

Who Betrays Spain?

an editorial

THE French periodical, L'Espagne Nouvelle (New Spain), in its issue No. 50-51, publishes the following extracts from a letter sent on May 25, 1937—that is, just after the so-called Barcelona "uprising"—by Indalecio Prieto, Spanish right-wing socialist leader and then Minister of War, to Fernando de los Rios, Spanish Ambassador to the United States:

"At last the most important part of the purge is over. In Barcelona and vicinity, the F.A.I. and C.N.T. organizations are crippled; their most dangerous elements are dead or in prison. . . . The purge is not yet complete, however. But, after the big resistance is broken, it will be easy without too much violence and effort to take repressive measures to complete the job in a short time. There is the danger that their people who are at the front may leave it in order to come to the aid of their organizations. But I believe that they will not dare to do so. It would be very difficult for them to organize such a movement. Moreover, we have decided to begin a series of offensives on various fronts where we will send the F.A.I.-C.N.T. people as shock-troops. We have also decided to see to it these elements occupy the most dangerous positions. In this way, the agitators themselves will help us to complete the purge. This policy is necessary, as you know, in order to satisfy the three great powers that have helped us most; indeed, they have recently put such a demand to us."

In these amazing words, Prieto, lays bare the whole damnable conspiracy that is strangling anti-fascist Spain and opening the way for a Franco victory. Here we have at last an outright confession that the May events in Catalonia were a deliberate government provocation and not a C.N.T.-P.O.U.M. "putsch", as is still alleged in Stalinist quarters. Here we have a picture of the heads of the Loyalist government cold-bloodedly conspiring to murder the very men and women who saved the Spanish republic on July 19, 1936, the day of the Franco insurrection. Here we see the Minister of War of the Loyalist government planning his military operations with the end in view of massacring the most devoted and militant fighters in his armies! And all in order to please the "three great powers that have helped us most"—presumably England, France and the Soviet Union!

Prieto wrote these words over a year ago. Since then, he has himself been "purged", ousted from his high post by his own partners in crime. But the methods which he described so cynically in that letter are still the methods of those who speak and act in the name of the Spanish republic. More concerned with placating the property-owning interests at home and "reassuring" British and French imperialism than with mobilizing the full resources of the Spanish masses against fascism, the Loyalist regime—dominated by Stalinists, right-wing "socialists" and discredited "liberals"—has repeatedly shown itself ready to sacrifice the interests of an effective struggle against Franco for the sake of its counter-revolutionary intrigues. Treason and defeatism are indeed undermining the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism—but it is the treason and defeatism of those who dominate the Loyalist government at this time.

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 30

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1938.

5c a Copy

UAW Fights Split Plot

Disrupters Try To Force Intervention Of C.I.O.; Schemes Exposed

By GEORGE F. MILES
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

Detroit, Mich.

Will John L. Lewis intervene in the internal affairs of the United Automobile Workers of America? This appears to be the question most discussed within the labor movement because the Stalinist clique, definitely licked in the ranks of the U.A.W. despite its wild claims of support from 75% to 80% of the membership, is desperately seeking aid and support in that direction.

Mr. Lewis is in somewhat of a predicament. Some of his close advisers in the apparatus of the C.I.O., such as John Brophy, Lee Pressman and Len DeCaux, have always consistently backed the Stalinist "unity" caucus and continue today to move heaven and earth to align Mr. Lewis with the plans and purposes of the suspended clique of disrupters. But Mr. Lewis also knows that the masses of auto workers will not take kindly to intervention into their affairs from any source. This attitude has been expressed by outstanding spokesmen of the U.A.W. when they declared that the union "has the greatest regard for Mr. Lewis and it does not feel that he would intervene in the affairs of an autonomous union whose officers were elected to determine the policies of the union."

But, as cautious as Mr. Lewis has been in the handling of this most difficult situation, the mere fact of his meeting with an expelled officer of the U.A.W. lends itself to demagogic abuse and exploitation by the disrupters. This the Stalinists have not been slow to utilize, thus trying to create the impression that Mr. Lewis intends openly to intervene in their behalf

(Continued on Page 2)

POUM LEADERS TO BE "TRIED" IN FRAME-UP

Appeal For International Labor Commission

As we go to press, we are informed by cable from Paris that the trial of the leaders of the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) has at last been set for this week. These prisoners include some of the most outstanding figures in the Spanish working-class movement as well as the most devoted and militant anti-fascist fighters.

About a year ago, it will be recalled, they were arrested along with thousands of other anti-fascists, when the Stalinist-controlled Loyalist government began its savage drive against the revolutionary sections of the Spanish labor movement. Since then, they have been in prison, without trial, without even any definite charges being made officially against them. At the same time, the Stalinist

press kept up its campaign of filthy abuse against these anti-fascist militants.

At last, after persistent pressure from the labor organizations of Europe and America, a trial has been granted. But there is every reason to fear that this trial will be no more than a legal lynching. Only an international labor commission present at the trial can guarantee some degree of justice and fairness.

The recent convention of the Independent Labor League sent a strong cable to Premier Negrin appealing, in the name of a more united and effective struggle against Franco, for the release of the anti-fascist prisoners and urging the admission of an international labor delegation to the trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders.

Boss Gangs New Menace

Lynch Mobs Attack C.I.O. In Cal.; Weir Stoooges Threaten NLRB

In two widely separated parts of the country, company mobs figured in outbreaks of violence last week. In Steubenville, Ohio, hearings of the National Labor Relations Board on the Weirton case were threatened by several hundred people mobilized by the Weirton Security League, a company outfit said to embrace fraternal, church, patriotic and business organizations. The N.L.R.B. sessions had to be transferred to Pittsburgh. In Westwood, Cal., an armed mob of a thousand, aided and abetted by the local police authorities, attacked a C.I.O. picket line around a sawmill and then raided the homes of C.I.O. members so as to round them up and drive them out of town.

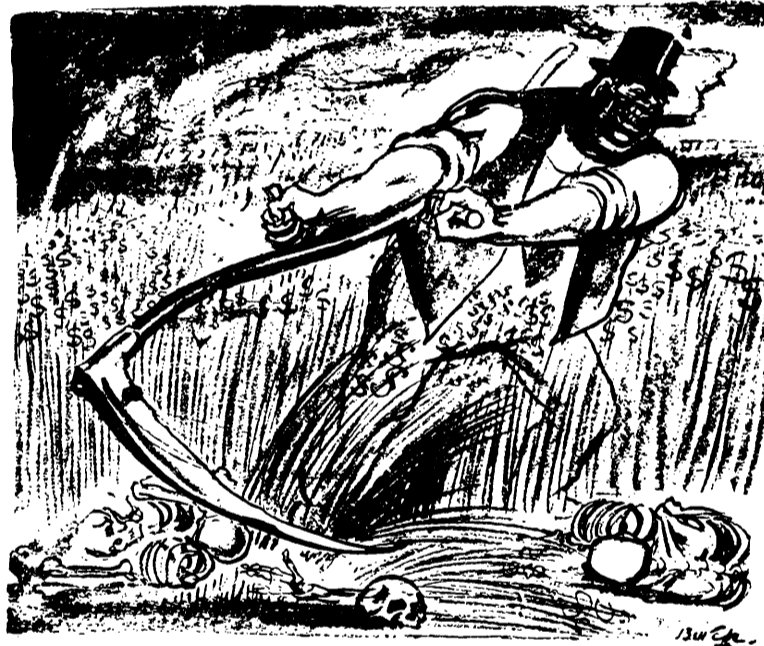
The outbreak at Steubenville was openly engineered by the Weirton Steel Company, which is under investigation by the N.L.R.B. for gross violations of the Wagner Act. The occasion for the company demonstration against the Board was the barring of one of the Weirton lawyers from hearings because of his obstructive conduct. In California, the attack was directed against a strike of C.I.O. lumber workers who were fighting a 17½% wage-cut.

These manifestations of company-mob violence are a challenge to the labor movement of this country. Not only are such mobs direct instruments of the employers in fighting unionism and in striving to destroy the newly-won rights of labor. Even more important is the role that these mobs can play in providing the beginnings of a mass base for a real fascist movement in this country. This is the direction in which the chief danger lies.

Organized labor must awaken to the challenge. It must voice instant

(Continued on Page 5)

REAPING THE FRUITS OF WAR



ON TO LABOR'S VICTORY!

Manifesto of the Independent Labor League

WORKING men and women of America:

Today it must be clear to all thinking men and women that we are living in a period of the decay of the present capitalist social order. There is crisis in economic life, crisis in the political system, crisis in international relations. Great cracks show in the edifice of capitalist democracy: even in our own land, evil fascist growths are beginning to take root in the crevices. Tho ours is the world's richest country, depression hangs on despite ups and downs for a decade. Twice it has spread in aggravated form since 1929 from this country to Europe. Clearly, this is more than the periodic torment of the business cycle which afflicted capitalism even in its best days: today, it is a matter of a crisis in the very system of ownership and production under which we live, in the entire social and economic order.

Four years of decline under the Old Deal and five under the New Deal, with all the magic spells of the former and all the manipulations and mock

THIS manifesto was unanimously adopted by the recent convention of the Independent Labor League of America in New York. The resolution on the Workers Age adopted by the same convention will be found on page 4 of this issue. The Program of Action and other documents of the convention will be published in forthcoming issues of this paper.

—Editor.

"planning" of the latter, demonstrate to every one who has eyes to see that it is capitalism itself which is bankrupt: that mankind has reached the point in its development when it must either summon up the courage, the organized power and the understanding to go forward to a new social order, or it will inevitably be driven backward to barbarism and chaos. Fascism or the rule of the workers, economic chaos or planned economy, capitalism or socialism: that is the historic alternative that confronts our generation.

THE DANGER OF A NEW WAR

Springing from the crisis and adding to it is the suicidal policy of huge military budgets and super-armaments, the preparation by the Administration leaders of a war-scare, the hatching of secret alliances and open plans for military dictatorship.

Official American foreign policy shifts between the fraudulent extremes of a utopian "isolationism" and a no less utopian "collective security."

(Continued on Page 2)

On To Labor's Victory!

Manifesto of the Independent Labor League

(Continued from Page 1)

The first is a gross deception that lulls the masses to sleep while ruling class and government follow a course of imperialist penetration thruout the world leading inevitably to involvement in war. For a modern capitalist power embarked on imperialist adventure, there is no "isolation," any more than there is for an enlightened working class seeking an alternative to international suicide in the international solidarity of labor. "Collective security" is an even grosser fraud than "isolationism." Not merely is there no collective security possible under capitalism; worse still, it is the cynical mask under cover of which secret military alliances are being prepared, and along with them the "holy" slogans for another unholy war "for democracy." "Collective security" is the banner of the Anglo-American alliance, two super-imperialist powers planning war to hold on to their empires. War, if we permit it to come—under whatever slogans—will immediately usher in the military dictatorship that the Administration is already preparing. Modern war embraces the whole nation. Being totalitarian in scope, it can only be waged under military totalitarian dictatorship. Tho it be proclaimed a "war against fascism," the first victim will be what is left of American liberties; the first effect in this country will be the establishment of fascism at home.

Working men and women of America: Is it not time to ask ourselves how our land, how the world not yet recovered from the frightful aftermath of the last war, can possibly endure a second one? Is it not high time that organized labor, the entire working class and laboring farm population, and all forward-looking men and women, should rally their forces in an organized fashion, to stem the sweep of reaction, to stop the drift towards fascism, war and chaos, to begin the turn of the tide towards social progress and a new social order?

AMERICAN LABOR ON THE MARCH

There is no cause for despair; even pessimism has no justification except in our own disorganization or inaction. The eyes of the masses in lands like Germany and Austria and Italy and Spain are turned to us with hope and expectation. American labor is on the march—for the first time in decades. In the midst of unemployment and economic decline, it has doubled its organized numbers, multiplied manifold its strength by improving its form of organization, given birth to the C.I.O., made the first beginnings of independent political action of labor, taken its first giant strides forward. Truly, the European masses have the right to expect much of us, and we to expect much of ourselves, for, due to the defeats of the European proletariat, the center of gravity of the strength of the working class is moving westward. We owe it to ourselves, as we do to our European brothers, to make the most of the historic possibilities of our present situation.

And how much a new voice, a new hope, a new strength and understanding are needed today! For the fearful tragedy of the moment lies not so much in the plots of our rulers nor the death agony of their system. It lies rather in the conditions of the international working-class movement itself, the moral disintegration and treachery of the Socialist and Communist Internationals. Here too, there is new hope, for forces which have had the courage to break with the bankrupt and corrupt policies of these organizations have this very year (at the International Conference at Paris) laid the foundations for the rebuilding of international labor solidarity and the reconstruction of a genuine working-class International.

American labor's main job, as always, begins at home. It can only help itself and its brothers in other lands by clarifying its own understanding, strengthening its own organization, beating back its own master class, setting its own house in order. It is to this end that the Independent Labor League of America, flesh and blood and bone of the American working class, addresses itself to its fellow workers of America for support in the ef-

fort to meet the emergency and the tasks with which our times confront us.

The Independent Labor League of America addresses itself in the first instance to all American working men and women. It does that in the consciousness that it is not something apart from them, but a part of them, not preaching from on high or shouting from afar, but working by word and deed in the unions, in the growing labor-party movement, in the day-to-day struggles, as part and parcel of the American labor movement. We have gathered within our ranks forward-looking class-conscious workers, representing a new type of radical in the history of American labor. We are not the American "translation" or echo of some movement born abroad and rooted in foreign conditions and outlook. Our movement is not, as the old Socialist Party was, an imitation of the German social-democracy, or as the Communist Party was, a feeble American aping of the Russian Bolsheviks. Nor are we the followers on American soil of another Trotsky or Stalin. We do not reject for a moment the lessons positive and negative to be learned from the experiences of the workers in other lands and the body of socialist theory and practise developed internationally. But we have from the first insisted on the specific nature of the problems that each working class must solve, which differ enormously from land to land, and on the fact that the battle for a free world for American workers begins here at home and first of all against our own master class. And, from the first, we have been an inseparable part of the American working class with roots sunk deep in the working-class movement.

WE STAND WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Independent Labor League of America is not a sect seeking to "bore from within" or to split off a chosen few, or to create a "chemically pure" labor movement of its own, according to its own patent formula or preconceived sectarian pattern. We have always placed our hopes in the American labor movement as it is developing in response to the needs of the workers, and by our actions as part of it we have helped to extend and strengthen its organization. We accept as our own the American labor movement as it is. We accept it as the real starting-point for any hope of further progress of labor. Only as it advances can we and our class advance; only as it learns from experience can it clarify itself and go forward. We do not set up and have always opposed the setting up of dual "revolutionary" unions against the real trade-union movement. Nor are we a political party set up in opposition to the political party arising out of the labor movement, based first of all upon the independent political action of the organized workers. In this field, too, we work as a part of the movement, seeking to strengthen it by our activity and service, seeking to contribute such understanding and ability as we may possess, seeking to build it and to hasten its growth in political independence, in organization and understanding. If we aspire to distinguish ourselves from the rest of our class, it is only by trying to work harder, serve better, analyze as clearly as possible in the light of our socialist understanding and thus deepen the consciousness, clarify the vision, strengthen the organization, and hasten the progress of our class, in whose forward march we see the main hope of humanity and the only force that can lead mankind out of the present crisis towards a better social order!

For a powerful, militant, united trade-union movement!

For a united labor front against the employing class!

For independent labor political action!

Against imperialistic war and war-making diplomacy!

For international labor solidarity!

For socialism!

INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA

July 4, 1938.

MR. HULL'S MORALITY

"MR. SECRETARY HULL has been meditating again about these air-raids (in China) and bombings and slaughtered civilians (in China), and it just seems to him that they are not right. In fact, he goes even farther and says they are immoral. And he wishes the American manufacturers of bombing planes wouldn't sell their planes to Japan to be used against civilians in China.

"Mr. Hull should have mind upon his health and try to restrain himself from these violent emotional outbursts.

"Someone asked him if the bombing of civilians in Spain were not also rather objectionable. For answer, he pointed to the well-known record of his government, which some time ago viewed this practise as improper and almost reprehensible.

"No one asked him why it was right to ship planes, bombs and all other war materials to the brigands that are slaughtering civilian population in Spain. Probably this ques-

tion was evaded because it was feared that the too susceptible Secretary might burst into tears.

"A few days later, some rude persons, quite unmindful of Mr. Hull's sensibilities (and addictions), uncivilly insisted to him that to sell to Great Britain planes for the bombing of Arabs and Hindoos must be as immoral as to sell planes to Japan for the bombing of Chinese. At first thought, such questions seem highly annoying, but we must make allowance for ignorance. The misguided creatures that urged this impertinence do not know that the British never bomb until they have had family prayers and sung the Doxology." —Charles Edward Russell, in *New Leader*, June 18, 1938.

Politician, whose column, "Viewed from the Left," appears regularly on this page, is on vacation. The column will be resumed in a few weeks.

U.A.W. Fights Split Plot

(Continued from Page 1)

—to overthrow the present union leadership by a rump decision of a fictitious majority of the International Executive Board and to place the union under the domination of Stalinism. The collapse of this maneuver precipitated the present phase of the war against the union, directed towards setting up a dual organization. No other interpretation can be placed on the strategy of the disrupters:

1. They have launched a campaign to starve the union by withholding finances wherever they possibly can.

2. They openly violate and disregard the authority and discipline of the organization.

3. They pretend to speak and act in the name of the union, basing themselves on the fantastic claim of "representing 80% of the membership."

4. They slander the union by charging that it is opposed to the C.I.O., thus attempting to create the impression that the struggle in the union is over that issue and that they are the spokesmen of the C.I.O. and John L. Lewis.

5. They call numerous local, regional, state, and national conferences (the national conference was temporarily postponed) without authorization of the International Executive Board and utilize these conferences for the purpose of mobilizing for dual unionism.

The question of a dual organization has been discussed in the leading group of the disrupters. More than that, in a discussion with a high official of the state of Michigan, Mr. Frankenstein admitted that he and his friends were ready to launch a new organization!

The recent cry of the Stalinists, charging the leadership of the union with opposition to the C.I.O., represents the third shift in the last few weeks. Originally, the suspended officers raised the cry of "Lovestoneite factionalism" as an explanation for the situation in the union. When that failed to bring results, the *Daily Worker* came to the assistance of the disrupters with the discovery that the suspensions represented a conspiracy on the part of the union to defeat Governor Murphy for reelection. This explanation was not only thoroughly false but also extremely embarrassing to Governor Murphy. Hence the newest discovery was to "disloyalty" to the C.I.O.

But no matter what issue the Stalinists may raise, the mass of the membership know that for them there is only one problem—the union of Stalinist disruption and grasping careerism!

Labor Unity Against War Alliance

By ROBERT EDWARDS

(These paragraphs are from the address delivered by Robert Edwards, member of the National Council of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, at the symposium-banquet held in New York on June 23.—Editor.)

I wish to thank you for your welcome. I wish to tender to you all revolutionary greetings from the socialist movement of Great Britain. I wish to bring you greetings from the International Socialist Bureau of London which at this moment is uniting all the forces of revolutionary labor thruout the world.

I came here to do a number of things for my party in Britain, one of the most important of which is to study at close quarters, the practise, the program, the background, the struggle of the great C.I.O. movement, because we know in Britain that we have many lessons to learn from you. We have tried to cross the ocean, to approach and understand how it was possible, in so short a time, for a mighty movement of the working class to drag from the mightiest financial barons of the world, concession after concession. We want to learn from you this new strategy, these new tactics, this new militancy which has placed labor in the United States right in the very front, right in the very center, of the working-class struggle thruout the world.

During these last few days, it has been my privilege to talk to many rank-and-file workers way out in Detroit, to talk with the lassies of the Woolworth stores, those little girls of 16 and 17, who went on strike, who sat down in the shop for eight days and nights, without any experience in organization, without ever having attended a meeting in their life, who were able in eight days and nights to win a battle against the mightiest chain of stores in the world!

I learned from the organizer of that great strike some of the spirit, some of the bravery, some of the great buoyancy and courage, which at this moment characterizes your movement, a courage which we believe will develop momentum and drive until the working class of this great country has reached the stage when it can lay the basis of a socialist society out of which poverty and hunger and the horrors of war have been eliminated for all time.

I was interested to listen to the remarks of my two comrades, Thomas and Zimmerman, on the question of collective security, on the question of the dangers of war. I want to warn you: Don't treat collective security with a smile; don't underestimate the forces, the hidden forces, that are working in London, in New York, for an Anglo-American alliance that will become a war alliance.

We don't ask you for an Anglo-American alliance—we ask you for the only real alliance, an alliance of the working class of the two countries. You are being told on all sides that it is necessary for the democratic powers to build up a common front against fascism. I want to tell you that there were concentration camps in the British Empire long before the advent of Hitlerism. I want to tell you that, in India, there are concentration camps at this moment where 5,000 Indian socialists and communists have remained for five years without trial and without charges.

On the continent of Africa, with its 95% population black, on that great continent the 95% of the population have no vote, no land, no rights of their own. In Hong Kong, in the British settlement of Shanghai, there are still notices in the parks: "Dogs and Chinamen not admitted."

The British Empire is not a democracy. It is a dictatorship of the financiers. It is used as a happy-hunting-ground of the bankers of London, used to exploit the millions in that empire.

We ask you: Beware of those who are campaigning for alliances of the "democratic" nations! We raise the slogan of working class unity, working class struggle thruout the world! That is the only basis for peace, that is the only guarantee against war. That is the only sure way of working class advance.

I was interested in the remarks of Comrade Zimmerman relating to a deputation which I understand your President is sending from this country to inquire into the operation of the British Trade Union Dispute Act of 1927. I want to tell you that this Act was brought into operation to destroy the political arm of the trade-union movement in Great Britain. It had three other definite objectives: to prevent sympathetic strikes, and sympathetic strikes are now outlawed; to prevent mass picketing, and mass picketing has been made illegal; to divorce the civil servants union from political labor and make it illegal for the civil servants to be affiliated with the general trade-union movement, the Trade Union Congress. These are the effects of the British Trade Union Act, and it is necessary for you to combat any tendencies in America along these lines.

I want to talk to you about Spain, because here we have the greatest tragedy in the world of labor; here we have an outstanding example of how labor thruout the world failed in the test.

I have some right to speak about Spain. I fought in the mountains of Aragon and left many of my dearest friends dead upon the battlefields of Spain.

I want to say this at the outset: the Spanish workers defeated in a week the insurrection of Franco. It was only the intervention of the two dictator powers of Europe that drove back the Spanish working class, hampered as it was by its own false policies. There are some important lessons for us in the Spanish struggle. Working men and women, fighting against the forces of fascism, cannot hope to win by opportunism. Political opportunism lost Morocco to the Spanish workers. Had the Popular Front government of Spain gone to the Moors and said: We give you freedom, self-determination, self-government!—then the Moors would not be fighting in Franco's columns in Spain and Franco would never have found such a basis of support.

The policy of land for the peasants, workers control in the factories, political and economic freedom, workers rule—these would have brought the entire masses of Spain, including the masses in Franco Spain, behind the government.

Organized capitalism in Europe, the British government, the German and Italian governments, unfortunately the government of Leon Blum, the socialist, were united in trying to prevent the development of a Red Spain. It was the Popular Front government of Leon Blum that closed the Pyrenees to the Spanish workers, that barred arms from Spain, when the dictator powers were sending boatload after boatload of arms into all of Franco's ports. Here is the classic example of the failure of Popular Front governments to

fight international capitalist reaction. This is the classic test of the failure of the whole ideology of the Popular Front.

Labor failed thruout the world to break the concentration of capitalist reaction in Spain. Labor failed to give material support to the Spanish workers. Here we have the lesson we must learn, that the struggle of the working class, no matter in what country it is conducted, is our struggle—the struggle towards a more just, more democratic, more peaceful and a more civilized, a civilization that will give hope and freedom and an abundant life for all.

You make a very great mistake if you imagine there is no danger of fascism here. Capitalism in crisis always looks around for its thugs and military gangsters to smash the challenge of the advance of the working class. And you must maintain your struggle, develop your struggle, create the basis of unity here in America, if in the en masse this nightmare—fascism—is to be uprooted and destroyed.

You still have time, but you are fighting against time. And there is no reason why the political movements of America that are

The A.L.P. in the Upstate Counties

By CHARLES McDOWELL

MUCH has been written about the American Labor Party in New York City but very little attention has been devoted to what is being done in other parts of the state.

At the present time, the A.L.P. has four organizers in various parts of the state: one in the Hudson Valley region, one in the Capital (Albany) district, one covering the farm area (central New York), and one covering the southern tier counties. There are also two volunteer organizers in Suffolk County. In addition to these, many of the clubs thruout the state are carrying on organizational work on their own initiative.

To-date, about thirty of New York's sixty-two counties have A.L.P. clubs or branches, besides

working class movements should not find common agreement in political struggle. There is no reason why the great industrial organizations of America, tho they cannot find common ground organizationally at the moment, should not find a policy of common action, in order to prepare for the great days of the future!

What Price World War

by Robert Walters

WHAT were the costs of the World War—in men and money? Who paid these costs? And who profited by the war? Let the facts speak!

I. LOSSES IN LIFE

The following table shows the losses of life due directly to the World War:

Country	Birth Losses	War Dead	Increased Deaths At Home	Total Losses
Czarist Russia	8,300,000	2,500,000	2,200,000	13,000,000
Germany	3,600,000	2,000,000	700,000	6,300,000
Austria-Hungary	3,800,000	1,500,000	500,000	5,800,000
Great Britain	850,000	200,000	200,000	1,850,000
France	1,500,000	1,400,000	440,000	3,340,000
Italy	1,400,000	600,000	280,000	2,280,000
Belgium	175,000	115,000	85,000	375,000
Bulgaria	155,000	65,000	55,000	275,000
Roumania	150,000	150,000	200,000	500,000
Greece	600,000	640,000	1,630,000	2,870,000
U. S. A.	100,000	67,000	90,000	257,000
	20,350,000	9,896,000	5,291,000	35,637,000

Thirty-five million victims of the war. This amounts to nearly 10% of the populations involved!

II. WAR WOUNDED

To these 35,000,000 victims of the war must be added the twenty millions of war wounded, men with torn bodies, missing limbs, shell-shocked minds.

Country	No. Wounded	Proportion of Wounded to Tot. Strength of Army
Germany	4,216,000	39
Great Britain	2,090,000	23
France	4,216,000	50
Austria-Hungary	3,630,000	46
Italy	947,000	16
Bulgaria	152,000	13
Roumania	120,000	16
Serbia	133,000	19
Belgium	44,000	16
U. S. A.	205,000	4
Czarist Russia	4,950,000	41
	20,693,000	

III. FINANCIAL COSTS

If the United States, because of the shortness of time of its actual participation in the World War, did not suffer such serious losses in life and limb as did the European peoples, it was quite otherwise in regard to the financial costs of the war. The amount of wealth poured in by the United States government into the furnace of the war is beyond the power of the imagination to conceive.

An official estimate of the costs

of the war by the Secretary of the Treasury puts this figure at about \$50,000,000,000—fifty billion dollars! Experts have declared, however, that before the United States gets thru paying for the war, the total will mount up to well over \$100,000,000,000—one hundred billion dollars.

Current Opinion of March 1925

Category	Value
Direct Costs	\$186,333,000,000
Indirect costs	
Value of human lives lost	33,568,000,000
Soldiers	35,500,000,000
Civilians	35,500,000,000
Value of property lost	
On land	29,960,000,000
On sea	6,800,000,000
Loss in production	45,000,000,000
War relief	1,000,000,000
Loss to neutrals	1,750,000,000
	\$151,600,000,000
TOTAL	\$337,993,000,000

Another estimate places the total cost of the war as \$337,000,000,000—three hundred and thirty-seven billions. The direct costs amount to \$186,300,000,000; the indirect to \$151,600,000,000. This is accounted for as follows:

These figures are mere guesses and largely underestimations. For example, the financial losses suffered by the Czarist empire are incalculable. The losses of the other countries are estimated on the basis of official figures in so far as they are available.

(Continued on Page 5)

the five New York City counties. The most important of these are Erie, Monroe, Onondaga, Oneida, Schenectady, Fulton, Orange, Rensselaer, Chemung, Broome, Chautauqua, Ulster and Dutchess. Some of the cities which have flourishing clubs and branches are Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Utica, Schenectady, Gloversville, Newburgh, Troy, Elmira, Binghamton, Jamestown, Poughkeepsie, Kingston and Albany. All this has been accomplished in the short space of a year. It reflects great credit upon the energy of the A.L.P. organizers and the readiness of the people of New York State to accept the program and principles of the American Labor Party.

Difficulties of Organization

It has, however, been no easy task. It has been found to be much more difficult to organize outside New York City than in the city itself. New York City has a much more radical tradition than other parts of the state. In New York City, there are thousands of workers and liberals who have not been ready to accept the program of either the socialists or the communists but who welcome with open arms a party more progressive than the Democratic or Republican party. Other parts of the state, however, are traditionally conservative and it is only with the greatest of patience and care that they can be won to the A.L.P.

The politicians of the two old parties, frightened at the growth of the A.L.P., have resorted to the old trick of shouting "communism" or "radical." It has to be carefully and persistently explained that while the A.L.P. program is a program of progressive reform and far more advanced than the programs of the old parties, the party is by no means "communist" or even "radical" in the usual sense of the term.

One of the problems facing the A.L.P. officials is the task of selecting county and state committees. These state and county committees must be made up of voters who have enrolled under the emblem of the A.L.P. Most of the enrollees are an unknown quantity and must be interviewed to determine their qualifications for and willingness to accept these important posts. It is most inspiring to find most of the enrollees ready and eager to serve on the committees, ready and eager to help in the great task of building the A.L.P.

The Appeal Of The A.L.P.

It is sometimes difficult to realize that it is from the ranks of the Democratic and Republican parties that most of the voters for the A.L.P. will be drawn. It is to these voters—workers, farmers and middle-class liberals—that the A.L.P. must direct its efforts. New voters do not spring from the ground overnight. There are, of course, a certain number of new, young voters each year, but it is obvious that it would be a long time before the A.L.P. would be a power if it were to depend entirely upon these. It is to all those who work for a living that the A.L.P. appeals, as against the appeals of the parties of the vested interests, and the appeal is meeting with success—so much so that it is causing a great deal of concern to the professional politicians of the two old parties.

The A.L.P. could make a great deal more progress, or at least make its task easier, in my opinion, if it were to include the word "farmer" in its name. Being called simply a "labor" party seems to give the impression to many that farmers are not to be included and it is with some difficulty that this false impression is overcome. It is difficult for industrial and city

(Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishers. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$6.00 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: Canada \$1.50 per year. Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: BRyant 9-0127

Vol. 7 July 23, 1938 No. 30

WHAT THE A.L.P. NEEDS

There is no use hiding the fact that the American Labor Party did not emerge with flying colors from its recent venture in political maneuvering in preparation for the Fall elections. Divided councils, dissension at the top and confusion in the ranks, a constant cross-fire of statements and counter-statements: that is certainly not the way for the A.L.P. to start off on a campaign upon which so much of its future depends.

What is the reason for this false start? It is not so much a question as to the merits of this or that proposal advanced in the recent controversy; far more is it a question of the fundamental workings of the party, of the relation between leadership and rank and file, of the attitude of the A.L.P. to the old-line parties. These are the problems to which the active elements in the American Labor Party will have to turn their attention immediately if the party is to measure up to the big tasks confronting it.

A party like the A.L.P., which is just beginning a long, uphill fight for a place in the political sun, requires aggressive, far-seeing, adroit leadership—but, above all, leadership that is united, coherent and consistent. The worst possible state of affairs is what we have been having lately: everybody issuing important statements on his own hook, none really binding or authoritative, each declared to be merely "tentative" or "personal", yet each committing the party in one direction or another, with the directions too often diametrically opposed. The A.L.P. certainly owes it to itself to put an end to such an impossible condition. The party should see to it that the machinery devised for responsible leadership is properly utilized; or if, as seems likely, that machinery is inadequate, let it be reconstructed to meet the situation. Surely, when party leaders speak on political affairs, it should be for the party, in the name of the party and representative of the mature, considered opinion of the party.

A party like the A.L.P., that depends so much upon the clarity and enthusiasm of its supporters, is not and cannot be simply identified with any leader or group of leaders, however capable, sincere or influential. Such a party must be the embodiment of the organized masses within it or it is nothing at all. Leadership in such a party implies a living, organic interconnection between the responsible party chiefs, the trade unions that go to make up the base and foundation of the party and the membership of the assembly-district clubs. Some way must be found to make this complicated machinery work effectively, especially from the point of view of involving the affiliated unions much more than hitherto in developing party policy and framing party tickets. That is really the only way of assuring a stable labor base for the A.L.P. as well as of mobilizing the masses of the union membership consciously behind the party's political course.

A party like the A.L.P., representing labor's bid for independence on the political field, cannot possibly allow itself to be taken for granted by either of the old parties. It is not in anybody's vest-pocket, either in Roosevelt's or in LaGuardia's. It is an independent party, standing on its own feet, committed to no permanent alliances in any direction, despite its general support of the New Deal at the present time. As President Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. recently put it: "The A.L.P. is in sympathy with the New Deal but this in no way commits it to the support of every Democratic candidate. The party cannot lose sight that it is an independent labor political organization with a definite program." Unfortunately, there has been a tendency in some quarters to overlook this. In spite of the fact that all sorts of old-party alliances are being projected by various A.L.P. spokesmen, no A.L.P. program for the 1938 elections has yet been put forward, neither state nor Congressional. To a degree, an atmosphere of "practical politics" in by no means the best sense of the word, of ordinary political horse-trading, in fact, has been permitted to gather. And the newspaper publicity arising out of this situation has been by no means an unmixed blessing.

All of these things are vitally important for the A.L.P. The mistakes made so far have already measurably affected its general position as well as

On the Workers Age

Resolution of the I.L.L.A. Convention

1. The political character of the Workers Age must necessarily reflect and be determined by the political character and mission of our organization, the I.L.L.A., of which it is the most important instrument and expression. As we conceive the I.L.L.A. today, it is, and strives increasingly to become, the political concentration of the advanced elements on every front of the class struggle and in every labor organization—an inspiring, leavening, guiding force in the labor movement.

2. Hence the fundamental aims of the Age are:
 a. to supply information as to significant events at home and abroad and to provide a Marxist interpretation of these events.
 b. to analyze, discuss and clarify the most important developments and problems facing the American workers.

c. to explain and carry on propaganda for our fundamental program and aims.
 d. to carry on a polemic with our political opponents and enemies.

e. to give guidance and direction to our members and readers on all important problems of the day so

that they may be better equipped to give effective guidance in their own particular fields of activity.
 f. to serve as a collective organizer and recruiting agent for the I.L.L.A.

3. On the whole, these aims have been realized in the Workers Age since the last convention. Special attention may be called to the full and comprehensive manner in which the war question has been handled, thru an unceasing stream of articles, editorials and short subjects dealing with its every phase; to the thoro and effective treatment of the Spanish civil war; to the discussion of the problems of the New Deal and labor politics in their manifold aspects; to the systematic treatment of the vital problems raised by the emergence of the C.I.O. and the split in the labor movement; and to the extensive discussion of social and labor legislation in its general and specific aspects.

4. In its form, tone and approach, the Age has tried to avoid certain extremes. It has tried to avoid being a theoretical paper in the proper sense of the term, although this has meant that we have had no facilities for some very necessary theoretical investigations and discussions. It has tried to avoid being high-brow or "literary" in its style and, on the other hand, "writing down" to its readers. It has tried to avoid the cheap and unsubstantial "popu-

lar" style which is so common in the coming elections. But, if the A.L.P., rank and file and leadership alike, are alive to the situation and take measures to overcome the shortcomings and weaknesses that have been revealed in recent weeks, there is every possibility for the party emerging considerably strengthened in its unity, in its organization and in its independent policy.

5. The development of the Age in the recent period has called attention to a number of grave shortcomings in its character and form:
 a. The circle of writers for the Age is far too limited in comparison with the literary resources of the organization. This leads to a certain monotony of presentation and to a serious inadequacy in the treatment of important problems.
 b. The Age is insufficiently national in its coverage. The same is true for various industries, unions and fields of the labor movement; they frequently receive inadequate treatment in the columns of the Age.
 c. The Age is especially deficient in straight anti-capitalist material, that is, material intended to describe and expose, in a popular manner, the workings of the cap-

italist system in its various aspects.
 d. The Age is also weak in straight educational material relating to the fundamentals of Marxism.
 e. An important shortcoming is the inadequacy of agitational material in the Age, material in an extremely popular form intended as a call to action.
 f. One of the gravest deficiencies of the Age is its failure adequately to reflect the life and activities of the organization and therefore to boost itself and the organization.

6. With the increasingly vigorous application of our new approach and orientation, there will naturally take place a considerable shift in the character of the Age in the direction of: (a) overcoming the present shortcomings; and (b) placing far greater emphasis on agitation and direct propaganda. But these changes will necessarily have to take place within the essential limits of the Age as determined by the fundamental mission and tasks of the I.L.L.A. It should always be remembered that our paper cannot be edited so as to be accessible to the average worker, for then it could never fulfill any of the functions for which it is destined. It is written and edited for the advanced, progressive workers who look to it for information, clarification, inspiration and guidance.

7. Any thoroughgoing improvement of the Age in the sense of fully overcoming all of the deficiencies mentioned above can be carried out only on the basis of an enlarged paper which will provide adequate facilities for an extension of the scope of the Age. An eight-page Age is, therefore, a vital necessity from this standpoint. Every effort should be made, however, to effect immediately whatever improvements are possible on the present basis.

WE publish herewith the resolution on the Workers Age presented by the editor of the Age and unanimously adopted by the recent convention of the I.L.L.A. This represents our opinion of the character, achievements and shortcomings of the Age. What do you, who are a reader of the Age, think about it?

We want your opinion, your criticism, your suggestions! We appeal to you to write freely—the more severe the criticisms, the more far-reaching the suggestions, the better; that's how we're going to improve the Age and make it what you want it to be. Or, if you think the Age is just fine, tell us about it. That helps too!

WORLD TODAY

By Lambda

The Anglo-Eire Agreement

(Concluded from the last issue)

By JACK CARNEY

(Our Irish Correspondent)

A SATURATED industrial situation, together with a drop in the export of agricultural produce and cattle, found the De Valera government faced with a crisis. Agreements with Germany and Spain were of little value because both countries could only export to Ireland what Ireland had to sell. These agreements just petered out.

The situation was impossible. In the country, men were killing the very cattle they needed to keep their stock up to the level. The cattle were dying out. There was no market for them and consequently no reason for breeding them. Calves were being killed by the thousands. The banks were calling in their mortgages. The government were foreclosing on farms that failed to keep up their payments because, altho the Irish farmer had ceased to pay his annuities to the British, he still had to pay them to the De Valera government.

Five years before, De Valera had declared that the British market had gone forever. Now it loomed large on the horizon as the El Dorado of the Irish farmer. The latter had seen the value of his output drop from £64,000,000 to £43,000,000.

This is the background of the Anglo-Eire agreement. De Valera has gone back on his political principles. He is no longer concerned with the industrialization of the Irish Free State. He wants a market for Irish agricultural produce. In return for this market, he is prepared to do the most incredible things—and has signed an agreement—such as the dropping of tariffs against British goods, which will mean the destruction of Irish industries. He has gone even further. He has agreed to make Dublin the base for oil supplies for the Royal Air Forces in time of war. He will modernize the Irish ports, which the British have returned on the understanding that, in time of war, they can be used only by the British. He has agreed to increase the strength of the army and the air forces. He has also agreed to pay £10,000,000 to the British government.

In return, he is to be given access to the British markets. Obviously, Mr. De Valera felt the situation in Ireland was so desperate that he was prepared to agree to anything.

This agreement will not satisfy the whole of the farmers. Irish wheat, with its 20% moisture, cannot compete with American, Argentine, Canadian or Rumanian wheat, with their average of 11% moisture. Then again, the large-scale production of North and South American wheat makes it cheaper than Irish wheat. The tillage farmers face ruin if this agreement is carried out, tho the cattle-raisers, that is, the pasture farmers, will make some money.

Why is it that the Cosgrave party supports the agreement? Because the background of the Cosgrave party is that of finance, banks, big industries that depend upon the British market, and the pasture farmers. (The big industries are Guinnesses and shipping.)

De Valera lost 90,000 votes at the last election. His own followers were deserting him and turning to labor. He now bids for the support of the pasture farmers so that he can seduce some of the followers of the Cosgrave party. He plays up to Britain so that he can secure the support of the financiers and bankers. If he secures this support, he will have the necessary power to dominate the entire 26 counties of the Irish Free State. He will then install a dictatorship but will be shrewd enough to maintain democratic institutions. De Valera has not the faintest conception of what industrialization means. If he had his way, the Irish would be clothed in homespun tweeds and live on potatoes and cold pork.

Whitehall views the Anglo-Irish agreement as a precedent to be followed by the rest of the dominions and colonies. It is both unsound and hypocritical for Whitehall to take such an attitude. What Whitehall will do, as a result of this agreement, is to attempt to hold off the dominions, postpone discussions of trade agreements, with the hope it may reduce the dominions to the same desperate plight.

Whitehall pats itself on the back because of its success in the negotiations with De Valera. It little knows what seeds it has sown in Ireland. When the full effects of this agreement are experienced by the people of Ireland, not even De Valera will hold them back. Tillage farmers unable to dispose of their wheat, oats, etc.; industries closed down because of British competition; men and women of town and country unemployed; taxation constantly increasing. Such is the picture of the future in Ireland.

News of the AGE

By ROBERT MACKLIN

A THOUGHT ABOUT EXILES

IT was at one of these Sunday-in-the-park outings, when we were listening spell-bound to one who had fought in Spain on the Aragon front with the Lenin Battalion under the banner of the P. O.U.M. His simple narratives of heroic deeds and sacrifices could very well fill a book. It would be grand if he wrote some of them up for the Age. The tales of Stalinist sabotage behind the lines would form some of the dark pages of this book.

The talk shifted to exiles of yesterday and today. We all agreed that the hardships encountered by the exiles of Czarist Russia were a mere inconvenience in comparison. Today, there is no haven for the political refugee of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy. Woe unto him if he is also anti-Stalinist, for his ultimate betrayal into the hands of his fascist enemies by G. P. U. intrigues is a constant menace. Indeed, it does not seem to matter in the long run whether one is anti-Stalin or pro-Stalin. We thought of Thaelmann in a Nazi concentration camp, and of Dimitrov "safe" in Moscow, and we wonder who will survive whom?

ARE WE OVERDOING ANTI-STALINISM?

We are being bombarded by letters from everywhere, some of which are so interesting and constructive that they merit being specially featured outside of this column. Many of them make the criticism that we are paying too much attention to the Stalinists. Well, let us put the problem to our readers in a straightforward manner. We will overlook, for the moment, the havoc wrought by them in the Soviet Union, Spain, Germany, France, etc., and we will examine the scene nearer home. You surely agree that the American Communist Party is the foremost pro-war propaganda agency in the country. Can you ignore that? Can you ignore its activities in the labor movement? They, have, as one of their objectives, to "drive the Lovestoneites out of the trade unions." Now that in itself does not worry us. We are well able to take care of ourselves, for we have achieved recognition as being progressive, responsible and constructive. But the activities of the Stalinists have definitely assumed the character of a union-smashing campaign. Unfortunately, they have worked themselves into a position to do a great deal of harm. I believe that they do merit a certain minimum of attention in our paper.

However, we believe with you that a good deal more space in the Workers Age should be utilized for the general problems of the American labor movement. That cannot be accomplished merely by wish or editorial edict. Only a bigger Workers Age can eliminate such a deficiency. And that is where you reader and friends can help us tremendously. We can lay the basis of a bigger and better Workers Age by insuring the success of the present drive.

Forward to 3,000 new readers for the Workers Age!

AN AFTERTHOUGHT

We assume that a bigger Workers Age does not necessarily mean an increase in the yearly subscription rates. But who knows? We are not always the masters of our financial destinies. Why wait for an expiration notice? Extend your subscription for another year or two right now!

Union Firm In Knitgoods

By ROBERT MACKLIN

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROOTS OF NEWTON'S PRINCIPIA

By B. HESSEN. KNIGA, Moscow, 1931.

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE AGE OF NEWTON

By G. N. CLARK. Oxford University Press, New York, 1937.

ISAAC NEWTON, by J. W. N. SULLIVAN. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938.

THESE works complement each other very well, tho Clark's book is a direct polemic against Hossen. Read together, they give a well-rounded picture of Newton as a man and a scientist as well as of his tremendous services to the cause of knowledge and humanity.

Hessen's brilliant Marxist essay, published some years ago, places Newton squarely in the stream of historical development of his time. It destroys the conception of Newton as some divinely inspired intellectual force operating on certain unearthly abstractions in physics and astronomy without any connection with real life. It shows how the industrial and technological problems posed by the specific stage of economic development in Newton's time provided the inescapable background for the development of science, largely determined its direction and greatly influenced its methodology and general outlook.

From Sullivan's excellent biography, we learn of many scientists who were wrestling with the same problems as Newton, particularly the problem of gravitation. It fell to Newton's lot to solve the problem, primarily because of his profound genius as a scientific thinker. At that, his brilliant achievements would have been impossible without the vastly important contributions of his immediate forerunners, notably Galileo, Kepler and Huygens. Newton's invention of the mathematical technique of the calculus, one of the most splendid intellectual feats of all times, was paralleled by the independent discovery of Leibniz, Newton's great German contemporary. This does not by any means reduce Newton's stature or his unique place in the history of science but it does serve to emphasize that even the greatest of geniuses was a product of his time and place and intellectual heritage.

Clark disputes Hessen's main thesis from the direction of the well-known multiple-factor theory: "We must distinguish four channels by which science was actuated from the outside: from economic life, from war, from medicine, from the arts. . . . The military motive is distinct from the economic."

And then there is the obscurantist attempt at a defense of religion and of Newton's notorious religious vagaries:

"Was there any other source outside science and ordered thought in general . . . from which scientific method was refreshed and corrected (my emphasis.—J. C.)? Indeed, there was. . . . It was religion. Religion is often supposed to have been antagonistic to the progress of science. . . . We are justified in regarding his (Newton's) religious works . . . as properly belonging, in his view, to the thematics of science. . . . The materials were different but his search for a key to the riddle of the universe was a continuation of his discovery of a key to astronomy. . . . Thus, his method itself led him on from science to theology."

To anyone who knows the utterly fantastic character of Newton's theological "researches," this kind of stuff is self-refuting!

JIM CORK

Company Gangs in Menace to Unions

(Continued from Page 1)

Indignant protest against the violence fomented and organized by big business. It must demand the government that adequate protection be given to the N.L.R.B. in its efforts to guarantee labor its rights under the law. Above all, it must unite its own forces for the defense of its rights. Here is an opportunity for the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. to submerge their differences for the moment and join in a common front against big-business violence and terrorism!

"THREE CITIES"

Produced by The Yiddish Art Theater

Tickets available now for a special benefit on Friday, Oct. 27

Room 707 131 West 33rd Street

FREE! During July Only AUGUST THALHEIMER'S "Introduction To Dialectical Materialism" with each Bound Volume of the 1937 Workers Age at only \$1.75

BOOKS

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROOTS OF NEWTON'S PRINCIPIA

By B. HESSEN. KNIGA, Moscow, 1931.

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE AGE OF NEWTON

By G. N. CLARK. Oxford University Press, New York, 1937.

ISAAC NEWTON, by J. W. N. SULLIVAN. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938.

THESE works complement each other very well, tho Clark's book is a direct polemic against Hossen. Read together, they give a well-rounded picture of Newton as a man and a scientist as well as of his tremendous services to the cause of knowledge and humanity.

Hessen's brilliant Marxist essay, published some years ago, places Newton squarely in the stream of historical development of his time. It destroys the conception of Newton as some divinely inspired intellectual force operating on certain unearthly abstractions in physics and astronomy without any connection with real life. It shows how the industrial and technological problems posed by the specific stage of economic development in Newton's time provided the inescapable background for the development of science, largely determined its direction and greatly influenced its methodology and general outlook.

From Sullivan's excellent biography, we learn of many scientists who were wrestling with the same problems as Newton, particularly the problem of gravitation. It fell to Newton's lot to solve the problem, primarily because of his profound genius as a scientific thinker. At that, his brilliant achievements would have been impossible without the vastly important contributions of his immediate forerunners, notably Galileo, Kepler and Huygens. Newton's invention of the mathematical technique of the calculus, one of the most splendid intellectual feats of all times, was paralleled by the independent discovery of Leibniz, Newton's great German contemporary. This does not by any means reduce Newton's stature or his unique place in the history of science but it does serve to emphasize that even the greatest of geniuses was a product of his time and place and intellectual heritage.

Clark disputes Hessen's main thesis from the direction of the well-known multiple-factor theory: "We must distinguish four channels by which science was actuated from the outside: from economic life, from war, from medicine, from the arts. . . . The military motive is distinct from the economic."

And then there is the obscurantist attempt at a defense of religion and of Newton's notorious religious vagaries:

"Was there any other source outside science and ordered thought in general . . . from which scientific method was refreshed and corrected (my emphasis.—J. C.)? Indeed, there was. . . . It was religion. Religion is often supposed to have been antagonistic to the progress of science. . . . We are justified in regarding his (Newton's) religious works . . . as properly belonging, in his view, to the thematics of science. . . . The materials were different but his search for a key to the riddle of the universe was a continuation of his discovery of a key to astronomy. . . . Thus, his method itself led him on from science to theology."

To anyone who knows the utterly fantastic character of Newton's theological "researches," this kind of stuff is self-refuting!

JIM CORK

What Price World War?

(Continued from Page 3)

IV. WHAT DID THE WORKERS GET?

The loss of life, the dead and the wounded, were, of course, primarily paid for by the workers and the farmers, the masses of the people. It has been calculated that fully 90% of the casualties came from the toiling masses. But the financial costs of the war also hit the workers and peasants. The financial expenditures of the war were, of course, met by taxation, bonds (future taxation) and inflation. In all capitalist countries, the main burden of taxation hit the producers—the industrial workers, the artisans, the peasant masses. It is at their expense, also, that the post-war inflation took place. The crushing burdens of taxation that are still weighing down upon the people today, are a direct consequence of the World War.

As against this, the cry is often raised by the employing class and its spokesmen: "But didn't the workers get a lot out of the war? Didn't they get higher wages, higher than they had ever dreamed of before?" Especially in America are these hypocritical claims very common. But all this is largely a swindle. The workers got practically nothing out of the war—even in America! Says Professor Paul Douglas:

"All the evidence seems to indicate that, at the termination of the great war, the return in commodities which the American workman received for an equal length of time worked (one hour) was from 16% to 20% less than it was in the decade 1890-1899, and from 7% to 17% less than it was before the sharp upward movement of prices in 1916. The purchasing power of the established week's work, moreover, was from 20% to 30% less than in the nineties and from 10% to 20% less than in 1915. American labor as a whole, therefore, cannot legitimately be charged with having profiteered during the war. Rather, like Alice in Wonderland, it was compelled to run faster in order to stay in the same place."

V. WHO THEN PROFITED BY THE WAR?

It is a notorious fact that those who really profited by the war were the stay-at-home profiteers who seized the opportunity to bleed the people even more than usual. And the governments of the various countries gave these leeches all necessary help in their nefarious activities. Billions piled up in war profits at home, while millions were dying on the battlefields. And this golden flood falling into the lap of the greedy parasites was made up of the miserable pennies painfully extracted from the toil of the masses. Here are some figures as to profiteering in the U.S.A. during the war, as made public by the Federal Trade Commission:

Year	% on investment	Amount
1912	4.7	\$ 77,075,000
1913	5.7	107,320,000
1914	8.2	46,520,000
1915	5.2	97,967,000
1916	15.6	294,026,000
1917	24.9	478,204,900

In regard to sulphur, the average profit of the Union Company before the war was \$5.73 a ton. In the first half of 1917, it was \$11.11 a ton.

Forty-eight Southern pine companies made an average profit, in 1917, of 17%, whereas in 1916 their profit was only 5.2%. Profits in 1917 reached 21% on investment. Bituminous coal profits in 1917 were two to three times pre-war.

One-hundred and six refineries made, in 1917 and 1918, profits amounting to 21%, as compared with the pre-war profits of 15%.

All of these sensational figures on war profits are based upon the information supplied by the profiteers themselves. Imagine what the real profits were! Wars are made by the various groups of capitalists to further their own interests. Wars are fought by the workers and farmers. Wars yield to the blood-sucking capitalists an inconceivably rich harvest of super-profits, and to the workers—death, misery, poverty!

For the workers and farmers today, only one war is a just war: the war of the toiling masses against the capitalist exploiters and imperialist robbers. And this war will be a real war to end all wars—for it will do away with the whole war-breeding capitalist system.

Thanks for the Information!

FROM a speech by Earl Browder, reported in the Daily Worker of April 15:

"There are some that say that we got our orders from Moscow to ask for collective security. Then where did Moscow get the idea from? Moscow got the idea from the League of Nations. And the League of Nations got it many years ago from the government of France. And France got it from Woodrow Wilson and the capital of the United States."

To this we have nothing to add. We are grateful to Earl Browder for admitting so openly that the whole "collective-security" scheme is nothing but a latter-day version of the swindle by which Woodrow Wilson drove us into the World War and by which Clemenceau and Briand fixed the vicious Versailles system upon Europe. Thanks for the information!

over 1914. Allied with the meat-packers were also the salmon cannery interests. Many companies made over 200% on investment. Others, less "fortunate," made only 50% profit on investment!

Three-quarters of the total canned-milk used was produced by ten companies and nearly one-half of the total, by three companies (Bordens, Carnation and Helvetia). In 1917, according to company statements, Helvetia made over 20% on costs and 65% on investment. Bordens made 18% on costs.

No food was more important during the war than flour. In the four years ending June 1916, the flour mills made a profit of 13 1/2% per barrel and 12% on the investment. In the following year (1917), these same mills made an average profit of 52c on each barrel of flour sold and nearly 38% on the investment. One mill made an average profit of \$2 a barrel.

Steel is the fundamental war material. The net profit of the United States Steel Corporation before and during the war are shown in the following figures:

Year	% on investment	Amount
1912	4.7	\$ 77,075,000
1913	5.7	107,320,000
1914	8.2	46,520,000
1915	5.2	97,967,000
1916	15.6	294,026,000
1917	24.9	478,204,900

In regard to sulphur, the average profit of the Union Company before the war was \$5.73 a ton. In the first half of 1917, it was \$11.11 a ton.

Forty-eight Southern pine companies made an average profit, in 1917, of 17%, whereas in 1916 their profit was only 5.2%. Profits in 1917 reached 21% on investment. Bituminous coal profits in 1917 were two to three times pre-war.

One-hundred and six refineries made, in 1917 and 1918, profits amounting to 21%, as compared with the pre-war profits of 15%.

All of these sensational figures on war profits are based upon the information supplied by the profiteers themselves. Imagine what the real profits were! Wars are made by the various groups of capitalists to further their own interests. Wars are fought by the workers and farmers. Wars yield to the blood-sucking capitalists an inconceivably rich harvest of super-profits, and to the workers—death, misery, poverty!

For the workers and farmers today, only one war is a just war: the war of the toiling masses against the capitalist exploiters and imperialist robbers. And this war will be a real war to end all wars—for it will do away with the whole war-breeding capitalist system.

What Did Furriers Gain In the New Agreement?

By B. BARAZ

THE new collective agreement recently concluded between the New York Furriers Joint Council and the Associated Fur Coat and Trimming Manufacturers, Inc., after a fifteen-week lockout and strike, has already given rise to a number of controversies. Even the furriers themselves, who had to return to the shops and begin working under this agreement, were not entirely clear as to various points in it. At the ratification meetings, the administration hailed the agreement as a victory. The opposition claimed it was a defeat. The workers were indifferent because of their eagerness to resume work. They felt that, for the small gains that had been made, there had been no need for a general strike. But, since it was over, they did not care what it was.

I shall examine these questions and try to throw some light on this important controversy.

The Bosses Counter-Demands

In order to answer the question of whether a general strike was necessary, a statement was made by the union administration to the effect that the manufacturers put up a set of counter-demands which tended to destroy the union. I maintain that the role of these counter-demands has been thoroughly misrepresented by the union leadership.

For over twenty-seven years, our union has been struggling for the point of "no discharge," for the worker's right to the job. Two years ago was easily the best time to make a successful fight for this important demand. Two years ago, our union had just been strengthened as a result of inner unity, while the ranks of the manufacturers were broken up. The general situation in the country was also much more favorable. However, the bureaucratic leadership of the union, under Stalinist domination, did not take any more advantage of these favorable conditions than to gain a point here and a point there, and concluded an agreement leaving out the main point—security on the job. Two years ago, we were told by Gold that the agreement avoiding a strike was a great victory. This time, when Gold reported on the new agreement, he ridiculed the old agreement and called it "a swindle." It will take another two-and-a-half years and Gold—if the fur workers are still unlucky enough to have him as their leader and spokesman—will proclaim the present agreement a "swindle", altho he now lauds it as a great victory. Let me state right here that, when the leaders reported on the conferences with the manu-

facturers, they made no mention about the old agreement as a basis for negotiations offered by the manufacturers. Now, only five weeks after the strike, the manager of the union forgets entirely about the bosses counter-demands and, in his article in the Council Bulletin entitled, "Why a Strike Was Necessary", he states: "First, it was impossible for the union to accept the old contract. Secondly, the employers made a lockout." This in itself is sufficient proof that nobody took the so-called counter-demands seriously.

No Reason For The Lock-Out And Strike

No doubt, the small, insignificant gains made here and there will help some workers, but this alone was no reason for the lock-out and general strike. Had these bureaucrats realized what the economic situation was in the country, and had they not repeatedly assured the workers that without security on the job they would resign rather than sign an agreement, an agreement could have been signed without a loss of fifteen weeks to the workers, and with these small gains included. And here I strike upon an important point. In his article, Potash claims: "It is almost certain that the wide masses of fur workers would have been unemployed because of the crisis." This, Potash explains, would have been so even had there been no strike. From this, it follows that in February only a very small percentage of fur workers were employed. Then how come that the union agreed that only those that were locked out on February 11 were to return to work after the settlement and all other workers who were connected with the shops for years but were not employed in the shops on the week of the lock-out, could not go back to the shop they had struck and picketed? The result has been that only a small percentage returned and the rest remained outside.

Potash lauds the eight-months division of work as a great victory but he forgets to mention that only those who were fortunate enough to work in the first week of May are entitled to the eight-months division of work; all the rest, and they constitute the great majority, are not entitled to it! It is to be noted that this minority, which now will share work eight months were able to retain their jobs and share work without the help of the union. How does this point of division of work differ from the old agreement? The old agreement provided, that if a worker worked in a shop four weeks prior to October first, he was entitled to share the work up to January 31. Under the new agreement, when a worker is engaged after June 1, the boss having put up what he terms his "full set," this worker is considered a "temporary" worker and may be discharged at the will of the boss at any time.

Division Of Work

I would not try to minimize the gain of a two-weeks trial period instead of the four-week period we formerly had if this would apply to all workers and if, after a two-weeks trial period, the worker would be entitled to the job. But this is not so. In the first place, the signing of the yellow-dog card demanded by the boss from every new worker who starts after June 11 makes the majority of the workers "temporary", entitled to share the work only four weeks after the trial period. Secondly, there is the secret

JOIN!

I want to help build a progressive labor movement

I want to help fight for a socialist America, therefore

I hereby apply for membership in the

INDEPENDENT
LABOR LEAGUE
OF AMERICA
131 West 33rd Street
New York City

Name

Address

City

State

SUBSCRIBE!

to the

WORKERS AGE

\$1 a year

60 cents for six months

WORKERS AGE
131 W. 33rd Street
New York City

Enclosed find \$.....
for a
months subscription.

Name

Address

City

State

"understanding" that larger shops may be entitled to more than 20% temporary workers—a large shop being considered one that employs at least ten craft workers. Thus, even this gain is not at all applicable and beneficial to the majority of the fur workers. There have, in fact, been created two classes of citizens, the privileged and the declassed. Let Potash not talk so much about other industries having a system of temporary workers. A check-up of those industries proves quite the contrary. Even in the automobile union, which was only recently organized with no long traditions, with no closed shop, where the union is not even the sole bargaining agency for all automobile workers, they have a system of complete division of work amongst all workers. But, in the fur workers union, with a tradition of many general strikes and a comparatively conscious membership, we are still faced with this problem and are forced into a position of dividing the ranks of the workers, some being entitled to eight months division of work and the others only to six!

Potash claims that, in order to prevent the employers from packing their shops with temporary workers, they are limited to 20% and that they furthermore cannot employ temporary workers before June. But the trimming trade does not work in May and June. What about those 3,000 workers or more? The agreement does not seem to provide anything for them!

(Another article on the problems of the fur workers will appear soon. Editor.)

War Scares Fail to Trap People on the West Coast

By EARL LANE

(Our West Coast Correspondent)

Los Angeles, Cal.

DESPITE the most determined and energetic efforts of both the Stalinites and the Roosevelt Administration to whip up a pro-war sentiment, the overwhelming majority of the people of this area are against any and all foreign wars. While it is true that most of these people would be in favor of a "defensive" war, the problem is not taken seriously by anyone except the super-jingoes, in whose ranks we must definitely place the Stalinites. Everyone knows that the only possible enemy in the Pacific is Japan, and no one, again with the exception of the jingoes, for a moment gives credence to the idea that Japan could transport an army and the necessary supplies across the Pacific and wage a successful war.

It would be readily assumed by most people that the sinking of the Panay, the Navy Department-fostered Japanese spy scares, and the much-played-up "insults" to Americans in China, would arouse a pro-war sentiment among the people of California, who, since the days of Kearney, have been taught to hate all Orientals. But, these events have left the vast majority of the people cold. The best confirmation of this fact is the manner in which the news-reels depicting the sinking of the Panay

were received. No extra crowds came to see them and, except for a scattered few, the audiences received them with as much detachment as if a Brazilian gunboat were being sunk.

And altho this city has a large Japanese population, there have been no anti-Japanese demonstrations, nor have Japanese business houses been boycotted.

Another interesting fact is the manner in which the Japanese population has reacted to the Chinese war. There has been no public demonstration of patriotic fervor. The young Japanese, mostly American-born have been generous in contributing to Chinese relief funds, and almost all of them wear "Boycott Japanese-Made Goods" buttons.

In the forefront of the jingo forces are to be found the Stalinites and their auxiliary organizations, such as the American League For Peace and Democracy. Altho these people have been able to hold large and impressive meetings, their influence on the general public is nil. They have little or no support in the ranks of organized labor and their chief speakers have been "progressive" Congressmen who have been misled into believing that these people can deliver to them a substantial number of votes in the coming elections. To these politicians must be added the publicity-hungry movie stars and Hollywood writers who are vastly flattered at being considered "intellectuals" whose "viewpoint" is important.

On the other hand, altho its work so far leaves much to be desired, the Los Angeles Keep America Out Of War Committee has rallied to its support leaders and key people in a number of important unions, such as the I.L.G.W.U., the U.A.W., the United Rubber Workers, the United Shoe Workers, the U.O.P.W.A., the Jewish Bakers Union (A. F. of L.), the Retail Clerks (A. F. of L.), the Newspaper Guild and the Moving Picture Painters Union (A. F. of L.). An autonomous Labor Committee was recently set up of which Dick Coleman, international representative of the U.A.W., is chairman and Earl Lane of the U.O.P.W.A. is secretary.

The Independent Labor League of America has been active in the work of the Los Angeles K.A.O. W.C. from its inception. In this field, it has worked in closest harmony with the Socialist Party.

The Pacific Coast remains one of the most important areas of work for all genuine anti-war forces, for a war between Japanese and American imperialism seems to be coming within the next few years.

A.L.P. in Upstate New York Counties

(Continued from Page 3)

workers to realize this but it is true, nevertheless. It is only when one leaves the industrial centers that the name becomes any sort of a problem.

Most of the effort so far, of course, has been made in the industrial centers and this is correct. Whatever support the A.L.P. will get in the future from the farm and rural areas, the base of the A.L.P. must be the industrial workers and the unions which they compose.

A.F.L. Members In The A.L.P.

An interesting discovery in the work of the A.L.P. is the fact that the pronouncements of William Green and other A. F. of L. officials against it, have had comparatively little effect. Almost every club and branch has a large quota of A. F. of L. members. Many of the officers of the A.L.P. branches are leaders in their local A. F. of L. unions and their work in building the party has been most encouraging. It is a certain indication that members of A. F. of L. unions are awakening to the fact that the program of A.L.P. is really progressive, that the A.L.P. is here to stay, and that it is their duty to aid in the work of making it the strongest party in the state of New York.

It is hardly likely that all these A.L.P. organizations will be strong enough to nominate and elect their own independent candidates in the coming elections. In some cities, it may prove possible to obtain places for their candidates on other tickets but in most places they will probably endorse liberal candidates who accept the A.L.P. program. Should this prove impossible, an independent ticket will most likely be put up. The task at present seems to be to poll as large a vote as possible under the emblem of the A.L.P. and to build the party until it will be in a position to nominate candidates who will be completely independent of both the old employing-class parties. It is to achieve this goal that all the efforts of the A.L.P. are directed.

(Another article by Charles McDowell, dealing critically with the attitude of the I.L.L.A. to the A.L.P. will appear soon.—Ed.)

PIONEER YOUTH
CAMP
Rifton, N. Y.
In the Catskills
Walter Ludwig, Director
BOYS, GIRLS
6 TO 16 YEARS

Progressive, creative use environment rich in historical background; intelligent direction; exceptional staff. Non-profit-making, non-sectarian. Register now for second group or balance of summer. Special rates to union members.

Communicate immediately:
PIONEER YOUTH
OF AMERICA, Inc.
219 W. 29th St., N. Y. C.
PE. 6-3055

CAMP SEVEN OAKS
Red Bank, N. J.
Tennis, Swimming
\$2.75 per day - \$16 Week
or information write Box 135,
Eatontown, N. J.
Call Eatontown 515