

Latin America Speaks

An Editorial

THE clash that took place last week at the World Congress Against War and Fascism in Mexico City over the attitude towards American and British imperialism, is of vast significance to the anti-war movement of this country, for it focuses attention upon the central problem facing this movement: Who are the war-makers and against whom must we fight in the cause of peace?

What happened at the congress? A bitter clash took place, it appears, between the Latin American delegates, on the one side, and the Spanish and other European delegates, on the other. The former group, led by the Mexicans, made a strong plea for the congress to declare against American and British economic imperialism as a source of war and, in the long run, of fascism as well. "Mexico and Latin America," proclaimed Luis Martin del Campo, representative of the C.T.M., amidst great applause, "are in a fight against not only fascist imperialism but also British and American imperialism. The so-called 'democratic' nations are also responsible for war."

Into the breach rushed, significantly enough, Ramon Gonzalez Pena, head of the Spanish U.G.T. and minister in the Negrin cabinet. Republican Spain has been shamelessly betrayed and sold out by the "great democracies," England, France and the United States, to whom Franco probably owes as much as to Hitler and Mussolini. But this representative of the Loyalist regime could find nothing better to do at a congress against war and fascism than to rush to the defense of these predatory "democratic" imperialisms—with such heat, indeed, that he attempted a physical assault upon a Porto Rican delegate who had protested against the American occupation of his homeland! With hardly an effort at pretense or disguise, Senor Pena and his friends played an active role as attorneys for the "sated" imperialisms, those which can still afford to retain a measure of parliamentary democracy at home. Protest against imperialism and colonial oppression to your heart's content—but not a word against Anglo-French-American imperialism; not a word against English domination over India or French rule in North Africa or American "economic intervention" in Mexico; not a word, that is, against imperialism and oppression when they are sanctified by "democracy!"

This is the outlook on which is based the dangerous swindle of "collective security," which pretends to find in the "great democracies" a real bulwark against war and fascism. This is the viewpoint that unfortunately dominates the main sections of the European labor movement today and that the Stalinists and their allies, the pro-war "liberals," are trying to spread in this country. We can only welcome the fact that this attitude, as reactionary as it is suicidal, met with such strong resistance from the Mexican, Porto Rican and other Latin American delegates, who know from first-hand experience how democratic the "great democracies" really are where their imperialist interests are concerned.

It is these Latin American masses that are our natural allies in the struggle against Wall Street big-business imperialism, which oppresses us at home as it does them abroad!

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Dress Union Urges Unity

Local 22 Hits At Stalinist Manover To Provoke ILGWU Dissension

In obedience to outside orders of the Communist Party to "rid" the union of "Lovestoneites," the Stalinists in Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., attempted last week to develop a campaign to destroy the unity of the organization and undermine the progressive administration of the union by trying to manover Local 22 into a position of hostility to the International of which it is a part, on the so-called "C.I.O. issue." But these attempts have been defeated.

Pending action by the General Executive Board, President Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. had asked all locals not to send delegates to the state convention of the C.I.O., which met last week in New York City. On this question, the executive board of Local 22 adopted a statement introduced by Charles S. Zimmerman, manager. In the interests of the unity of the International, this statement declared, the decision not to send delegates should be adhered to, altho "in general we have always favored participating in all activities and bodies of the C.I.O. and we would urge representation at the state C.I.O. conference." The statement also included a declaration on the necessity, achievements and significance of the C.I.O. and on the vital importance of the principle of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries.

This statement was unanimously adopted by the executive board of Local 22, all agreeing that, under the circumstances, delegates should not be sent. Some Stalinist members of the board did try to amend the statement to include a "censure" of the International, thereby hoping to create friction between Local 22 and the International. But these amendments were rejected by the majority of the board.

At the first of a series of Local 22 district membership meetings, held on Tuesday, September 13, the proposal to "censure" the International was again brought up by some Stalinist spokesmen. Progressive speakers effectively showed the provocative character of this scheme to set Local 22 against the International and thereby destroy its unity—all in the interests of Stalinist political intrigue. The position of the executive board was approved.

It should be noted that, while the Stalinists were thus trying to stir up a conflict in Local 22, Communist Party members in other locals of the I.L.G.W.U. had nothing whatever to say about this same decision of the International. On Monday, September 12, Local 60 had held a meeting, but there was no fight on the C.I.O. issue. Nor did the Stalinists do anything at the meeting of Local 117, held on Thursday, September 15; in fact, the Stalinist leader, Boruchovitz, who is also an officer of Local 117, remained completely silent—he did not even raise the question, much less make a fight! Yet this was exactly the time when the Stalinists were trying to stir up conflict in Local 22. Is it not obvious that

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HAUNTED



England Acts to Sell Out Czechs

Chamberlain And Daladier Decide To Permit Hitler To Annex Sudetens; Prague Takes Firm Stand And Prepares For War

The "great democracies," England and France, have acted in the Czechoslovakian situation — and have sold out Czechoslovakia, lock, stock and barrel, to Nazi Germany.

In a sensational move that reflected the seriousness of the political crisis in Europe, Prime Minister Chamberlain went to Berchtesgaden last week for a personal conference with Adolf Hitler over the fate of Czechoslovakia and related matters. After a three-hour discussion, he returned to London for consultations with the cabinet and perhaps for the convocation of parliament. Conferences with Hitler

were to be resumed immediately after the week-end, it was said.

According to reports from informed sources, Hitler demanded the immediate annexation of the Sudeten areas and the conversion of what would remain of Czechoslovakia into a virtual protectorate of Germany. The Nazi leader was especially insistent on control over Czech foreign and economic policy. The Soviet alliance and even the French alliance would have to be dropped, he declared.

It was understood that the British Prime Minister did not raise any serious objections to these demands, since Anglo-French government circles had long ago made up their mind to "write off" Czechoslovakia and put no obstacles in Hitler's way provided he could be prevailed upon to gain his objectives "peacefully." Mr. Chamberlain therefore laid before Hitler the proposal of a four-power "security" pact, embracing England, France, Germany and Italy but definitely excluding the Soviet Union. Within such a system, Hitler was assured, Germany would be enabled to achieve its ends with the approval of the western powers.

Over the week-end, the heads of the British and French governments met at London and agreed to grant Hitler's full demands as outlined by Mr. Chamberlain. These included outright surrender to Germany of the Sudeten regions; the cantonization of the remainder of Czechoslovakia; and the abandonment by Czechoslovakia of its defensive alliances with France and Russia in exchange for a "guarantee" of its new frontiers by Great Britain and France and perhaps other powers.

Meanwhile, in the Sudeten regions, virtual civil war broke out as the Henlein party provoked grave disturbances in a number of localities, utilizing arms and supplies received from Germany. The Czech government took immediate drastic steps. Martial law was declared, the Sudeten-German party outlawed, and Henlein himself charged with high treason for conspiring with a foreign power. The whole country was placed on a war footing. It was, however, recognized that with France and England giving Hitler a free hand, Czechoslovakia would hardly be in a position, thus isolated, to beat back German military aggression.

C.I.O. Unions Meet In N. Y. Conference

Nearly 700 delegates, representing locals of C.I.O. unions as well as direct C.I.O. affiliates in New York State, met in conference last week to set up a state Industrial Union Council of the C.I.O. Following the lead of Allan Haywood, New York regional director, speakers at the conference emphasized the necessity for unity in the ranks of labor and pointed out that the consolidation of the C.I.O. unions would contribute to that end.

COMPROMISE REACHED IN U.A.W.A. CONFLICT

Board Unanimously Adopts Agreement With C.I.O.

Detroit, Michigan
After nine days of negotiation and discussion between the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America and a committee of the C.I.O. consisting of Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, a formal agreement was finally reached last week as a basis for bringing to an end the factional strife in the U.A.W. as well as the recent differences between the U.A.W. and the leadership of the C.I.O. This agreement was adopted unanimously by the auto union board and was approved by the C.I.O. committee.

Nature Of Agreement

In essence, this agreement is a compromise between the so-called Lewis "peace" plan, which the U.A.W. board, backed by the membership, has rejected as detrimental to the welfare of the union, and the position of the Martin administration. The main points of this agreement follow:

The status of the four expelled officers of the U.A.W. is to be reviewed by Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, whose decision is to be rendered by October 1 or as soon thereafter as possible. The original Lewis plan proposed their immediate and unconditional reinstatement.

A joint committee composed of Mr. Murray and Mr. Hillman for the C.I.O. and Homer Martin and R. J. Thomas for the U.A.W., is to be set up to "determine matters of policy relating to cooperation between the U.A.W. and the C.I.O., and to settle such disputes as may be referred to it by the U.A.W. executive board." In a public statement issued jointly by Messrs. Hillman, Murray and Martin (published below), the exact character of this joint committee is further clarified as "in no way superseding the prerogatives" of the U.A.W. and subject in its decisions to the International Executive Board which has "final determination." The original Lewis "peace" plan

provided for the referral of all disputes simply to the "executive officers of the C.I.O."

"Complete and unaltered loyalty and allegiance to the C.I.O. and its leadership, principles and policies" are reaffirmed.

Adherence by the U.A.W. and its officers to the twenty-point program of the Martin administration is reaffirmed. A revolt of the expelled officers against this program was the precipitating cause of the present crisis.

The C.I.O. specifically recognizes the "full autonomy of the U.A.W. and its full right and responsibility to function under its own constitution." Fear for the autonomy of the union was one of the reasons for the rejection of the Lewis plan by the U.A.W.

The C.I.O. undertakes to support the U.A.W. administration in "any disciplinary action against any violation of the constitution or policies of the U.A.W."

Activities, which, "in the judgment of the U.A.W. executive board, are detrimental to the best interests of the U.A.W. or the C.I.O." shall not be tolerated.

All U.A.W. locals are to "comply with their obligation" to pay their full per-capita dues to the International office. In recent months, certain opposition locals refused to make their per-capita payments, hoping to "starve" the International office into submission and, at the same time, to lay the foundations of a dual organization.

The C.I.O. will give the U.A.W. full support in all its contractual obligations.

This agreement was adopted unanimously by the International Executive Board. Spokesmen of the Martin administration frankly expressed their doubt as to the full adequacy of the agreement and as to the advisability of certain points in it, for example, the review of the status of the expelled officers. In view, however, of the tenseness of the situation and the urgency of reaching some

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Faking the Facts

Detroit, Mich.

HOW fraudulent "majorities" are created in the columns of the Daily Worker in the present conflict in the United Automobile Workers became clear last week in two different ways. In the first place, the Stalinists lay claim to all locals in sight regardless of the action of these locals. This is especially well illustrated in the case of the entire Flint local, which the opposition claimed until quite recently, and also in the case of the Packard local, which they list on their side of the ledger. When the Packard local finally did get around to discuss the issue, almost 4,000 members overwhelmingly roared their disapproval of the splitting tactics of the Stalinists, rejected the "peace" plan proposed by John L. Lewis and pledged support to President Homer Martin.

Still another instance of outright fraud is the case of Local 205, recently claimed by the Daily Worker. A referendum in the local was initiated which asked the membership to vote "yes" on either of the following two proposals:

"I favor John L. Lewis's C.I.O. plan reinstating the five expelled officers and setting up a C.I.O. appointed arbitration board.

"I favor the decision of Homer Martin and the majority ruling of the International Executive Board in expelling four International officers and suspending one on the charge of violating the 20-point program. I also approve of the position of the International president on the autonomy of the United Automobile Workers."

COMPROMISE REACHED IN U.A.W.A. CONFLICT

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unanimous basis for allying the conflict, they acceded to the advice of the C.I.O. committee and accepted the compromise. All expressed their determination to adhere to the agreement loyally and faithfully in the best interests of the U.A.W. and the C.I.O.

With the improvement of the economic situation in the automobile industry, the U.A.W. is presented with renewed opportunities for extending and strengthening its organization and bettering the conditions of the workers in the plants. For this, the union needs unity, discipline and responsibility in its ranks—which, linked with the well-proved militancy of the auto workers, will carry the U.A.W. to ever bigger achievements.

The Joint Statement

Following is the joint statement issued by the representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization, Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, and President Homer Martin and the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America:

"The complete cooperation and sincere effort of all parties have made it possible to effect an agreement which, in the opinion of everyone concerned, means that the U.A.W., as an integral part of the C.I.O., will continue to function for the full and complete protection of its membership and the advancement of their interests.

"Underlying the agreement is the realization that the factional differences in the U.A.W. are, for the most part, due to outside influences. This agreement is aimed at driving from this union for all time those influences, whatever may be their name or whatever their source.

"All parties are resolute in their determination that factionalism, that seeks to flourish to the detriment of unionism, shall be wiped

The result of the balloting showed 70% of the Workers behind President Martin! But such unimportant things as membership votes do not retard the Stalinists from claiming these locals for themselves.

Another manner in which fake "majorities" are created is by exaggerating beyond recognition the membership of the local unions they list as backing the expelled. Within the last few days, two such lists have appeared, the first in the Daily Worker and the second in the C.I.O. News. Both inflate membership figures, but one or the other intertemporarily so on many occasions. A few examples will suffice. C.I.O. News lists Briggs Local 212 as having 10,000 members, while the Daily Worker gives it 20,000, a mere 10,000 difference. Local 235 gets credit for 8,500 in C.I.O. News and 4,500 in the Daily Worker; Local 434 is given 1,500 by the C.I.O. News but grows to 3,600 in the Daily Worker; Locals 2, 3, 12, 45, 76, 174 and 362 show discrepancies of 2,000 in each and a number of other locals among the 56 the Stalinists claim show discrepancies of 1,500 and less. These discrepancies actually involve a total of 50,000 members.

Another case in point is the A.C. Division in Flint. The Daily Worker claims this without any grounds. But the whole thing becomes absolutely ridiculous when the C.I.O. News credits this group with 2,000 and the Daily Worker, not to be outdone, reports 8,000.

Such are the "majorities" created in the columns of the Daily Worker.

out; and that its natural offspring, injustice, speedily eliminated.

"There is genuine faith and conviction that this solution of the difficulties will meet with the enthusiastic approval of the members of the U.A.W. and those of the great sister organizations in the C.I.O. Peace in the union has been established.

"The members of this union have accomplished great things in the past, and the C.I.O. is proud of these accomplishments. We have complete confidence that the fundamental unity which has now been established will make for the building of this great union into a greater one.

"The task now is to protect our gains and to defend our members from wage-cutting attacks and discrimination on the part of reactionary employers.

"The members of the U.A.W. must throw all their energy into the fight to protect their living standards and their rights as citizens and workers. They may rest assured that the C.I.O. is back of them one-hundred percent.

"It will be noted in connection with the agreement that emphasis is placed on adherence to contracts. In this connection, we wish to commend the policies of President Homer Martin, officers and members of the union. The contracts now held by the United Auto Workers make ample provision for the peaceful adjudication of disputes. Strikes in violation of contracts cannot be tolerated.

"In connection with Section 8 of the agreement (providing for a joint C.I.O.-U.A.W. committee—Editor), it will be noted that this joint committee shall in no way supersede the prerogatives of the constitution of the U.A.W. or of the International Executive Board. At the same time, the joint committee is prepared to undertake thorough impartial sources factually investigations upon all disputed ques-

The American War Party

Stalinists Follow "Holy War" Policy to Reaction

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

WALTER DURANTY, who has long been recognized as an unofficial spokesman of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union, recently summed up from Moscow the war policy dictated to the American Communist Party.

"What Russia would really like," he cabled to the New York Times, "would be a Russo-American pact to prevent war, if necessary by fighting, because every Russian believes that no fighting would be necessary if the two countries could get together and say they would not allow war."

Of course, no one, Stalinite or otherwise, really believes that a mere alliance of powers will prevent war or maintain the status-quo under capitalism. Hence, the real meat of the Duranty dispatch lies in the words: "if necessary by fighting." And all the domestic politics of Major General Earl Browder, who says that if he ever would "throw it into the wastebasket," are calculated on the basis of attempting to involve the United States in an alliance with the great "democratic," "peace-loving" powers like England and France, and in a war with any of the potential enemies of the Soviet Union. This is the real meaning of his "Twentieth Century Americanism" and of his "American League for Peace thru War."

"The Enemy Is At Home!"

Hence the efforts of the American Stalinites may be directed against the war-makers in Germany or Italy but they must not be aimed at the only war-makers that the American working class can really wage an effective fight against: our own war-makers. Yet the struggle against imperialism and war, and the struggle against capitalism itself, are like the charity of the proverb—it must begin at home! It is only the struggle against one's own ruling class and one's own war-makers that is truly

actions that can be later recommended in the nature of a report by this committee to the International Executive Board for final determination.

"The agreement between the union and C.I.O. also provides: "All parties in the U.A.W. have earnestly affirmed their loyalty and allegiance to the C.I.O. and its leadership, principles and policies. It can be seen this agreement dissipates all rumors of rifts between the C.I.O. and the U.A.W.

"The full autonomy of the U.A.W. has never been questioned. Along with such recognition goes the responsibility and duty of the union, in keeping with the constitution, to prevent all activities which undermine, or which are detrimental to the best interests of the union or the C.I.O.

"The controversy regarding the expelled officers is submitted to the vice-chairmen of the C.I.O. as arbitrators, and their decision will be rendered on October 1 or as soon thereafter as possible.

"The agreement between the C.I.O. and the four expelled officers contains their consent to the submission of the controversy involving them to the vice-chairmen of the C.I.O. as arbitrators.

"The board and the committee express appreciation of the spirit of cooperation manifested by all groups in promoting peace, and not least of the patience and loyalty manifested by the membership.

"We wish to emphasize that this controversy was settled within the councils of the C.I.O. We make an earnest appeal to all parties concerned and the membership particularly to lend every support to the enforcement of this agreement."

"national in form, international in essence." Blowing spitballs at long distance at the rulers and war-makers of other lands, and covering up your own, is "international" in form, but nationalistic—jingoistic—in essence. In the familiar terms of the last war, it is "social-chauvinism," "social-patriotism," class treason.

Stalinism Against Class Independence

The American Stalinist leaders are ready to accept consistently all the consequences of their new position. The successful waging of modern war requires the softening of the class struggle at home. Already the Communist Party is trying to prevent the most urgent necessity of the American workers, their conscious separation politically and ideologically as a class from that vague and illusory entity "the people." The whole meaning of the theory and practise of the "People's Front" lies in the attempt to prevent that growing consciousness of separate aims and the development of separate organization. The Communist Party is trying to submerge the growing movement for independent political action of labor into the Democratic party and has virtually liquidated itself into an agency of Roosevelt and a sort of unacknowledged or illegitimate half-brother of that party. In France, the Communist Party pretends to grumble as it supports Daladier while he breaks a strike with troops at Marseilles and scraps the forty-hour week "for the war emergency." In the United States, Browder doesn't even pretend to grumble at Roosevelt.

Towards Totalitarianism

Modern warfare so completely enlists the total population, in farm and factory as well as at the front, that it requires for its successful prosecution a totalitarian state. In a capitalist democracy, such a war-totalitarianism is brought about by "abolishing" the class struggle, by crushing all labor organizations that refuse to be harnessed to the governmental war machine, by providing a shining veil of idealistic and hypocritical phrases ("make the world safe for democracy," "quarantine the aggressors," "war on the war-makers," etc.) to cover the naked imperialist and capitalist aims of the ruling class; and above all by creating a dictator psychology under such slogans as "stand behind the President."

Here the Daily Worker is over-simpler and goes to such ridiculous lengths as must offend every thinking person. No other paper has "discovered" so many plots to assassinate the President. The Daily Worker unearths such plots on an average of once a month. On April 13 of this year, they dug up the assassination of Lincoln, seventy-three years earlier, as an historic parallel! And Earl Browder told a Hippodrome audience: "When Lincoln was assassinated, the deed was clearly protected and organized from within government

circles. . . . And if Jefferson had his Burr, let us not forget that Roosevelt has his Garner."

But not content with going back to Lincoln and Jefferson, during the same month the Daily Worker editors went back to Wang Ming and discovered that "two thousand years ago China had its 'New Deal' under Wang Ming, who set himself up as emperor and finally was assassinated." This brilliant discovery gleaned from the curator of a Chicago Museum via the New York Times, was solemnly pronounced to be "the latest wrinkle in the campaign of the reactionaries as they whip up a lynch-spirit against the New Deal and incite the assassination of President Roosevelt." (Daily Worker editorial, April 5, 1938).

Browder Defends The Legion

Totalitarianism needs, besides the blind worship of a leader, extra-official shock troops in the form of the Italian Black Shirts, the German Storm Troopers, and the war veterans organization established on a reactionary, chauvinistic basis in other countries. The nearest American analogue of importance is the American Legion. Originally organized by wealthy reactionaries, it has been repeatedly used to break strikes, to raid union halls, suppress free speech and whip up a fervor of reaction in many parts of the country. When the last American Legion convention was held in New York, the Communist Party greeted it in the following terms:

"AMERICAN LEGION PROMOTES PEACE"

"The American Legion, now holding its convention in New York, feels that the peace of the U. S. is in immediate danger.

"That is why the question of peace is playing such a prominent role in the Legion's activities. National Commander Harry W. Colmar recommended to the Legion gathering that it propose and participate in a national peace conference. . . . Such a conference could be a tremendous force to arouse action to maintain peace. We of the West Side should see to it that our boys in the American Legion should support and promote such a program." (West Side Flash, September 22, 1938, organ of the 10th A.D. Unit, Communist Party).

When scholarly Professor Gellerman published a factual study of the origin, purposes and activities of the Legion, entitled "The American Legion as Educator," it was Earl Browder and the Daily Worker that rallied to the defense of the Legion against its "detractors"! And, in the Daily Worker of July 16 of this year, under the heading "Looking Toward the American Legion Convention," the paper reiterates: "The Legion, even tho a reactionary clique has tried to defame its name, has been the fighter for the welfare and rights of the hundreds of thousands of vets down

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New Party of Cardenas

By ELLEN WARD

(This is the fourth article in Ellen Ward's series on Mexico.—Editor.)

THE constituting convention of the new Cardenas party had the following composition: 101 representatives from the army, all officers; 100 representatives from labor divided among four organizations; 96 delegates from all peasant groups; 96 delegates representing the "popular sector," that is, the small merchants of the country.

The Character Of The Party

War Minister, General Canacho, wealthy landowner from the State of Puebla, and last year denounced by the Communist Party as fascist in tendency, leads the controlling section of the new party, which is the army. It was Cardenas who decided upon the proportion of representation and had the delegates handpicked from the peasant organizations.

Despite the fact that the army has the largest single representation, the Machete, official organ of the Mexican Communist Party, hailed this new "Party of the Mexican Revolution" as the "people's party" and tried to rally to it all possible support! Toledano of the C.T.M. was a little more critical. At the convention of the C.T.M., he spoke out against the army for attempting to dominate the new party. But neither the Machete, nor the Communist Party, nor Toledano nor the C.T.M. has bothered to point out the real meaning of this new conglomeration which has been dignified with the name of party.

At its recent convention, the "Party of the Mexican Revolution" adopted the following program:

1. Progressive nationalization of big industry—such as the recent expropriation of oil lands.
2. A democracy of workers and the socialist regime.
3. Equal rights for men and women, including the vote.
4. Collective agricultural economy thru the continued breaking up of large estates into communal farm groups.
5. Social security for peasants as well as industrial workers.
6. War on monopoly and high prices.

The very fuzziness of the wording of this demagogic program makes it obvious that it is not intended to be taken seriously; but it does make a high-sounding platform in preparation for the next presidential campaign, in which Cardenas hopes to name and put across his candidate. The only group in Mexico who pretends to take the program seriously is the Communist Party.

Hernan Laborde, secretary of the Mexican Communist Party, in an editorial in El Machete of January 15, 1938, tells the workers how overjoyed labor is at the prospect of the army joining in the new party—"these men in arms who are a guarantee of peace, of national integrity and the defense of the revolution"! He does not tell the workers, however, that even Cardenas has less faith in the army than the Communist Party has. All during his regime, he has moved generals and commanders about with great regularity. Few are left long enough in any one district to build up a following. Some spend as little as six months at their posts.

The Role Of The Army

Nor are leaders like Lombardo Toledano willing to believe that the army is prepared to defend the gains of the revolution. So little does he believe it that he has pushed the recent formation of a workers uniformed militia, which outnumbered the regular army. And

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The Roosevelt "Purge"

By M. S. Mautner

IN recent months, the President and his inner circle of advisers have sought to come to grips with the basic antagonism between the reform policy of the New Deal and the organization of the Democratic party. That inner-party struggle, popularly known as the "primary purge," has resulted in a series of disastrous defeats for the New Deal wing of the Democratic party. Of eight significant tests, at this writing, Roosevelt's personal intervention against the reactionaries within his own party, has brought seven personal defeats. The one remaining candidate is likely not to upset established precedent.

What Do The Defeats Mean?

What do these defeats mean—to the New Deal, to the Democratic party and to labor? They signify essentially that a national political party, in American politics, is no more than the sum of its constituent machines—that, consequently, labor's road to political action and political independence lies outside of and against the Democratic party and its primaries. They also indicate that six years of the "Roosevelt Revolution" have not changed in the slightest the "boss" character of the Democratic party, thus foreshadowing "boss" and not Roosevelt domination of the 1940 convention.

During this inner-party struggle which resulted in the apparent rejection of Roosevelt's program, actually the personal prestige of the President did not fall at all, or but slightly by comparison. Indeed, there still seems to be little reason to believe that the program and policies of the New Deal have lost their popularity. The secret of this curious situation lies in the story told of the similar administration of Woodrow Wilson. The boss of a local machine demanded of his voters that they oppose the Wilson candidate and approve his own. When some of them objected, he delivered his one and only argument: "To whom do you go for favors, to Wilson or me?"

The local party bosses, whose very existence depends on their power over patronage, were aroused by Roosevelt's intervention, not because it might mean a political fight over issues but because it might mean their elimination from the patronage scheme and hence the end of their power. In answer to the "invasion," therefore, they showed how a party machine can work.

The second important factor in the defeat of the New Deal lies in the New Deal policy itself. First, it was not clear for some time whe-

ther the Washington powers-that-be wanted or did not want a purge. Second, exclusive of David Lewis of Maryland, the New Deal candidates were scarcely distinguishable, as far as political coloration goes, from their party rivals. Camp, the New Deal candidate against George McAdoo, already defeated by a va-driety of Townsendite, is a typical old-line stiff-neck, no more progressive than the late Joe Robinson, champion of the Arkansas planters and their terror against the share-croppers. What sort of purge is it that relies on these elements to champion progressivism and liberalism? At best a half-hearted one, in which the New Deal thru Roosevelt pays some lip-service to the ideal of new type of party, while actually unwilling to risk the political fight needed because of its social and economic implications.

Really to divest the New Deal of its reactionary southern base means to face four-square the "Negro question." Roosevelt wants to remove the poll tax to allow certain sections of the disfranchised whites to vote—but, as for the disfranchised Negroes, he declared that to be "a different type of problem."

The American War Party

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thru the years."

Finally, "the ethics" of capitalist war-mongering and war-making requires that you do not inquire too closely into the sins of your own imperialist government or any of its allies, confining your idealistic efforts to freedom and self-determination for the victims of the "enemy countries." The French Communist Party, for example, denounces the freedom movement in French North Africa, which once it aided and helped to call into being, denounces it today as an agency of Hitler and Mussolini. The American C.P. has already more than hinted that the Philippine freedom movement is the work of Japanese agents. England, which parallels the Nazi terror thruout such vast semi-continent as India, becomes one of the "great democracies" that, under Eden if not Chamberlain, should "safeguard peace and freedom."

A favorite device of the defenders of the present system is to take the accomplished for granted and not inquire too closely into how the wealthy acquired their wealth. You may denounce the robbery not yet consummated, the fraud caught in the act, but if you would enter into polite society, you must not inquire how those who are already rich have acquired their wealth. Now that the Communist Party has entered into the homes of those in power—even tho it be into the Democratic party thru the servants entrance and under cover of night—Browder is willing to play the game and has even developed a theory to justify it. Let the reader consider well the following:

"The world organization of peace, like the organization of civil society itself, cannot begin by passing judgment upon all past crimes that arose from the prevailing anarchy, but it must begin by establishing certain standards which every one must now live up to, or find the world organized against them."

Thus does Earl Browder play the Emily Post to the working class of the great British, French and American empires. The theory of good-breeding here advanced has

Three Roads For Britain

By EVE DORF

Fundamentally, Roosevelt is face to face with the "specter" of unleashing new forces to create a new type of party; consequently, he only plays with the problem. The policy of the New Deal, insofar as it assumes a progressive aspect, more in the promise than in the performance, can be carried on in an unsplit Democratic party—at least enough to suit Roosevelt. For, under the increasing influence of war and war preparations, the New Deal is becoming increasingly conservative and is bound to clash less and less with the old school of political thought. It will probably become clearer to those sections of the employing class that find expression thru the Republicans and dissident Democrats, that Roosevelt's reforms are necessary to the maintenance of the profit system especially in crisis—such as war brings.

Not The Road For Labor

Certainly, if the leader of the party, and the President of the country, cannot buck the Democratic party as it is, what can labor expect to do in this respect? After all Roosevelt is not alien to his party and its program. Labor is Labor, organized politically, represents a grave threat to regulation politics and politicians. These forces will oppose, just as they did in Pennsylvania, any and all attempts by the labor movement to utilize the Democratic (or Republican) party institutions. The old-line parties are boss parties, run for corporate interest, inherently hostile to the aspirations of the labor movement.

The course of the "primary purge" makes more clear than ever the need of independent political action for labor.

no more to do with the views of the working class, who need to challenge all established inequities, than the Communist Party has to do today with communism or the "American League for Peace thru War" with the struggle against war and reaction. Those who would continue the struggle against war in this country will have to examine such words and deeds as have been cited above, and will find their way into the Keep America Out of War movement. And those who are for the continuance of the class struggle and the fight for revolutionary socialism will have to join the Independent Labor League of America. The so-called Communist Party of the Stalinists knows these aims no longer and uses such knowledge as once it had of them, the better to fight against them today.

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AT this year, representative leaders presented three political philosophies current in the minds of British workers today. Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., Conservative, colonial administrator for many years, ably described his political creed. It is a faith concurred in unfortunately by a section of the British workers, altho it is the exact opposite of what a class-conscious worker's creed should be.

The Conservative Creed

Sir Arnold believes that capitalism is the best system yet devised by man, and must be "mended" of its ills, not "ended." This can be done by a system of "controlled capitalism," which, he insisted, was different from fascism, which latter he termed an "alien" doctrine. However, he declared that totalitarian governments "such as in Germany, Italy and Russia" are here to stay and, in order to compete with them, the British must learn to manage their system more effectively and control its evils. He lauded "certain achievements" of the totalitarian regimes, such as "improvement in the living standards and the maintenance of an increasing population." To him, the problem of the impending decline of population in "white democracies" was of deepest concern.

Next to his faith in the capitalist system is his love for the British Empire as the best "League of Nations" yet devised "for the common good." It is true that the colonies were taken by force in the past, but there is nothing we can do about it now except to "take the responsibility and train the colonies in the type of civilization that can survive." In this connection, he emphasized his belief in the "monarchy" as the binding link of the Empire and the focus of "good will" and "patriotism."

Finally, Sir Arnold declared his belief in "parliamentary government," altho, "in order to be able to compete with fascist and communist states," the parliamentary machine must be "overhauled" and made more speedy and flexible for "national survival." Thru the ballot box and Parliament, the people can "control" capitalism and make any social changes they desire. In certain situations, it might be advisable, said Wilson, to tighten up the whole government structure. He voiced his "sympathy for Franco" and admiration for Hitler. It is obvious from his whole approach why many sections of the British working class see in Wilson and his Tory colleagues a more dangerous trend toward fascism than the frankly fascist Mosley.

The "Peace Alliance" View

The "Peace Alliance" view of a large section of British labor was presented by Alfred Barnes, M.P., and chairman of the Cooperative Party, which is the political wing of the powerful cooperative movement of eight million members. Barnes argued that the working class must win "executive power" in order to accomplish any lasting gains. With this principle there can be little disagreement. But the clash of opinion came in the discussion of the character and nature of workers power, the methods to be used in winning power and in the purposes for which the power must be used by a workers government. Barnes believes that, when opportunities arose for gaining power, as in the post-war period, 1926, 1931, etc., the workers "missed the boat." This all of us will grant. Barnes attributes the failures, however, to

(Continued on Page 5)

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HITLER'S TRUMP CARD

NO one can examine the European scene with open eyes and fail to note that the chief role of British diplomacy on the continent in recent years has been to ease the way for Hitler's schemes of German aggrandizement. It is impossible not to see that British intervention in the Czechoslovakian crisis, for example, has been directed primarily towards forcing down the resistance of the Czechs so as to force them to yield to the Nazi demands in a "peaceful" manner. Indeed, in more than one situation recently, the British Foreign Office has acted virtually as attorney or go-between for Hitler.

But why? The British ruling class is not noted for its eagerness to help imperialist rivals strengthen their position and extend their power. Why, then, does Mr. Chamberlain now, as did Mr. Eden before him, go out of his way to make things easier for Hitler and help him gain his objectives? What power is it that Hitler exerts over the Tory cabinet that he can get it to pull his chestnuts out of the fire? Certainly not the military might of Germany, for, despite all ballyhoo, Germany is emphatically not ready to wage a large-scale war. No, Hitler's power in international diplomacy rests on a far different basis. In effect, Hitler confronts European capitalism with the sweeping threat: Stand in the way of our schemes of expansion and our whole regime will fall, and then you will all be faced with "social chaos" (that is, revolution) in Europe, perhaps in the whole world! This is the obvious tenor of the very significant pronouncement made by Rudolf Hess in June 1936 and frequently reiterated thereafter:

"The consequences of any action taken to eliminate National-Socialism from the political stage in Germany would be chaos in Europe. . . . This fact should be borne in mind by the political leaders of other countries. . . . One can only laugh at those who believe that National-Socialism can be supplanted by a monarchy or by the control of reliable constructive forces."

These words are plain enough; they were obviously addressed directly to the British and the British know it. Was it not the virtuous Mr. Eden himself who carefully explained to the House of Commons during the Ethiopian crisis that really effective sanctions could not be invoked against Italy since that might precipitate the downfall of the fascist regime. . . . ?

However bitter the rivalries and antagonisms among the imperialist powers may be, these powers are bound by a common fate. No one can possibly afford to endanger the stability of the existing order at any point, for the downfall of capitalism anywhere would have immediate repercussions everywhere. Hitler's hold over the "great democracies" lies primarily in the fact that, in the chain of world capitalism, his regime represents one of the weakest links, which must be protected against rupture at any cost or else the whole chain will fall to pieces. Precisely because of the vast sweep of its empire, Great Britain is particularly sensitive to this danger. That is why it is so eager to put over a four-power "security" system in Europe that will embrace Germany and Italy but exclude the Soviet Union. That is why it is ready to do anything to save Hitler!

In a word, the present world crisis reaches down to fundamental class issues. And the conclusion is not far to seek: Only the international working-class movement, fundamentally hostile to capitalism and all its works, can serve as a reliable bulwark against the dreadful menace of fascism.

"Three Cities"

THE attention of all New York readers of the Workers Age is called to the theater party for the benefit of the Age arranged for Friday evening, October 28, at the Yiddish Art Theater. The play, "Three Cities" by Sholom Asch, certainly needs no introduction or commendation on our part, nor is it necessary to say anything in praise of the high standards of presentation of the Yiddish Art Theater.

It is important, however, to emphasize how much the Workers Age depends on the financial success of this affair. There are only six weeks left. All readers of the Age are therefore urgently requested to get a supply of tickets, if they have not done so yet, and to sell these tickets among their friends and acquaintances. Do not delay! Act immediately!

Africa Awakens!

New Negro Journal Voices Revolt of Colonies

(We publish below the leading editorial in the first (July 1938) issue of a new Negro journal, International African Opinion, issued in London. Its character is clearly explained in the editorial.—Editor.)

THE International African Service Bureau was founded in March 1937. Its aim can be simply stated. No people, race or nationality has been oppressed, exploited and humiliated as the black people for centuries past up to the present day; and the Bureau was formed to assist by all means in our power the uncoordinated struggle of Africans and people of African descent against the oppression which they suffer everywhere.

A Common Bond

Altho our position in London makes us more immediately familiar with the problems of Negroes in the British colonies, yet our appeal for collaboration is to Negroes wherever they are, in French and Belgian colonies, in the United States and in South America. Problems differ from country to country, but there is a common bond of oppression, and as the Ethiopian struggle has shown, all Negroes everywhere are beginning to see the necessity for international organization and the unification of their scattered efforts.

The crisis of world civilization and the fate of Ethiopia have awakened Negro political consciousness as never before. Our people are becoming alive to the nature of the struggle ahead. That struggle we shall pursue to the end, until, economically, politically and socially, the Negro is everywhere as free as other men are. Such is the policy of the International African Service Bureau and International African Opinion is its journal.

We base ourselves upon the great masses of the people. The individual achievements of a few black men do not and cannot solve the problems of the blacks. One of our most important tasks is to make clear to the black intellectuals and other members of the middle-class that, in the present state of world affairs, there is no way out for them by seeking crumbs from the tables of their imperialist masters. They must identify themselves with the struggle of the masses. The betterment of their conditions, helping them in their efforts to raise themselves to the fullest rights of citizenship, that is the main task. It is by that means, and by that means alone, that the Negro professional men, teachers and civil servants and others, will best serve their own interests. A backward and degraded mass is a handicap upon them which no isolated efforts of their own can ever adequately overcome.

International African Opinion will be, as far as in it lies, the mouthpiece of the black workers and peasants, and those intellectuals who see the necessity of making the cause of the masses their own.

The Bureau styles itself African, and membership of it is limited to Africans and to persons of African descent. In addition, our appeal is openly to the great masses of the Negro people. The reason for this is not racial chauvinism. We repudiate the idea of substituting a black racial arrogance for a white. Such a policy is the policy of reactionaries and of enemies of human progress. Nor do we believe that African emancipation is to be achieved in isolation from the rest of the world. But the freedom of the African or any other people can be won only by those people themselves. No freedom will ever be given by any other people or

any other organization, and the black people must therefore shoulder their own burden. Africans claim the right of administering their own affairs and accept the fullest responsibility for furthering that claim. Secondly, recent political experience shows us that European organizations tend to ignore the African struggle and to use the colonial movement merely as a decoration to their own ceremonial occasion. Quite often they manipulate it unscrupulously in their own narrowly-conceived interests.

Finally, there is another important consideration. The basic propaganda of our enemies is our inability to manage our own affairs. It is the set policy of imperialism to instill this slander into both blacks and whites alike. This forced dependence on the white race, this idea is so prevalent among whites that Africans can do nothing except under tutelage, this desire even on the part of our so-called friends, that everything should be done for the blacks and nothing by the blacks, this constant subordination, is a handicap that inadvertently poisons the minds of the white races, rich and poor alike, against the blacks and weighs heavily on the morale of our people. This evil precedent must at all costs be broken; hence our organization is African. But we repudiate hostility to any other race as a race. Many of our white friends have given us assistance. Their contributions will appear in our journal. And while jealously guarding our independence, we shall cooperate as closely with them as we shall be merciless to those black who, in pursuit of their own narrow interests, so frequently betray the great masses of Negroes, the large majority of whom are the working poor.

Unity Against Reaction

With all those political movements which are genuinely working against the forces of reaction in the world today, we shall fight side by side. We take no isolated view of our task. With the struggle of the Spanish revolution, with China's fight against Japan, with India's struggle for independence, and with the struggle of the workers everywhere against fascism in all its aspects, we unite ourselves not only in words but in action, and shall strive to arouse in our people a consciousness of the common destiny of all the oppressed of whatever nationality or race.

International organization of all forms of struggle is a necessity and the aim of all thinking persons today. But this will not be achieved by abstract repetition of forms of words, which cover a half-conscious denial of African aspirations and needs, it will be accomplished only by mutual confidence and respect, on a basis of complete equality learned in discussion, struggle and danger honestly shared and reciprocal assistance generously given.

We know our limitations. We know that we cannot liberate the millions of Africans and people of African descent from their servitude and oppression. That task no one can do but the black people themselves. But we can help to stimulate the growing consciousness of the Negroes, to give them the benefit of our daily contact with the European movement, to learn from the black masses the lessons of the profound experiences that they accumulate in their daily toil, to point out certain pitfalls that may be avoided, to coordinate information and organization, to carry on an incessant propaganda exposing evils, pressing for such remedies as are possible, and mobilizing whatever assistance there is to be found in Europe for the cause of African emancipation.

WORLD TODAY

By Lambda

London, England
September 1, 1938.

IN the press here there has just been published a statistical table based on material in the Soviet press, showing that the new Stalinist apparatus installed within the last year to replace the victims of the "purges," has itself been drastically purged in recent weeks.

Taking first the army, it is reported that 80% of the higher officers, from brigade commander up, have been removed or arrested (and probably shot). The same is true for about 50% of the higher officers of the navy, including Smirnov, Navy Commissar. In the city of Moscow, 1,441 party functionaries (35% have been removed; in Leningrad, 60%. In the Ukraine, only 7,367 functionaries remain in office out of a total of 15,861. Of the party secretaries of the eleven federal republics in office in January, only 4 remain. The trade-union apparatus has lost nearly 95% of its functionaries of yesterday. In the very highest state body, the Council of People's Commissars, there have been 8 removals, affecting the following departments: railways, water transport, navy, grain collection, machine industry, food industry. In addition, 15 assistant heads of the commissariats have been liquidated. Two members of the Politburo of the C.P.S.U., Kossior and Chubar, are under arrest, if they have not already been shot.

In the federal republics, the slaughter has been even more frightful. Since January 1938, 101 of the 150 People's Commissars in these subdivisions of the U.S.S.R. have been removed, and this does not include demotions. In the last six months, a total of 148 People's Commissars have been "purged."

The Moscow correspondent of the Paris Temps, who is rather friendly to the Stalin regime, reports a sweeping "purge" of the navy. According to his account, a number of young officers recently took a stand against the program of constructing ships of the line and a so-called "offensive" navy generally as unsuited to the needs of the Soviet Union. These officers were immediately branded as "fascists" and "enemies of the people." "The glorious officials of the Commissariat of Internal Affairs (G.P.U.—Lambda) stepped in and cut off the head of this reptile": this is how the official paper of the navy, the Red Fleet, describes it.

The Temps writer points out quite correctly that among officers everywhere there are vigorous discussions under way as to the effectiveness and utility of various types of weapons. Nowhere, not even in the fascist countries, is disagreement on such questions made an offense against the state and "settled" by the firing squad!

BRITISH C.P. REPORT

THE British Communist Party has issued its pre-convention report. The convention is to be held on September 16 to 19. It will be the fifteenth convention of the party.

The party claims a 100% increase in membership since 1933 when the membership of the party was 6,500; today, it is officially stated as 15,750. The increase in membership is drawn from the middle-class and university elements. The largest membership is in London with Scotland second.

In the Midlands, the industrial heart of England, the party reports a decline in membership. In South Wales, where Arthur Horner heads the South Wales Miners Federation, the party admits "an increase in membership has been registered but this is very small and out of all proportion to the wide influence which the party has in this area."

In textile areas such as Lancashire and Yorkshire, where there is a tremendous amount of youth labor, the Y.C.L. reports little or no activity.

The party issued seventeen two-cent pamphlets during the year. Their average sale is 18,000 copies. Considering the large meetings of the party at which pamphlets are sold, it is obvious that party members do not buy the pamphlets issued by the party.

In the line of vocal endeavor, William Gallacher, M.P., made more speeches in Parliament than any other member of Parliament. How important these speeches were is evidenced by the fact that many were not even mentioned in the Daily Worker.

Few members of the party are unemployed, according to the report. Considering the party is supposed to have an unemployed movement, led by Walter Hannington, and that there are 2,000,000 unemployed in Great Britain, it would appear the party is trying to impress the middle-class and university elements with the idea that it is a "respectable" party with all members working.

How New York Lives

by B. M.

HOW the typical New York family balances its budget and the low living standards that result, is indicated in a very interesting article by Faith M. Williams in the July issue of Labor Information Bulletin, monthly publication of the Department of Labor.

A total of 897 white families served as the basis for this study. The occupations of the chief breadwinners of these families were a representative cross-section of the city's wage earners and lower-salaried employees. They varied almost as widely as the types of industry and business that account for the working day of the city's seven million inhabitants. The sample included unskilled workers in a paper-manufacturing company, a chemical plant, in warehouses and docks, and on the lighters that carry freight across the Hudson and the East River.

Among the semi-skilled workers were machine-tenders in manufacturing industries, operatives in men's clothing factories, bus drivers, delivery men, telephone linemen, and cable splicers. The occupations of the skilled workers were even more varied. There were carpenters, masons, painters, electricians, lithographers, type setters, a die-maker in an airplane-parts manufacturing company, sand blasters, and stationary engineers. There were clerical workers from offices, telephone-switchboard operators, and clerks from retail and wholesale stores.

The annual income of the 897 white families included by the New York City survey ranged from a low of \$510 to a high of \$4,525. The incomes of all families covered averaged \$1,745. Half of the families, however, had incomes of less than \$1,625 and three-fourths had incomes of less than \$2,073.

Expenditures For Food

Out of every dollar spent by the families of employed wage earners and lower-salaried clerical workers in New York City, an average of 36.5 cents went for food. In no other city included in the investigation did the amount spent for food account for so large a proportion of the total expenditures. This is partly due to the high cost of marketing food in a densely populated metropolitan area and partly to the expense involved in eating meals away from home. Most workers in very large urban centers necessarily travel long distances from home to job and are unable to return at the lunch hour. Some of them carry lunches prepared in the family kitchen, but many find the tin lunch pail, the paper bag, or even the more dignified lunch box and thermos bottle inconvenient. Consequently, 629 of the 897 white families studied in New York reported ex-

pense for meals at work. On an average, these expenditures represented somewhat more than a tenth of their total food bill.

Families in the lowest economic level spent a large share of their total disbursements for grain and milk products and only a small proportion for meat and miscellaneous foods. Indeed, the quantity of meat purchased per-capita by families of the highest economic level was more than double that of families at the lowest level and the quantity of green and leafy vegetables and of grapefruit, oranges, and lemons was more than two and one-half times greater.

Even the most hasty glance at any chart on food expenditures indicates that the diets of families in the highest economic group have a much greater nutritive content than those of families at the lowest level of economic wellbeing.

Housing

Another large slice of the family expenditures goes for housing. The concentration of commerce and industry on Manhattan Island and adjacent areas has brought about a competition for living space in New York City that is not duplicated in any other part of the United States. The result is a level of rent that heavily taxes the resources of all types of families. The fact that most New York City families live in apartments provided with central heating, and that payments for heat cannot be segregated from payments for rent as such, makes it impossible to state exactly what percentage of expenditures is accounted for by housing alone. But housing, fuel, light, and refrigeration together absorb slightly more than one-fourth (25.8%) of the total family expenditures.

The proportion of very old buildings among those rented by the families studied may be judged by the fact that 24% were without hot air, hot water, or steam heat, and had to depend on stoves for warmth in winter.

Clothing And Other Items

Third in total expenditures of all groups studied were the expenditures for clothing. Among the families studied, clothing expenditures, on an average, accounted for about 11% of the total incomes. For families in the lowest level expenditures on clothing for a single male averaged \$27, compared with \$46 per person in families of the intermediate group and \$82 for those in the highest. The annual clothing expenditures for a woman of 18 years and over average \$31 for families in the lowest economic group, \$59 in the medium group, and \$104 in the highest-level group.

Medical Care

Only at the highest economic level, that is, among families spending \$809 or more per unit per year, were the average expenditures for medical care found adequate when judged by the standards set by the Committee on Cost of Medical Care. At the lowest level, an average of only \$4.70 was spent per person for medicines, medical appliances, and the services of doctor and nurses. By contrast, families of the medium class had \$25 a year to spend for these purposes and families of the upper brackets averaged \$41. The figure set by the Committee on Cost of Medical Care in \$36 per person.

For families in the two lower classes, the greater part of the expenditures for medical care was made for medicine and drugs, whereas for families in the upper brackets, expenditures for the services of dentists were greater than for any other item. The number

Three Roads For Britain

(Continued from Page 3)

the inability of labor to be "broad" enough and "flexible" enough to attract all non-Tory and neutral opinion by electoral arrangements and alliances with all elements opposed to the Tory government. Labor is ineffective today, he maintained, because it has been torn between two policies—armed maintenance of "collective security" and pacifism—and therefore is rendered incapable of using the mistakes of the National government to win power for itself. Opposition to rearmament, said Barnes, is a policy which will drive all non-Labor elements and most of the working class itself away in a decisive moment. Wherever Labor is winning in elections, it is because labor has agreed not to oppose rearmament. A "broad front" with "broad policies" on which Labor can easily win the majority of the population on its side, is necessary. He expressed his belief that the Cooperative Congress made a grave mistake when it turned down the "Peace Alliance" proposal because of what he termed "bitterness toward communists and socialist distrust of Liberalism."

Revolutionary Socialism

The I.L.P. view was presented by Fenner Brockway, secretary of the party, in his talk after Barnes' lecture and in his special lecture on "Socialist Policy in the Present Situation," reported in a previous article. The same approach was taken by many others in discussion. This view may be characterized as the "class struggle and the workers' front" line. In this approach, the failure of the working class movement in 1920 is attributed to the very policy Barnes advocates now. In Germany, the social-democratic alliance with bourgeois-liberal forces crushed the revolution. In England, there was no fighting lead but instead collaboration with the capitalist class in Royal Government Commissions and in private industry. The Labor government failed for the same reason; the moderation of political and industrial class struggle and alliance with Liberals meant that the Liberal party really determined Labor Party policy. A policy of collaboration with the capitalist class leads to the present fatal Labor Party policy, where the Labor Party has supported "non-intervention" in Spain, has made only minor criticisms of the "efficiency" of the armed forces, and is more monarchist than the Conservative party. Workers must not line up behind one group of capitalist powers against another; "collective security" is impossible in a capitalist world. What will defeat fascism is not "collective security" but independent international working-class action. The I.L.P. favors working-

of families having received medical care without any expense on their part was much smaller than might have been expected in a city where medical services for families of small means have been comparatively extensively developed.

class unity not unity with capitalist groups. We have faith, Brockway concluded, that the British working class will respond to a clear challenge to fight as a class on class issues. The way to approach the middle class is not by entering into agreements with their misleaders but to show that the dynamic force is in the working class; it is necessary to put the vacillating middle class under working-class leadership.

Hitherto, outright conservatism or reformism have dominated the mass of British workers. It is the job of the I.L.P. to combat these influences and bring class consciousness to British labor. This can be done if the I.L.P. will set about vigorous, organized trade-union work and adopt a sound approach on the Labor Party question.

BOOKS

"EAGLE FORGOTTEN": THE LIFE OF JOHN PETER ALTGELD, by Harry Barnard. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis, Ind. 1938. \$4.00.

JOHN PETER ALTGELD fitted no pattern. Entering young manhood after the Civil War, growing to maturity, prominence and power as capitalism did in the final three decades of the last century, he made his fortune and was reviled by the other newly rich. Eager champion of rugged individualism, purveyor of conventional platitudes to the student bodies he addressed, he was also the hope of the organized labor movement of Illinois. Self-made men are usually prone to some sort of "radicalism" in their youth, tapering off to stodgy conservatism and reaction in their maturity and dotage—but John Peter Altgeld went out to make his fortune, dazzled by the opportunities of growing capitalism; made it, and only then started thinking about prison reform, labor's rights, monopoly and justice.

He thought about these things within very definite limits. He declared more than once, and there is no reason to doubt him, that he stood foursquare for the profit-system. Hated for his role in the Haymarket case, he never showed any real sympathy with unorthodox labor thought; viciously denounced for his actions in the Pullman strike, for him the conflict with Cleveland was primarily over jurisdiction. True, Altgeld, as governor of Illinois, refused to allow the state militia to wantonly shoot down workmen, but he preserved "law and order" by force of arms, nevertheless.

If this be his strange and apparently conservative record, why was his name anathema to the employing class of his day; why have his name and deeds been wiped off the history books of the nation? Because John Peter Altgeld failed to fit completely the pattern when industrial capitalism was ruthlessly trampling over the nation; when the agrarians were pulsing with memories of frontier democ-

cracy; when the first great convulsions of capitalism, in the seventies, the eighties and the nineties revealed their destiny to the workers. John Peter Altgeld spoke of, and as governor acted on, child labor, sweatshops, and such issues. But, above all, altho he had not raised his voice in protest together with the thousands of liberals and even prominent supporters of existing society at the time of the trial, yet, as governor of Illinois, he pardoned the three remaining victims of the Haymarket frame-up, Neebe, Fielden and Schwab, and in his accompanying statement of 18,000 words, excoriated the judicial processes which had convicted these and murdered the other five anarchists. Secondly, despite his positively conservative action in the Pullman strike, in effect, he denied the new-found national power of the employing class and attempted to place obstacles in the way of the federal dictatorship of capital. These may seem to be minor "deviations from the class line"; yet they served to stamp Altgeld as an "anarchist."

Altgeld was no idealist reformer. He was a shrewd and capable politician, opposing the Cleveland wing of the Democratic party, yet remaining within the ranks of that party at a time when political insurgency found its expression in Populism. And it should be kept in mind that Populism in the silver-minded West never achieved the Jacobin radicalism of Tom Watson and the southern agrarian rebels. Altgeld sought national political power thru the Democratic party, getting on the "free-silver" handwagon very late and appearing, to his contemporaries and to the author, to have been the dominant figure in the nomination of Bryan in 1896. But "free silver" was the betrayal of bona-fide Populism, and 1896 was already the death of that movement.

"Eagle Forgotten" is an academic compilation of these and other facts—but not of these judgments. As a scholarly work, it deserves high rating; as a biography, it is no more inspired, perhaps, than its subject allows it to be. Harry Barnard's vision is as limited, apparently, as John Peter Altgeld's; the life of Altgeld is related against a background of social facts but hardly of tendencies and forces. Without a fairly decent acquaintance with the history of the times, it would indeed be difficult from this book to form any relative estimate of Altgeld, say in comparison with Tom Watson. Moreover, we have been accustomed to far greater social scope and insight from our biographer-historians than is shown by Barnard, when, for example, he allows it to be merely coincidence that the sharp class feeling of the time, the eight-hour day movement and the Halmarket affair, came together—"by accident."

Put "Eagle Forgotten" on your reference shelf for dates, facts and some quotations, to which you will have to bring your own insight, interpretation and additional knowledge.

Wages in the South

IN a study of eight industries published four months ago, the National Industrial Conference Board found that wage scales in the South are substantially below the East and West even with lower living costs taken into consideration. According to the study, the average Southern cotton mill worker gets a weekly wage of \$18.52, compared to \$20.34 in the East. Living costs in the East were found to be only 5.8% higher than the South, while average weekly earnings ranged from 15.7% higher in the printing industry to 45.3% higher in the gas industry.

When the first great convulsions of capitalism, in the seventies, the eighties and the nineties revealed their destiny to the workers. John Peter Altgeld spoke of, and as governor acted on, child labor, sweatshops, and such issues. But, above all, altho he had not raised his voice in protest together with the thousands of liberals and even prominent supporters of existing society at the time of the trial, yet, as governor of Illinois, he pardoned the three remaining victims of the Haymarket frame-up, Neebe, Fielden and Schwab, and in his accompanying statement of 18,000 words, excoriated the judicial processes which had convicted these and murdered the other five anarchists. Secondly, despite his positively conservative action in the Pullman strike, in effect, he denied the new-found national power of the employing class and attempted to place obstacles in the way of the federal dictatorship of capital. These may seem to be minor "deviations from the class line"; yet they served to stamp Altgeld as an "anarchist."

Altgeld was no idealist reformer. He was a shrewd and capable politician, opposing the Cleveland wing of the Democratic party, yet remaining within the ranks of that party at a time when political insurgency found its expression in Populism. And it should be kept in mind that Populism in the silver-minded West never achieved the Jacobin radicalism of Tom Watson and the southern agrarian rebels. Altgeld sought national political power thru the Democratic party, getting on the "free-silver" handwagon very late and appearing, to his contemporaries and to the author, to have been the dominant figure in the nomination of Bryan in 1896. But "free silver" was the betrayal of bona-fide Populism, and 1896 was already the death of that movement.

"Eagle Forgotten" is an academic compilation of these and other facts—but not of these judgments. As a scholarly work, it deserves high rating; as a biography, it is no more inspired, perhaps, than its subject allows it to be. Harry Barnard's vision is as limited, apparently, as John Peter Altgeld's; the life of Altgeld is related against a background of social facts but hardly of tendencies and forces. Without a fairly decent acquaintance with the history of the times, it would indeed be difficult from this book to form any relative estimate of Altgeld, say in comparison with Tom Watson. Moreover, we have been accustomed to far greater social scope and insight from our biographer-historians than is shown by Barnard, when, for example, he allows it to be merely coincidence that the sharp class feeling of the time, the eight-hour day movement and the Halmarket affair, came together—"by accident."

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M.S.M.

WHERE WE STAND PROGRAM AND POLICIES of the I.L.L.A. Single copies: 5c. Five or more: 4c. WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

BOWRY CREEK FARM (South Durham, Greene County, N. Y.) announces a special for the JEWISH HOLIDAYS September 24, 25, 26 and 27 ONLY \$10.00 The place will remain open during the Fall and Winter months. For information, call TRafalgar 7-2085

Shoe Progressives Hit C.P. Union Domination

Denounce Destructive Administration Policies

(We publish below an appeal recently issued in leaflet form by the progressive opposition in the United Shoe Workers of New York, a C.I.O. affiliate. This group is known as the Shoe, Slipper and Stitchdown Union Workers Circle.—Editor.)

TO ALL SHOE WORKERS!

ON September 29, you will be called upon to vote for general officers of your union. The possibility of expressing your sentiments at the ballot box has already caused panic in administration ranks. To judge from recent experiences in the furriers union and other Communist Party-dominated unions, our leadership will attempt to duplicate the same disgraceful methods in a frantic effort to perpetuate itself in office. But already the end is in sight. Thruout the labor movement, there is a rising tide of resistance to political domination by the Communist Party. This is to be seen in the National Maritime Union, in the Furriers Union, in the C.I.O. on the West Coast and in the United Automobile Workers Union. Also in the shoe industry all constructive union forces must get together to put an end to the regime of mismanagement, intolerance and bureaucracy.

Our union leadership boasts in a recently published leaflet of its accomplishments. Let us see what these are.

1. Financial Responsibility. Our union takes in large sums in dues and assessments weekly. It is claimed that the membership of the union is 14,000 but, even on the basis of a 10,000 membership paying 35 cents per week, the income runs to \$3,500 a week. Add to that the special \$3.00 tax per member and initiation fees, and you get an idea of the huge income. But what becomes of it? Out of the vast sums collected during the last fifteen months our leadership can boast of a balance of a measly \$1,400. We are entitled to know where the money has gone. We are entitled to a detailed financial statement without a huge amount listed under the item of "miscellaneous."

2. Economy. Part of the union income had gone to build up a powerful bureaucratic machine to strengthen and perpetuate the communist clique in control. We challenge the union leadership to show us another union the size of our own, in the C.I.O. or A.F.L. that carries a paid staff of over thirty people.

We maintain that our union is overstaffed for political purposes. It is not a union staff but a standing army to be used against the membership. When the leadership insists such a large staff is needed as a "guarantee for further progress," it is correct in only one sense—it is a "guarantee for further progress," but on the road to financial bankruptcy. Our staff has remained the same in size while the number of shops has been declining. We demand economy by cutting the staff.

3. Wage Cuts. We are told "that the general policy of maintaining prices and conditions will be upheld." We deny that this policy was upheld in the past. If prices and conditions are upheld in the future as they have been in the past, then we are doomed to constantly worse prices and conditions.

Our leaders did not maintain conditions last February during the negotiations with the employers when they ended up by campaigning among the membership for granting a 7½% wage-cut from our already miserable wages. They showed themselves ready not to maintain conditions but to barter them away without a fight.

4. Conditions. So disastrous has been the communist regime in our union that even conditions written into our agreement were not observed. Work on Saturday, which was strictly prohibited and the prohibition enforced by flying squads, even under the Boot and Shoe, became the rule and overtime work a common occurrence. This was permitted by the large union staff during widespread unemployment in the industry when the strictest enforcement of working hours should have prevailed in order to absorb some of the unemployed. But nothing was done and the increasing number of unemployed are fed promises of coming W.P.A. projects.

5. Bureaucratic Control. As conditions in the trade get worse and the leaders give up more and more of our conditions, their hold on the union grows tighter because they fear the wrath of the membership. Democratic expression in meetings is suppressed. Only the clique rule of the Communist Party prevails. Even the unemployed lists are manipulated at will to make jobs for their clique supporters while rank-and-file workers not on the inside are left to starve. This closed bureaucracy must be smashed and the union returned to the membership.

These are but a few facts about the record and accomplishments of our leaders. There is much more that can be said and will be said on the work of leaders who have run the union into the ground. Remember the general elections come on September 29. It is your union. It is you who suffer from the wage-cuts and worsening of conditions. It is you who must rouse yourselves to fight back, to beat down a leadership that has proven itself unworthy of your support.

Begin the fight now! Prepare to take over your own union!

Cardenas Party

(Continued from Page 3)

Cardenas has armed a great many peasants as "army reserves" in a move to offset the more reactionary generals. We saw these function only a few months ago in the struggle against Cedillo. There is no doubt that today, the army, as a political entity, is not quite as important as it was earlier, but it is still a powerful force to reckon with—and its officers are by psychology and class origin on the side of conservatism. It is therefore especially criminal for the Mexican Communist Party to develop illusions concerning it in the minds of the workers and peasants. On the contrary, a fight should have been put up against majority representation for the army in the new party. For it is still the position that the army takes that will help decide the course of events of Mexican history.

Already some of the most influential generals of the military caste are questioning the more radical policies lately adopted. It is true that most of these generals came up thru the school of revolution which began in 1910 and they are somewhat more progressive than professional military men in other lands. Their ideas are not reactionary, like those of the Spanish officers at the time of the outbreak of the rebellion in July 1936. Yet many of them are determined that only a "moderate" course be followed. It was the army that forced a majority block in the Mexican Congress to declare against the measure giving federal workers the right to strike against the government. On June 30, a cable from Mexico City, printed in the New York Times, stated that

Marine Labor Cleans House

The New York Maritime Council, consisting of both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. Unions in the port, has quietly completed a purge of Stalinist officials, it was revealed last week.

Resignations of Mervyn Rathborne, president, and Thomas Ray, secretary, have been accepted, and new officials elected in their place.

Gavin McPherson, organizer of Local 22 of the Industrial Union of Shipyard Workers, C.I.O., has been selected as temporary president, and Edward P. Trainer, of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, also C.I.O., as temporary secretary.

The struggle for control of the council was precipitated when the deck and engine divisions of the National Maritime Union, C.I.O. affiliate, overthrew Stalinist leaders several weeks ago and voted to withhold their per-capita payments to the council.

Leaders of various unions affiliated with the council denied a statement by Thomas Ray that the council was at any time dissolved and made public the names of the new temporary officers.

In addition to the shipyard workers and the marine engineers, the Masters, Mates and Pilots, an A. F. of L. affiliate, the International Boatmen's Union, the Lumber Handlers Union and the Scandinavian Seamen's Club are still affiliated with the council.

The only organization to withdraw, in addition to the deck and engine divisions of the National Maritime Union, has been the American Radio Telegraphists Association.

Now that the change in leadership has been made, it was reported that the two divisions of the N.M.U. would reconsider their withdrawal.

"the split between the army officers and the labor leaders is reported to be growing." The army is, of course, opposed to the arming of workers militia. The language of their manifesto, signed and issued by five colonels, is provocative in the extreme, ending with the following threat: "The army is tired of anti-army calumny by labor leaders who are seeking to fool the workers into starting a fight like that in Spain. . . . In good time, the army officers will answer their aggressors. We wish it to be known that, if our brother officers, in defense of our armed institutions, punish Lombardo Toledano, we are not guilty since we have been provoked."

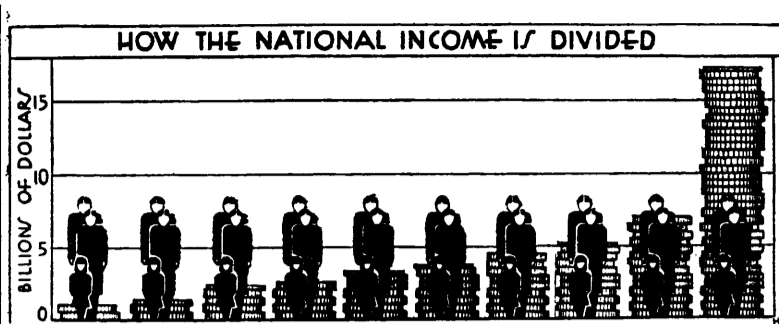
This is the spirit of the officer caste and it is this caste which has the largest representation in the new party and it is this army, and especially this officer caste, which the Mexican Communist Party hails with such glee as the "defender of the revolution."

Dress Union Urges Unity

(Continued from Page 1)

the whole scheme was nothing but a political maneuver, an attempt to advance the narrow factional interests of the Communist Party at the expense of the unity of the local and the interests of the dress-makers?

Further provocation appeared the next day in a report of Tuesday's meeting in the Daily Worker, a report bristling with downright lies and distortions in an effort to "prove" that Local 22 was being "instigated" against the C.I.O. by the "Lovestoneites." In order to expose these lies, Zimmerman took occasion at the meeting on Wednesday to introduce a telegram of greetings to the C.I.O. conference, summarizing the statement of the local's executive board. This telegram was, of course,



EACH group of figures represents a tenth of the number of families in the country, the tenth with the lowest income being at the left, the tenth with the highest income being at the right. Each pile of coins represents the share of the national income received by each group of families. Thus, the richest tenth of the people received a total income almost fifteen times as big as the poorest tenth, the upper third more than six times as much as the lower third, etc. This startling picture of the gross economic inequality prevailing in the United States is based on the figures for 1935-1936 made public recently by the National Resources Committee.

Workers Alliance Split; Plan New Jobless Group

W.P.A. Chauffeurs And Mechanics Lead In Move

ON Friday, September 2, the New York W.P.A. Mechanics and Helpers Union, at its regular membership meeting, voted unanimously to leave the Workers Alliance because of its Stalinist domination, and instructed the president, Henry V. Rourke, to take immediate steps to call a city-wide provisional conference for the purpose of forming a new city and state organization of W.P.A. workers and unemployed. Mr. Rourke and his associates were among the founders of the original Workers Alliance and have had many years of experience in the unemployed movement.

The purpose of the move is to build up a strong organization of the unemployed and relief workers that will be genuinely non-partisan and free from outside control and therefore wholly devoted to the interests of its members. Similar action has already been taken by the W.P.A. Chauffeurs and Auto Mechanics Union, by the West Side Welfare League, as well as by Locals 10 and 60 of the Workers Alliance.

The resolution adopted at the September 2 meeting of Mr. Rourke's organization follows in full:

Whereas, the Workers Alliance of America, as originally founded, pledged itself not to "depend upon favors or deals" from politicians and that "there shall be no discrimination . . . by reason of race, color, sex, creed, nationality or because of political belief or affiliation," declaring furthermore that we do not "presume to dictate the political views of our members"; and

Whereas, it has become increasingly manifest that these fundamental principles and pledges are be-

ing tramped upon and violated by the present administration of the Workers Alliance; and

Whereas the Workers Alliance, instead of maintaining itself as an independent non-partisan organization of the unemployed as it was originally planned to be, is being gradually transformed by the present administration into a servile instrument of the Communist Party by the following practices prevalent thruout the organization:

1. The appointment of communists as organizers, regardless of ability, when other competent members are available;

2. The use of meetings, equipment, resources and funds of the Workers Alliance for purposes of communist propaganda and recruiting instead of the legitimate aims of more adequate relief for the unemployed;

3. The packing of meetings of certain locals with communists and their followers in order to fasten the stranglehold of communist leadership upon an unwilling rank and file;

4. The exaction of political contributions from the underpaid relief workers for the support of the candidates and political allies of the Communist Party; and

Whereas, the effectiveness of the Workers Alliance in behalf of its members and the unemployed generally, is seriously handicapped by the fact that, as part of their bargain with certain politicians, they are blocking legitimate efforts of the Alliance to exert pressure on city, state and federal officials and are bringing the organization into serious disrepute generally as a communist outfit; and

Whereas, we have made repeated protests against these conditions before the Delegates Council and the General Executive Board of the Alliance and our protests have been treated with contempt;

Therefore, be it resolved by this membership meeting of the W.P.A. Mechanics and Helpers Union, located at 90 East 10th Street, Manhattan, held on Friday, September 2, 1938, that we hereby sever our connections with the Workers Alliance and from this date on conduct our activities as an independent non-partisan organization of the unemployed, cooperating with such labor and unemployed groups as are in full agreement with our aims as here expressed.

country. Let us hope this division will not endure for long. Our union is committed to leave nothing undone to help in achieving a united labor movement in America, in which the principle of industrial unionism for the mass-production industries should be firmly established."