beginning.

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## Lovestone Talks on Soviet Purge Before 1,200 in N.Y.

New York City

Over 1,200 people filled the big hall at Irving Plaza to capacity on Thursday evening, October 21, to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "The Soviet Purge." The audience included representatives of all major tendencies in the radical labor movement, as was especially obvious from the kind of questions asked and from the reaction of various elements to the answers given by the speaker. In its alertness, spirit and response, it was one of the most politically significant meetings held in the city for a long time.

Lovestone traced the present acute crisis in the Soviet Union to the growing discrepancy between the advancing political and cultural level of the Soviet masses, on the one hand, and the stagnation and retrogression of the bureaucratic Stalin regime, on the other—

a discrepancy which Stalin is trying to overcome by means of bloody terror. He described in striking terms the transferred effects of the crisis upon the official communist movements of the capitalist countries, the United States included. He went on to analyze the roots of the anti-communist, patriotic approach to the war question now being held by the Stalinist parties and he showed, on the basis of official documents, how the bureaucratic machines of these parties will function as agencies of the imperialist war machines in the crusade against the revolutionary sections of the working class.

In conclusion he called upon all class-conscious workers to rally to the Independent Communist Labor League and to build up now the forces to keep aloft the banner of revolutionary socialism and internationalism.

## British Labor Party Conference

(Continued from Page 2)

ident Roosevelt could be approved by all Conservatives.

What Does It Mean?

What does all this mean? How can it be explained? The influence of the Communist Party and the Daily Worker used to be greater than either the numerical strength of the party or the circulation of their daily. When the party went out, along with the Minority Movement, waging a struggle along the lines of revolutionary socialism, it rallied the masses thruout the entire country. The workers, while not joining the party in large numbers, rallied to the support of all movements sponsored by it, such as the Minority Movement. Unceasing criticism of the British labor leaders and their policies found labor conferences with a strong left support. This support was so strong that Harry Pollitt could attend them and address a caucus of from forty to fifty delegates. The left looked to the C.P. for a lead and, when given such a lead, accepted it.

Then came the change in Comintern policy. The Communist Party turned towards the League of Nations, described by Lenin as the "Black" International. The fight was no longer one between the workers of the world and the capitalists of the world but between democracy and fascism. Then came the conquest of Abyssinia. The Comintern called upon the League of Nations to act. The C.P. followed up with similar appeals. The workers, especially in Italy and Germany, were lost sight of. The class lines disappeared and the Popular Front was born.

What followed needs no further detailing. The results are seen in the British Labor Conference of 1937. The Communist Party, here, like the Communist Party in the United States, has written its own epitaph. Back to revolutionary Marxism must be the slogan of all communists. Stalinism means the death of the hopes and aspirations of the working class. British

labor has cleared the air in its recent conference. The rank and file will rise and make their protest. The forces of war are gathering. The workers of Europe will again know how to deal with war and it will not be by making a Popular Front with the war-mongers. Lenin showed them the way and the only way: "To your capitalist war we reply with civil war." The right wing may go with the capitalist class in Britain. The left will gather its forces, repudiating those who might have been the vanguard of the masses, and, on the ruins of Stalinism, there will arise a revived and solidified revolutionary organization of the British working class.

## ENGLAND, ITALY IN ANTI-SPAIN PACT

(Continued from Page 1)

the exact amount to be decided later, of Italian troops and loyalist volunteers would leave the balance still more in the fascist favor. And, then, this would be only a diplomatic preliminary to recognizing the Franco clique as a belligerent power! Furthermore, during the interminable negotiations in working out the details of the compromise, Franco would have a free hand diplomatically and the whole "volunteer" question would be laid on the shelf. "The best pleased of all," is Mr. Kuhn's conclusion, "should be their (Italy's and Germany's) Insurgently, Generalissimo Francisco Franco, who will have plenty of time during the weeks of the coming discussions to develop his long-planned offensive against republican Spain."

"Berlin pleased by decisions", "French see atmosphere cleared"—reports the New York Times, and about England and Italy surely nothing need be said. "The only discordant note in this chorus of good-will came from Ivan Maisky, the Soviet delegate", declares Mr. Kuhn; but Maisky's "discordant note" was only a low and inarticulate grumble, for the Soviet Union is so entangled in the net of Anglo-French diplomatic intrigue that it is unable to move a finger.

"Today's decisions," concludes a Berlin dispatch in the New York Times of October 21, "as viewed... here, give Italy and Germany pre-

# The Civil War in Spain ROAD TO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(Continued from the last issue)

A trade union page of their official organ would make a seasoned trade unionist's hair stand on end. One finds notices of a meeting of the "employees of bank, bourse and exchange," who of course adopt a resolution against the nationalization of banking; of the "government officials and employees of the Generalidad"; of the "Egg Dealers Section with Egg Cards of the Union of Dealers in Meat, Game and Poultry." (I assure the reader that these are literal translations!) All of Barcelona's petty, and not so petty, food speculators crowd into the U.G.T. the better to defend their vile profiteering in the necessities of life while Spain is burning. A typical entry from this source in the trade union columns of the Communist Press reads:

"The Federation of Delicatessens, Foods and Allied Branches (U.G.T.), composed of Retail Food Dealers of this City, . . . makes known its enthusiastic adherence to any campaign for the cheapening of food stuffs. . . . It is ready to prove by producing the bills (familiar tradesman's language!) that the price rise is not made in the food establishments but its origins must be sought in the centers of production and wholesale middlemen." This is their answer to a demonstration against war profiteering in the necessities of life, and it makes it clear why such situations can exist, as described by Louis Fischer, that the militiamen can shiver in winter in the trenches of the snow-capped Guadarrama range while the stores are full of warm woolen things. The employees of these same food speculators, organized in the Food Workers Union of the C.N.T., answered them with a publication of price lists as proofs that their unionized employers were in fact guilty of speculation.

But most amazing of all the affiliates of the U.G.T. of Catalonia is the celebrated G.E.P.C.I., the Federation of Owners of Small Commerce and Industry, with many separate employers "unions" affiliated to it! It is the most brilliant invention of the Communist Party in its guerrilla war against workers of Catalonia organized in the C.N.T. and against the P.O.U.M. and against all measures of socialization and revolution. It is in the "Peasants Union," the P.S.U.C., the Catalonian U.G.T., and

C.P. of Spain that the real reserves of the much-heralded "fifth column" can be found.

Now, the reader can begin to understand why there is a joke current in Spain that "if a man is too conservative to join the Republicans he joins the communists." H. H. Brailsford, who endorses the line of the Communist Party in Spain and opposes that of the P.O.U.M., wrote of the May days of 1937:

"This was, like the Spartacist tragedy in Berlin, a struggle between reformism and the will to make a proletarian revolution. P.O.U.M. . . . represented the older and now heretical communist position."

Of the Communist Party he wrote that it "now constitutes the moderate center party in republican Spain." And, of its new composition, he offered the explanation and boast of one of its Catalonian leaders:

"Much of the new membership," said the leader in question, "has come from the ranks of the Equerra (left middle-class Republicans). The small middle class realizes that of the two parties ours is the stouter defender of small property."

And so, he might have added, does the biggest bourgeoisie as well. From degeneration in analysis and tactics (ultra-leftist period) to degeneration in theory and principle (People's Front period) to degeneration in historic role (counter-revolutionary driving force in Republican Spain) to degeneration in the composition of its membership—for in the long run a party attracts the support of those it serves—such has been the road of degeneration of the Communist Party of Spain. Today, nothing remains of its communism but the name and, upon that, it daily brings disgrace that makes all true communists blush for shame. And, in pronouncing its traitor's epitaph, we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that we are also pronouncing the epitaph of the Communist International whose leadership dictated this policy. It can no more survive the murder of Andres Nin and the attack on the Spanish revolution than the Second International did the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg and the struggle against proletarian revolution in Germany and Russia. In its ranks are still many thousands of good proletarian revolutionaries but, as a revolutionary international, it is committing suicide in Spain.

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are all on his side in view of powerful allies on whose support he can rely", while the anti-fascist cause in Spain has virtually no allies upon whom it can rely—the so-called "democratic powers" being its mortal foes, the Soviet Union impotent because of its false foreign policy and the international labor movement bound hand and foot by the criminal tactics of the official leaders of the socialist and communist movements.

#### AMERICA AND THE FAR EAST CRISIS

(Continued from Page 3)

considers it its duty to act as the watchdog of American imperialism, to point out to the latter where its economic interests are: "It is good business for the U. S. to keep China's vast but undeveloped resources out of Japanese control, despite the shortsighted attitude, from the viewpoint of their own self-interest, of some big business men in this country. Secondly, China remains the greatest potential market and source of capital investment in the world. Its industrialization can be said to have barely begun. The chief obstacle to its industrialization has been lack of national stab-

ility. Our present stake in China is but a tiny fraction of our potential stake in a unified and revived China. Political friendship would be a first rate business asset. . . . The restoration of peace in the Far East is demanded by our interests as a people and a nation." (T. Draper in the New Masses, Sept. 14, 1937.)

Can betrayal sink any deeper than that! This only helps the American bourgeoisie hoodwink the workers into support of its imperialist interests.

#### The Tasks Of The Communists

The drive of American imperialism thru its executive committee, the Roosevelt administration, can be expected to be intensified in the coming period of time. An attempt will undoubtedly be made by the administration in the coming months to harness the American working class thru its trade union organizations to the war chariot of the bourgeoisie. Communists, especially, face a serious task. The emancipation of the Chinese masses is possible only by the defeat of all imperialism in China, American and British as well as Japanese. The clever class demagogy of Roosevelt must, therefore, be exposed. The American workers must be won for struggle against the war aims of our bourgeoisie. This implies at the very outset, as a corollary, the unmasking of the enemies within the ranks of the workers, i.e., the Communist Party. In both these necessary tasks must the Independent Communist Labor League be prepared to play a leading role!

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