

**We
Fight
War!**

an editorial

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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DURING the Memorial Day week-end, there will take place in Washington a great national congress against war, composed of hundreds of representatives of workers, farmers and middle-class groups from every part of the country, all dedicated to the common task of keeping America out of war. We of the Independent Communist Labor League have done everything in our power to help initiate this movement and develop it to the point of so great a nation-wide gathering of anti-war forces. In this movement we see the possibilities of rallying decisive masses of the American people against the war policy and war preparations of the Administration and thus building up a powerful resistance to the forces that are driving this country into another war. We heartily greet the Washington Congress in the hope and confidence that these possibilities will be fully realized.

Of greatest and decisive importance is the fact that the programmatic basis of the movement is substantially sound, that it is really a movement against war and not a camouflaged pro-war outfit along the lines of the Stalinist League for Peace and Democracy. The program of the Keep America Out of War Committee, which is calling the congress at Washington, is guarantee enough for that. It opposes the "collective-security" swindle and all similar diplomatic maneuvers preparing the way for war. It takes its stand against the Roosevelt super-navy program as well as against the various labor-enslavement bills parading as "industrial-mobilization" or "war-profits" measures. It calls for the immediate removal of American military and naval forces from the Far East and it demands the elementary democratic right of the people to vote on a declaration of war. It advocates a broad federal program of housing construction and other social-welfare projects instead of sinking billions into new armaments. It urges "increasing solidarity with the people of all nations in the world-wide struggle to abolish economic injustice and colonial oppression, and to remove the causes of dictatorial militarism." On a basis so firm and sound an effective mass movement for peace may really be built.

If the full possibilities represented by the Washington Congress are to be reaped, it will be necessary to understand quite clearly what the sources of strength of an anti-war movement really are. In present-day society, no progressive cause can hope to develop any significant social force behind it unless it is rooted in the working class and its organizations, above all in the trade unions. If this is true of progressive movements in general, how much more true is it of an anti-war movement which challenges the existing order at its very foundations? For an effective struggle against war, we must have a genuine people's movement, a movement broad enough to embrace every section of the population sincerely opposed to war, workers, farmers and the middle classes, but we must have a movement whose core is the basic organizations of the most progressive, the most powerful class in modern society, the working class. At the Washington Congress there will undoubtedly be scores of trade unions represented in one form or another, including some important international unions. There will also be an imposing

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Nazis Menace Czech Border

**Prague Ready For Sharp
Resistance As Hitler
Moves To Invasion**

International relations in Europe were extremely tense last week as signs accumulated indicating that Hitler was preparing a sudden blow against Czechoslovakia with the purpose of annexing the German-speaking regions of that country and subjecting the rest to German hegemony. Mobilization of German troops was reported and the German press was full of savage attacks upon the Prague government and accusations that it "had lost control" of the situation—developments very similar to those that preceded the invasion of Austria a few months ago. In Czechoslovakia, a great deal of turmoil was being created by Nazi-provoked disturbances in the Sudeten region on the occasion of the municipal elections there.

In this crisis, the Czech government called up army reserves and put 400,000 troops near the German border. It is expected that any hostile action on the part of Germany will meet with stiff resistance.

Meanwhile, Great Britain was busy remonstrating with Hitler, both thru the press and thru diplomatic representations, not to take any war-like action, as dangerous as it would be unnecessary. "Weeks ago," according to Robert P. Frost in the New York Times of May 21, "the British wrote off the independence of Czechoslovakia and turned all their efforts to preventing any use of force . . . while leaving the way open toward the attainment of German objectives by other means. . ."

On its part, France kept exerting the utmost pressure on Czechoslovakia to prevail upon it to make the maximum concessions to Germany—also "in the interests of peace."

Union Men Exonerated

After a trial lasting five days in the Court of Special Sessions, five defendants who were framed-up in a knitgoods strike situation in October 1936, were acquitted last week. Those acquitted are the manager of the Knitgoods Union, Louis Nelson; a business agent, Jack Zinberg; a former organizer, Joe Rapaport; Isidore Tuman and David Rosen.

The charges grew out of an indictment by a Grand Jury of New York County in a prolonged strike of the Louis Hornick Company, a curtain mill.

For five days the Court of Special Session listened to testimony from the employer and some of those who had testified before the Grand Jury. For the defense appeared such witnesses as the president of the I.L.G.W.U., David Dubinsky; Nathaniel Minkoff, New York state assemblyman of the A. L. P., as well as defendants in the case.

American CP Writes Its Own Epitaph

Earl Browder's New Constitution

By WILL HERBERG

AT ITS coming national convention, the American Communist Party is scheduled to adopt certain important amendments to its constitution. Quite obviously, they are not mere routine changes; they go down deep to fundamentals, to the political and moral foundations of the movement. It is worth while to examine these constitutional amendments carefully and objectively, for such a study will indicate how far Stalinist "communism" has already progressed along the road to degeneration.

Stalinism—Bulwark Of Capitalism

"The Communist Party of the U. S. A.," reads one of the proposed amendments, "upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy. . . ." From this mass of crude, barbarous legalisms, one point emerges as clear as daylight: the Communist Party pledges its unyielding loyalty to "any or all institutions of American democracy" and eagerly undertakes to defend these institutions against all "subversive" elements.

What are these "institutions of American democracy" which the Communist Party undertakes so sweepingly to defend? They are the institutions of capitalist democracy, the political institutions of a social order that, under New Deal and Old Deal alike, means economic exploitation, political deception and ever-present danger of war for the great masses of the people. They are the institutions of a system that for twelve million Negroes means discrimination, repression, lynch-law. It is the system of democracy described in the Program of the Communist International, adopted in 1928 and presumably still binding on the C. P., in the following terms:

"Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat is

concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, which in practise are systematically curtailed, into a juridical fiction and, consequently into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses" (emphasis mine.—W. H.).

A communist party that takes upon itself the defense of the "institutions of American democracy" is surely nothing but a gross caricature of the kind of communism that Marx and Lenin stood for. Such a party is, or at least aspires to be, a bulwark of capitalism—which means, in periods of crisis, an instrument of bloody reaction.

Stalinist Anti-Red Ban

"Party members found to be strike-breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of party procedure. . . shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled and exposed before the general public" (emphasis mine.—W. H.). Thus runs another proposed amendment to the party constitution.

How far must the moral decay of the Stalinist leadership already have gone if it finds it possible to class "advocates of terrorism and violence", mistaken tho their views may be thought to be, with "strike-breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards and provocateurs"! Is there really no limit to the degradation of this clique in its frantic effort to achieve a measure of shoddy "democratic" respectability?

The full significance of this constitutional ban on the advocacy of "terrorism and violence" emerges clearly if we look back a little in

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Court Backs NLRB Order

**Strikers Retain Rights
Under The Wagner Act,
High Court Finds**

The Supreme Court last week held in the important Mackay Radio test case that an employer may not discriminate against union leaders and organizers in offering reemployment to workers after a strike. Striking employees, the court ruled, retain all their rights under the Wagner Act.

The court's opinion written by Justice Roberts also declared that the failure of the N.L.R.B. to issue a preliminary report after holding hearings and before promulgating its final order "is not one (an error) calling for a reversal of the order." Justice Robert's statement is generally regarded to be of wide significance as the N.L.R.B., acting in accordance with the general impression of the Supreme Court decision in the recent Kansas stockyards case, is now engaged in an effort to withdraw several prominent cases from the courts in order to issue preliminary reports.

The decision, which was unanimous, reversed the findings of the Ninth Circuit Court, which held in effect that once workers go out on strike they lose the protection of the Wagner Act. Five Grade A operators had been barred by the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Co. solely because of their strike activity. Under the Supreme Court decision, these men are to be reinstated with back pay.

In another decision handed down the same day, the court also upheld the right of picketing by vacating a Circuit Court decree enjoining the I.L.G.W.U. from picketing the Kansas City plant of the Donnelly Garment Company.

Last week's decisions of the Supreme Court are bound to prove of tremendous importance in strengthening the Wagner Act and increasing the effectiveness of the board administering it.

Amalgamated Firm for CIO But Urges New Unity Talks

At the closing session of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention at Atlantic City last week, President Sidney Hillman called upon the delegates to unite in making the industrial-union movement represented by the C.I.O. as strong as possible for the sake

of labor as a whole. The stronger the C.I.O. becomes, Hillman explained, the sooner will it be possible to bring about the unification of the organized workers, now divided between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. "Your mandate, as I understand it," he declared, "is to place the full power of our union behind the C.I.O. . . . Our policy is to lend all our aid to bring about, if possible, a unified labor movement in the United States."

Some days previously the convention had adopted a resolution on unity stating: "The needs of the labor movement demand unity. However, unity to be of real service to the labor movement, must be based on the perpetuation of the gains which the C.I.O. has so brilliantly secured." The resolution also urges the continuation of efforts on the part of the C.I.O. to achieve unity in labor's ranks. At the convention, a strong unity sentiment was apparent among the delegates.

"FIGHTING" THE UTILITIES

(From the New York Times, May 11, 1938.)

**UTILITIES MAKE BID
FOR PEACE WITH SEC**

14 Leading Holding Concerns
Name Committee of Five to
Confer With Douglas

WOULD EXPEDITE PROGRAM

**PRESIDENT SURVEYS
UTILITIES FOR WAR**

He Orders Study of Adequacy
of Electric Power for Needs
of National Defense

QUESTION IRRITATES HIM

**TVA OFFERS TRUCE
TO AVOID RIVALRY
WITH UTILITIES**

Maps Territorial Division in
Deal for Half of Assets of
Commonwealth System

Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

Mr. Farley's Parlay

PENNSYLVANIA has proved itself no exception to the rules of politics, and the Kennedy ticket finds itself spiked by the official organization of the Democratic party and at the dead-end of "primary progressivism." The meaning of this defeat for Labor's Non-Partisan League strategy involves, however, the whole question of the national crisis in the Democratic party and the realignment of political groupings consequent upon the increasing severity and extension of the economic crisis. Certainly, the now celebrated maneuver of Boss Farley makes clear the amount of floor-pacing that the leaders of the Roosevelt wing of the party have been doing.

What was Gentleman Jim's strategy? It is fairly well known that, during the long-drawn out fight between the labor forces and the state committee in Pennsylvania, the White House was behind the Earle-Jones combination, completely opposed to allowing the C.I.O. any measure of dominance in the councils of the party, especially in such a form of potentially dangerous independence. It is bad enough that labor had organized into a separate and distinct political organization to rally behind the New Deal; that it should now threaten to strengthen its base by controlling such an important political center as Pennsylvania gave the Administration the jitters. The Democratic party is splitting. The South, the main base of the opposition to Roosevelt in his party, is expected to defect and take with it other conservative sections. A newly organized New Deal party, thore more conservative than in 1933, would have to depend for its main strength on the newly aroused political forces of labor—so Farley could not permit that the New Deal, harried on the right by the Garner group, should now let labor slip the leash and begin snapping, effectively, at its formerly beloved master.

Thus, the first factor determining Farley's intervention was the desire to preserve the unity of the northern industrial bases of the New Deal. Of course, this also included the fear of a G.O.P. triumph in Pennsylvania, if the forces of the Democratic party were split. Secondly, it would seem that the C.I.O. put terrific pressure on the Administration and got this "support" in return for some dubious political pledges not calculated to advance the cause of labor's political independence.

But the question is: Did Farley really believe that Kennedy would win under the conditions as they were and that his endorsement would save the day? The Postmaster-General doesn't earn his keep thru false political prognostication, and we suspect that he knew the Pennsylvania machine would fight the C.I.O. tooth and nail in these primaries. Farley, however, had something entirely different in mind. The problem of Pennsylvania doesn't end with the primaries—what will labor do now? That question agitates Jim Farley as much as it does us.

Now Farley can go to the C.I.O. and say: "Will you split the Democratic ticket in November? Will you return the economic royalists to power? Will you forget that I did my best to help you and yours?" If the C.I.O. accepts the premises and conclusions of capitalist patronage-politics, it must admit that a return of "unity" for "unity" is a very fair deal. The charges of corruption, of connections with the vested interests, that Tom Kennedy hurled, and rightfully, at the Jones-Earle slate, will have to be forgotten if Jim Farley is to have his "favor" returned—and Farley probably counted on that very thing! Each in his own way, the Roosevelt-Farley machine and the Earle-McCloskey machine are moving heaven and earth to

frustrate labor's strivings towards political independence. Labor has got to understand that Farley counted on this before, and that it will not be a happy afterthought; it is a well planned scheme to keep labor hitched to the very state machine that has attempted to deal it such severe blows, to smash its organization and to silence its political spokesmen.

Labor has got to act accordingly!

(See the editorial on page 4.—Editor.)

Fighting the War Plans

(Continued from Page 1)

number of prominent labor leaders from both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Perhaps even better could have been done in this respect had there been a fuller appreciation of the significance of the task. But that is not the problem. It is not merely a matter of having a large and influential labor representation. The point is to have this labor representation set the tone for the movement and provide the basis for its organizational expansion and development. This will be the crucial problem for the congress. If this problem is solved with any measure of success, there need be no question of the future of the movement!

We are revolutionary Marxists, international socialists. In many important respects our views on the question of war and our program of fighting the war danger go far beyond, or at least differ very materially from, the views and programs of some of the other elements that go to make up the Keep America Out of War movement. It is our conviction that, since war is the outgrowth of the international antagonisms created by capitalist imperialism, the danger of war can be most effectively met by relentless class struggle against capitalism as a system. We also believe that this class struggle does not stop with the outbreak of war but rather continues in a new and more intense form, on a new and higher plane: it is transformed into a revolutionary struggle to the bitter end against the war-making regime. We take our stand today unreservedly on the policy enunciated thirty years ago by the great international socialist congress at Stuttgart in 1907:

"If war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working classes . . . to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective. . . . In case war should break out anyway, it is their duty to intervene in favor of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

"To hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule. . . . In the long run, that is the only way of eliminating the danger of war once and for all, for only socialism can bring peace!"

Such are our views as revolutionary internationalists. We know these are not the views of the

U.A.W. Makes Important Decisions

By GEORGE F. MILES
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

Detroit, Mich. THE protracted sessions of the United Automobile Workers International Executive Board have entered upon their third week with decisions on such primary issues as the organization of the air-craft workers and other campaigns still undecided. The past week was taken up mainly with problems of inner adjustment to the exigencies of a restricted income brought about by widespread unemployment in the industry, extension of work of organizing an unemployed auxiliary of the U.A.W., plans for tackling competitive plants which are undermining conditions in plants having union contracts, and the reallocation of tasks for the various officers of the organization.

In the matter of allocating work, the Board, according to some observers, has taken steps to test the so-called "peace-and-harmony" spirit which every "unity"-caucus leader from Wyndham Mortimer down appears to be exuding at every pore. Most of the opposition leaders have been assigned responsible tasks, probably in the belief that the family jewels are never safer than when you've set a thief to watch them. On this, there appears to be considerable skepticism in union circles. Only in the case of Walter Reuther, leader of the socialist wing of the "unity" caucus, does there appear to be the opinion that the confidence of the Board will not be misplaced. It seems that he has shown a willingness and a determination to forget old faction grievances in the interests of the needs of the union. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said about others, for, despite the fact that union spokesmen have been unusually close-mouthed, it is being rumored that several clashes have occurred with the outstanding Stalinists on the Board.

U.A.W. On Labor Unity Another matter which came up but which created hardly a ripple in the ranks of the membership was the expulsion of the U.A.W. from the A. F. of L. Dealing with this matter, President Homer Martin wrote to Wm. Green in the name of his Board and characterized the A. F. of L.'s attitude as that of the "dog in the manger." "It seems quite clear to us," said Mr. Martin, "that, had you been as zealous in organizing the unorganized workers in the mass-production industries as you have been in maintaining the stranglehold of your blind and autocratic bureaucracy upon the labor movement, there would have been no rift in the ranks of labor." Despite the expulsion of U.A.W. President Martin clearly sees the

Washington Congress and the movement it represents. Our whole-hearted participation in this movement is based upon our thorough agreement with the minimum program that it has advanced and upon our deep confidence in the future of the movement, driven forward as it must be by the relentless logic of events.

Greetings to the National Anti-War Congress at Washington!

Theatre Benefit
George Bernard Shaw's
"HEARTBREAK HOUSE"
Mercury Theatre
Monday Eve. June 6, 1938
for
Austrian Workers Solidarity Fund
131 W. 33 St., Room 707
New York City

need for unity in the labor movement on a sound basis. "The U.A.W. has always stood for a unified labor movement," he says in his report. "We believe that unity and solidarity are axioms for any labor organization. However, there can be no unity in the abstract. Unity must be on a basis that will enable the labor movement to move forward and grow. For the U.A.W., this means on the basis of the principles of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries." And, in another section of the same report, Mr. Martin adds: "There is no union in the country which is a better testimonial of the effectiveness of the organizational principles of the C.I.O. than our own union."

Union And Political Group One section of Mr. Martin's report which has received altogether too little notice in the general and labor press is that on the internal situation in the union, in which President Martin formulates his opinion on the relation of the union to political groups and philosophies. This section is of special significance since the Stalinist press and its stooges has gone out of the way to brand Mr. Martin a "Red-baiter."

"Our organization," says the President, "is based upon trade-union principles and receives into membership all workers, regardless of race, creed or political affiliation, who work in the automobile, air-craft or farm implement industries. The union cannot make adherence to any creed or political philosophy a condition of membership. It does not seek to divide workers into groups on the basis of political opinions. Every member of the union, when he takes his oath of membership, pledges himself to work in the interests of our union and to abide by the policies and laws of the union. The union has no preference for any political belief. There is no favored group within the union, nor is there any political group to which the union is opposed as such."

MAY-DAY MEETING AT WILKES-BARRE

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

A very successful May Day meeting was held in the C.I.O. hall in Wilkes-Barre on Sunday afternoon, May 1. The audience, which was spirited and enthusiastic, consisted mainly of members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the T.W.O.C. and the Pennsylvania Social Security League, an unemployed organization. Patrick Brennan, chairman of the county committee of the League, presided.

Particular interest was shown when J. Zimmerman, of the C.I.O. staff, called attention to the plans for war mobilization which are already before Congress and linked these up with the social and economic forces making for war.

"There must be freedom of discussion and opinion in our ranks. This is as it should be. However, democracy is not confined merely to freedom of discussion. Democracy also means that, out of this discussion and exchange of opinion, a cause, a program and a policy are agreed upon, which all untiedly support. This is the real meaning of unity. This is the only way for democracy to function and the only basis upon which an enduring organization can be built."

This eminently proper and progressive stand was approved by the International Executive Board and a cover document bears the signature of every member of the Board. It is possible that there were some on the progressive side who signed

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The Railroads Ask for a Handout

By LYMAN FRASER

THE managements of American railroads, the most powerful of them under control or influence of the House of Morgan, are playing a desperate game to secure a handout from the government.

It is a cunning and crooked game. Already \$150,000,000 of relief money has been paid to railroads that went bankrupt in spite of that help. Now they want more government money. And all in order to protect their capitalization and the interests of their security owners.

Game Of The Railroad Magnates The game has revealed itself clearly in recent months. First, the railroads made a demand for a 15% wage-cut, which was rejected by the railroad unions. Then the managements, backed by the unions, made a demand for huge government subsidies to "help out" the railroads. When sentiment for a handout began to dwindle in Washington, the managements renewed their demand for a wage-cut.

If the railroad managements cannot break thru in one direction, they hope to break thru in another. The most predatory of the managements want both the government subsidy and a wage-cut!

Undoubtedly, the railroads are in a bad financial condition. But the managements make no true analysis because they deliberately avoid the problem of capitalization, which is the devil of the piece in the background because they are trying to save him.

What is the argument of the managements? They point to "high" wages, which is false, and they point to the importance of the railroads and their diminishing revenues, which is true. But they fail to point out that, while revenues, employment and wages have all been decreasing, capitalization has been increasing. (See table.)

One of the most decisive facts is that railroad capitalization increased steadily during the 1920's, rising from \$16,993 million in 1920 to \$18,679 million in 1929. Fixed charges also rose steadily. That is, the claims of capital upon operating revenues kept on piling up.

Rise Of Capital Claims Yet, all thru the 1920's, railroad operating revenues were practically stationary. The railroad system had been built up and competition from motor trucks, the automobile, busses and airplanes cut into railroad business. Yet, in spite of that shrinkage, the capital claims steadily mounted.

At the same time railroad employment declined steadily and, of course, wage and salary payments also went down. Operating and labor efficiency was being multiplied.

The speculative mania of the 1920's disguised the fact of contracting railroad business. Railroad holding companies rigged the market and poured a golden stream of speculative profit into the laps of big financiers and speculators. The depression brought the unsound structure tottering to the ground.

But observe these significant facts: While operating revenues, employment and wage and salary compensation in 1929 were roughly down by one-half compared with 1929, capitalization declined hardly at all.

What must be faced in the railroad situation is this: operating business cannot support the huge capitalization, much of which is heavily inflated. Where business shrinks, capitalization should shrink correspondingly.

Year	RAILROAD CAPITALIZATION, OPERATING REVENUES, EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE-AND-SALARY COMPENSATION, 1920-35	
	Total Capitalization	Operating Revenues
1920	\$16,993,000,000	\$6,178,000,000
1923	17,810,000,000	6,289,000,000
1926	18,234,000,000	6,382,000,000
1929	18,679,000,000	6,279,000,000
1935	18,342,000,000	3,451,000,000

(Sources: Compiled from statistics issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission.)

Railroads Turn to Government

Hence we get this condition: Railroad managements are trying to suspend the "normal" workings of capitalist economy by artificially supporting an increasing

capitalization on the basis of declining business (a declining business that, moreover, is not a product of the depression but was developing even in prosperity days). There is no prospect of railroad business increasing sufficiently in the years ahead to supplant government for managements turns to government for a handout.

The point of declining business must be emphasized. Not only is our railroad plant fully built but during the past eight years about 6,500 miles of railroad tracks have been discontinued—railroad mileage today is not much higher than fifteen years ago. There are no prospects of railroad expansion.

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Browder Revises C.P. Constitution

(Continued from Page 1)

the history of the socialist movement of this country. For even in his lickspittle servility to conventional "law-and-order" respectability, Browder is not original. Over a quarter of a century ago, in 1912, the Socialist Party convention at Indianapolis, under right-wing control, also decided to ban advocacy of "terrorism and violence" by constitutional amendment. Article II, Section 6, was inserted as an addition to the party constitution, reading as follows:

"Any member of the party who . . . advocates crime, sabotage or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation shall be expelled from membership in the party."

The adoption of this clause, far less insulting in its tone than the proposed amendment to the C. P. constitution, aroused a storm of revolt in the Socialist Party. Bill Haywood was very soon "recalled" from the National Executive Committee because of it; in the language of the new Stalinist amendment, he was "dismissed from positions of responsibility." Thousands of the best and most militant socialists left the party in protest. Article II, Section 6, soon became a byword and a curse in revolutionary circles and has remained such in tradition until this very day! Here is how Anthony Gimba, the official Stalinist historian of the American labor movement, estimates the significance of the enactment of this "anti-sabotage" clause.2

"Another important step was taken by the Socialist Party in this period, which placed it on a purely opportunistic path and eliminated from its basis the principle of the class struggle, namely it rejected

1. A repetition on a much smaller scale of the 1912 "anti-sabotage" crusade was the heresy-hunt launched against the Revolutionary Policy Committee movement in the Socialist Party in 1934. Against the R.P.C., an anti-revolutionary test-oath was contrived bearing a curious resemblance to the formula now to be embodied in the C.P. constitution.

2. Anthony Gimba: History of the American Working Class, third (1936) edition, page 238.

use of force" (emphasis in original.—W. H.).

Year	RAILROAD CAPITALIZATION, OPERATING REVENUES, EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE-AND-SALARY COMPENSATION, 1920-35	
	Total Employment	Wage-and-Salary Compensation
1920	2,022,000	\$3,681,000,000
1923	1,857,000	3,004,000,000
1926	1,779,000	2,946,000,000
1929	1,560,000	2,896,000,000
1935	994,000	1,643,000,000

(Sources: Compiled from statistics issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission.)

capitalization on the basis of declining business (a declining business that, moreover, is not a product of the depression but was developing even in prosperity days). There is no prospect of railroad business increasing sufficiently in the years ahead to supplant government for managements turns to government for a handout.

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Among The Errors

Foremost among the errors of the last two decades, we can list: 1. In the popular mind, the confusion of the revolution with the Communist Party, aided and abetted by the party leaders. Due to the tremendous degree of illiteracy and the weakness of workers economic organization (cooperatives, trade unions), the Russian proletarians failed to see that they themselves were the revolution.

2. Creation of a political secret police (G.P.U.) responsible to the party, inevitably intended for the extermination of all workers opposition to the party line. In his agitational speeches and writings,

elements unworthy of membership in a party styling itself proletarian and communist. In this country, where alien-baiting has always been the favorite device of reaction, and where liberalism has always preached equality for the foreign-born, the new attitude of the Stalinites to non-citizens is especially dangerous and contemptible.

And what shall we say of the ban that Mr. Browder proposes to place upon members of his party forbidding them to have any "personal or political relations" with "Lovestoneites or Trotskyites"? Is it not a rather significant indication of his own acute consciousness of the weakness of his party's political position? On the whole, we can hardly blame him. To allow the members of his party to come into free "personal or political contact" with the "Lovestoneites" would obviously be very dangerous from his standpoint, for it would expose the rank and file of the Communist Party to the influence of reason, experience and loyalty to principle, and might conceivably shake their confidence in the sacred dogmas of Stalinism. Mr. Browder must be disturbed, indeed, at the state of mind of the members of his party, at the doubts and questions beginning to arise in their minds despite all indoctrination and repression, if he has to resort to such desperate measures as to forbid them, by constitutional enactment, to talk to or consort with political opponents, something no other ecclesiastical organization has ever attempted to do.

We, on our part, have no such fears. We are not only willing to establish contact with members of the Communist Party but we are even determined to do so, despite Mr. Browder's pontifical ban. We feel that, in the Communist Party, even as it is today, there are many hundreds of sincere, devoted communists; with these we will continue in the future, as we have done in the past, to maintain fraternal relations. And Mr. Browder will not

be able to stop us. After all, he cannot keep his members under lock and key twenty-four hours of the day! After all, he hasn't Stalin's G. P. U. at his disposal!

What Does It Mean? What does all this add up to, the serious and the ludicrous, which are, after all, bound together by an internal political logic? In a very real sense, all of this constitutional change upon which the Communist Party is now embarking, startling as it may appear at first sight, presents nothing essentially new. Fundamentally, it is no more than the recognition in constitutional form of the policy and practise of the C. P. as it has been developing in the last three years. It is the formal and official registration, in most authoritative form, of the rapid degeneration of the official Communist Party from a revolutionary organization into a conservative, pro-capitalist party, ready to turn counter-revolutionary if only given half a chance! It is the self-inscribed epitaph upon the grave of what once was the Communist Party of the United States.

But all this cringing and patrioterling will not get Mr. Browder and his friends very far. It will not help them convince the American labor movement that his party belongs to it, as a healthy and constructive part of it. For, however it may try to cover up with new constitutional provisions, the Communist Party remains no more than a tool of the reactionary Stalin bureaucracy in Soviet Russia, and its leadership remains no more than a mere puppet leadership picked by Stalin, controlled by him in its every move, and responsible to him and to him alone. As such, it is utterly repugnant to every aim and aspiration of American labor. It is an element essentially extraneous to and unassimilable by the labor movement and a serious obstacle to the realization of socialism in this country.

The Roots of the Stalinist Regime

By CLIFF BENNETT
(The article below is published as discussion material.—Editor.)

AS MATERIALISTS, we cannot accept the theory of the "immaculate conception." We hold it to be self-evident that, where there is a son, there must also be a father and mother. And therefore, we reason, the present regime in Russia has its roots in history—even during the time of Lenin.

We have correctly stated that we find nothing inherently wrong in the Russian Revolution—adding that we do not consider the Stalinist reign of terror to be the logical and inevitable result of the October victory. There are, however, a series of errors, in part due to specific Russian conditions, which have forged an iron chain of bureaucracy, link by link, about the neck of the Russian proletariat.

Among The Errors

Foremost among the errors of the last two decades, we can list: 1. In the popular mind, the confusion of the revolution with the Communist Party, aided and abetted by the party leaders. Due to the tremendous degree of illiteracy and the weakness of workers economic organization (cooperatives, trade unions), the Russian proletarians failed to see that they themselves were the revolution.

2. Creation of a political secret police (G.P.U.) responsible to the party, inevitably intended for the extermination of all workers opposition to the party line. In his agitational speeches and writings,

elements unworthy of membership in a party styling itself proletarian and communist. In this country, where alien-baiting has always been the favorite device of reaction, and where liberalism has always preached equality for the foreign-born, the new attitude of the Stalinites to non-citizens is especially dangerous and contemptible.

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3. Tendency toward extreme centralization, culminating in personal dictatorship. Unfortunately, here Lenin himself stands accused: "Socialist democracy is not inconsistent with personal rule and dictatorship, for the will of the class is at times best brought into realization by a dictator, who alone will accomplish more, and who is frequently more needed" (Lenin, Vol. 17, p. 89.) Also, the quotation has been put into practise, and a survey of the results gives one acute indigestion.

This conception of centralization and personal dictatorship is absolutely incompatible with the proposal of Marx—"free, federated communes"—as exemplified by the organizational form of the workers power in the Paris Commune.

4. Decisions of the 10th party congress, C.P.S.U., stressing the importance of concentrating power in the hands of the party instead of consolidating and extending the power of the trade-union organizations and cooperatives.

Political And Economic Equality 5. Complete negation of the Marxist ideal of economic equality resulting in an entrenched and well-paid bureaucracy supported by the "bribed" workers (Stakhanovists). It is interesting to note that Trotsky, in the English edition of "Dictatorship and Democracy," published in the early 1920's, propounds the principles of Stakhanovism.

The wage differential in Soviet (Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

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PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARIES

THE results of the Pennsylvania primaries are receiving wide national attention, and it is proper they should for they are of real national significance. For labor especially, they hold out some big lessons that should be learned without too much delay.

Tom Kennedy made a very strong showing in the primaries, piling up 41% of the vote as against Jones's 46% and Margiotti's 13%. Yet he lost. He lost because of the powerful anti-labor mobilization that the conservative Democrats succeeded in effecting against him. He lost because of the dastardly conduct of the A. F. of L. craft-union chieftains who, rather than support a C.I.O. man, did their best to divert labor votes to a person like Charles A. Jones, a reactionary banker, a Pittsburgh Coolidge. He lost because he was burdened with such dubious allies as Mayor Wilson. He lost because, under cover, the influence of the national Democratic machine was used against him, Jim Farley's last-minute diplomatic maneuver to the contrary notwithstanding. He lost because, in the three-cornered race, the cards were stacked against him.

But whether victorious or defeated in the primaries, Tom Kennedy, as a labor leader, would be the loser anyway. And here precisely lies the folly and futility of labor trying to achieve political power thru playing the old-party primaries. Should you win, you become the standard-bearer of one of the old-line employing-class parties and thereby aid in maintaining a little longer the outworn, obsolete two-party system, which it must be the constant aim of independent labor politics to supplant by a more realistic alignment. Should you lose, you become, if you agree to abide by the rules of the game of conventional old-party politics, the hostage of your late opponent, whom only yesterday you denounced, and quite properly, as a "tool of the interests" and the enemy of labor. In other words, you're on the spot!

And that's just the problem facing the labor forces in Pennsylvania. What now that Kennedy has been defeated in the primaries? It would certainly be a disastrous mistake to go along with the state Democratic machine and come out in support of its gubernatorial candidate. On what grounds could such a step be justified? In what way is a reactionary nonentity of the type of Jones preferable to the Republican candidate? With what face can anyone ask the workers of Pennsylvania to vote for him after all that Kennedy said about him during the primary campaign? To call for the support of Jones at this point would only multiply confusion and demoralization in labor's ranks.

Far better would it be for the Kennedy forces in Pennsylvania to recognize now, even the belatedly, that the whole strategy of staking everything on the old-party primaries is a mistake, not only from the point of view of the long-range interests of labor's political independence but even from that of giving most effective support to those aspects of the New Deal that are still worthy of support. The brief history of the A.L.P. in New York should be instructive. Once the progressive trade-union leaders here decided to go into labor politics, they did not waste any time playing the futile game of old-party primaries. They organized their own party and put up their own ticket, even though they placed some leading New Dealers on it. And experience has shown that an independent labor ticket, even with a Roosevelt or Lehman heading it, is far more fruitful from the point of view of effective labor politics than running a bona-fide trade unionist in an old-party primary. This is something that Labor's Non-Partisan League would do well to consider very carefully in its future activities.

The Kennedy forces in Pennsylvania are in a tight spot but the situation is not hopeless. Some weeks ago, in discussing the matter, we pointed out that, since labor was already involved in the primary fight, the main task was the "building up of a primary machine for Kennedy that can be transformed into a state-wide electoral machine for a labor ticket." Well, now is the time for carrying thru this transformation. The only way out in Pennsylvania is an independent labor ticket!

THE RESULTS OF THE I.L.P. CONFERENCE

By WALTER SAWYER (Our English Correspondent)

THE main question which British Marxists are asking themselves is: "Shall we be ready in time?" We have seen the continental workers go down under fascism, mainly as the result of inadequate leadership. Our crisis is approaching. Owing to the druging effects of British imperialism, we have no tradition of clear Marxist thinking; the working class leaders, if they can be dignified with that title, have, on the contrary, been characterized by a contempt for serious study and a slipshod sentimentality. The question which rarely leaves one's mind is whether we shall be able to benefit from the object lessons of the Continent in time to prevent a similar disaster here and to assist our comrades throughout Europe. It is this question which makes the conferences of the Independent Labor Party of such significance, since it is the only source at present visible from which a real communist party may develop.

The main impression given by the Easter Conference of the I.L.P. this year was one of agreement. On matters of general principle—condemnation of Popular Fronts and imperialist wars—agreement was absolute. The I.L.P.'s problems lie rather in the avoidance of purism and in obtaining a vigorous conduct of daily activities. The only resolution which aroused prolonged controversy was that on our relationship to the Labor Party.

On The Labor Party A year ago, affiliation to the Labor Party was rejected as absurd or immoral by the great majority of the I.L.P. Since then, a great change has taken place inside the party; the importance of a correct approach to Labor Party supporters has been realized and roughly half the I.L.P. believe a campaign for conditional affiliation to be the best tactic. One reason for this is the wooing of the Labor Party by the Popular Frontists: both Liberals and Stalinists have worked for Labor candidates in Parliamentary elections. It is felt that this influence must be counteracted, by showing the desire of the I.L.P. to cooperate with Labor Party work, provided that there is no sacrifice of socialist principles. Against this view, the obvious dangers and difficulties of such an approach are urged.

The National Administrative Council (N.A.C.) was evenly divided on this question and brought before the conference a resolution whereby the I.L.P. was to approach the Labor Party to discuss cooperation but no organizational change could be made without the mandate of a special conference. This resolution was carried by 55 votes to 49. It is clear that the Labor Party will raise the question of affiliation and that the I.L.P. will have to define its attitude at the next conference. One other important point was left unsettled. Some delegates asked what was the alternative to a Popular Front? Ought we to demand a Labor government? Some feared that this would merely discredit the I.L.P. and involve us in the failure of the Labor Party. Unfortunately, no opportunity was given for a discussion of this point.

On the question of the Soviet Union, a detailed analysis was submitted by the London and South England Division. One paragraph of the statement recognized the right of the U.S.S.R. to make pacts with capitalist nations. This point was attacked by Fenner Brockway, on behalf of the N.A.C., on the grounds that pacts inevitably lead to abandonment of the class struggle.

It is significant and encouraging that the I.L.P. members are displaying increasingly thoughtful and responsible attitudes to such questions and that the whole trend of the party is away from sectarianism. The most satisfactory feature of the conference was the increased vitality of the trade union discussions. An amendment on "The Method of the I.L.P." analyzed the way in which the day-to-day struggle is transformed into the struggle for power and emphasized that "trade union work is our most vital responsibility." This was the only amendment carried against the advice of the N.A.C.

At the Industrial Committee meeting, a Glasgow delegate contrasted the weeks of preparation given to Town Council elections and the apathy regarding trade union work. His demand that this position should be reversed was met with great approval—a sign that times are changing.

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Opportunities Ahead This conference definitely proves that the I.L.P. is alive and developing, though much of its work has yet to be done. The possibilities are immense. The instincts of the workers have survived the disillusion of 1931 and the money spent by Liberals and Stalinists in boosting the Popular Front. The meeting of the I.L.P., held in conjunction with the conference, attracted more than 2,000 workers at an extremely inconvenient time—the Easter holiday. That socialism remains the belief of the workers was strikingly shown by their attitude to a few hecklers who supported Popular Frontism; the hecklers were rapidly silenced by their neighbors. If these masses can find the leadership they deserve, the British workers may yet use their key position to advantage!

Railroads Ask More Handouts

(Continued from Page 3) which would stimulate profits. The competition of other mediums, of transportation will increase and not decrease. And contraction of our whole economy, the result of the ending of the era of capitalist expansion, makes it impossible for the railroads to overcome their crisis.

Under those conditions, it is an economic crime of the first order to try to maintain existing railroad capitalization. Even allowing for the fact that railroads are practically beyond the realm of free competition, they would still be forced to reduce capitalization if economic forces alone applied, bankruptcy taking care of that. But the railroad managements and their financial masters are powerful enough to hope for a government handout—to make the public pay.

The railroad unions are ill advised to support the managements in their demands for a government handout. They should point out the true situation and demand that capitalization be cut down to the prospects of business. No cut in wages! No handouts! Let owners assume the burdens of bad business just as they pocket the profits of good business!

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

What Price The Anglo-French Pact? Negrin's New Manifesto

London, May 3, 1938.

IN RECENT times the British and French governments have frequently made it known that questions of "ideology" played no part in their entering into European alliances. In other words, they made it plain that they did not dream of establishing the "united front of the democratic powers" which is so much discussed in certain quarters. Purely imperialistic interests account for the pact concluded between Great Britain and France during Daladier's and Bonnet's visit to London. It has rightly been said that the provisions for joint action made under the new pact far exceed anything that existed before. Whereas, during the World War, they had, under the pressure of events, agreed to establish a unified military command and regulate in common the supply of raw materials, food-stuffs and the purchase of war materials from America, such measures are now planned to be taken in advance, before the war begins.

The Franco-British pact is directed against the other imperialist alliance: Germany-Italy-Japan. Conflicts between antagonistic imperialist groups are settled either by compromise or by armed force. Treaties are concluded and compromises made at the expense of a third party. In the case before us this third party is, primarily, the Soviet Union. Altho the Franco-Soviet pact still exists, it has, in practise, become ineffective.

In the second place, the victim is to be Czechoslovakia, toward which the French government pursues a policy very similar to the one that pursued toward the Soviet Union. Formally, it recognizes all treaty obligations. In practise, however, it supports the British attempt to induce Prague to make concessions to the Nazis so as to prevent any military action on their part. On the surface, it seems as if the Franco-Czech pact was strengthened by British support. In point of fact, however, France is plainly set to disregard her treaty obligations.

In the third place, there is Spain. The French government actually supports the British policy of permitting German and Italian intervention in Spain. For the benefit of Franco and the British and French capitalists, France even agreed to close her borders for a definite period of time. Great Britain and France hope that Franco will win and are trying their best to see that the right to exploit Spain should not be left to Germany and Italy alone but should be guaranteed to both imperialist groups.

Fourth is Ethiopia. The new agreement also enables Great Britain and France to secure a share in the Ethiopian spoils.

The joint action of both powers provided for under the treaty and the aid they are receiving from the United States will considerably speed up war preparations.

L'OEUVRE, organ of the French Radical Socialist party refers to the manifesto recently issued by the Negrin government of Spain in the following way:

"President Negrin and all Spanish republicans declared that they stand for democracy, private property, freedom of opinion, the distribution of the land, the League of Nations and an alliance with the democratic powers."

This manifesto clearly reflects the cringing attitude which the Spanish government assumes toward the British and French capitalists who openly sympathize with Franco.

The Negrin government has also declared that an amnesty will be granted after the civil war is won. This means, of course, an amnesty for the fascists. The terror against the Spanish revolutionists will probably continue unabated and become even worse.

IN compliance with the first Daladier decrees, all direct and indirect taxes will be increased by 8% and the working day lengthened so as to make up for the time lost during the strikes and to enable the workers to fulfill big orders. The law regulating the status of foreign residents in general, and that of political refugees in particular, has, under the new government, become more severe.

The Temps, organ of French heavy industry, is, (Continued on Page 3)

Letters to the Editor

A TRIBUTE

New York City, May 6, 1938.

THE Workers Age cannot compete with the Daily Worker as an "exciting paper"—no labor paper can. For, in making an appeal to sensationalism, the Daily Worker is appealing to the worker as a bourgeois—and as the lowest type of bourgeois at that. It has left red journalism for yellow.

But, as a labor paper, in my humble judgment, the Workers Age has not its superior. I have read it for some time, from newsstands when I have the price, in the library when broke. And, when settled, financially and physically, I shall read it as a subscriber.

Particularly commendable is its treatment of the war question. Here is no imperialistic opportunism but Marxian interpretation. Here I find no playing fast and loose with principle in the vain effort to be all things to all men, but a clear convincing application of Marxian principles to the present situation.

It has avoided both the Scylla of Stalinism and the Charybdis of Trotskyism. The former has "popularized" communism to the point that a Haywire Brown feels, at last, after futile efforts to understand the meaning of the numerous movements he has entered upon, he has found a philosophy he understands. The latter has "specialized" it to a point that it is comprehensible only to the elect. Popularization without sacrifice of principle, specialization without sacrifice of common-sense, it seems to me are the marks that distinguish the Workers Age.

After witnessing the sad diversion of a Student Peace Day into a War Day and of a workers May Day into a Stalinist triumph, it affords me genuine pleasure to pay tribute to a paper standing steadfast for peace and labor, so unscrupulously betrayed on so many occasions.

More power to you! Hopedfully, FRANK D. SLOCUM

STALINISTS IN A.L.P.

New York City

I WISH to call to the attention of your readers some of the activities carried on by the Stalinists in one local branch of the American Labor Party.

Buttons stamped "Boycott Japanese Goods—Quarantine the aggressor" were sold in the club in the name of the A.L.P., altho no official stand has been taken by the A.L.P. on the "quarantine" policy. The buttons were put out by the pro-war League for Peace and Democracy. The literature of this organization is being distributed also, this despite the party's express instructions to remain independent of all outside organizations.

The Stalinist-controlled public affairs committee of the branch reports to the membership only bills backed by the C.P. Tho the A.L.P. sharply condemned the Sheppard-Hill bill, not once was this mentioned either to the executive committee or the membership. As a result, the membership still does not know of the purposes of the bill and its danger to labor.

Constant attempts are made to plug such Stalinist-dominated organizations as the Workers Alliance, League for Peace and Democracy, etc. Recently, it was uncovered that a committee meeting of lawyers was called, by a lawyer not even a member of the club and without authority of the club.

Open-air meetings suddenly spring up out of nowhere. The executive committee of the branch is not aware of them and does not sanction them. Strangely enough, only Stalinist members of the club know of the meetings and speak at them. Speakers representing the League for Peace and Democracy also appear. This is directly contrary to the by-laws which state that speakers representing outside organizations can speak only with the approval of the county committee.

L. D.

APPRECIATION

Montreal, Canada, April 30, 1938.

The World Today

(Continued from Page 4)

of course, for the decrees, the promulgation of which marks the first step toward the realization of a thoroughly reactionary policy. It only complains that the new measures are not strong enough.

Humanite, the Stalinist paper, declares that the new government decrees will create widespread discontent as they put a heavy burden on workers and middle-class people but permit the rich to go almost free. It must be remembered, however, that the socialists and communists helped the Daladier government into power. The bourgeois press of France expresses great satisfaction over the fact that this year's May Day passed very quietly. The workers showed a depressed mood and their slogans revealed all too clearly that they are on the defensive.

"CAN SPAIN BE SAVED?"

Hear

Philip Robbins

Present the position of the Independent Communist Labor League on the critical situation in Spain.

On Thursday, May 26 - 8 p.m. At Rivera Hall, 131 W. 33 St.

Admission Free Room 707

HADLEY M. FOSTER

CP Supports Harlem GOP

New York City

After marching under a vast sea of American flags borne by its members at the M(ay) Day parade the day before, the Communist Party on May First held a joint mass meeting together with Tammany Hall and the Republican party at St. Marks Methodist Church, one of the leading Negro churches in Harlem. The meeting was organized on a program which calls for the election of a Negro Congress Representative Hamilton Fish, die-hard reactionary, and vehement Red-baiter, was the principal speaker.

The sponsors of the meeting parading under the name Coalition Congressional Committee, with Rev. L. H. King, pastor of St. Marks as chairman, included: P. M. H. Savory, boss-publisher of the Amsterdam News; Herbert L. Bruce, Tammany leader of the 21st assembly district; Harold Burton, Republican leader of the same district; Assemblyman William T. Andrews and Thomas Dyett, member-at-large of the State Constitutional Convention, both Democrats; and Miss Audley Moore of the Communist Party. All of these spoke at the meeting.

The developing political consciousness of the Negro masses finds one form of expression in a growing sentiment among voters in Harlem for a Negro congressman from that area. Fearing that this development might lead the Negro masses further away from the Republican and Democratic parties and toward support of labor's candidates in the coming elections, the old-line party leaders, with the able assistance of the Communist Party, are attempting to utilize this issue of a Negro congressman in order to keep the Negro masses bound and shackled to the two old parties.

The Republican party is completely and thoroughly discredited in Harlem. For several years now, it has been unable to get any self-respecting person to run as its candidate for office during the elections. Yet strangely enough, the Republican party has hegemony over this new coalition movement and, thru it, they evidently hope to reestablish themselves in Harlem and among Negro voters generally thruout the country. This was suggested by Hamilton Fish in his speech; when winding up this point, he stated that to win back the Negro voters the Republican party needed a new Theodore Roosevelt.

It should be noticed that this policy at the same time that it pretends to support the American Labor Party. This should not come as a surprise. This is Stalinism!

Fish began his speech by emphasizing his friendship towards the Negroes—and, to prove it, stated that his "grandfather, as Secretary of State in Grant's administration, proclaimed the Fifteenth Amendment giving the colored people the right to vote!"

He placed responsibility for the defeat of the anti-lynching bill on the Negroes themselves because of insufficient pressure and protest. He launched into an attack on Roosevelt for his failure to speak out on the question and skipped entirely over the role the Republican party played in bringing about the defeat of the bill.

Speaking on the arrest of Norman Thomas by Mayor Hague's Jersey City police, Fish said: "I am shocked that any American citizen should be arrested because he wanted to speak on social and civil ills of the country. Communists, however, are a different matter."

"On this May Day, let me warn the American Negroes not to compromise with communism, fascism or Nazism. There is no room in free America for any of those foreign forms of dictatorship. If these alien

BOOKS

TOM WATSON, Agrarian Rebel, by C. Vann Woodward. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938. \$3.75.

WHEN Tom Watson died in 1922, Eugene V. Debs pronounced the following eulogy over him: "He was a great man, a heroic soul who fought the power of evil his whole life long in the interest of the common people, and they loved and honored him." Yet the most striking floral offering at his grave was a huge cross of roses from the Ku Klux Klan! What sort of man was this that could gain the honor and respect of the great socialist leader and the K. K. K. alike? What sort of man was this that could be the intrepid banner-bearer of agrarian Populist democracy for half his life and the champion of the disfranchisement of the Negro for the other half, that could raise his voice in defense of civil rights in America and the Soviet republic in Russia just a few years after he had devoted all his talents to stirring up anti-Semitism in the South and inciting the lynch-mob to murder Leo Frank?

This is the man that Professor Woodward tries to understand and to explain in this magnificent biography. It is an analysis and explanation in terms of the larger social whole, by means of the categories of a genuine social psychology. The central theme of this biography, in fact, is the last phase of the long, and always losing, struggle of provincial-agrarian America against the advancing forces of industrial capitalism.

Born of a slave-owning family in ante-bellum Georgia, Tom Watson was reduced to poverty during his youth after the Civil War, and his family declined from the planter to the share-cropper status. Watson restored his family's prosperity, but his heart remained

agitated do not like our country, its laws or its flag, all they have to do is to go back to their native lands and give their jobs to loyal American citizens like the Negroes now walking the streets looking for employment.

"The Constitution of the United States is the civil bible of America," the Congressman declared. "It protects the rights and liberties, racial and religious. The colored people have more at stake than any other group in upholding and defending the Constitution from the attacks of those foreign termites who would undermine and destroy the Constitution."

Miss Moore who spoke later, stated that she was sorry that Congressman Fish had left before she tendered the greetings from the Communist Party. She derided the fact that Fish had utilized such an occasion to attack the Communist Party. She wanted Fish to know that the Communist Party was not against the Constitution but for it. She also protested against his "slinging mud at our President." She pointed out that the C.P. did not have any independent program and was not making any special demands in this campaign. "We are here to join with you to support whatever candidate this body chooses to send to Congress," she stated.

This time we witness the Communist Party marching arm in arm with the Negro misleaders, the enemies of labor and of the Negro people generally, which indicates very clearly how rapidly it is degenerating, and how carefully it is preparing a berth for itself in the camp of the reactionaries. This meeting provided a most appropriate climax to the patriotic and jingoistic slogans and purposes behind their M(ay) Day parade this year.

E. K. W.

TWOC Bars Wage Slash

A conference of representatives of the Amsterdam, New York, Local 1 and Local 2188 of Thompsonville, Connecticut, both representing employees of Bigelow Sanford Carpet Company, met in New York City recently at the headquarters of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and resolved vigorously to resist the 10% wage reduction announced by the company.

The delegates expressed the resentment of the workers of both plants, employing 6,000 persons, and declared that this arbitrary and unjustified action by the company was unwarranted and represented highhanded flouting of the law and the principles of collective bargaining, being in violation of the existing contract which is to run until June 3, 1938 and which does not allow for any such reduction.

Other carpet workers from Philadelphia, New Jersey and New York State, were represented at this conference and announced their support of the vigorous defense planned by the workers of the Bigelow Sanford Carpet Company.

with the oppressed farmers. Elected to Congress in 1890, he was the first Southerner to break with the old party and raise the Populist banner. He plunged wholeheartedly into his task of uniting white and Negro farmers against the industrial capitalism of the new South and its Northern allies, the "gold-bugs" and "monopolists" of Wall Street. In the heart of Georgia, he urged political and economic equality for the Negroes. In the America of Cleveland and McKinley, he preached the gospel of radical equalitarian democracy and far-reaching economic reform.

Populism, basing itself on the Farmers Alliance movement, represented the political coalition of the agrarian West and the agrarian South against the industrial and money lords of the North-East that were holding the country in their iron grip. Emerging on the background of widespread agricultural distress, Populism grew rapidly in power and prestige, scored many successes in a whole series of states, and advanced a well-conceived, progressive program, many points of which have since passed into law. Yet, within less than a decade, it foundered and went shipwreck, primarily on the rocks of its own internal class-economic contradictions, the essential utopianism of its fundamental aims, and the suicidal tactics of "fusion."

"Frustrated in their age-long and eternally losing struggle against a hostile industrial economy," Professor Woodward explains, "the farmers, together with a large depressed urban element, eagerly welcomed exciting crusades against more vulnerable antagonists: against anything strange and therefore evil. Vicious as were such easy victories, they offered some tangible compensations to a people hungry for satisfaction. A frustrated man and a frustrated class found that their desires and needs were complementary." The story of how Tom Watson gradually abandoned his early dreams and came to be a leading exponent of racism, hatred, religious bigotry and nobbism is the story of the frustration of Southern agrarianism and the story of how Populism went to seed. It is the tragedy of a class, of a section, of a great personality!

Read this book for a better understanding of a vital phase of American history. Read this book for a better understanding, too, of some basic contemporary problems, above all, the problem of fascism in America. APEX

How Teachers Union Was Ousted by Joint Committee

By R. WILLIAMS

New York City.

ASIDE from the "sixty families," there is nothing—well, almost nothing—too disreputable for the Stalinites to invite into a "people's united front." As the administration group of New York Local 5 of the Teachers Union, they have wine and dined Tammany politicians, wooed the American Legion and given aid and comfort to a notorious company union, by not only urging Teachers Union members to join, but also recommending affiliation with, the National Education Association. There are stirrings of revolt among the Stalinites and increasing evidences of dissatisfaction and uneasiness among the thousands of teachers new to the labor movement. The teachers have only begun to feel the effects of an adulterated and fraudulent trade-union policy.

Suddenly, and without warning, the teachers were informed some weeks ago in the public press that the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations had expelled the Teachers Union. To the amazement of many of us who knew intimately the affairs of Local 5, press reports stated that for almost a year, the Joint Committee had communicated with officers of our union, condemning our legislative program and disapproving of our tactics in employing mass delegations. Not one word of this was permitted to reach the membership! The executive board, at any rate the opposition members, were kept in complete ignorance of these developments. The relations between the union and the Joint Committee were a private matter for the Stalinists to settle in their fraction meetings. As one member of the administration stated at a meeting of the executive board, since the letters were addressed to Dr. Bella Dodd (union legislative representative), they were personal. Why should Mrs. Dodd read the letters before the executive board?

The Joint Committee of Teach-

ers Organizations is a company union working in close harmony with the Board of Education, ever ready to serve in defeating progressive legislation advanced by our union. And the Board of Education has not been slow in rewarding the faithful, for presidency of the Joint Committee is a substantial stepping-stone to choice principalships.

What Is The Joint Committee

The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations was started in the early 1920's to secure salary increases for the highly exploited and miserably underpaid teaching staff. From its inception, the Teachers Union, then controlled by the Lefkowitz-Linville group, played a leading and impressive role in obtaining substantial increases for the teachers of New York City. Thereafter, the Joint Committee went into hibernation, to re-emerge during the last depression when teachers' salaries were threatened.

Controlled by principals and superintendents, it pursues a hesitant, political horse-trading policy. Its executive board is self-perpetuating and has been operating continuously since its inception. Whatever replacements have taken place were made by the executive board itself. There is a delegate body, just as undemocratic, also under a paralyzing stranglehold of supervisors. Thus, 55 organizations, mostly controlled by supervisors, with an amorphous membership of 6,000, have 65 delegates. The Teachers Union with a paid up membership of 6,500 is permitted 5 delegates, and barred from the executive board and the important legislative committee. As for the mass of 36,000 teachers, they are never consulted as to the program and tactics of the Joint Committee. Their sole contact is an occasional bulletin, usually ending with an appeal for funds. How the hundreds of thousands of dollars donated by the teachers were spent is a mystery, since the Joint Committee deems it both unnecessary and inexpedient to give an adequate accounting.

To the repeated urgings of the

THE GALAHAD PHILOSOPHY

THE Galahad philosophy (collective security) ignores the actual motives of the nations which are labeled pure. It fails to take account of the fact that the great democracies—England, the United States, and France—have the purity of surfeit. They have struck out and captured their empires. They have staked out the areas from which raw materials come. They have adequate outlets for surplus populations. They are content and therefore righteous. The Galahad philosophy conveniently ignores history. It ignores the true sad story of the way in which our pure empires have been built. It ignores the British course in India and Africa, in China and the seven seas. It ignores our American ways with China and Nicaragua, Mexico and Spain, and the little republics of the Caribbean. There is not a chapter of the Italian record in Ethiopia or the Japanese record in China which cannot be matched, line for line, by British tactics in India, by American stupidities in Haiti.—Hubert Herring, in "And So To War."

opposition that the Teachers Union campaign for a democratic reorganization of the Joint Committee, the old Lefkowitz-Linville administration turned a deaf ear. The present Stalinite leadership, with its people's front approach, likewise contented itself with reluctant, and half-hearted criticism. The opposition elements in Local 5, united in the Independent Group, have long and insistently proposed that the union undertake a vigorous campaign for the democratic reorganization of the Joint Committee, enlisting the support of the thousands of teachers, and urging the withholding of contributions pending such democratic reorganization.

Such a powerful offensive would have had one of two results. Either the Joint Committee would have yielded to our pressure or we would have been expelled. In either case, the union would have added to its prestige as a militant, progressive instrument for the ad-

What Are the Roots of the Stalinist Regime in USSR?

(Continued from Page 3)

Russia today is admittedly tremendous; to maintain that such economic inequality is necessary to provide an incentive for building socialism, is to deny the very basis of socialism. It is time to reaffirm our belief, applicable in both capitalist and quasi-socialist society, that political equality cannot exist side by side with economic inequality.

6. It is unnecessary to go into detail on the disgusting steps taken by the Stalin regime since its inception. Among the outstanding sore spots we find: glorification of the Mussolini-Hitler "big family" campaign and the outlawing of abortion, thus destroying the socialist concept of woman's freedom and equality (Pravda, May 28, June 7, 1935); regimentation of students along strictly bourgeois lines (Decree on Academic Reform, Sept. 4, 1935); punishment of the

vancement of the teachers interests.

In case of expulsion, the Joint Committee would have exposed itself dramatically as the reactionary company union that it is, fundamentally anti-teacher in character.

Instead, pursuing the cowardly, fawning policy, over-eager to conciliate, the Teachers Union was finally ejected, characterized as "the dregs of the profession," stigmatized as "untrustworthy," "non-cooperative," "dishonest."

Thrice confused and bewildered are thousands of new members at this sudden isolation arising from the people's front "non-isolation" policy. The administration group of Local 5, however, continues on its destructive course with a fatal logic. The teachers were greeted with a proposal that the Teachers Union affiliate with the National Education Association!

* * *

(This is the first of a series of two articles on the situation in the Teachers Union. The second article will appear next week and will deal with the National Education Association and other matters.—Editor.)

family for the crimes of the individual (Pravda, June 9, 1934).

From this probing into the historical base of the Stalin bureaucracy, we have drawn certain valuable lessons. We can work to avoid a similar situation here only by constant education to prevent a repetition of the Russian errors. We have gone a long way in the correct direction by discarding the tactic of periphery organizations, and stating in theory, as well as applying in practice, our conception of the paramount importance of the trade unions. To our trade-union work, we should now add increased activity in the workers cooperatives, altho they do not occupy in America the important position they attained in European countries.

We have come to the conclusion that an American socialist revolution would be extremely unlikely to follow a course similar to that of Russia. Let us now recognize that the Russian type of party dictatorship, resting on mass illiteracy and raw trade unions, does not fit the American scene, any more than it could be applied to Spanish society today. As in Spain, direct participation of the trade unions in administering the nation's affairs will prove an essential element of workers democracy.

We hail the decision of the recent Paris Conference favoring the establishment of "revolutionary working-class power . . . which . . . provides the maximum democracy in the working class and does not repeat the errors or the terror of the Stalin regime." The I.C.L.L. and its allies on the international field are beginning to pull themselves out of the swamp of outworn traditions, quotations, theses and counter-theses in which they were bogged down. At the coming National Conference, a complete examination of the American scene and our place in it, based on Marxist fundamentals and the lessons of the Russian Revolution, will establish the foundations of our group as a live and growing communist movement and will open our eyes to a broader conception of our future role.

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