

## The Burocracy Triumphs

by Will Herberg

THE Communist Party has decided to "abolish" its trade-union fractions. This much is obvious from the very interesting article by Rose Wortis in the Daily Worker of May 20 as well as from a significant section of Earl Browder's report to the recent party convention. The new departure is plainly outlined in the Wortis article. In the past, we are told, "it was necessary for our party to function in these mass organizations (the trade unions) thru a system of party fractions. . . . However, these forms of organization and methods of work no longer meet the present situation." The following "concrete changes" are therefore proposed: "(1) That we do away with general fraction meetings. . . (3) That the leading comrades in every union consult with one another on problems that may arise in the day-to-day work."

On the face of it, these may not seem to be such world-shaking changes; yet they have a number of very important implications that well deserve consideration.

The party fraction is the group of party members in a union meeting from time to time to discuss problems that may arise and to work out policies and procedures in solving these problems. The purpose of the party fraction is not only to unify the activities of the party members in the same organization but also to guarantee these party members their democratic right of participating in framing the policies they are expected to carry out. To abolish party fractions means primarily to abolish this democratic right. For where else can the ordinary rank-and-file party member in a union have his say as to party policy in the Union? Certainly not in his regular party branch established along neighborhood lines, where only the most general questions can be discussed insofar as any discussion at all is permitted.

It is true that the abolition of the party fractions wipes out a democratic right which has not existed in fact for many years, for no free discussion of policy has been permitted in the Stalinist party for nearly a decade. Yet, as long as the democratic institution of the fraction meeting continued to exist, as long as occasional general fraction meetings were held, there was always the danger that rank-and-file discontent and opposition viewpoints might come to expression. And lately, as the Stalinist policy in the unions has become increasingly unprincipled, increasingly destructive, increasingly repugnant to every decent trade unionist, such voices of protest and opposition have multiplied—and the abolition of the party fractions is the answer of the party burocracy!

From this standpoint, the abolition of the party fraction is fully in line with the general tendency of development of the Stalinist party in recent years towards a totalitarian setup. Under the new system, the totalitarian "leadership-principle" reigns supreme. Party policy in the unions will be decided from above, not merely in its general lines but even where it concerns everyday work. "The leading comrades in every union (should) consult with one another on problems that may arise in the day-to-day work": this is how Rose Wortis puts it—somewhat diplomatically. The "leader" in each particular field issues the orders—the "leading comrades con-

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# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## Tories Plot Fascist Aid

### Chamberlain To 'Mediate' In Spain, Undermine Czech Resistance

A vigorous move on the part of the British Foreign Office to come to the aid of reaction in Spain was forecast last week after a special cabinet meeting at which the Spanish and Czechoslovakian situations were considered. The speedy liquidation of the "Spanish problem" was regarded as especially important in view of the fact that the recent Anglo-Italian deal was in a large measure dependent upon it. At the time the agreement was signed, the British believed Franco would win in short order but these expectations have since been disappointed by the stiffening of Loyalist resistance.

The new British plan is for "mediation" leading to a "compromise peace." Mussolini and Hitler are to persuade Franco to meet representatives of the Loyalist government to discuss "peace" and Premier Daladier is to prevail upon the Spanish government to confer with Franco. The ultimate objective of the British Foreign Office is, of course, to install a "national-unity" government in Spain under British influence. In some London quarters, there is even talk of the restoration of the monarchy as the best way of bringing about a "stable order" in Spain, that is, as the best way of consolidating capitalist reaction to British advantage.

As to Czechoslovakia, the cabinet decided to exert additional pressure on Prague to force it to grant the utmost in concessions to Nazi Germany and to Konrad Henlein, the Sudeten Nazi leader. Hitler is to be assured that, if he will only "keep the peace," he will be able to achieve all his aims in Czechoslovakia with British aid.

Chancellor Hitler is also to be informed that Lord Halifax, British Foreign Secretary, is ready to discuss with him the problem of "returning" Germany's "lost colonies."

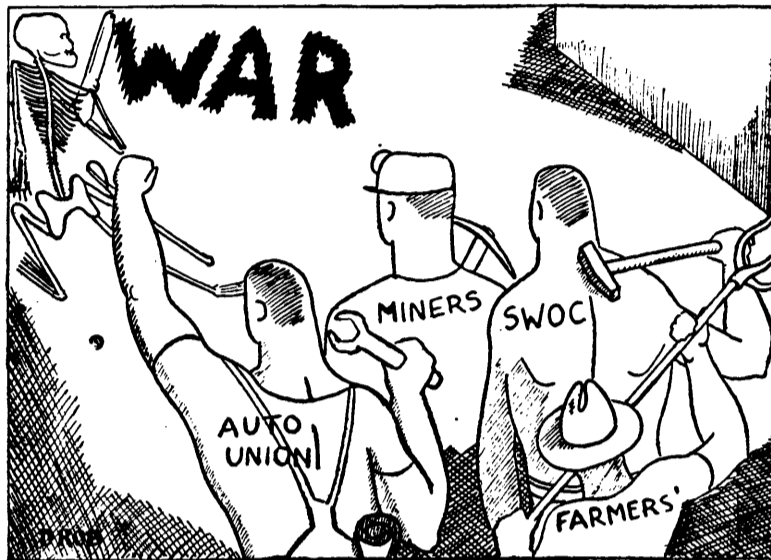
## LABOR, PROGRESSIVE LEADERS TO GREET I.L.P. AT BANQUET

Outstanding personalities in New York labor and progressive circles will be present as guests and speakers at the grand banquet being arranged for Thursday, June 23, by the Summer Labor Institute to greet Robert Edwards, British Independent Labor Party leader, who is coming to this country to make a study of economic and labor conditions.

Among these will be Allan Haywood, New York regional director of the C.I.O.; Norman Thomas, chairman of the Socialist Party; Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College,

# Anti-War Congress Rallies Mass Labor, Peace Forces

## LABOR AGAINST WAR



## F.D.R. FOR "REVISION" OF WAGNER LABOR ACT

### Labor Must Unite To Defend Its Rights

President Roosevelt's intention of urging revision of the Wagner Act by restrictive legislation on the trade unions, was clearly revealed last week as it was announced that he was naming a commission to investigate the operations of the act in connection with a survey of recent British trade-union law. The President had hinted at such legislation several times in the past.

In a press statement made after the rumor of his intentions had become public, Mr. Roosevelt admitted that he was appointing a commission to study and report upon British labor legislation. This group, it was understood, would in-

clude a number of big-business spokesmen, such as Gerard Swope of General Electric, Robert E. Wood of Sears-Roebuck and Charles E. Hook of the American Rolling Mills Co. Originally the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. had also agreed to name representatives on the commission, under the impression that it was simply a question of making a survey of British trade-union legislation for the information of the Labor Department. As soon as it was discovered that the Wagner Act was involved, John L. Lewis publicly withdrew from participation and Mr. Green was apparently contemplating the same step.

Despite formal denials, it is obvious that preparations are under way for a Presidential message to the next session of Congress urging "modification" of the Wagner Act. The President is represented as being "dissatisfied" with the way the Labor Act is working out and is said to be lending a sympathetic ear to the contention of certain employing-class spokesmen that it has had an "adverse effect upon business" and has "greatly contributed to the present recession."

The move to undermine the Wagner Act and force regulatory legislation upon the trade-union movement, restricting its independence and perhaps even its right to strike, is a grave menace to organized labor. It is necessary for the trade-union movement, divided though it may be at the present time, to put up a solid front in defense of its fundamental rights.

## 1000 Delegates Map Vigorous Campaign

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

TWO significant congresses were held in this country over the Decoration Day week-end, one in the nation's political, the other in its financial capital. They did not directly address each other, nor did they, except by a chance word, give sign of awareness of each other's sessions. Yet each of them was keenly conscious of the other and of the deep contrast of purposes that had called them into being. In New York, the Center Hotel was the headquarters of the national convention of the Communist Party, that party whose activities in recent months have well earned it the title of the "get America into war" committee. At that very moment, in Washington, D. C., the Rialto Theater housed the first national congress of its polar opposite—the Keep America Out of War Committee. In programs and purposes, the two conventions joined fundamental issue.

The aim of the Washington Congress was to meet the national emergency created by the President's Chicago address, by the Panay incident, by the super-navy and industrial-conscription bills, by the national front from London to Browder which is whooping up a violent war fever. To this end, trade unions, peace societies, social and civic and political organizations opposed to war, sent delegates to the National Anti-War Congress in the nation's capital. Poorly and hurriedly prepared, little advertised, silently boycotted by the press, lacking in funds and amidst a desperate depression, the delegates astonished each other as they did observers by assembling over a thousand strong from places as far apart as Massachusetts, Florida and California, supplying reassuring evidence by their presence that the great masses of the American people are beginning to be stirred by the perils which confront them and to fight back against the attempts to militarize them and plunge them into war.

Trade-union organizations are notoriously slow in acting upon communications—which must pass thru executive boards and wait for general meetings—yet, in a matter of a few weeks, 97 national, state and local organizations of the labor movement sent 235 delegates to the congress as official representatives. There were state federations like that of Connecticut, International Unions like the United Automobile Workers of America, joint boards such as those of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the I.L.G. W.U., and locals unions of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., as well as a scattering of independent unions. Edward Keating, editor of Labor, was one of the speakers at the congress.

No less impressive than the trade-union delegation was that representing peace societies (including such organizations as the National Council for the Prevention of War, the Fellowship of Re-

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Thursday Evening, June 23, at 6:30 o'clock

## SYMPOSIUM AND DINNER FOR ROBERT EDWARDS OF I.L.P.

Speakers: ALLAN HAYWOOD, HOMER MARTIN, NORMAN THOMAS, CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN, GOODWIN WATSON, LEWIS COREY, DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY. JAY LOVESTONE, chairman.

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### Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

#### The Politics of Relief

FIGHTING unemployment relief is almost as difficult and subtle a task as making its administration appear to be guided not by party interests but by the high morals of "not letting the people down." Of late, the Republicans, frantic at the prospect of continued exclusion from the honey-pots of power, have found a new and dangerously telling weapon against the whole concept of relief for the disemployed millions. They have made much of the intervention of Harry Hopkins in Democratic primaries—an intervention which directly implied that his power over W.P.A. employment should be considered before casting a ballot against his indicated choice.

Now, of course, such revelations are good political capital—they expose political conditions which go against the grain of our much vaunted but never existing "American ideals." In fact, it is precisely this type of politics, corruptly dependent upon the political persuasiveness of money, that constitutes the "American way." When, in the elections of 1936, anti-New Deal manufacturers sent the word down that their workers might find closed factory doors the day after, and if Roosevelt was reelected, the Democratic party simulate virtuous indignation and horror. Now the Republicans turn the tables, and, since both have been caught with the goods, the purity and sincerity of their mutually outraged attitude can, at the very least, be doubted by labor. Neither of these two employing-class parties has, in such situations, thought it worth while to stop and wonder publicly at these peculiar aspects of our "democracy."

What do the Republicans hope to gain? In addition to demagogically acquired votes, they aim at more sweeping cuts in relief than even Roosevelt himself. Where relief cannot be whittled down to virtual elimination, they want its administration taken out of the hands of the federal government, where they have small say, and put back into local hands, so that they too can begin to do some effective vote-controlling of their own thru relief. (Incidentally, it is this, more than any progressive philosophy of government, which stimulates the New Dealers defense of federal relief.)

A recent survey has revealed some interesting trends in New Deal allocation of relief funds. W.P.A. funds have become political mortar to keep the Democratic party together. The relation between the amount of funds and the geographical area finds its key in political, not economic, factors. For example, one of the most depressed areas of the country, the South, with its countless thousands of disemployed workers, depressed croppers, Negro and white, receives the least per-capita share of the federal relief funds. Because they need less? Rather because the South, since the Thermidor of Reconstruction, has been the uncontested stronghold of the Democratic party. Probably an additional but not decisive factor is the internal fight in the Democratic ranks—Roosevelt tries to use W.P.A. funds to hold the boys in line: "like my program, get my money." The Far West, open field of politics, received the highest per-capita share of funds. Pennsylvania, the doubtful and pivotal state, where labor is strong and the Republicans threatening, also ran high on the list.

This is but an indication of the far from humanitarian ideals guiding the relief program of Roosevelt, and all exclusive of the sharp decrease in relief funds as a whole. Labor legitimately shies away from the implications of the Republican attack on "political" spending. But can it maintain its own program, advance its own interests—which are the expansion

of government relief spending dictated by human needs, not the political needs of a greedy party machine—by falling backwards into the arms of the Democrats? To preserve relief and to see that it serves the economic needs of the victims of capitalism, requires, as in all other questions, the independence of labor from the New Deal which turns spending to its own anti-social, anti-labor purposes and thereby conducts its own campaign against unemployment relief.

### Burocracy Triumphant

(Continued from Page 1)

suit with one another—the membership does what it's told, and keeps its mouth shut! Where have we heard of such a system before?

There is still another angle to this question of party fractions. In a number of unions, particularly in the I.L.G.W.U., inner-union groups have been banned by constitutional provision. Progressive groups, groups dedicated to constructive unionism, have been dissolved but the Stalinist groups have managed to escape the ban by means of their party fractions and industrial branches, to which "sympathizers" have often been admitted under the camouflage of "open meetings." But obviously such trickery could not continue forever and the C.P. leadership is trying to anticipate matters by officially "dissolving" the party fractions. Of course, this is no more than a legalistic evasion. Actually, the Stalinists and their followers will remain and function as inner-union groups, receiving their iron-bound instructions from above, from the "leading comrades" who "consult with one another on problems that may arise in the day-to-day work."

What is being abolished is not the fraction as such but the general fraction meeting, that is, the right of the party membership to take part in working out policy. Does the new departure mean that there will no longer be any "party line" in the unions? Of course not! It simply means that the party members in the unions will lose even the formal right to participate in deciding what this "party line" should be. As trade-union groups, the fractions will continue to exist; only they will be organized along authoritarian rather than democratic lines!

The decision to "abolish" party fractions is, indeed, a sign of the times. For it shows that the transformation which the Communist Party is undergoing is not merely from a revolutionary organization into a conservative, pro-capitalist party, ready to turn counter-revolutionary if given half a chance; it is also a transformation from what once made a pretense at being a democratic organization into a frankly totalitarian outfit. And these two trends—the one away from socialism and the other away from democracy—are but two aspects of the same profound political degeneration in the grip of which the whole Stalinist movement finds itself today.

## Unemployment in Auto

By GEORGE F. MILES (Our Michigan Correspondent)

Detroit, Mich.

THAT man, William S. Knudsen, president of General Motors, is at it again. Speaking in Omaha on conditions in the country, he declared that business will begin a gradual upclimb after the harvests start coming in. This follows a long and inglorious record of promised upturns, especially as applied to the auto industry, which somehow always failed of realization. Most important of these was the well-publicized auto show some months ago which, to believe the well-paid publicity directors, was to result in record sales. The disappointing results are well known.

Regardless of Mr. Knudsen's cheerful forecasts, there is nothing in the middle of April to have been slightly over 371,000, giving approximately 146,000 employed in the entire industry, the majority of these 146,000 working only about two and three days a week.

For many of the 146,000, the two or three days per week work in the shop will soon turn to none or perhaps one day. "It is not likely," adds Mr. Munger in the study quoted above, "that production of 1939 models will get under way to any great degree until possibly October and November. Some large auto manufacturers are three months behind in their preliminary work on 1939 models."

The employers have, of course, tried to utilize the present situation in an attempt to depress and undermine wage levels and conditions. This the United Automobile Workers Union has been able to resist very effectively. A study of the hourly wage rates being paid in the industry now shows that, despite widespread unemployment these have remained well over 90 cents per hour, or practically unchanged.

If anything, the unemployment situation is even worse than the above production figures would indicate. U.A.W. Research Director William Munger presents the following picture in a recent study on employment in the industry: "Towards the end of March and through the middle of April, out of a possible number of 250,012 employees in 23 major plants in Greater Detroit, close to 180,000 have been unemployed. This represents between 71% and 72% of the number of employees. Since the sample taken is very representative of the entire industry, there is reason to believe that the percentage of unemployed is also representative of the situation existing in the entire industry. On this basis and considering the fact that during

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1937 the average number of employees for the industry was 517,000, we can estimate the number of unemployed within the industry in the middle of April to have been slightly over 371,000, giving approximately 146,000 employed in the entire industry, the majority of these 146,000 working only about two and three days a week.

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### NEW JERSEY SEEKS TO BAN SIT-DOWNS

The New Jersey Senate last week passed a state labor-relations act which includes a ban on the sit-down or stay-in strike under heavy legal penalties. Participation in such strikes is classed in the bill as a high misdemeanor, punishable by a 15-year prison sentence. The bill is now before the Assembly.

The A. F. of L. officials had actually endorsed this bill. It is to be hoped that the members of the A. F. of L. unions will make their voices heard over the heads of their leaders and unite with the C.I.O. and the railway brotherhoods in defeating the bill.

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## Labor Fights War!

By DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

(The article below appeared in the New York Post of May 31, where Dorothy Dunbar Bromley conducts a regular column. Mrs. Bromley is a member of the Keep America Out of War Committee.—Editor.)

Washington

A WEEK ago I should have said that the chances of this country's staying out of war in the next few years were no better than one to three. Now that I've seen the large and outspoken labor delegation that's shown up at the Keep America Out of War Congress, I'd say the chances are at least two to three that President Roosevelt and the State Department will be stymied in their efforts to lead this country down a road that will come to a dead end at the bloody cross of war.

For I ask you. How can this country be maneuvered into another war "to save the world for democracy" if the automobile workers refuse to make the cars, the trucks, the tractors, the tanks, the airplanes and all the other machines of war? "I do not need to tell you," Homer Martin declared at the keynote session of the congress, "what power this strategic position places in our hands. Let me repeat that the workers in these industries want bread, not bullets. We want jobs, not graves. We want homes for our families, not tents on the battlefields."

He is a kind of spellbinder, this youthful ex-minister who led the sit-downers. He is a spellbinder because he knows what working-men want—homes, not tents on the battlefields. "We need more phrases like that," said a woman next to me who's been working for peace for years but among circles that don't let their emotions get the best of them.

Homer Martin did not speak for himself alone. He came straight from the executive board of the International Union of the United Automobile Workers of America, 400,000 strong. Many other unions were represented among the 300 labor delegates at the congress of 1,000 delegates who came from 35 States. There were delegates from locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the American Federation of Teachers, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, the United Federal Workers of America, the United Shoe Workers of America, the Connecticut A. F. of L. and so on down the line.

For the first time in history American labor-union members have united with the leading peace organizations, church groups, and socialists on a minimum active program for peace. They demand the withdrawal of American armed forces from China and an end to American imperialism everywhere, reduction in our excessively large military establishment, the right of the people to vote on a war that does not involve defense of continental United States, the end of conscription and mobilization plans, no war alliance with any nation or group of nations, industrial democracy at home and solidarity with the people of all nations in the struggle to abolish economic injustice and colonial oppression.

The delegates are doing their own thinking in this matter of war. One who professed to speak for the I. L. G. W. U. suggested that his fellow-members should not criticize President Roosevelt's foreign policy since David Dubinsky, president of their international union, is 100% pro-Roosevelt. This Thomas had his doubts

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## Crisis of "Sick" Industry Opens Way for Fascism

By LYMAN FRASER

RAILROAD managements are not alone in the cunning and crooked game they are playing to get handouts from the government. Billions of government money are now "invested" in private capitalist enterprises. It began in the early years of the depression when President Hoover, also opposed to relief for the unemployed, gave relief to tottering corporations thru loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the policy was continued by President Roosevelt on an infinitely larger scale.

As the economic crisis becomes worse instead of better, more and more handouts (call them "aid" or "subsidies") become necessary, and many enterprises demand them in order to survive.

All this is directly related to the forces moving toward fascism. Since fascism arises out of the decline of capitalism, those industries which are declining most (the "sick" industries) become a most potent factor in developing the pre-conditions of fascism.

### Capitalist Decline And Profits

The decline of capitalism means an increasing inability of capitalist enterprise to earn profits on its capital claims. That applies unevenly as between different types of enterprises; some are able to make large profits still (especially those connected with war-materials production), while others find it constantly more difficult to survive. The latter are usually those industries which were "sick" even during the days of prosperity.

Now these "sick" industries pursue a definite plan. They demand on various grounds, including the patriotic, that they should receive financial aid from the government (albeit opposing "in general" government intervention in business). Such help, incidentally, may be opposed by the healthier capitalist enterprises.

If that help from the government (usually accompanied by wage-cuts) is not enough and the industry becomes sicker and its capital claims more precarious, the next step is to dump the whole thing upon the government in the form of nationalization—as some utility corporations are now trying to dump some of their properties upon T.V.A. The dumping is done at an exorbitant price, as was the price paid recently by the British government for the "nationalized" coal mines.

Now the underlying motive of that type of government aid and government ownership is not to release the economy of its private-capitalist fetters and make it work more efficiently. The primary motive is to protect capital claims, that is, to assure security owners an income to which they are not, in capitalist logic, entitled because the enterprise cannot earn that income. And that means artificially and violently to maintain capital claims under conditions where, in capitalist logic, those claims should be scaled down.

That makes the economic crisis worse, instead of easing it. As government artificially sustains capital claims, either thru financial aid or purchase and nationalization of an industry, capital claims and the national debt are piled up unendurably beyond the sustaining capacity of the economy—an economy that is declining while capital claims are not declining correspondingly.

Under those conditions it becomes necessary: 1. To lower wages and to depress the standards of living of the

masses of the people, especially the workers. 2. To crush all opposition in order to sustain the reactionary economic set-up of a declining economy.

### Pressure For Fascism

As the national debt piles up and capital claims become more exorbitant, the demand arises to cut social expenditures. The demand arises for a government that will not "squander" money on other purposes than sustaining capital claims. The demand becomes increasingly stronger for an authoritarian state capable of paying its "just" debts to owners of capital claims, to sustain those claims and to liquidate labor and other popular opposition.

The final result of that policy, if successful, is fascism.

The German experience is revealing. Under the democratic Weimar republic, the economic crisis became worse, unemployment mounted and government increasingly aided industry. Money was spent to stimulate business activity and employment, and this meant especially the "sick" industries. Billions were spent under the famous "von

## Anti-War Congress Plans Peace Drive

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conciliation and the locals of the Keep America Out of War Committee) with 254 delegates, and the delegation representing political organizations such as the Socialist Party and the I.C.L.L.L. with 193 delegates. Churches sent 93 representatives, and groups like the Workers Alliance, fraternal organizations and parents associations, accounted for most of the rest.

Roughly the congress was one-third trade union, one-third political and one-third peace societies, with a scattering of farmers and other types of representation. The astonishing thing about this diverse gathering was the harmony in which it worked, the genuine united-front character of the sessions—agreement on the six points of common effort which called the congress together and mutual respect for each organization's right to carry on, beyond the limits of agreement, its independent activity for its full program.

There were differences of course, and profound ones, but no one was there who did not accept the common ground of the stirring and significant six points, and no one was trying to put anything over on any one else. As far as possible, differences were ironed out in a presiding committee in which all major forces at the congress—peace groups, veterans, trade unions, churches, socialists and anti-war communists (I.C.L.L.L.)—were represented; but, even at the hectic closing session with resolutions shooting thru with belt-line speed and commissions reporting at the rate of one almost every half hour, problems arose, were discussed and solutions arrived at in a spirit of mutual respect and honest recognition of differences that America has not seen since the Stalinists poisoned the institution of the united front.

Elsewhere on this page, the six points themselves, clarified, re-formulated and brought up to date, are published. Everyone who opposes America's entrance into war should clip them, learn them by heart, act on them, spread them far and wide thruout the land, for

Papen plan" to help business employ more workers—but most of the money was actually spent by distressed enterprises to pay off indebtedness. There was an increase of government ownership. The government bought shares in many large corporations (including the steel trust) to help their finances—a plan hailed at the time by moonshining liberals as a grand idea introducing a new type of economy that combined state and private enterprise. But all those handouts did not solve the economic crisis; unendurable capital claims were piled up; mass distress and opposition mounted; and the cyclical collapse of the 1930's gave Hitler the chance to come to power.

To prevent the scaling down of capital claims, to protect their capital and income, the capitalists plump for fascism if they cannot get their way under a democratic form of government. And, in that process, the capitalists identified with "sick" industries play a strategic part.

There are many forces moving toward fascism. It is necessary concretely to analyze and understand all of them to prevent the coming of fascist barbarism.

they are the common answer of the congress delegates to the immediate emergency, the minimum program of all those who honestly and seriously oppose militarism, imperialism, fascism and totalitarian dictatorship, and who favor keeping America out of war, the platform on which the congress will continue its existence and activities.

"It is understood," reads the plan for continuing organization, "that this is a minimum joint program, and that groups and organizations affiliated have the right to develop outside of this minimum their own full programs for opposing war . . ." No stooge "liberals" pretending to accept the full revolutionary program on paper; no pseudo-"revolutionists" surrendering their full program so as "not to scare away the middle class," which the hand-picked stooges are supposed to win and represent!

Whereas the Communist Party arranges its Charlie McCarthy conferences with everything cut

### Six-Point Program Against War

1. The immediate removal of American ships and Marines from belligerent zones and the evacuation of American nationals who, if they stay, stay at their own risk; opposition to every expression of American imperialism.

2. No increase in the Army and Navy budget; work toward reduction of the present excessive military machine.

3. The democratic right of American citizens to vote on a declaration of war.

4. Abandonment of all existing plans for industrial mobilization and defeat of all new plans for universal conscription and regimentation, thus warning our militarists that the American people will not tolerate war abroad and war-dictatorship at home.

5. No alliance or joint action with any nation or group of nations for war, or which is likely

## Japan's Economic Front in the War

By JIM CORK

SOME two months ago there was placed on the statute books of Japan the National Mobilization Bill, an act passed with the express understanding that it would not be enforced unless an emergency situation developed. The recent partial invocation of the bill is an indication of how unexpectedly tough the sledding has been for the Japanese army in its extended invasion of China and of how disturbing an effect the war has had, to-date, on the internal economic and social situation in Japan.

### Strained To The Breaking Point

The strain on the financial structure of Japan is a more terrific one than it has ever been called on to face. The ordinary budget for the year 1938-39 was fixed at almost 3 billion yen. Since then, a special war budget of almost 5 billion yen has been passed, making the grand total in the neighborhood of 8 billions. Most of this is to be raised by internal loans, the rest by taxation. The adverse effect on Japan's rising national debt can well be imagined. The demands of the war, in fact, have doubled it from 6 billions to 12 billions. Government borrowing and spending is bringing Japanese finances to the brink of inflation with its additional devastating consequences.

An additional headache for its ruling class has been Japan's unfavorable balance of trade. With the huge mounting national debt due to war borrowing, the continuation of this unfavorable trade balance would further cut down the supply of mobile capital in Japan, which is insufficient as it is for the prosecution of the war. In 1937, for instance, almost a billion yen of gold flowed out of Japan to cover her adverse trade balance. Stopping this flight of gold has been one of the chief concerns of the Japanese ruling class. This it has attempted to accomplish by a rigid cutting down of imports, month by month, trying to keep the total down to exports plus newly

dried, even the canned speeches and synthetic enthusiasm, this congress, leaning over backward with no one trying to "capture" it, had nothing prepared at all. One of the miracles of the three hectic days was the way a commission on "national defense," with Jeanette Rankin and Tucker Smith as chairman and secretary; on "building a warless world" with Stephen Rauschenbush and Philip Bernstein as chairman and Lewis Corey as secretary; on "domestic alternatives to armament economics" with J. M. Weis and Joel Seidman; on the "United States as 'Good Neighbor,'" with Brent Dow Allison and I. Zimmerman; on "neutrality" with Devere Allen and Jesse McKnight; on "war propaganda" with Ross Stagner; on "education of children against war" with Walter Ludwig—and each of these with a score of authorities or experts and hundreds of delegates attending and participating—were able to bring in a generally splendid series of reports, resolutions and proposals.

gramatic documents in the space of three days. Space forbids us to attempt a summary of their contents in the present issue of our paper; we can only urge the reader to note the last sentence of this report, to watch the columns of the Age, and to get the printed reports of the congress when they are issued.

The high spots of the congress, aside from main sessions, were the meetings of two autonomous sections representing those who will suffer most from war and who can be counted on by their temper and position in society to fight hardest against it, the Youth Section and the Labor Section. I think most of the delegates scarcely realize even now the profound historic significance of the formation of an autonomous and powerful labor council against war, affiliated with the congress. It is new in the history of this country. In the last war, the organized labor movement as a whole was tied to the war-machine. But new winds are stirring in American labor. The high spot of the congress was Homer Martin's rousing speech, but I wonder if all the delegates appreciated its full significance: a trade-union official, head of an auto (including tanks) and aircraft union not whooping it up for preparedness but pointing out the trap concealed therein for labor, and speaking authoritatively of the determination of these 400,000 strategically placed working men to fight against war and war fever with all their might! And steel and aluminum and marine and

causes of dictatorial militarism.

mined gold. But this obviously can not be done overnight and besides it creates new difficulties in attempting to solve the problem of adverse trade balance.

Curtailment of production in many lines is proceeding rapidly; the economic structure of Japanese capitalism as a whole is being narrowed. Only the war industries are booming, as is to be expected. With the restriction of imports, the domestic consumer inevitably suffers. Prices are rising, the living standards of the masses are being lowered.

These threatening facts provide background for the recent partial invocation of the National Mobilization Bill. Facing the mounting difficulties externally and internally, the government inevitably had to move to keep every aspect of Japanese life under its thumb.

### Provisions Of The Bill

The National Mobilization Bill is as comprehensive a plan as can be imagined, that would establish in essence a military-fascist dictatorship, rigidly operated and thoroughly controlled. With that assumed innocence that gives the quaint Gilbert-and-Sullivan touch to Japanese politics, the Prime Minister shoved the bill thru both houses with the assurance that the "China affair" will not necessitate its invocation, for ". . . the bill is a preparation for a war that might break out in the future."

Article I of the Act admirably summarizes it as a whole:

"The national general mobilization referred to in this law is the control and utilization of personal and commodity resources to display most effectively the entire force of the nation for the purpose of attaining the object of national defense in time of war (including incidents of the nature of war)."

The next two articles enumerate the industries and goods that may come under the government's control. They include military supplies, food, clothing, beverages, (Continued on Page 5)

(Continued on Page 6)



# WORKERS AGE

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Vol. 7 June 11, 1938 No. 24

## THE ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

**T**HE National Anti-War Congress held at Washington during the Memorial Day week-end constitutes one of the most hopeful signs on an horizon so ominously darkened by gathering war clouds. For it showed that not only are large sections of the American people awake to the danger that is threatening them but that they are ready to take action in meeting this danger by joining in a concerted effort to defeat the plans of the war-mongers and to keep this country out of war. The National Anti-War Congress undoubtedly represented this authentic anti-war sentiment and this mass determination to fight for peace. But the National Anti-War Congress went far beyond that. Thru the program, policies and organizational principles it adopted, the congress went a long way in laying the foundations of a sound and effective anti-war movement really capable of coping with the grave menace confronting us.

The Washington Congress was essentially a coalition of working-class and middle-class forces united upon a minimum program against war, the well-known "six points" considerably improved and strengthened. Trade-union and labor-political groups worked hand in hand with peace societies and church organizations. Such collaboration was rendered possible and fruitful only because, as Bertram D. Wolfe points out in his report elsewhere in this issue, there was a sincere spirit of cooperation together with a frank recognition of the full freedom of the constituent organizations to press forward beyond the "six points," each in the light of its own program and political convictions. Such a far-sighted attitude, resting on firm adherence to the absolute essentials of an anti-war program under present conditions, certainly promises well for the future of the movement.

Another welcome feature of the congress, indicating that it was manifestly on the right track, was the vital role played by organized labor at its sessions. Not only was labor well represented in point of delegates and organizations, but it virtually set the tone for the congress as a whole and certainly carried decisive weight in its deliberations. The sessions of the Labor Commission were widely regarded as fundamentally the most significant at the congress. And, in our opinion, the real prospects for the growth of the movement as whole consist primarily in the consolidation and expansion of the Labor and Youth sections, especially the former. The congress showed great wisdom in establishing a set-up under which these sections of the movement, as well as the others, would be largely autonomous, even in program, and would thus be granted plenty of opportunity for development along their own lines.

Our attitude to the Washington Congress and to the anti-war movement it represents, has already been made sufficiently clear in these columns as well as in our practical activities in the Keep America Out of War movement and at the congress itself. We are revolutionary Marxists, international socialists. In many important respects, our views on the question of war go far beyond, or at least differ very materially from, the views and programs of some of the other elements represented at the Washington Congress. 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. Such are our views as revolutionary internationalists. We know that these are not the views of the Washington Congress and the movement of which it is the expression. Our whole-hearted participation in this movement is based upon our thoro agreement with the minimum program 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.

We warmly greet the national anti-war movement that has emerged from the Washington Congress and pledge to it our unstinted cooperation and support!

# "WORLD LABOR COOPERATION"

## Symposium and Dinner

### Speakers and Guests

**ROBERT EDWARDS**  
National Administrative Council,  
Independent Labor Party of Great Britain

**Allan Haywood,**  
New York Regional  
Director, C.I.O.

**Norman Thomas,**  
Chairman, Socialist Party

**Goodwin Watson,**  
Teachers College,  
Columbia University

**Charles S. Zimmerman**  
Vice-Pres., I.L.G.W.U.

**Homer Martin,**  
President, United  
Automobile Workers

**Dorothy Dunbar Bromley**  
New York Post Columnist

**Lewis Corey,**  
Author and Economist

**JAY LOVESTONE, Chairman**

Thursday Evening, June 23, 1938

at 6:30 O'CLOCK

KING EDWARD ROOM, HOTEL VICTORIA

7th Avenue at 51st Street

New York

Auspices: Summer Labor Institute, 131 W. 33rd St., New York. Tickets at \$1.50 obtainable at the above address, Room 707.

# "Their Morals and Ours"

## Leon Trotsky Preaches Political Ethics

**I**N a long article, "Their Morals and Ours," published in the June issue of the New Internationalist, Leon Trotsky passes the following judgment in his characteristically pontifical manner:

"Brandler and Lovestone publicly solidarized with Yagoda; they retreated only from Yezhov. . . . The putrid morals of these people is only a product of their putrid politics."

There is an old maxim that people who preach about "their morals and ours" and comment so contemptuously on the "putrid morals" of others, should look around to see if everything is in order at home—in other words, people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.

We are accused of "putrid morals" because we took seriously the first two Moscow trials, at least in their political implications. In this we made a mistake, a mistake which we have publicly avowed and recognized without trying to apologize for it or explain it away on formal grounds. Six months ago (Workers Age, December 19, 1937), we plainly stated that we had been mistaken in our original estimate of the trials and gave the political reason for our false estimate. This, you will note, amounts to "putrid morals."

And Trotsky? Trotsky, too, at one time "solidarized with Yagoda." Trotsky, too, endorsed a certain "Moscow trial"—with less reservation and criticism than we did in our case. Let us turn to page 429 of "The Case of Leon Trotsky," the report of the Mexican "counter-trial":

"STOLBERG: Mr. Trotsky, why were you silent about the Menshevik trials?"

"TROTSKY: I must recognize that I took the trials seriously. It was a great error. I was in Prinkipo—it was in 1931—absolutely isolated from any political milieu. I had no illusions about the justice of the Soviet Union at that time but, on the other hand, I knew that the right-wing Mensheviks . . . they genuinely took part in the struggle in the civil war against us. I admitted that it was possible to know about a plot of such a kind as was discovered. I was very busy with my history of the October Revolution and I admitted

that the trial was more or less correct. It was a great error on my part."

The Menshevik trial in 1931 was juridically quite as gross a frame-up as the subsequent "Moscow trials." Indeed, in some respects, it was even grosser—for example, Abramovitch was "charged" with having made a secret conspiratorial trip to Russia at a time when he was actually attending a socialist meeting in Germany, as was attested by press photographs! But this trial Trotsky took "seriously" and "admitted it was more or less correct." How does he explain this "mistake" of his, made in 1931 when he certainly should have known the workings of the Stalin regime? He was in Prinkipo—he was "busy"—and the Mensheviks had a bad record! This kind of "explanation" is apparently enough to absolve Trotsky and restore his morals to their pristine purity—while our explanation, you will recall, convicts us of . . . "putrid morals!"

Yes, for a while, we "solidarized with Yagoda." But so did Trotsky. We acknowledged our mistake, avowed it publicly and explained it politically. And Trotsky? He had it dragged out of him by the keen-witted Stolberg and then he tried to crawl out of it with lame, shabby excuses—"I was busy," "I had no information!" And this is the man who preaches morality to us!

Of what "politics," pray, are Trotsky's "morals" the product?

## Labor Fights War

(Continued from Page 2)

resolved in short order. Vice-President Charles Zimmermann of the I. L. G. W. U. reminded his fellow-workers that their locals are autonomous and perfectly free to oppose the Administration on any policy that seems to them wrong.

That is the way for free men to talk. That is the way for free women to talk. In the words of Homer Martin, "we want peace and we are determined to use every power at our command to secure its blessings for ourselves and our children."

By Lambda

# WORLD TODAY

Three Russian Politburo Members Arrested; The Aylesbury Vote

**T**HE congress of the French Socialist Party, meeting last week at Royan, decided by a close vote to expel the Federation of the Seine from the party. The vote was 4,284 to 3,002. The Seine Federation, which includes the very important Paris socialist organization, is led by Marceau Pivert who is also the head of the Revolutionary Left tendency in the party as a whole. The action against the Seine Federation was taken because of its militant action during the recent governmental crisis.

**A**CCORDING to recent Moscow reports, Kossior, Eiche and Stesky have been arrested. Other reports add the name of Postyshev. Eiche, Kossior and Postyshev are members of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Stesky was the head of the propaganda department of the Central Committee. Another member of the Politburo, Rudsutak, has already been in prison for some time.

Thus does the Stalin-Yezhov blood-purge reach into ever higher circles of the party. The crisis of the bureaucratic regime grows more aggravated every day as the regime itself comes into ever sharper conflict with the fundamental demands of socialist progress in the Soviet Union.

Of special interest to America is the news that Noah London, at one time very active in the Jewish labor movement in the United States, has been shot by the Stalin G.P.U.

**T**HE recent by-elections in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, provide one of the most instructive lessons in the theory and practise of the People's Front in English politics.

For a long time, the Labor Party had been trying to reach the agricultural workers in Buckinghamshire and, after many years of propaganda, it managed to gather about 4,500 votes. The Liberals had about 11,000 and the Conservatives over 20,000. Then the M.P. for Aylesbury resigned, making necessary new elections.

Against the Tory candidate, the Labor Party put up Reginald Groves, an active trade unionist, well-known in journalism and labor education. The Liberals, of course, also put up their man, a Liberal of the old individualistic school, a die-hard capitalist opposed to any form of nationalization.

So far, nothing surprising, the usual three-cornered fight. But then the Communist Party stepped in—and called for the support of the Liberal candidate against Labor! Under the slogan of the "peace alliance," the new name for the People's Front in Great Britain, they demanded first, the withdrawal of the Labor candidate in favor of the Liberal and, when the Labor Party flatly refused, they openly called upon the workers to vote Liberal! Harry Pollitt, of the Communist Party, and James de Rothschild, wealthy banker, appealing for the same capitalist candidate! The Stalinists went even further. They hurled mountains of abuse upon the Labor candidate as a "Trotskyist agent of fascism," as an "enemy of peace and progress." Groves was once a C.P. member but he is as far from being a Trotskyist as he is from being a Stalinist! They denounced the "reactionaries at Transport House," that is, the Labor Party leadership, for insisting on waging an independent campaign along socialist lines instead of bowing to the Liberals.

In the elections, both Liberals and Tories lost heavily, altho the Tory man got in. But the Labor vote jumped from 4,716 to 7,666.

Only a few years ago, the C.P. was so leftist that it was not permissible to vote for anyone but a C.P. candidate. Those were the days when the C.P. was out to "smash" the Labor Party. Then, overnight, their attitude changed and they professed themselves the most "fervent supporters" of the Labor Party, pleading for affiliation, a united front, anything. Now, driven on by the logic of its People's Front policy, Stalinism has completed the turn and has emerged again as an avowed foe of Labor—but this time from the right, as an ally of the Liberal reactionaries.

Stalinism is fast reaching the end of its rope and is revealing itself a dangerous anti-labor influence. In the Aylesbury elections, its best friends in the Labor Party, Harold Laski and D. N. Pritt, had to come out against it and campaign for Groves. This tells the story!

# BOOKS

**CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT**, by Roger N. Baldwin and Clarence B. Randall. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1938. \$1.50.

**F**OUR lectures delivered at Harvard, two by the director of the American Civil Liberties Union and the other two by the director of the Inland Steel Company, are combined to form an interesting discussion on the "labor question," the most disputed question of the day. While the two authors did not see each other's speeches before they were delivered, their contributions nevertheless constitute a well-formulated debate. Roger Baldwin frankly states that, since "liberty" means different things to different people and since the granting of liberty to one class is an infringement of the "liberties" of another, he stands for the extension of liberties to the working class as being the most progressive and the most oppressed class in society.

The representative of the Inland Steel Company, one of the outstanding exploiters of labor, curiously takes as the theme of his discussion "The Plight of the Individual Worker." It goes without saying, of course, that the solution Mr. Randall presents is not organization of the individual worker, but the elimination of all the legislation, primarily the Wagner Act, that has helped labor rise, thru organization, above its condition of "individualism."

As is to be expected in a debate of this kind, the sit-down strike comes in for a lot of discussion. This is the example par excellence of the clash of "liberties." In this, Roger Baldwin comes out clearly on top in his outline of the conditions that made the sit-down necessary—long years of labor espionage, open-shop agitation and the accumulation of tremendous private arsenals at the command of the employers.

**YOU CAN'T DO THAT**, by George Seldes. Modern Age Books, New York, 1938. \$0.50.

**G**EORGE SELDES, who is a competent reporter with a good record for championing civil liberties, undertakes to show how the Bill of Rights is violated daily by all the official, unofficial and semi-official agencies of the ruling class. As befits a journalist, incidents and examples are told in a dramatic and interesting fashion, but for that very reason the book has some serious deficiencies. Relying heavily on the files of the Civil Liberties Union for material, Mr. Seldes has put together the examples of official lawlessness more for dramatic effect than for the relative importance of the issue.

Thus, the violation of the rights of labor seems to be no more significant than the violation of the rights of an individual in a common criminal case, and is given special attention only for the more frequent occurrence of the former. This sort of astigmatism prevents Mr. Seldes from seeing, in spite of all the evidence he presents, that the violation of civil rights, permeating every nook and cranny of capitalist society, is at the very heart of our "democracy" itself.

Going somewhat afield, Mr. Seldes explodes the myth of "freedom of the press" by showing how the important financial and economic interests control the policy of the press, largely thru advertising. Especially illuminating is the description of how patent-medicine advertisers affect the policy of the press and the nature of our "pure food and drug" laws.

A good job is also done of the professional patriots and Red-baiters, especially the American Legion (Daily Worker, please note!). But

# For Colonial Emancipation!

## The Parties of the People's Front Have Betrayed Us!

By H. LEI

(H. Lei is a leader of the revolutionary emancipation movement in French Indo-China.—Editor.)

**I**T is today a fact that all the colonial peoples of the French empire have been betrayed by the organizations united in the People's Front. Of these organizations the guiltiest are the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. As a matter of fact, the Second International only commits betrayal to the extent that it follows thru its theoretical position on the colonial question. As long as it assumes "the gradual evolution of the colonial peoples"—naturally under the wing of imperialism—it obviously cannot countenance the revolutionary liberation of the oppressed peoples.

The real betrayal is on the part of the Third International, which has accomplished a regular 180-degree turn. Having once fought in defense of the colonial peoples, the Comintern now supports imperialism. The basis of this is the Stalinist policies and the subordination of every issue to the foreign pol-

icy of the Soviet Union. Since the Stalinists have allied themselves with the imperialists, it is natural that they have dropped all mention of the revolutionary liberation of the colonial peoples and that they should use every effort to tie them to the "mother country" in anticipation of the future world massacre.

From a practical point of view, this policy is reflected, on the one hand in the trickery of the People's Front—in order to cover up the shameful oppression of imperialism—and, on the other, in the ideological preparation (thru the National Union) of the colonial populations for collaboration with their "mother country" during the next war.

In view of this, the policies that the working-class organizations of the imperialist countries and the colonies should follow are clear:

1. In both the imperialist country and the colony, we must ceaselessly expose the fraud and the treason of the organizations in the People's Front; the working masses of the "mother country" must bare the errors of the theoretical position of social-democracy towards the

colonies and must, on the same basis, denounce the danger of the Stalinist policy.

2. The colonial masses in each colony must also fight the propaganda for the National Union and the preparations for the future war with the slogan: "Not a soldier, not a penny for the 'mother country' in any imperialist war."

3. They must also prepare to take advantage of the universal conflagration to rid themselves of the imperialist yoke and to carry out the social revolution against the native exploiters, as the only genuine method of freeing the enslaved peoples.

4. The colonial countries must, without waiting, organize an inter-colonial union of the oppressed peoples in order to spread these policies: struggle against the traitors of the Second and Third Internationals and for the social revolution in the colonies.

A "colonial Zimmerwald" is on the order of the day. We appeal to all the working people of the "mother country" and the colonies, to realize what are their immediate tasks, and to give them all the necessary attention.

# Japan Home Front in War

(Continued from Page 3)

feed, medical supplies, transportation facilities, communication facilities, materials for civil engineering and building and lighting purposes, fuel and electric power. In order to make the enumeration fool-proof, there is tacked on at the end the general blanket clause: ". . . and any other material necessary for national general mobilization may be so designated by imperial ordinance." That makes it pretty all-inclusive!

The government, in addition, is given the following significant powers:

1. In regard to industry and foreign trade:  
". . . The control of business capital, permitted increase of capital, flotation of debentures of companies, disposition of profits, etc.; control of exports and imports and tariffs, prices, transportation charges, storage rates, insurance fees, working costs; to use or expropriate rights of mining and water."

2. In regard to labor and labor rights:  
"The government may draft subjects of the Empire for employment in general mobilization enterprises or cause them to cooperate in conducting such concerns; give necessary orders concerning use, employment dismissal, wages and other labor terms of employees, control the prevention, settlement, restriction or prohibition of actions in labor disputes."

3. In regard to "ideas":  
"In the field of literature, the government may restrict or prohibit matters printed in newspapers or other publications."

4. In regard to punishments:  
In this section, too, as thruout most of the book, one bit of evidence is like another, with no proper discrimination between what is of prime importance and what is not. For all its faults, Mr. Seldes has done a piece of work that should prove useful to trade unionists and others engaged in popular agitation. If the reader keeps at all times in mind that there is a class struggle in progress and that all the evidence in the book derives from that, he will find much in it to make it worth his while reading.

M. P.

# The May Bill

**Y**ET the May bill should not be viewed alone, but as part of a broad and partially erected structure of legislation and executive orders and plans already in effect or projected. This structure—the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the latest version of which was approved by the Secretaries of War and Navy in 1938—should be read by every American, for it forecasts in clear and diagrammatic form the totalitarian, ubiquitous nature of tomorrow's war. In effect, the plan provides for government by fiat, with the President as absolute dictator of the nation's destinies, and with an emergency establishment virtually superseding the Cabinet and executive branches of government. . . . The May bill is not a "blueprint of dictatorship"; it is a "surrender of democratic rights" to a military autocracy, a legislated confession of our lack of confidence in those self-governing principles for which this nation long has stood foursquare.—Editorial in the New York Times, April 10, 1938.

The bill contains eighteen articles specifying measures to be taken against persons infringing upon the provisions of the bill or committing other offenses harmful to the purposes of the bill. Punishments range from a fine of 500 yen to imprisonment with hard labor for five years. A National General Mobilization Inquiry Commission will be established "for the purpose of investigating subjects posed by the government concerning important items pertaining to the enforcement of the law."

**War Brings Fascism**  
Such, with many details omitted, is the National Mobilization Bill, Japan's M-Day plan. Its application, already begun, will allow the Japanese government to exercise complete control of every aspect of Japanese life at its own discretion without further reference to the legislature. That power once lodged in the government's hands under the plea of national emergency will

not be easily given up. The moral is obvious. War leads inevitably to fascist controls. The development will be the same in the case of the so-called "democratic" nations, which have their M-Day plans all ready in preparation for The Day. And those who, under the pretext of fighting fascism, are prepared to support the capitalist "democracies" in an imperialist war "to curb the aggressors," will merely help to introduce at home the very fascism they pretend to be fighting against.

**WORKERS AGE IS YOUR PAPER SUBSCRIBE!**

# News of the AGE

By Robert Macklin

## THE AGE AT THE ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

**T**HE National Anti-War Congress held during the Decoration Day week-end at Washington, D. C., emerged as a vibrant, militant force, with body and backbone—a labor backbone—with a will to live and grow and fight the war against war. Stalinists and other jingoes were conspicuous by their absence. Two or three of them somehow blundered in, but the posters greeting them at the entrance of the convention hall left no doubt as to the temper of the eleven hundred genuine anti-war delegates.

The Workers Age reached all the delegates. It was heartening to note the number of trade unionists who indicated that they were subscribers but were happy to get the current issue because they were away from home. One delegate whom I approached for a subscription remarked that he was getting the Age free thru an exchange, naming one of the several hundred labor papers with which we have arranged an exchange of papers. I jokingly suggested that it was really an unequal exchange. He laughed and said that perhaps I was right, meanwhile handing me a dollar to make him a bona-fide subscriber!

The editorial, "We Fight War," on the front page of the Workers Age received very favorable comment. There was no doubt that our paper was an important factor at the Congress and that its influence in the whole-anti-war movement is considerable.

Five thousand copies of a leaflet reprint of the Age article, "American C.P. Writes Its Own Epitaph," were distributed at the Communist Party convention in New York on May 26. Subs and applications for membership to the I.C.L.L. were some of the immediate results.

**ON THE SENTIMENTAL SIDE**  
While rummaging thru my desk, I found a wrapped copy of the Workers Age with a Post Office notation that it was "undeliverable." I kept this copy for sentimental reasons. The name and address were  
Joaquin Maurin, Barcelona, Spain.

There was also attached a scribbled note from our office secretary: "Be sure that the P.O.U.M. gets the Age."  
Maurin is in jail, in a fascist jail, and the Stalinists, making common cause against the revolutionary workers, have to their credit the murder of Andres Nin and many other P.O.U.M.ists. But the P.O.U.M. carries on. We are not merely sentimental about these comrades. We are bitter. It may be un-Christian, but bitterness and hatred of working-class enemies are healthy and good instincts.

We are proud that the Workers Age has done its bit to help the P.O.U.M., to spread an understanding of its aims and policies, to defend its revolutionary honor before the world against the base slanders of the Stalinists. You may be sure that the P.O.U.M. is continuing to get the Workers Age despite all difficulties and so are our German and Austrian comrades—and that is not all they are receiving from us in the way of aid and assistance either!

One sure way we here can help the P.O.U.M. and the cause for which it stands is to spread the Age, for thru the Age the message of the P.O.U.M. can reach American workers!

That means one thing right now: Put over the new Sub Drive! Help the Age reach 3,000 new readers!



## Trade Union Notes

By Observer

### Again the N.M.U. Situation

By JACK SODERBERG

May 13, 1938

SOME time ago I had occasion to remark on the work of the Stalinites in the National Maritime Union. The balance-sheet at the time wasn't any too rosy. It has now gone from bad to worse. The chicanery practised in the old days of the T.U.U.L. is still being applied with a vengeance. And let no one tell you that the Stalinites haven't had the opportunity to prove themselves within this union. When you consider that, out of ten members on the District Committee, seven are party members, and one (Curran) is a willing party stooge, you will understand better what a great opportunity they have had to show their worth as trade unionists. The same thing applies to the branches. Out of twenty-three branches on the Atlantic coast and the Gulf, seventeen are controlled by Stalinist officials.

Here is an example of C.P. trade-union democracy and honesty. The rank-and-file auditing committee elected to inspect the Engine Division books reported a shortage and stated that mishandling of funds was revealed by a "forced balance." On the basis of this committee's report, charges were made against Moe Byne, Engine Division treasurer; and Frank Jones, Stewards Division, and Charles DeGress, Seamen's Division trustees; all members of the District Committee's sub-committee on finance.

Charges were also directed against Thomas McGowan, Boston; Paddy Whelan, Baltimore; Robert Meers, New Orleans; and Richard Graham, Norfolk. In the foregoing were agents in their respective ports and solely responsible for the books and money. All, without a single exception, are members of the Communist Party.

At the regular Engine Division meeting, a trial committee was elected to try the accused functionaries and bring back recommendations. However, the following night, May 3, at the headquarter joint meeting of all three divisions, the party fraction got busy. At all costs, the trial committee must not be allowed to proceed. When you take into consideration that all of these officials are candidates in the current referendum ballot, you can quite well understand that they could not afford to be exposed at this time!

"Rasputin" Lawrensen, party member and famous for his Tanker sell-out, was delegated by the fraction to take the floor and sidetrack the trial committee. He successfully carried out his assignment and a motion was made to elect a committee of three to "investigate the charges." The following were elected: Mills, Boston; Van Der Roos and Collins, New York; all three members of the Communist Party. So we now have a committee of three Stalinites to investigate some other Stalinites! I'll bet that will be some investigation!

You will note that the rights of the Engine Division, as guaranteed by "the most democratic constitution in any union in the world," to elect its own trial committee to try its own officials were ignored and the well-oiled fraction machine of the Communist Party succeeded once again in ramming its decrees down the throats of the rank and file.

Jerry King and Phillips, the only non-party members of the District Committee (discounting Curran, the man on the flying trapeze) are being squeezed by Lawrensen, Byne and the rest of Browder's lads on the committee. They have tried to frame them; they have tried in every possible and impossible way to "get something on them"—but to-date they have been unsuccessful. Both are running for office,

King against Lawrensen as national secretary-treasurer, and Phillips as secretary-treasurer of the Engine Division. The Stalinist machine may succeed in defeating them but of this you can be sure; we haven't heard the last from these two lads yet. Some day there's going to be an explosion on that waterfront and, when the smoke and debris clear away, the Communist Party will be a thing of the past in so far as the N.M.U. is concerned and the union will be returned on a true course.

#### FROM THE ASH-CAN

The Communist Party line in the trade-union movement simply defies analysis. Perhaps the best way to describe it is: unbridled lust for power and factional domination as the aim; anything goes as the means. In a word: rule or ruin! The old "third-period" methods of mud-throwing, abuse and slander, so characteristic of the era of "social-fascism," have not been abandoned by any means; they have merely been put to use in the service of other, and far worse, ends than in the "ultra-revolutionary" period of a few years ago.

As evidence, we submit the following extract from the May 1938 issue of the "Detroit Hotel and Restaurant Worker," a bulletin issued by the Food Workers Unit of the Communist Party in Detroit. We defy anyone to produce a more classical specimen of "third-period" raving and ranting than is to be found here:

"Miss Myra Komoroff, the one-time 'revolutionist' whose 'revolutionary' activities now consist of being the Red-baiting mouthpiece for the bureaucrats of the hotel unions—just as the strong-arm guys suppressed the militants in the local meeting where five hotel workers were expelled.

"Cripes, hold your nose! Here comes Mr. Bob Carruthers, also a 'friend of the working class.' We think that the hotel workers would like to know what the communists think of this Charley McCarthy of Louis Koenig.

"Well, he was expelled from the Communist Party three years ago for having a yellow streak a yard wide, when, to save his lousy hide, he became a paid flunkey of Koenig's and, when one works for Koenig—well, that's enough for any worker.

"Also, he has now become the

## Furrier Union Oppositions Unite Against Gold Clique

(We publish below the declaration issued by the provisional committee of the recent conference of all oppositional groups in the New York furriers union.—Editor.)

\* \* \*

ON Saturday, May 28, a conference was held in the Rand School consisting of active rank-and-file members of the furriers union together with representatives of the various opposition groups in the union, for the purpose of uniting all opposition forces into one body.

At the conference, the need for a fight against the bureaucratic union clique was emphasized. It was shown that this administration, which has been in the saddle for the last few years, has long forgotten the needs of the fur workers and has brought about the present ruinous situation in the union.

All present came to one and the

## Peace Meet Maps Drive

(Continued from Page 3)

shipbuilding were other war industries represented!

The national committee elected by the congress to carry on its work for the coming year consists of Dr. John A. Lapp, chairman; representatives to be named by each of the peace organizations; Theresa Durlach, Dorothy Detzer, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Rose Stein, Harold Fey, Devere Allen, Tucker Smith, John T. Flynn, Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Rev. Allen Chalmers, Fred. Taylor representing the farmers, Norman Thomas, Bertram D. Wolfe, three from the Youth Section (Al Hamilton, Frank Litell and Minnie Lurye,) and a number from the Labor Section (Homer Martin, A. Philip Randolph, Charles S. Zimmerman, John Edelman, Murray Baron, a representative of railroad labor), and one or two other persons whose names are to be announced later.

Neighborhoods and localities and organizations are now getting reports of their delegates and preparing their future work. This brief chronicle does not begin to do justice to the achievements and significance of this historic congress. Members of the I.C.L.L. and friends and sympathizers are invited to hear a fuller report from the writer of the present article at Rivera Hall on Friday night, June 10, at 8 p. m.

official gum-shoe expert of the hotel union.

"Who slugged Koenig? Our guess is that he was beaten up by some of his gangster pals. You know the old saying: 'It takes a thief to catch a thief!'"

same conclusion: that all oppositions should unite without delay—that a single organized force, ready and able to fight against the evils in the union, should be formed immediately.

The conference was composed of right and left-wing socialists, anarchists, Lovestoneites, right and left-wing Zionists, as well as a number of progressive workers without political affiliation. All were determined not to tolerate any further the destructive conduct of the present union administration.

The conference decided to popularize the actual facts about the present administration, its policies and its needs, which have served the interests of their own narrow clique rather than the interests of the fur workers.

We will bring to light the real reasons for the recent lockout-strike combination, which actually served as a relief to the bosses and was of no real benefit to the workers.

We will make clear to the fur workers the real meaning of the so-called "victory" which the administration boasts so much about—a "victory" that gives the bosses the privilege of handpicking the workers they want, a scheme of dividing the workers into two kinds of citizens, privileged and declassed.

We will take up with the fur workers the questions we were unable to elaborate on during the strike.

We will uncover the real facts and show why our union was entirely isolated from all other needle-trades unions in New York during the strike, when most of the fur workers were on the verge of starvation and when the assistance of these unions was a matter of urgent need.

We will throw light on the evils that stand in the way of uniting the workers and strengthening the union, the only weapon that can

## AIDING THE AGGRESSOR

HOW a "fascist aggressor," like Japan, admittedly at war because of the need of her capitalists for new sources of raw materials and markets, can carry on a war requiring just such resources, was explained in an article by J. G. Forrest in the New York Times of April 24, 1938.

"Japan has had to lean more and more on the United States, Great Britain, Holland and France for raw materials," writes Mr. Forrest. "These nations supply almost 75% of the raw materials used by Japan, with the United States and Great Britain accounting for 62% of the total."

After detailing China's vast, mostly untapped, natural resources, the article specifies Japan's basic needs.

**Petroleum:** Japan produces only 10% of her peace-time needs. Her conservation program has resulted in a six-months supply.

**Iron:** Japan produces only 35% of her normal demand and imports one-third from the United States. Japan has been one of the heaviest purchasers of scrap-iron in the United States since the middle of 1935.

**Cotton:** Half the annual purchases of cotton are made in the United States and the other half in India.

**Wool:** Great Britain sells Japan 85% of the wool the latter needs.

**Bauxite:** This ore, used for aluminum and important for airplane construction, comes partly from Holland but mostly from Canada, which supplies 71% of Japan's needs.

Those "great democracies"—what a curious way they have of expressing their hatred of fascism and militarism! And, oh, how the profits roll in!

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