

COMING:

INSIDE THE CLOAKMAKERS UNION

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Vol. 8, No. 16.

NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, 1939.

5 CENTS

## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### STRIDES TOWARDS REACTION

WITHIN a fortnight, this country has taken huge strides towards war preparedness and, therefore, towards fascist reaction. These two twins of hell—militarism and fascism—are, today, inseparable.

On March 23, the House of Representatives passed, unanimously (with "Comrade" Marcantonio not dissenting) and without debate, a bill introduced by the Democratic Congressman Dempsey providing for deportation of any non-citizen who advocates "any change" in the American "form of government."

On April 5, the House placed on its calendar a bill providing for indefinite imprisonment of deportable non-citizens (without passports from their native lands) in concentration camps. This bill to set up stockades as bastions of American democracy has been approved by the House Judiciary Committee and hits at non-citizens "undesirable" on grounds of political belief as well as for other reasons. The Secretary of Labor will be charged with selecting these camps. It may be noted, in parenthesis, that the author of this bill is also a Democrat, Mr. Hobbs by name.

And, on the same day, a federal court in Philadelphia handed down a vicious decision against the American Federation of Hosiery Workers (C.I.O.). Sacred and not so blind "justice" fined the union—in true Danbury Hatters fashion—over \$700,000 on the basis of the Sherman Act having been violated thru a sit-down strike.

These are no small fingers in the heavens. They are dark clouds, ominous in the most sinister sense of the word. These events reflect the spirit of the times when, in defense of the employing-class "democratic" governmental system, labor's elementary democratic rights are being guillotined.

### ROOTS OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

SO swiftly is the international scene changing today, that it would be foolhardy for anyone to venture a prophecy even in regard to the smallest sector of the ever more active war front. But some fundamentals should not be lost sight of in the present hectic hours, if we are to have balanced judgment.

In this sense, it is vitally necessary not to misunderstand Chamberlain's recent change of policy towards the Berlin-Rome axis. Montague Norman, governor of the Bank of England, has for many years been a friend of the Tory Prime Minister. Here is a friendship dating back to the time when Chamberlain headed the British Treasury administration for six years—the telling years of devaluation and currency manipulation. In no small measure was Chamberlain's previous policy towards the fascist imperialist powers molded and dictated by Mr. Norman and his Bankers Bund, commonly called "The City." Here, Downing Street is but an alley, Franco's Duke of Alba got much for the Spanish hangman thru this tie-up.

However, much as the City in particular and British capitalism in general may respect and even envy the Nazi regime, especially for the way in which it has crushed German labor, yet the English ruling class also shows increasing fear of Hitler imperialism. Giving credits to German industry for procuring raw materials has made the Reich a more formidable competitor in the realm of exports. For example, the amount of cotton goods exported by England has dropped to the level of 1850, a fall of almost a third last year alone. Last year also saw a fall of 20% in the export of British iron-and-steel goods and of 25% in woolen-goods exports.

It is in such soil that we must seek the roots of the domestic and foreign policies of Great Britain as well as of other imperialist powers.

### NOT MACHINERY BUT CAPITALISM

AS we approach 1940, we will be hearing, with increasing frequency, that the South is the nation's Number One Economic Problem. Yes, the South is that in more than one respect. When we say this, we do not in the least underestimate the gravity of the unemployment situation in the country as a whole. We desire merely to emphasize that, for a number of reasons, the South occupies an inferior position in several walks of life in our land.

And those who blame machinery as such rather than the capitalist ownership and organization of machine production (for private profit) for the unemployment and poverty in the East, West and North had better learn that in the South it is the backwardness in the capitalist use of machinery that is to a substantial extent responsible for the widespread poverty and degradation. Undoubtedly, one of the reasons for the poverty below the Mason and Dixon line is that the South which has more than half the country's farmers does its farming with less than one-fifth of the country's farm machinery.

## War Against War-Makers!

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(We publish below the address delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe in New York City on April 6 at a meeting called by the Keep America Out of War Congress to honor the Congressmen who opposed the entrance of the United States into the World War twenty-two years ago.—Editor.)

MR. ROOSEVELT, Mr. Stimson and Mr. Browder have attempted to sell the coming war to America as a war of ideologies. Ethiopia cries out against them. Czechoslovakia cries out against them.

### Chamberlain Tears Away the Mask

From the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons on April 7:

"Whatever may be those ideological differences, they do not really count in a question of this kind. . . . We welcome the cooperation of any country, whatever may be its internal system of government . . . in resistance to aggression."

Of course, Chamberlain was talking of his wooing of the Soviet Union. But tomorrow, as yesterday, the only true determinant, the imperialist interests of the British ruling class, will designate the Soviet Union as "aggressor," and welcome the cooperation of Hitler and Mussolini. Any one who threatens British ruling-class interests is the "aggressor." Any one who serves them even for a moment is for that moment a "welcome ally, whatever may be its internal system of government, in resistance to aggression."

"Whatever may be those ideological differences they do not really count in a question of this kind. . . . What could be clearer? They are knaves or fools who say otherwise. First as to the knavery.

India and Porto Rico and the Latin American dictatorships which the President does not scruple to bless as "democracies," cry out against them.

Bleeding and beaten Spain cries out against this fraudulent misrepresentation of imperialism war as war for democracy and progress.

And, lest you think that the ruling classes of these lands have changed and the leopard lost his spots, the eagle his talons, the lion his claws, since the oil of Rumania made it a concern of the "democracies," I call none other than Chamberlain to testify against this misrepresentation.

All those who oppose the LaFollette resolution for a compulsory referendum on war are guilty of knavery when they talk of "democracy."

If the people are not to have a voice in this question, if they are not to say for what causes and under what circumstances they are ready to die and to kill, what does democracy matter in questions that are of lesser import? This alone is the life-and-death question that tests all professions of democracy.

Those who talk of a crusade for democracy elsewhere, but will not give an iota of democracy to the Porto Ricans or the Indian people, or self-determination to Mexico, are guilty of knavery.

Those who talk of democracy but make secret engagements behind the back of Congress, of the Foreign Relations Committee, and of the American people, secret engagements with England that leak out only because an English statesman talks too freely, secret engagements with France which become known only because an airplane falls in California, those who do these things and then would sell us the

## Lewis Indicts Bituminous Operators

Charges Anti-Union Sabotage In Obedience To "Outside Influences"

Charging that operators in the Appalachian soft-coal region have locked out 320,000 miners who have been idle since April 1, when their contract expired, John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, accused the operators last week of aiming to destroy the union in response to the desire of "outside interests." He threatened to call a strike in all soft-coal mines outside the Appalachian field not yet affected by the stoppage.

Mr. Lewis also issued a warning that the anthracite coal fields might be tied up if an agreement was not signed in the soft-coal industry. The bituminous negotiations have been in progress since March 14. Negotiations for a new anthracite agreement are scheduled to begin in New

## WPA Slash Passed by Senate

"Economy" Block Puts Thru Reduced Appropriation; Big Fight Coming

Washington, D. C. By a vote of 49 to 28, the Senate last week defeated the efforts of the Administration to have \$150,000,000 appropriated to carry the W.P.A. on until July 1, the beginning of the new fiscal year. Instead, it supported the House in slashing the deficiency appropriation to \$100,000,000.

According to estimates of W.P.A. officials, reiterated by the President in a letter to Senator Pepper, who led the Administration fight on the Senate floor, the cut in relief funds will mean that between 300,000 and 400,000 people on W.P.A. will have to be laid off and deprived of their means of subsistence within the next few weeks, not to speak of the 750,000 unemployed on the waiting lists, who will now

### SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

IF we go to war AGAIN to save the world for democracy THEN—



—from the N. Y. Daily News

war to which they are trying to commit us, as a war in the name of democracy and religion, are guilty of conscious hypocrisy.

Those who denounce fascism and the aggressor, but strangle Republican Spain to death with an embargo while they ship arms to the fascist aggressors, are guilty as hell of fraud and deception.

The President asks for a blank

check in foreign policy.

His record in these matters proves that he cannot be trusted with it.

He has forged the name of the American people to too many such checks already. We cannot trust him further. The support of measures to put war and foreign policy in the hands of the mass of the people, is today the crucial test of democracy.

### War Spells Fascism and Anti-Semitism

Now a word as to the deluded. I want to say a word of, and to, the most justifiably deluded, the element that makes the war party so much larger in New York than elsewhere in this country, those whose anguish blinds their visions as each day their spirits are bruised and shocked afresh by the daily budget of news of Jewish persecutions throughout the world. Profiting by their anguish which amounts to hysteria, there are those who would sell them the coming war as a war against anti-Semitism. And this is the more dangerous delusion because the growth of militarism and reaction in this country is bringing with it the growth of anti-Semitism.

To you I say there is no way of putting an end to your endless torture except by putting an end to militarism, reaction, war and capitalist imperialism which begets them all.

Are you so blind as to ignore the connection between the rise of modern imperialism with its theories of superior and inferior races, and anti-Semitism?

Are you so ignorant of the history of the suffering of your own people as to have failed to see a connection between militarism and reaction, between reaction and persecution?

Do you see no significance in these dates? 1870: Franco-Prussian War, fol-

lowed by two decades of anti-Semitism in both Germany and France, culminating in the Dreyfuss case?

1905: Russo-Japanese War, followed by reaction and anti-Semitism culminating in the Kishinev massacres.

1914-18: World War, followed by world-wide reaction and worldwide anti-Semitism on a scale never known before in history.

You, of all people, should be among the last to desire another war. Take care, I beg of you, lest not only the reactionaries and militarists of this country should grind you and the Negro people under the iron heel, take care a thousand times more lest those who desire to keep this country out of war should get the idea that you are working to put America into it. When you lose the sympathies of the masses who have nothing to expect from war but misery, then you will be lost indeed.

I have here a letter from Ernest Lundeen, Senator from Minnesota. In it he writes: "I can assure you that my views have not changed since I cast my vote against America's entry into the World War in 1917."

All honor to Senator Lundeen and to his colleagues here on the platform. May they live to repeat that heroic deed if once more it shall become necessary. Long after those

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## England Pushes War Pacts, "Appeasement"

### President Roosevelt, War Monger

"I'll be back in the Fall," the President told the crowd at Warm Springs as he was leaving for Washington, and then he added the ominous words: "—if we don't have war."

And so things have reached the point where the President is ready to come out openly and show his hand in the campaign that the Administration has conducted for months to whip up a state of frantic war jitters thruout the country in order to break down all resistance to its war-making foreign policy.

One thing is crystal clear: If we have war by the Fall, it will be because the Administration has dragged us into it!

## Martin to Discuss Affiliation to AFL

### Autonomy, Industrial Unionism Basic

(Special to the Workers Age)

Detroit, Mich. The United Automobile Workers of America, thru its president, Homer Martin, announced last week that it was considering negotiations with the American Federation of Labor to determine whether a basis exists on which unification with the A. F. of L. can be achieved. It was the opinion of President Martin that this step would help unify the ranks of labor generally. In a radio address delivered on April 11, Mr. Martin declared: "Let me point out that we have always stood, and we stand today, for a united labor movement on a sound, democratic basis. We believe that the U.A.W., representing a vast group of organized workers, will aid materially the cause of a united labor movement, thru affiliation with the main stream of the American labor movement upon a proper basis."

Mr. Martin stated that no commitments would be made prior to a referendum vote of the membership of his organization. He pointed out, however, that had the committee of the C.I.O. come to an amicable settlement with the A. F. of L. during the peace negotiations initiated by President Roosevelt, the very ones who now pretend it is a "crime" to talk about A. F. of L. affiliation would have found themselves inside the A. F. of L. without even the right to vote on that question.

### CONDITIONS OF AFFILIATION

Discussing the basis on which his negotiations with the A. F. of L. will be conducted, Mr. Martin outlined in the above-mentioned radio address the conditions under which affiliation would be recommended to the membership. "Let me say unhesitatingly," President Martin declared, "that in no case will we surrender our autonomy or the principle of industrial unionism. We propose to keep our union within the control of the membership of the U.A.W., with officers elected by them and responsible to them.

"We will not permit," Mr. Martin continued, "any outside organization, not even a parent body, to appoint our officers, dictate our policies, or set aside our constitution and laws, as adopted by our membership. Nor

## Court Bans Closed Shop

The California District Court of Appeals ruled last week that closed-shop union contracts were illegal in California, that peaceful picketing was unlawful when used for "illegal" purposes and that the question of jurisdiction, which has been the subject of frequent labor disputes of late, was in the province of the government, not of individuals.

The closed-shop ruling was made in an injunction suit, brought against the A. F. of L.'s Auto Salesmen's Union No. 1,067 by some salesmen of the Howard Automobile Company of San Francisco.

The salesmen, declaring the Howard company had been picketed by the union when they (the salesmen) refused to join, asserted such picketing was a violation of Section 921 of the 1933 Labor Code which they said prohibits contracts wherein membership or non-membership in any organization is made a condition of employment.

"We will take the law as it reads," Justice Nourse said, "The state's policy, as declared in the Labor Code, renders unlawful any contract wherein the latter agrees to join or remain a member of any labor organization."

The union announced it would appeal to the State Supreme Court.

will we for a single moment surrender the principle of industrial unionism."

Authorization for opening conversations with the A. F. of L., Mr. Martin said, was granted in a resolution recently adopted by his International Executive Board. The resolution in question refers to the negotiations for peace in progress between C.I.O. and A. F. of L., the efforts of President Roosevelt in this direction, the consistent policy for unity in the labor movement maintained by the U.A.W., and the authorization granted by the recent Detroit emergency convention to investigate matters relative to affiliation with other organizations. This resolution concludes as follows: "That the International Executive Board does hereby recommend that Homer Martin, president of the International Union, and/or a committee from the International Executive Board, confer with representatives of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of ascertaining upon what basis the International Union, U.A.W., might affiliate with the A. F. of L."

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## See Administrative Change In Labor Act

### Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. THE hearings on the Wagner Act began this week and they deserve the close attention of all who would learn more about just how the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders feel about each other. The majority prediction in Washington is that the act will not be modified at this session of Congress but that important changes will be made, administratively, in the personnel and in the procedures of the Board. In this respect, Senator Wagner set the pace for the Administration when, in his opening testimony, he favored different rules from those now followed by the Board. Recognizing the conflict between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., Wagner advocates giving the employers the right to petition the Board for an election in such situations.

One of the best pamphlets on the Wagner Act has just been published by the American Association for Economic Freedom, located in Washington. This organization, headed by W. Jett Lauck, economist of the United Mine Workers and close personal adviser of John L. Lewis, has sent out thousands of copies of this pamphlet preparatory to the current hearings. The position taken by the Association is supported by such persons as William Allen White, Rabbi Wise, Guy Emery Shipler, editor of the Churchman, Father Ryan, Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and other prominent liberals who are members of the Association's national executive committee. Francis Henson is one of the secretaries of this organization.

In addition to defending the Wagner Act, the Association is lobbying for a bill (similar to the old Amle bill) to insure industrial expansion thru economic planning. It is based on the ideas in Mordecai Ezekiel's book, "Jobs for All." Ezekiel, you will remember, along with Jerome Frank, favors attempting to regulate monopolies rather than talking about busting them. We socialists do not consider that it is possible to achieve a planned economic order under capitalism.

## Support to Balkans is "Pledged"

But London And Paris Also Press Attempts To Woo Italy From Axis

Anglo-French imperialism continued its activities in two directions last week in an effort to meet the situation created by Italy's occupation of Albania, following so closely upon the heels of Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia and Memel. On the one hand, London and Paris, acting in close union, pushed the system of war alliances by extending the "pledge" of military support against aggression, originally made to Poland, to Rumania, Greece and other countries in the Balkans or bordering on the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the British and French Foreign Offices proceeded with their efforts to reach a settlement by way of "appeasement," primarily of Italy. The two lines of strategy were pursued simultaneously, one supplementing the other.

In a sweeping declaration read by Prime Minister Chamberlain in the House of Commons last Thursday, and promptly endorsed by Premier Daladier, the British government proclaimed that, in the event of any action "clearly threatening the independence" of Greece or Rumania and which the Greek and Rumanian government "considered it vital to resist with their national forces," Great Britain would "feel itself bound" to lend these countries "all the support within its power." This declaration was made while the British and French fleets, as a result of rapid concentration, dominated the Mediterranean.

Neither Greece nor Rumania was quite enthusiastic about this "pledge," which was hedged in with the same restrictions as the London Times had already noted in the case of Poland. A Rumanian envoy was busy in Berlin in commercial negoti-

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Nevertheless, I think we should favor the fullest discussion and consideration of this bill. It is doubtful, however, if hearings will be held during this session of Congress.

### POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE ANDERSON AFFAIR

Those who read this weekly letter regularly know what I think of the effect on race relations in the Capital of the Marian Anderson affair. However, the concert at the Lincoln Memorial was a notable gesture and one of the most impressive occasions I have ever experienced. A curious sidelight is the way in which it may turn out to have been an important landmark in the political lives of F.D.R., Farley and Garner. Farley and Garner refused even to acknowledge repeated telegrams from Ickes urging them to attend. Consequently, their absence stuck out like a sore thumb. Walter White assures newspapermen that both gentlemen are on his potent blacklist. They certainly will not get many Negro votes. On the other hand, F.D.R. may find the Negro

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## Rail Unions Back War Poll

Washington, D. C. At the meeting here recently of the Railway Labor Executives Association, the central body of the standard railroad unions, support of the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum resolution was strongly affirmed.

"The chiefs of the standard railroad labor organizations," declares Labor, the official publication of these organizations, in reporting this action, "believe that the fathers and mothers of Americans should have a chance to express themselves before their boys are sent away to fight another war on foreign soil. . . Of course, the Ludlow proposal is anathema to the militarists who keep shouting that we can't keep out of the 'next war' but there is little doubt that it expresses the sentiment of a very large majority of the American people."

# Problem of Hiring Halls Faces Marine Unions

## Federal Commission Operates As Union Smasher

By JACK SODERBERG

WHEN, back in 1934, the west-coast maritime unions struck, the principal demand around which everything else revolved was the right of the unions to control the hiring. This applied equally to the longshoremen who load and unload the ships as well as the sailors who sail them and the firemen who produce the motive power of the ships. Later, during the 1936-37 struggle, this union hiring control again was the main point in the demands. The unions won in both cases and have since shipped thru the halls as well as sending their longshore gangs on a rotating basis thru the longshoremen's halls.

### WHY UNION HIRING HALLS ARE VITAL

In a factory or plant or shop ashore, you are able to operate a closed shop without hiring thru the union offices. Your delegates, business agents, shop chairmen, etc., are able to check on this. Not so on board a ship. The delegate can't just leave the hall in Frisco and contact a ship somewhere between Melbourne and Hong-Kong. Once that ship has left port, there is no way to check or control. Hence, it is most important that all hiring goes thru the union hall before the ship leaves port. You know then that you have a union crew, and in addition when a rotary system is employed in the process of shipping, each man gets an equal opportunity—the one longest ashore, and therefore in most need of the job, gets the job first. You will understand therefore that the very life and usefulness of a maritime union depends above all else on whether or not you control the hiring.

A couple of years ago, the Roosevelt Administration created a board known as the Maritime Commission for the purpose of controlling subsidies to private ship-owners as well as running some ships directly under its control. This board adopted a policy to ship from its own offices irrespective of whether the man shipped carried a union card or not. These halls are termed by the seagoing fraternity "fink halls" for obvious reasons. By shipping thru these government-controlled halls, the union had no control whatever. For some two years, the Commission has been able to get away with this kind of refined fink-herding on the east coast, mainly because the union in control on this coast, the N.M.U. was in turn controlled by a conglomeration of Communist Party members and some petty racketeers and small-time gangsters. The former fed the seamen the slogan that "you can't fight the government," and the latter cared not how the men shipped just as long as the weekly gravy was coming in the shape of a payroll. The few honest officials there existed—and still exist in this union—are and are powerless. This condition continues to this day and all Commission ships are shipped thru the various fink halls on this coast.

### GOVERNMENT UNION SMASHER

Recently the Commission decided to put four of their ships on the Seattle-China run. Upon learning of this, Harry Lundberg, secretary-treasurer of the Sailors Union of the Pacific—by far the most militant and class-conscious of all west-coast maritime unions—wired the Commission in Washington inquiring as to what the Commission policy would be in the matter of hiring the sailors for these four ships. The Commission replied that it considered these seamen "government employees" and, as such, it would hire the crews thru its own halls, disregarding completely any and all unions. Upon receipt of this wire, the meeting at headquarters in Frisco immediately voted to strike the whole coast, be they Commission ships or privately-operated ships with a Commission subsidy. The Commission has been informed that any attempt at hiring the seamen thru any other agency except the union halls will mean immediate tie-up of the whole west coast.

Contrast this militant stand with that of the Bridges-controlled, and therefore Stalinist-controlled, Maritime Federation. Its members, too, are involved, largely thru the longshoremen. The Federation secretary, Bruce Hannon, dispatched a letter to Secretary Perkins on the matter pointing out that, since the "Federation has constantly supported the government policies and the President's New Deal, we should now be accorded some consideration" and be allowed to handle these ships thru our halls! At a meeting of the Federation executive committee, it was decided to take steps to prevent this attempt at breaking the backbone of the unions out there and the above were the steps taken! In addition the official organ, the Voice of the Federation, comes out with a plan to "legislate away these fink halls thru Congress!"

Here we have a Commission which, since its inception, has consistently refused to recognize any unions and, in addition, with the blessings of the Stalinist-controlled

unions like the N.M.U., has established government training schools for seamen precisely for the purpose of establishing a supply of non-union "sailors" to man these very ships when the unions of bona-fide sailors would refuse to sail under non-union conditions. And this Commission is part and parcel of the government which Bridges, in his infantile naivete, now expects to legislate away its own fink supply. Need I say more?

### SHOWING THEIR COLORS

For months, we have been told by the Stalinist-controlled press on both coasts and the Gulf that this fellow Lundberg and the rest of the leadership of the S.U.P. were "phonies," "shipowners stooges," "sell-out artists," and the like. But, when the test finally comes, when it is a question whether or not the unions shall continue to exist as unions rather than as instruments for the use of the Maritime Commission and other government agencies, when the very existence of these unions is threatened, then we see the men who were supposed to be the "phonies," the "sell-out artists," etc., are the only men who take a straight trade-union stand on the question and are ready to go out and fight this move to the very limit—while the accusers, the slanderers, and supposedly "honest" and "militant" leadership of the Stalinist-controlled unions come out whining to Madame Perkins for a reward because "we have constantly support government policies!"

My prediction is that when, in a couple of weeks, the Commission makes its attempt at breaking the unions out there on the coast, the rank and file will go out again as

they did in those glorious days of '34, '36 and '37 and will stay out until victorious again. And anyone, be it Bridges or anyone else, who may attempt any money deals will be made short shrift of. These men have gone thru too much now to allow any latter-day swivel-chair philosphers or political tricksters to diddle them into any deals which would take even an inch from what they have gained thru their heroic struggles.

# Martin to Discuss Affiliation to AFL

## Autonomy, Industrial Unionism Basic

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"That the I.E.B., in keeping with the position of the convention of the International Union, does hereby instruct President Martin that in no case shall the autonomy and self-government, or the principles of industrial unionism, as embodied in the International Union, U.A.W., be surrendered or violated by any such affiliation.

"That President Martin and/or a committee representing the I.E.B. shall report to the I.E.B. the results of the conference with the representatives of the A. F. of L. and should the I.E.B. find the terms acceptable to them, that the question of affiliation upon the terms arrived at be submitted to the membership of the International Union, U.A.W., for a referendum vote."

No announcement was made of the date of the conference or the designation of the conferees.

### RESULTS OF CLEVELAND CONVENTION

Declaring that the Cleveland convention of the C.I.O.'s U.A.W. faction had proved all his charges and accusations, Homer Martin stressed that the C.I.O. organization in the auto field was completely under the domination of the Communist Party as a result of the executive board elections at Cleveland. "R. J. Thomas will probably go fishing," he said. "Changes in the dualists alleged constitution have taken nearly all power from the president and lodged it in Adde's office (secretary-treasurer) and the executive board."

### Printing the News That "Fits"

NEWS is how you write it. Take the account of the Cleveland convention of the C.I.O. faction of the U.A.W., as given by Ben Fischer in the Socialist Call of April 8.

Reports Ben Fischer: "Efforts of communists to develop a power machine collapsed at the convention."

The facts: The International Executive Board elected by the convention includes a better than two-to-one majority of Stalinists and Stalinist stooges.

# Progressives Score In Hotel Union

## Elect Candidates For The Presidency And The Vice-Presidency

THE progressive elements in Local 16 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, an A. F. of L. affiliate, scored big last week in the elections held in that local by electing their candidates for president and vice-president, David Siegel and John Green, respectively, thus dealing a severe blow to the administration of the local, composed of Stalinists in alliance with the discredited Stelzel group. Over 4,000 workers took part in the voting.

The so-called "fusion" (Stalinist-Stelzel) candidate for secretary-treasurer was elected, as were also other officers, but by a very close margin. On the new board, the progressives and elements close to them will constitute a real force.

The remarkable success of the progressives in breaking thru the ironclad control of the Stalinist-Stelzel clique came as the culmination of a long, determined struggle in the course of which the progressives managed to win the support and confidence of the great masses of the membership in revolt against the destructive policies of the local administration.

Among the issues stressed by the progressive forces, organized in the Progressive Culinary League, were: (1) security and protection on the job for all members of the union; (2) a sound policy and a sound budget for the union; (3) equal distribution of jobs and no favoritism; and (4) democratic expression and representation for all members of Local 16.

(A full account of the Local 16 elections will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

# News of the I.L.L.A.

by D. Benjamin

### N. Y. Legislative Activities

A SPOKESMAN of the I.L.L.A. was present at the New York City budget hearings before the Board of Estimate on April 12 and 13 to protest against the proposed cuts for education and welfare. . . . Resolutions were adopted by the New York District Council and various branches of the I.L.L.A. and cards were sent by members and sympathizers to the New York State Legislature for the passage of legislation aimed to improve the condition and status of Negroes in this state. . . . Resolutions were adopted by the New York District Council on various bills before Congress involving militarization and war preparations.

### May Day in New York

THE New York District Council is participating in the conference called by a committee of the Workers Circle, Socialist Party, and Social-Democratic Federation for a united May Day demonstration. . . . In addition, we are calling upon members and friends to participate in the May Day celebrations organized by their unions (various I.L.L.G. W.U. locals, etc.). . . . The I.L.L.A. is opposed to any participation in or support of the Stalinist-controlled pro-war and People's Front May Day affair.

### International Solidarity

A CONTRIBUTION of \$25 was made by the I.L.L.A. recently to the Jewish Socialist Bund of Poland in answer to an appeal from that organization.

WILKESBARRE.—A May Day meeting is being organized for Sunday afternoon, April 30, under the joint auspices of the S.P. and the I.L.L.A.

BALTIMORE.—Important anti-

war mass meeting on Thursday evening, April 20, under the auspices of the Keep America Out of War Congress. This meeting has been endorsed by the Baltimore Federation of Labor. The I.L.L.A. and friends are working hard to help make this meeting a big success.

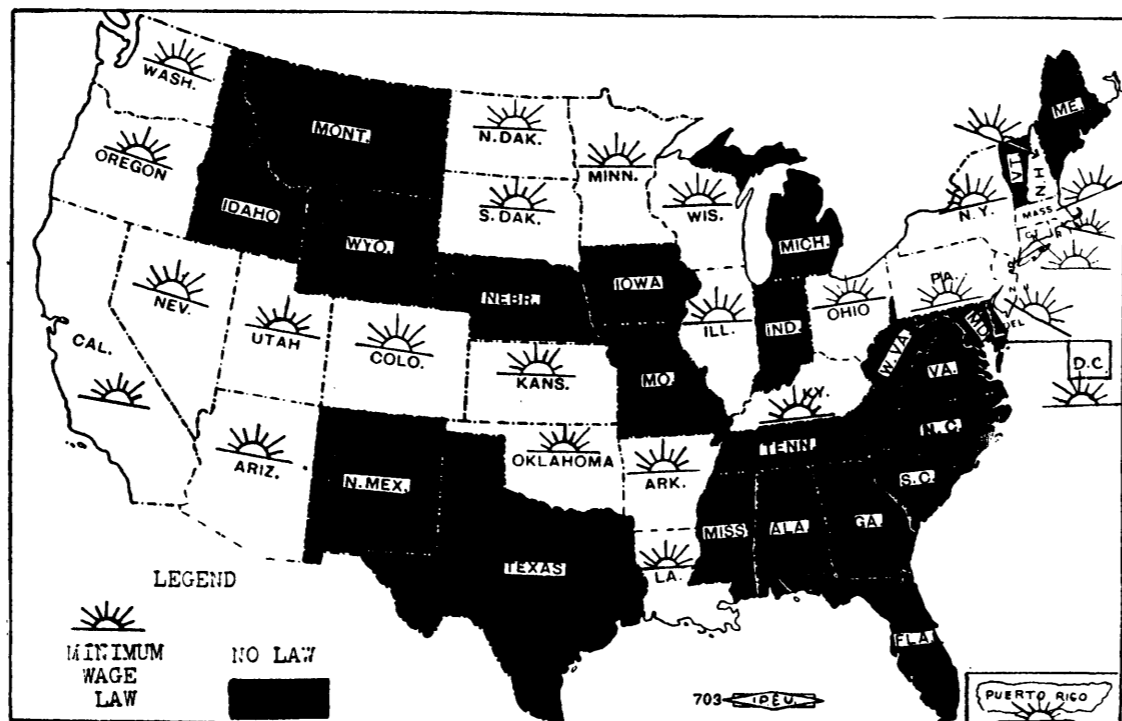
CHICAGO, North Side Branch.—Good attendance at the class on "Capitalism" being given by H. M. Wicks. . . . Book Review Club sessions held every two weeks. . . . The branch is contemplating issuing a monthly bulletin.

PHILADELPHIA.—Interesting and instructive membership meeting on March 24 on Spanish developments. Twenty five dollars raised for the P.O.U.M.

TORONTO.—Functioning youth clubs in East York and Humber Bay. . . . Pamphlet being published exposing the Leadership League, semi-fascist creature of the Toronto Globe and Mail. . . . Class in current events and economics continuing.

NEW YORK.—A number of important meetings and affairs were held in the last five weeks: two membership meetings, one on Spain and the other on recent trade-union developments. . . . (another membership meeting on the trade union situation is scheduled for Thursday, April 20) . . . mass meeting on Spain with Wolfe as speaker. . . . the brilliant and inspiring send-off for our international delegation. . . . participation in the anti-war conference of the New York Keep America Out of War Congress and activity for the April 6 K.A.O.W. anti-war meeting, at which Bertram D. Wolfe was one of the speakers. . . . Successful forum held by the Youth Section in the Bronx with Lewis Corey speaking on "The Crisis in Education." The next forum will be held on Wednesday, April 19, at the Harwood Labor Center, with Dr. Harry Bail speaking on "Why Socialized Medicine?"

# STATE MINIMUM WAGE LAWS FOR WOMEN



This map, based on Department of Labor figures, shows where state minimum-wage laws for women are in effect. Most state minimums exceed the 25 cent minimum of the federal wage-hour act.

# Mass Revolt Forces Office Union Clique to Retreat

## Local 30 Board is Reinstated; Progressives Continue Fight

By OFFICE WORKER

CONFRONTED with a rising tide of mass opposition to his dictatorial conduct in Industrial Insurance Agents Local 30, Lewis Merrill, president of the U.O.P.W.A., was forced last week to reinstate the entire executive board of the local, which he had suspended the week before. The extent of the membership's opposition to Merrill's high-handed policies is to be measured by the solid support which the progressives got in the Queens Regional Council of the local, where the office chairmen voted 99 to 1 against the suspension. Strong opposition came from the other boroughs as well.

### MERRILL FORCED TO RETREAT

In order to stifle the mass resentment among the insurance agents, Merrill called an emergency membership meeting for Tuesday, April 11. At this meeting, he planned to legally amend the by-laws and call for a special election in which the Communist Party could push thru its candidates by fair means or foul.

The agents have already had sad experience with the electioneering methods of the Stalinist caucus in Local 30 and they want to have sufficient time to prepare for the annual elections as provided in the by-laws. But Merrill was afraid to raise the question of elections at the meeting when it took place because of his fear of the membership.

Merrill knows that he is discredited with the industrial insurance agents and therefore thought discretion the better part of valor. He found it advisable to hide behind the backs of the C.I.O. leaders. Gus Stroebel, secretary of the New York State C.I.O., was chairman of the meeting. James Carey,

president of the United Electrical and Radio Workers and secretary of the whole C.I.O., was gotten to deliver a scurrilous attack upon the anti-Stalinist insurance agents. It is significant that when the C.I.O. leaders are asked to intervene on behalf of progressive trade unionists, they always refuse on the ground that they cannot violate the autonomy of the affiliated union. But they are always ready to jump into the fray to defend the Communist Party when it is under attack from the rank and file of the membership. When, about a year ago, Local 34 of the U.O.P.W.A. in San Francisco pleaded with John Lewis's assistant to save that local for the C.I.O., he refused. When representatives of Local 16 tried some time ago to get the C.I.O. to intervene and save large sections of the local for the C.I.O., there was no response. Even communications went unanswered. But, as soon as Merrill's leadership is threatened in Local 30 of the U.O.P.W.A., the whole C.I.O. machine goes into action to protect him against the rank and file.

### MEETING PACKED

To prevent the rank and file from getting the floor, Merrill mobilized Stalinist insurance agents from New Jersey and even dared to pack the meeting with members of the Transport Workers Union. The C.I.O. big shots were allowed to speak endlessly, so that there would be no time for the Local 30 membership. But, in spite of the moral and physical terror thus instituted, Harry Waldman and Thomas O'Rourke, progressive members of the executive board, succeeded in getting the floor and exposed the machinations of Merrill and his crew. The Communist Party stooges then proceed-

ed to boo and heckle the progressive spokesmen and refused to permit any of the other representatives of the progressives to speak.

Having packed the meeting, the Merrill-Berney machine proceeded to pass motions to curtail the rights of the executive board and the membership by first superseding the executive board with a "coordinating committee" of seven and secondly by forbidding the progressives to hold meetings to discuss union policies while the Stalinist faction can continue its destructive intrigues unhampered. But the progressives will continue their fight in spite of the Merrill-C.I.O. conspiracy to keep the Communist Party in control of the Industrial Insurance Agents Local 30. They have already issued some excellent bulleting to the members explaining their aims and exposing the ruinous policies of Merrill, Berney and their kind. As founders and charter members of the union, the progressives feel confident of their ability to keep the majority of the membership behind them.

DEMAND OWN CHARTER

In a statement issued for the membership meeting, the Insurance Agents Action Committee of Local 30 declared: "We must have a union of industrial-insurance agents, for industrial-insurance agents, and by industrial-insurance agents! We want such a union and we know how to get it. We must secure a charter from the C.I.O. for a distinct and separate insurance-agents union, free and independent from the U.O.P.W.A. With such an organization, unhampered and free from sabotage, we will be able effectively to build a powerful union, combat company unionism, and win

# Lansing U.A.W. In Plea For Unity

## Regional Confab for Solidarity of Locals

(We publish below the leading front-page article of the April 6 issue of the Lansing Auto Worker, issued by Lansing, Mich., Local 182 of the United Automobile Workers of America. This article strikes a note of united action and unity in the ranks of the auto workers that is especially welcome at the present time.—Editor.)

A CONVENTION of delegates of all U.A.W. locals of western Michigan, called for Niles, Sunday, April 16, at 11:00 a. m., by a preliminary conference in Muskegon, and at the suggestion of Lester Washburn, regional director, will establish a district council for Region No. 7 in accordance with the new constitution of the U.A.W., and adopt a constitution.

The preliminary meeting in Muskegon, which was composed of delegates not elected according to the membership of the locals, left the election of officers and adoption of the constitution to the Niles meeting. The Niles delegates will be elected by the locals on the basis of three delegates from each affiliated local union or branch of an amalgamated local. Each delegate shall have one vote.

As expressed in its initial meeting, the purpose of the council is to establish the closest cooperation between the locals of the region to maintain and further strengthen the solidarity of the local unions within the region, to cooperate with and advise the regional director and his staff on problems of organization, legislation, and all subjects of interest to the working men and women and any other problems necessary and pertaining to a clean and democratic, industrial union."

### SOLIDARITY FIRST AIM

Regional Director Lester Washburn, after summarizing the work

# Lewis Indicts Soft-Coal Operators

(Continued from Page 1)

York City soon. The old agreement expires April 30. A strike in soft-coal mines outside the Appalachian field would involve 150,000 miners in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Colorado and other states and would bring the number of idle bituminous miners to nearly 500,000. There are about 120,000 miners in the anthracite field.

The bituminous conferences are deadlocked primarily on the question of the closed shop, which the U.M.W. leaders insist upon in order to maintain union control and to prevent any "infiltrating" activities on the part of the A. F. of L.'s Progressive Miners. The operators, on their part, appear to be aiming to undermine the U.M.W. and to weaken union control in the soft-coal industry.

contracts with the insurance companies."

In view of the open intervention of the C.I.O. in favor of the Merrill-Berney clique, many agents are becoming skeptical as to the possibility of securing such an independent charter from the C.I.O. and are ready to consider other steps.

of the Detroit convention and of the first International Executive Board meeting, in a report to the delegates, declared that the first and all-important duty was to maintain the solidarity of the locals themselves. Washburn said: "Somewhere, somehow, we know that all automobile workers will be together, and therefore our first concern at this time must be the solidarity of the individual locals, wherever they may be, in order that the day of unity may not find our locals disintegrated and weakened, washed out."

In line with the sentiments expressed by Washburn, the conference passed a resolution containing the following:

"Whereas, it is the purpose of this District Council to unite the workers of the various locals, and to unify the workers who may be separated from each other in individual locals; and

"Whereas, the council believes that all constructive work must begin with consistent and determined efforts to solidify the membership of each local union and keep that union functioning properly as a bargaining agency for the sake of the workers in the shop; and

"Whereas, the council is convinced that unity in the ranks of the automobile workers, once attained in the individual locals, may then be of tremendous importance to the attainment of unity for all automobile workers;

"Therefore, be it resolved, that West Michigan Council, Region No. 7, does hereby take its stand, that it will try in all cases to win to its opinion the majority of any local which is unaffiliated, rather to separate a minority of the workers of any local in any way from the majority; and

"Be it further resolved, that in accordance with the attitude of the International Union, the council will not lend its support to the chartering of any minority of a local union, believing that to so split any organization into dual groups within the shop could not result in any good to the movement; and

"Be it further resolved, that the council will, in accordance with the above convictions, try to win by co-operation, peaceful persuasion and argument, a majority of any unaffiliated local union to its policies, winning by example in constructive work."

### UNAFFILIATED LOCALS INVITED

The Muskegon meeting further resolved that unaffiliated local unions having differences of opinion with the council are welcome to send observers to its meetings. Such observers will be allowed to state their position on questions in which they are interested. Observers will be seated with voice but not with vote, and their number for any local shall be "not more than delegates allotted to any similar affiliated local union."

The Muskegon meeting also passed a resolution condemning the Fitzgerald Labor Bill as vengeful and vindictive, and sent copies of the resolution to the Governor, State Senators and the State Federation of Labor of the A. F. of L.

# Workers Fund Holds Summer Camp

THE Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, one of the oldest benefit organizations in the United States, has announced that Camp Solidarity, its summer recreation camp for members and their children, will be bigger and better this year, with increased facilities for housing the large number who are eager to spend their vacations in the outdoors.

Camp Solidarity is only one of the advantages offered by this working-class organization. Members are entitled to unlimited doctor and medical care, free hospitalization, convalescent sanitarium, and sick or accident benefit for one hundred weeks. The cost of belonging to this organization is lower than that in any similar organization in the country. The reason for the low cost is that the Fund is administered by the members themselves, who serve without salary. One of the features of the Fund that very few similar organizations have is that no sickness or accident is excluded from benefits.

The Workmen's Benefit Fund, too, has many German members, has been in the forefront of the fight against fascism, both in this country and abroad. For further information, write to the Workmen's Benefit Fund, 714 Seneca Ave., Brooklyn, or see Chas. McDowell at I.L.L.A. headquarters. If you write direct, be sure to mention the Workers Age.

# WPA Slash Passed In Senate

(Continued from Page 1)

have no chance whatever of getting any work relief.

The victory of the bi-partisan "economy" block on the deficiency fund is but the prelude to a ruthless attack on relief appropriations that will come when the 1940 budget is taken up. Already, a cut of over a billion dollars is proposed by the Administration, apparently to offset the huge increase in armament expenditures. Further reductions and perhaps the entire scrapping of the W.P.A. under the so-called Byrnes plan are threatened.

### Saturday, April 22

## Installation Reception & Dance

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# New Fashions in Anti-Unionism

### Bosses Set Up Sham Front Against Labor

By RUBEN LEVIN

LIKE the weather, anti-union employers are always with us, but the methods they pursue to fight organized labor vary with the times. Studies of the changing styles in union-smashing have been made by the National Labor Relations Board, and these reveal a trend away from direct action by the bosses toward the use of camouflaged outside organizations to do the "dirty work" for them.

Prior to the World War, labor-hating employers resorted to well-recognized and hard-shelled schemes to defeat trade unionism. Dr. David J. Saposs, chief economist of the Board and head of its research division, pointed out in a recent survey. They forced workers to sign "yellow-dog" contracts. They established black-listing systems to freeze active trade unionists out of jobs. They built up spy networks in their plants to snoop on union men. They financed endless anti-labor propaganda.

When strikes occurred, despite their precautions, they often mobilized gangs of armed strike-breakers and thugs, who beat up and sometimes shot strikers. Public opinion was such that employers often got away with these acts of brutality.

### POST-WAR SCHEMES

After the war, industrialists emerged with a new program, called the "American Plan." They formed "open-shop" associations in many states to fight the closed shop as "un-American." Coupled with this drive, they organized company unions, welfare departments and other kinds of paternalism.

With the arrival of the New Deal, employers had to revise their tactics. After the National Recovery Act, with its famous Section 7a, became the law of the land, they started building up company unions in a big way.

For a while, the industrialists achieved some success with their campaign, but after passage of the National Labor Relations Act, the Labor Board began knocking over company unions like rows of pins in a bowling alley.

Then the bosses altered their methods once more. They dressed up the company unions into self-styled "independent" organizations, supposedly free from employer domination. But the Labor Board stripped off the mask, proved that management ran most of them, and outlawed them by the scores. This forced employers to again revamp their strategy. They came forward this time with phony organizations to carry on the union-busting. Three types of these groups emerged:

### REVAMPED STRATEGY

1. Sham "farm" outfits like the "Associated Farmers," designed to break strikes and work for legislation to shackle unions.
2. Counterfeit "patriotic" aggregations, like the "Constitutional Educational League" and others, to batter organized labor under the guise of opposing "alien isms."
3. "Citizens Committees" and "Law and Order Leagues," as dummies of industrialists to smash strikes by force.

Among the most vicious of these false fronts for employers is the "Associated Farmers." This organization was the spearhead of the campaign to put over initiative laws in California, Washington and Oregon, to place unions in strait-jackets. The drive failed in California and Washington, but succeeded in Oregon, where the worst anti-labor law in the country is now on the state's statute books.

Boss control of the "Associated Farmers" has been bared by the Labor Board in several instances. In an investigation of anti-labor practices of the Ross Packing Company, of Selah, Wash., the Board unearthed domination of the "Associated Farmers" chapter in that area by officers of the company. The "Associated Farmers" organized pickhandle brigades of vigilantes there to wreck a union.

Election-expense statements filed by the "Associated Farmers" in

west-coast states divulged the fact that nearly 100% of their funds came from big-business interests. At present, the "Associated Farmers" are advancing into many other states and working openly, or behind the scenes, for legislation to exterminate trade unions.

Fake patriotic organizations, the second type of puppets used by employers, are sprouting over the country like weeds. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, attached to Columbia University, recently estimated there are 800 such outfits in the United States, many of them fascist-inspired.

### TOOLS OF EMPLOYER

Data on some of them have been collected by the Labor Board and the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee. These findings have shown, according to Dr. Saposs, that in all cases such organizations are tools of anti-labor employers.

"Financed primarily by large donations, they are presumably organized to fight subversive movements," he said. "Actually, they direct their energies toward fighting legitimate labor organizations, which they falsely attack as radical and anti-government."

Their literature is circulated extensively by employers and "independent" unions, often being stuffed into workers pay envelopes, Dr. Saposs said.

One of the most active has been the Constitutional Educational League, with headquarters in New Haven. Its declared aim is to combat "un-American movements," but it has distributed millions of gory pamphlets, replete with photos, showing workers in supposed acts of violence. These pictures are mostly faked. For instance, photos of armed guards clubbing pickets are labelled "labor organizers assaulting workers."

Another such group is the National Americanism Foundation. It boasts of being a "clearing-house for authentic information on radical activities." During the maritime strikes on the west coast in 1936, it sent out bales of propaganda from New York and San Francisco portraying the strikes as "revolutionary" plots to overthrow the government.

Numerous other organizations fall in this category. They operate locally and nationally, parading under the cloak of patriotism, but serving as employers puppets to wreck labor. The murky trail of many of them has been traced by the Labor Board during proceedings against labor-hating industrialists.

The misnamed "Citizens Committees" and "Laws and Order Leagues," third type of employers anti-labor units, have likewise flourished over the nation in the past few years, and the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee has gone deeply into their activities.

Some of the most notorious operated during the Remington-Rand strike, the Bethlehem steel strike in Johnstown, Pa., shoe-factory strikes in Maine, and in such auto centers as Flint and Monroe, Mich. The Labor Board analyzed fifteen of these groups and found, Dr. Saposs said, that they fitted into a regular pattern.

Financed secretly by employers, they invariably intimidated public officials and civic leaders to serve as fronts, imported strike-breakers to incite violence, hired high-priced publicity experts to smear unions, indulged in wholesale Red-baiting, and launched "back-to-work" movements, under the guns of armed guards and special municipal police.

In all these new tactics, Dr. Saposs explained, employers are trying to do indirectly what they are forbidden by law from doing directly. Thru the fake "farm" organizations, spurious patriotic groups and "Citizens Committees," they are endeavoring to "create a public opinion hostile to organized labor," Dr. Saposs pointed out.

Labor should not let them get away with it, Dr. Saposs warned, for, if they do, newly-won rights of employees to organize and bargain collectively "will be placed in grave jeopardy."

## UN-AMERICAN AGITATOR



—from Justice

# American Arms Follow the Dollar

### Navy is Boosted to Defend Investments

By ROSE M. STEIN

IF you were asked whether or not you believe in national defense, what would your answer be? It is a safe guess that, in 99 out of every 100 cases, the answer would be a quick and decisive YES. But, if you were asked at the same time what you mean by national defense, could you answer as quickly and as decisively? Hardly, unless you are as wise as Solomon, and far wiser than the boys in Washington whose job it is to direct our national defense. National defense, as a term or a need or a policy, has never been defined. There has never been anything like a clear understanding as to what we are to defend and precisely how we are to do it. The whole matter is a gigantic game of blind-man's-buff.

### A DANGEROUS GAME

It is a costly and dangerous game. For the past three years, Uncle Sam's armament bill has been \$3,000,000,000, a sum that would go a long way toward wiping out our country's slums. This year's bill will go far beyond this apparently established one-billion-a-year average. It is not generally known that the bill for 1939 will be, as proponents of these expenditures are taking care not to ask for lump-sum appropriations but are getting Congress to pass on them piece-meal. What are the people getting for all these billions? If it is safety and security we are paying for, why is it that there is a greater war scare inside our shores today than ever before in our history save during the period immediately preceding the World War? Against whom are we preparing to defend ourselves? We certainly cannot plan to be militarily ready at all times to fight any power or any combination of powers or the whole world. Such a program would bankrupt any nation. Is there in the present world scene any nation or any group of nations which threaten our safety and against whom we must prepare defenses?

We are so free from fear of our closest neighbors, both on the North and South that even the militarists most haunted by nightmares do not propose elaborate defenses in these directions. There remain then Europe on the East and Japan on the West. Among the European powers, France and Great Britain are virtually our allies. Soviet Russia is so eager to be left in peace that even the loudest jingoes do not class her as a potential enemy of ours. Who is left among the great powers? Germany and Italy.

Can anyone in his right mind imagine Germany or Italy or both, with their lack of basic raw materials, their shortage of food and their tottering financial structures, attempting to cross 3,000 miles of ocean to stage an attack on our east coast? Is there any reason to believe them so stark mad that they would hope to invade and to hold any part of the United States? The notion is so fantastic, so preposterous, that to merely mention it is sufficient to reveal its utter absurdity.

Likewise, can anyone, unaffected by hallucinations, conceive of Japan, involved as she is in China, constantly facing as she is the possibility of war with Soviet Russia, sending her fleet or air-force to attack and to hold California? Not even a madman's dream could encompass an eventuality so remote.

Why, then, are we arming as we do? There is only one possible answer. We are extending our boundaries 3,000 miles eastward on the Atlantic and 6,000 miles westward on the Pacific. It is, however, not a complete answer, for it immediately raises the further question: Why are we extending these boundaries? The answer was given some years back by President Coolidge during an unguarded break in his traditional silence. American citizens, property and investments abroad, Mr. Coolidge declared, are part of the national domain and are entitled to armed protection of the United States. This, in essence, is the policy of the Navy Department—to support American commerce, protect overseas possessions, execute foreign policies, and to exercise ocean-wide economic pressure. In short, it is a policy of the American flag following the American dollar, or what is known as Dollar Diplomacy.

### AIMS OF DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

Dollar Diplomacy aims at more than the protection of existing for-

eign investments. Its primary aim is to seek and maintain markets for American goods. For the present, we can sell Japan, without the benefit of a large navy our tools, machinery, and especially continuous-process steel mills. But, after we have equipped Japan as a first-class industrial nation, and she is ready to displace us in the Chinese market, then Dollar Diplomacy directs that we be on hand 6,000 miles from home to lick Japan for competing with us thru making full use of the equipment we ourselves supplied her with.

Of even greater concern than the Far East is the potential market for American goods in South America. Even before the World War, there were those in the inner circles of business and government, Colonial House among them, who advocated the development of the South American market in preference to meddling in Europe. At this juncture, the development of South American trade does not mean staying out of European troubles. Quite the contrary. It means that we run smack up against them. Germany and Italy have made strong inroads in South America both commercially and ideologically, and American diplomacy has to cope with that problem. Here then may be found the secret why our government is so profoundly disturbed by the dictatorships in Germany and Italy while it refused to lift a finger against a fascist victory in Spain. Here, too, may be found the secret of increased preparedness for probable participation in a European war.

It is all a matter of dollars and cents, markets and investments. It would be so much easier, and so much less costly, to find markets at home if only the people who need more and better food, clothing, shelter, education and recreation,

# F.D.R. Plays Politics With Negro Vote

### Speaks Fair Words But Continues To Bar Action

By CLARENCE JENKINS

DEFYING the traditions of the Democratic party, President Roosevelt, en route to Warm Springs Georgia, stopped to visit Tuskegee Institute, founded by Booker T. Washington. This is the first time in history a Democratic President ever addressed a Negro audience in the deep South. "Thirty years ago," the President told the faculty and student body, "I promised Booker T. Washington that some day I was coming to visit this institution. Then, in later years, I promised Dr. Moton frequently that I would give him the same pledge to Dr. Patterson. . . . There are those who charge me with being both persistent and stubborn. Well, perhaps I am. I am consistent, too, and I have been a long time coming, here I am."

The decision of the President to fulfill his thirty-year promise and defy those who charge him with being "stubborn and persistent" is obviously tied up with his efforts to win the support of Negro voters in the 1940 elections. The Roosevelt liberalism is being exploited for all it is worth. Roosevelt is now being hailed as the "second Emancipator" and the one President "who has done more for the Negroes in the South than any other President since Lincoln."

Negroes must not be deceived by this political propaganda. President Roosevelt takes great pride in boasting about his "consistency." However, Negroes have yet to witness any act by the President to curb lynching in the South or to use his personal influence to aid the passage of any anti-lynching bill. Moreover, the President has yet to express the horror and righteous indignation over the brutal persecution of the Negro minority in the United States that he has repeatedly expressed over the persecution of racial minorities in Europe.

Regardless of the difference of opinion within the Republican and Democratic parties over the New Deal Administration's foreign and domestic policies, these two parties really stand united when it comes to the preservation of the basic social relations which perpetuate the inferior caste status of the Negro in present-day American society. As a representative of the Democratic party and as President of the United States, Mr. Roosevelt stands foursquare behind the principle of "white supremacy" and the system which keeps the Negro "in his place."

They were given purchasing power. But that is another story, and it will be discussed in the next article.

(This is the second of a series of four articles by Rose M. Stein.—Ed.)

# College Heads Back Campus Militarism

### Student Action Needed to Fight War

By EDWARD CARROLL

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's invasion of the peaceful campuses of the nation's colleges and universities with his experimental \$100,000,000 N.Y.A. airplane-pilot training program was met, for the most part, with hearty approval on the part of academic leaders. The present plan, already under operation in thirteen colleges spread over the country, was the legislative prelude to the bill now before Congress, asking for ten million dollars to finance the training of pilots at the rate of twenty thousand annually.

### PATRIOTEERS IN CAP AND GOWN

A letter addressed to the presidents of the thirteen institutions chosen for the initial plan was sent, by way of explanation, by Edward J. Noble, chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, which is supervising the training program. The responses from the college heads clearly indicate that, in the event of our participation in another imperialist slaughter, they will obediently play the same servile role that their predecessors did a generation ago.

The majority of the academic heads toed the line with true military spirit. Said Rufus D. Smith, provost of New York University: "The Civil Aeronautics Authority program for flight training will be of definite value to our students." Said the Rev. Robert L. Gannon, president of Fordham University: "Fordham University has always believed in preparedness. That this must now include aviation is obvious and the government plan for training civil-aviation cadets while still in college is a further refinement of the sound old R.O.T.C. idea." With real "Christian" concern for the well-being of the Fordham U. cannon-fodder, the reverend president cautions that "we must go slowly . . . and never lose sight of the students' physical safety."

The technical colleges particularly hailed the program as a gratuitous addition to their curricula. The president of Purdue University, Edward C. Elliot, remarked: "The flight-training program of the President

. . . to round out aeronautical training and experience of students in affords an unusual opportunity for preparing them for more competent service in the development of an industry of critical value in time of peace as well as of emergency." President Foster of the University of Alabama expressed a similar sentiment.

The only sign of opposition came in a letter of criticism sent to Congressmen and college administrators by Ernest H. Wilkins, president of Oberlin College. Making it at once clear that he too was in favor of maintaining a powerful "national defense," Dr. Wilkins nevertheless protested against the imposition on the part of the government of "a degree of control over the private educational institutions of the country which, if it existed (referring to the proposed legislation now in Congress—E.C.) would be repugnant to the nature of democracy." President Wilkins meekly argued that anyhow it was not good military practise to use college students for the air service where they would be rapidly killed off (he gives the example of England to illustrate), when they have more valuable talents to offer in the way of technical services like research chemists.

### STUDENT ACTION NECESSARY

That even these weak and futile objections will disappear like smoke before the first blasts of war is obvious enough. Any effective opposition to war on the campuses of the country can therefore come only from the student bodies themselves, independent of, and, where necessary, in opposition to the administrative officers of the schools.

The opportunity for the student bodies of the country to demonstrate their determined opposition to imperialist war comes on April 20, the day of the Student Strike Against War. Preparations are already under way to bring out the anti-war students from coast to coast. These preparations have been initiated and are being led by the Youth Committee Against War and its affiliates under the slogans of: Schools Not Tanks! Decent Housing Not Tanks! Down With Imperialist War!

# British Labor During the War

### Leaders Backed State But Workers Struck

By CHARLES VINCENT

(Charles Vincent is an outstanding French socialist who has made a thorough study of the British labor movement.—Editor.)

BY FORMING a Labor Party independent of both capitalist parties, the British workers had been able to force the 1906 Liberal government to adopt important social legislation and confirm the trade unions in their right to strike action. But the Labor leaders were not long in pledging themselves to support the Liberal government because it was "better" than a Conservative one. Thus, they were gradually led to approve armament expenditures and imperialist foreign policy and to remain silent when the Cabinet used the army for breaking strikes. The consequence of such an attitude—which was opposed, but not always with sufficient energy, by the I.L.P.—was that many workers lost confidence in their representatives in Parliament and in the trade-union executives and had recourse to direct action.

### WORSENING CONDITIONS

In spite of all the social reforms, the workers share in the national income was decreasing; real wages were falling owing to the increased cost of living. From 1910 to 1914, powerful strikes swept the country. Such was their importance that they interfered, as with the case with the miners strike, with the government's war preparations. Solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the Empire was expressed when, during the Dublin transport strike, English dockers refused to load goods for Irish industries and sent boats of foodstuff to the strikers and their families. On the eve of war, a "triple alliance" of miners, transportation workers and railway workers was formed in view of the coming struggles. Such an alliance was really capable of paralyzing the whole economic life of the country.

But, when the war broke out, the trade-union leaders settled all the disputes in progress without even consulting the rank and file. Labor M. P.s forgot their former pacifist declarations and took an active part in the recruiting campaign, (the success of which can be ascribed to the rise in unemployment figures during the first months of the war as such as to patriotic feeling). The attitude of official Labor and its members in the 1915 coalition government was the logical outcome of years of collaboration with the Liberals. The I.L.P., on the contrary, stood for an immediate peace without annexations, put up a gallant fight against the Munitions Act, conscription and restriction of civil liberties, and supported the workers' industrial struggles. But while denouncing the lie of the "war to make the world safe for democracy" and showing up the Allies imperialist aims, the I.L.P. refused, for the sake of preserving unity, to condemn the labor chauvinists even in its own ranks. Later, while saluting the Russian revolution, it was to pin its hopes to President Wilson's fourteen points. Tho in the latter part of the war many of its members were drawn into the revolutionary movement, it never stood clearly for revolution. It encouraged conscientious objection, an attitude which demanded a considerable amount of heroism on the part of those who adopted it but excluded all possibility of a real struggle against the ruling class and the repressive apparatus of the state.

War production made the control of the state over transport, supply of raw material and munition plants necessary, but the whole machine continued to work in favor of the capitalist magnates. Government intervention was supposed to regulate prices and limit profits. But the employers, while producing on a much larger scale and receiving big sub-

sidies, were guaranteed profits at least equal to those of the fairly prosperous pre-war years.

### WAR-TIME STRIKES

The cost of living was steadily rising and patriotic propaganda soon proved insufficient to prevent agitation for a readjustment of wages and resistance to worsened factory conditions. In February 1915, 29,000 railwaymen struck for war bonuses. Soon after, the engineers (machinists—Editor.) of the Clyde district came out. The shop stewards took the initiative in the strike which was disavowed by the trade-union executives, tho many branch and district officials were supporting it. The men returned to work without receiving complete satisfaction but the strike committee was not dissolved and became the famous "Clyde Workers Committee." In order to avoid the recurrence of such incidents, the government, after consulting Trades Union Congress leaders, introduced a munitions bill suspending all trade union rules and practices, making strikes illegal and arbitration compulsory and placing the decision of all questions concerning wages and workshop conditions for all industries essential to war in the hands of the Minister of Munitions. Munition Tribunals were set up and many workers sentenced to fines or imprisonment.

(To be continued in the next issue)

1. See Charles W. Baker: Government Control of Industry in Great Britain and the U.S.A. During the War, 1921.

# England in War Pacts

(Continued from Page 1)

ations with the Nazis last week, while the Greek government was at pains to declare itself "neutral" in the entire situation. The Chamberlain "pledge" was everywhere felt to be a double-edged weapon, very likely, indeed, to rebound upon its supposed beneficiaries in the form of another Munich.

That efforts at "appeasement" were under way was clear last week. Both England and France declared themselves ready to recognize the Italian occupation of Albania, culminating in the transfer of the Albanian crown to Victor Emmanuel of Italy by "decision" of a mock "national assembly" completely controlled by Mussolini. The French Foreign Office issued a statement recognizing Italy's "special interests" in Albania and stressing that "France has no interests directly involved in the conflict between Italy and Albania." Prime Minister Chamberlain pressed for "assurances" from Mussolini that the latter would not encroach upon British spheres of power in the Mediterranean, especially Greece and the Greek island of Corfu. The aim, of course, was to detach Mussolini somewhat from his end of the Rome-Berlin axis, but as the week ended little success was registered in this respect.

Russia continued to hold off, greeting Chamberlain's move with increasing skepticism. On his side, Chamberlain did not press for any closer understanding with Russia, probably, as the authoritative French journalist, Pertinax, pointed out, for fear of "offending" Mussolini and "making the Berlin-Rome axis permanent."

Thru the maze of diplomatic maneuvering, one hard, very explosive fact became clear: the Rome-Berlin axis was turning westward and was penetrating spheres and areas where it came into direct conflict with vital Anglo-French imperialist interests. In this lay a great and increasing danger of war. . . .

# Administrative Changes in Wagner Act Seen

(Continued from Page 1)

vote, which is increasingly swinging in his direction, to be a very powerful and perhaps decisive factor in getting the nomination and winning in the election. There are others here who point out how much he has been hurt with southern white Democrats by this Marian Anderson concert and by the general friendliness he and Mrs. Roosevelt have been showing toward the Negro.

Everybody now seems to agree that Murphy is slated for the job of Secretary of War, because he is an able administrator. Bob Jackson will get Murphy's present job so that he may have a better vantage point from which to seek the presidency. Watch out for that S.E.C. chairmanship appointment. It is important that Frank get it and I will tell you why later.

Old timers here say that these days are more comparable to 1917 than 1914. The feverish activity implies war has started and is in progress. Lights are burning late into the night at the State, War and Navy Department buildings. Even this comparison is not quite accurate because there is much more knowledge of the issues involved

than there was in 1917. The Kentucky mountaineers and the Kansas tenant farmers know more about daily developments in Albania and Patagonia than most New Yorkers knew about French and German happenings in 1917. The radio makes this possible. If we get into war, it will not be because we do not have adequate knowledge.

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Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LACKAWANNA 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

Editorial Board: Lyman Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, George F. Miles, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

VOL. 8. WEDNESDAY, APRIL 19, 1939. NO. 16.

## LABOR MUST HAVE UNITY

FOR the time being, at least, negotiations for labor unity seem to be off. Officially, it is stated that the break in the discussions is but temporary and due to the pressure of other business requiring the immediate attention of the conferees. Yet there is an uneasy feeling in the ranks of labor that this suspension of negotiations may really be due to a certain lack of enthusiasm on both sides, to a certain over-readiness to let the whole thing drop because a number of very serious obstacles to unity cropped up early in the proceedings. There is an uneasy feeling that this interruption of negotiations may be prolonged indefinitely so as to amount virtually to a definite rupture of relations.

Such an outcome would be a disaster beyond measure for the labor movement as a whole. One must be blind indeed not to see the havoc that the bitter dissension in labor's ranks has wrought in the last two years, not merely in sapping labor's economic and political power but above all in alienating public opinion and thus creating a very dangerous atmosphere of hostility and suspicion around the labor movement. The ominous growth of popular sentiment for licensing or "regulating" unions by law, registered in every public-opinion poll since the end of 1937, should be warning enough.

It must be stated frankly that the responsible leaders of the trade-union movement, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike, have not hitherto shown a full appreciation of the vital urgency of unity, with all the concessions that might be necessary in order to achieve it. It was not at their own initiative that peace negotiations were resumed but upon the public call of President Roosevelt, who thereby opened the way for more dangerous forms of governmental intervention in inner union affairs. When the sessions got under way, there was an obvious lack of the spirit of accommodation, of give-and-take, that real eagerness for unity would imply. And then the first opportunity was taken, or so it seems from the outside, to suspend the discussions altogether and thus let down the bars to unrestrained, self-annihilating civil war in labor's ranks.

The general impression that the suspension of negotiations has made upon the rank and file of labor and upon friendly elements outside is distinctly bad. Demoralization and discouragement, temporarily checked when spokesmen of the two sections of organized labor got together at the discussion table to talk peace, are now spreading once more, boding ill, indeed, for the future. And there are even signs that the conflict in labor's ranks, as if to make up for its slight temporary abatement, is about to burst forth again with unprecedented virulence.

This must not be permitted to occur. The peace conferences must be resumed just as soon as possible, thus scotching all rumors that negotiations are definitely off. The authoritative leaders of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. must not wait for President Roosevelt to wield the "big stick" as he has threatened. They must put all secondary considerations aside and rise to the tremendous responsibility that is placed upon them at this moment. Labor needs and must have unity!

## NEW DEAL KILLS HOUSING

HOUSING is one of the most vital social projects in America today. The plight of the labor and lower-middle class groups in this respect has long been the cause of liberals, reformers and radicals, and received great impetus when the present Administration espoused it in its early days. Not only is the product itself, decent, modern, adequate shelter, a much-needed boon to the majority of our people, but the processes entailed in reaching that end would provide an immeasurable economic stimulus. Why, then, have we had nothing but unfulfilled promises from the New Deal about housing? Why did this great "democratic," "liberal," "reform," government wait until its second term in office to pass any sort of housing legislation, and then end up with the very questionable Wagner-Steagall bill?

The whole experience of European housing development, the testimony of our own experts, and indeed the bitter experience of the last five years, have made it abundantly clear that housing for the people, low-cost projects and slum clearance, can only be handled by the government against the will of the land-sharks and private builders. We know that sections of the employing class are strongly for slum clearance because the slums tend to depress all real-estate values and increase social costs for police and fire protection. We know that others see in slum-clearance and decent housing a protection against social upheaval. But over and above all of these views remains the basic reality: the masses need housing; housing is a bona-fide recovery measure.

Yet only the other day, Benjamin C. Marsh of the People's Lobby informed the Senate Labor Committee, at hearings on housing appropriations, that Mrs. Roosevelt had been "hushed up" when she hinted in a radio program that "land speculators and building-material profiteers" were blocking low-cost housing. Now, this is very fine and courageous on the part of Mrs. Roosevelt, but it should not blind us to the fact that the New Deal Administration provided, in the Wagner-Steagall Act, the legislative fortress from which these private capitalist interests could make war on low-cost housing. Nor that the New Deal has hemmed and hawed and in the end has failed to provide anywhere near sufficient funds for housing. The New Deal has never dared to come to grips with private capitalist interests in the housing field. And today it has completely abandoned the very idea of such a conflict, even tho it is clearly in the interests of the great masses of the people. The hearings at which Mr. March testified, incidentally, concerned a requested appropriation of \$800,000,000 for the entire country. New York City alone, it is estimated, could use two billion dollars for adequate slum clearance and low-cost housing!

To further complicate matters, and really end housing as far as the Administration is concerned, armaments economics has now become the chosen "recovery" policy. Battleships, cannon, airplanes—these get billions. Relief is cut, and housing forgotten. And herein lies the real significance of armaments economics, of preparations for war. When you embark on a war policy and the armaments it implies, you have to ditch the people and the social projects they need.

FAVORITE among the devices by which American involvement in the next war is being prepared is the slogan of "concerted action of the democracies against the fascist aggressors. The alignments in international politics—we are told—are such that, on the one side, we have the "democracies," just because they are democracies, and, on the other side, the fascist powers, just because they are fascist powers. In other words, it is democratic or fascist "ideology" that really determines the line-up. So that when we finally do go to war, it will be again to "make the world safe for democracy."

How does Greece fit into this fancy picture? Greece under Metaxas is a totalitarian state, openly modeling its regime upon that of fascist Italy. Yet so far from Greece being a part of the fascist bloc, as it "ought" to be on grounds of "ideology" it is said to be in imminent danger of Italian aggression. Fascist Greece's "friends" and "protectors" are not fascist Germany and Italy but England and France, the "great democracies."

What it all adds up to is this: "Ideologies" and the kind of government a country may have are not the decisive forces in determining alignments in international politics. Imperialist interests and considerations of power-politics are.

# Scourge of Totalitarianism Threatens America

By D. BENJAMIN

THE answer of French "democratic" imperialism to Nazi Germany's conquest of Czechoslovakia was to give the Daladier government the power to rule by decree until November 30. This includes the right to curb public meetings, censor the press, prorogue parliamentary bodies, dissolve parties, lengthen the working day, declare martial law, conscript soldiers. Thus, French "democracy" prepares to fight German Nazism by moving towards totalitarianism itself. French "democratic" capitalism moves fast because it is faced in a direct, immediate sense, with a struggle against a powerful rival imperialism.

The "democratic" capitalism of the United States, for definite historical reasons—economic resources and reserves, territorial position, its immediate field of economic interests, its relative economic strength, etc.—does not find itself compelled to move so fast. But challenge of one sort or another in its spheres of influence and the gen-

eral impact of world developments upon its own interests and perspectives have been hastening a certain trend toward totalitarianism here as well. The United States, too, in its own peculiar form is treading the path of authoritarianism.

Recent events in Europe have stimulated the move for the repeal of all neutrality legislation, with two objectives in mind: to render easier concerted action of the "democratic" imperialisms and to concentrate all power in foreign policy in the hands of the President. "Concentration of power" for the sake of defending "democracy" against fascism! The same road as French imperialism is taking, only the latter, for obvious reasons, is moving more openly and rapidly.

Just as in last year's Congressional session, President Roosevelt is now exerting maximum pressure for the defeat of the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum proposal. He wants no obstacles in his way, no opportunity for the mobilization of anti-war sentiment, no opposition from the people. Last year, he and

Farley spent days and nights at the telephone—cajoing, threatening, enticing, demanding, promising—in order to have the bill killed in committee. The Administration succeeded, but only by a narrow margin. Totalitarianism abhors popular control.

The logic of events and the logic of a fundamental policy show themselves in connection with the withdrawal of the Barkley amendment to the air-expansion bill. This amendment would have denied government contracts for armaments to companies guilty of unfair labor practices. Under pressure of the National Association of Manufacturers and the War Department, the amendment was withdrawn. Social and labor reform must step aside so that armaments economics can have the right of way. But, given the trend of events, armaments needs will clog all roads and labor standards and labor rights will just have to withdraw to a museum of antiquities.

It is a commonplace now that with the initiation of war an

authoritarian, dictatorial regime will be set up in this country. What is not usually realized is that military preparations today and the whole war situation are creating or speeding up trends in the same direction. The military mentality is being encouraged, turning the C.C. C.'s into drill grounds, training thousands of military aviators with the aid of the colleges and twenty million dollars of government money, placing more millions in government orders with certain companies and plants for "educational purposes," frantic jingoism—all of these are but straws in the wind indicating the trend of events.

The United States does not have an armaments economy yet. In Germany, reports indicate, one-half of production goes for war purposes. The people produce for engines of destruction. The standard of living is bound to be lowered under these conditions. More than that, in order that there be no interference with operations of the war economy, the totalitarian regime must be maintained and tightened up. This is

doubtless necessary because of the continuous worsening of conditions. Other imperialist countries, for competitive reasons, must follow suit. Gradually, armaments economics are introduced elsewhere, and the United States is not and will not be an exception. A four-billion dollar outlay for military purposes in the next two years, subject always, of course, to upward revision. Inevitably, the Administration will begin to insist that labor behave in a "patriotic, responsible manner," cut out strikes, accept speed-up and a longer working week, and so on. In view of all this, the proposal of John L. Lewis that the federal government be invited to adjudicate inner labor disputes becomes doubly dangerous.

Unless labor and the anti-war forces organize swiftly and act in a vigorous fashion, we will witness in this country the development of a completely totalitarian regime, an M-Day regime, a regime of industrial conscription and strike-breaking—all for the sake of "democracy against fascism."

## Diego Rivera: A True Artist Of the People

Review of B. D. Wolfe's Magnificent Biography

By JIM CORK

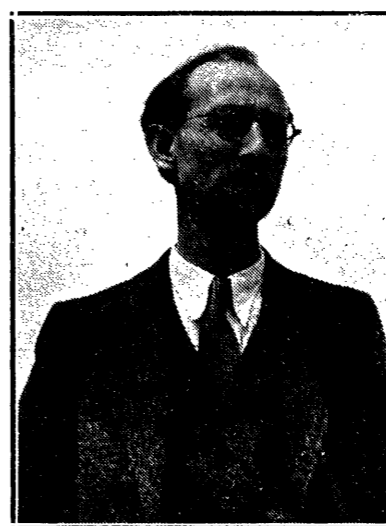
Diego Rivera, His Life and Times, by Bertram D. Wolfe. With 160 illustrations in gravure, 9 line cuts, 1 full-color reproduction. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939. \$6.00.

IF ever a man seemed born to paint, it was Diego Rivera. When he was but three, an understanding and wise father provided him with a huge, empty room to feed his already evident passion for drawing. From the beginning, he exhibited that mixture of rebel and rationalist which was to characterize him all thru life. He had an insatiable curiosity, fortified by a vivid imagination. Even as a child he wanted to know what things looked like on the inside. He was always taking apart plants, animals, bugs, toys, in the effort to find out "what made 'em go." He took nothing on faith!

Entering a leading art academy at eleven, his restless and searching spirit was irked by the stiff, traditional academic methods of teaching. His chief sustenance during the next three or four years he found outside of the academy in those engravings of sardonic power, with their boundless sympathy for the common folk, by Posada who had within him some of the combined qualities of Goya and Daumier. At sixteen, he was straining at the leash. He took an extended trip thru Mexico, painting furiously for four years, absorbing thru his very pores and storing up in his vast memory for future use the impressions of this rich, picturesque, luxuriant land. In 1907, at the age of twenty, he turned his eyes toward Europe. The next fourteen years, till 1921, except for a brief return to Mexico in 1910 (eventful for the beginning of Madero's revolution and the impact upon Diego of the tidal wave of peasant forces let loose), he spent roaming thru Europe.

These were the most important formative years of his art—years of travail and soul-shattering search. Spain and Goya, Belgium and the

solid Breughel, England and Turner and Hogarth, and then of course and most important—Paris. His first sight of Cezanne's originals, at which he gazed all day in an art shop, caused such a nervous excitement in him that he developed a high fever, due, the doctor said, to "nervous shock." He quite naturally gravitated to the Bohemian art colony which included some of the great names of the world of art, Picasso, Modigliani, etc. He threw himself into the heady life of this isolated and insulated little world with its drinking parties, its freakish pranks, and daring clothes—"all the brave and silly and complicated gestures with which they signified their defiance of the bourgeoisie. . . . These were but the brave and pitiful devices with which the artist protected his spirit's inviolability. The bourgeois world had no use for him; he answered by thumbing his nose at it. . . . In all the night-long talk-fests and disputes over conflicting creeds, doctrines, beliefs—prodigious eruptions of words—Diego gave as good as he received. Quite naturally, too, he went thru his apprenticeship to Cubism. It was a self-contained movement, holy to a narrow, closed circle of practitioners and appreciators, a movement, as Mr. Wolfe well says, "that



BERTRAM D. WOLFE

reflective and to the highest degree socially creative which burned in him constantly. His never-to-be-forgotten impressions of his own Mexico, its ancient history, its Indians, its lowly folk, its social turmoil, its peasant revolts, never left him and but fortified his inner feeling.

Then came the war, and its coming shattered the brave but slightly unreal world of Bohemia; yet, in its brutal negative fashion, it confirmed his ideas on the relations between art and society. He mixed more now with political refugees, especially Russians, and listened and argued and gradually formed his own ideas on the questions of art and the masses, art and revolution. Of all the new relationships cemented at this time, the most fruitful one was with Elie Faure, doctor, poet and critic of the arts. By the account given of him in this book, he must have been a rare spirit indeed. The endless conversations between the two, with, for once, Diego listening more than talking, served to clarify and to convince Rivera on his ideas, the main outlines of which he had already independently hammered out for himself.

For his ideas, Diego valued Faure, perhaps, highest among living men as certainly Faure in turn valued Diego as the greatest of living artists and the one most potentially capable of realizing the high goal which Faure set for art and the individual artist:

"An artist is the product of his time, his people and his geological surroundings. . . . They have told you that an artist is sufficient unto himself; that is not true. . . . Do not be afraid of your intellect; that which kills is not learning; it is failure to feel what one learns. . . . Intuition is only a flame spurting forth at the point of contact of an infinity of previous analyses and of accumulated reasoning. . . . There is no hero of art who is not at the same time a hero of knowledge and a human hero of the heart. . . . How could it be that he should not feel the life of the emotions, the passions, the sufferings of those who are made as he is? His art reveals to the men of today the solidarity of their efforts. . . . Become the voice of life itself!"

It was Elie Faure who more than any one helped to fire Diego's enthusiasm for fresco, as the best and most natural medium for communal art. The success of the Russian revolution gave the last final impulse, intensifying the flame of enthusiasm and resolution. Diego's mind was now absolutely made up. All questionings, doubts, soul-searchings were over. His path, from which he has never strayed since, stretched out straight before him. He would go to Italy, study the great masterpieces of the Renaissance, and then return to Mexico to paint his history on the walls for the people and the revolution. This was in 1920. In 1921, he was back in his native land, embarking on his great life work.

The rest is relatively better known to many. The grand panorama of the

who did otherwise shall be forgotten, long after their villifiers shall be swept into the dustheap of history. The names of the LaFollettes and the Lundeen, the Knutsons and the Rankins, shall live on as men and women who understood their duty in a time of stress and dared to battle against the tides of madness that threatened to overwhelm them.

## Talking It Over:

### War Against War

by Bertram D. Wolfe

(Continued from Page 1)

But this is no time for diplomacy in the face of the tasks that confront us. I cannot spare a word of criticism that tempers my admiration and my gratitude. It is not enough to oppose war when once it is upon you. That takes the greatest heroism, but to oppose every step, every measure that leads to war, takes the greater wisdom. I cannot withhold an honest word of regret and criticism that, so far as newspaper reports seem to evidence, Senator Lundeen and Senator LaFollette permitted the super-patriotic redness bill of the Administration to be recorded as passed unanimously. You cannot militarize a nation as the President is doing, without sowing the seeds of jingoism. You cannot arm our country as the President is arming it, without strengthening the forces of reaction. When you let measures like these go thru without fighting every inch of the way, you make ever more inevitable the final act of heroism. Our job is not only to come out of the madness with cleanliness and unswayed honor, but to oppose our entrance and every step leading towards it with unending vigilance and wisdom. The time to stop America's entrance into war is now: with the LaFollette amendment supported by both these men and others, with the smashing of the plans for indus-

## A WORD OF CRITICISM

history of his own land spread out on miles of walls, the California murals, the magnificent apotheosis of the machine and the industrial worker in his Detroit murals, the "Battle of Rockefeller City," the great American class-struggle murals at the New Workers School, and finally his subsequent Mexican work. One marvels at the amazing fecundity, the facility and ease of execution, the magnificent conception, the tremendous impact of their social content. Here is a colossus bestriding the world of contemporary art, the greatest muralist since Michelangelo.

Russia, peculiarly enough, was unable to avail itself of this great revolutionary talent. The journey to Russia in 1927-28 proved completely disillusioning because of the rigid bureaucratic control, the red tape, the backstairs intrigue and the political straitjacket into which art and culture had already begun to be forced.

There are so many other matters of interest and importance—Diego's embattled political life, his personal life, his loves, his three wives, all of which Wolfe handles with sensitivity yet with frankness and objectivity—that must go by the board in a short review, not because of their lack of interest or importance but because all are subsidiary to the main theme, Rivera as painter.

Bertram D. Wolfe has done a grand job on a great subject. Aside from the exceedingly illuminating discussions on art scattered throughout the book, the story of Diego's development is as exciting and dramatic as a great novel. It is a tribute to the author's artistry that Rivera, at all stages of his development, becomes so vividly alive. The definitive work on Rivera has undoubtedly here been written.

The book itself is a magnificent job of bookmaking—the quality of the pages, the print, the binding, the various reproductions of the artist's work. Would that a way could be found to issue another edition with a substantially lower price so that the knowledge of a great artist of the people could be more extensively broadcast amongst them.

trial conscription, with the taking of foreign policy out of the secretive hands of the President, BUT ALSO WITH O P P O S I T I O N TO V O T I N G A N O T H E R P E N N Y TO THE ALREADY SWOLLEN MILITARY BUDGET, which as it is increased makes militarism, jingoism, reaction, and war ever more inevitable. Here is the decisive ground at present. Here the forces opposed to war must now give battle.

## HONOR TO GENE DEBS

There is another man whom on this anniversary of our entrance into war, we cannot fail to honor. For my own part, I honor him above all the others. It is his spirit, as I see it, that is now, more than ever, needed. The man I refer to never forgot that the main enemy of freedom is ever to be found within the country, and that our friends and allies in the common struggle against war and reaction are to be found in every country—yes, even, especially, in those countries designated by the war-makers as "enemy countries." The man I refer to, the man we must emulate and honor, is Eugene Victor Debs. I call his valiant spirit to the platform now and as I repeat his words, I would like to know how many of you subscribe to them and pledge yourselves to try to live up to them in the present crisis. For my own part, and for my organization, I subscribe to them without reservation. Here are the words I refer to:

"I have been asked if I should oppose to all war and if I should refuse to be a soldier and if I fight under any circumstances. No, I am not opposed to all war and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. "When I say I am opposed to war, I mean ruling-class war. . . . It matters not to me whether there will be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuses may be invented for it, I am opposed to it. . . . "If I were in Congress, I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war. . . . "But, while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, I have a heartful of blood to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation. . . . "I would rather be remembered as Debs is remembered today than be remembered as Woodrow Wilson. I would rather be that convict in his cell than the President of the United States in the White House. The way of Rankin, LaFollette, Lundeen, Knutson, Ruthenberg, Haywood and Debs—that is the way of honor, the way of courageous opposition to imperialist war. . . . "But the way of Ruthenberg, Haywood and Debs, is more than that. It is the way of far-seeing opposition to the system that breeds war, the only way that will put an end to war between men at last and create a humane and warless world. To my mind, that is the spirit we have need of tonight. That is the way we must follow.

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