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**EUROPE: A CONTINENT
IN TORMENT**
By Jay Lovestone

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

A WELCOME AWAKENING

A FRIEND of mine who has had exceptionally good opportunities to study the conditions of the Spanish refugees in the camps set aside for them in France, said to me a few weeks ago: "Yes, we have in the past seen revolutions drowned in blood. But the Spanish Revolution is being drowned also in mud." He referred especially to the scandalous intrigues and criminal conduct of the Stalinist G.P.U. and its agents against all socialists and P.O.U.M. refugees even inside Daladier's concentration camps.

No doubt these bestial deeds, combined with legal suits seeking more Spanish gold and property for the Stalin agents, have gone a long way to help many honest but hitherto confused persons see their way clear to separating themselves from the Comintern octopus and its countless tentacles. In fact, the disastrous and reactionary role played by the Russian Soviet agencies in Spain has proved to be the precipitant for long overdue and wholesome realignments in the ranks of international labor. These realignments are now only in their first stage.

But the Spanish tragedy has had a profound effect not only on the organized labor movement. World liberal opinion has also been rudely shocked by these fatal events and has begun to awaken to the essentially reactionary character of Stalinism even in its opposition to fascism. American liberal opinion, which has paid a terrific price, which has been bled white because of its relations with Stalinism, is not exempt from this welcome awakening. Evidence of this is multiplying.

Striking proof of this revolt amongst liberal thinkers against Stalinist totalitarianism was recently afforded in the significant remarks of Archibald MacLeish before the annual meeting of The Survey Associates. The writer is not in accord with all of this noted liberal's observations and conclusions. Nevertheless, he welcomes some of them and recognizes the challenging nature of all of them. For instance, Mr. MacLeish, who never was and is not today a communist, reflects refreshing vigor and keen insight when he tells the world:

"I believe that American liberalism must refuse to follow the communist lead, that it must refuse to forego its own nature and its own purposes, that it must refuse to identify democracy with the status-quo, that it must become not less liberal, less radical, but more liberal, more radical. I believe that American liberalism must become more liberal, not less liberal, as the danger in Europe becomes more acute."

Of course, to Mr. MacLeish, communism and Stalinism are identical. In reality, Stalinism is the very antithesis of communism. However, this confusion is a small and secondary matter alongside of the major import that the substance of his remarks bears. As such, we hail it heartily.

At this point, it would be very timely to stress that those of us who understand and feel the need of extirpating the streptococci of Stalinism as the first prerequisite for the rebirth of a clean, healthy revolutionary labor movement, must exercise caution and differentiation in this struggle. Many liberals and even some labor leaders consciously and deliberately for one reason or another—have been playing with the Stalinist police agency in this country (the Communist Party) and its sundry subsidiaries, auxiliaries, and "milking stations" parading as "relief" or "cultural" bodies. But there are many, very many, more who are not aware of the actual character of such bodies and who are not awake to the fact that they are being shamelessly utilized by the Stalinist agents and agencies. We must unquestionably recognize the motives of these liberals as good, their intentions as clean, and must strive to bring home to them the fact that, in spite of it all, they are traversing a road which leads to the same perdition. However, in our constructive struggle against Stalinism and for socialism and genuine democracy, we must never lose sight of the distinction between these two types of liberals.

It is obvious that Stalinism has all sorts of promiscuous relations with liberals, conservatives, and even outspoken reactionaries of all shades. This, however, does not mean that all of its partners and all of its victims are alike—or that everyone touched by the Stalinists is doomed to eternal and incurable infection. There is much, very much, to be saved for a bonafide labor movement, for a genuine revolutionary socialist movement, from the ranks of American liberalism now showing increasing signs of being aroused to the menace of Stalinism as a champion of the status-quo, as an essentially reactionary force defending the very soil in which are found the seeds and roots of fascism in our land.

SIGNS OF REACTION

A CROSS the full seven columns of the front page of Lord Beaverbrook's influential Sunday Express extends the headline, "New York Goes Crazy Over King and Queen." And the subtitle reads: "There has never been a day like it before." Then the restrained but none the less influential Sunday Chronicle and Referee cries in a headline: "Four Millions Roar From Skycrapers—New York Goes King Crazy."

We regret to admit that there is far more truth than noise in these headlines. Fifty years ago, genuine democracy was far more virile in the U.S.A. Then, such a display for the British or any other monarch would have been unthinkable and impossible in our country. Imagine demonstrations of this sort at the time of America's first world's fair! So musty and stifling was the atmosphere of reaction and anti-democracy surrounding New York's "welcome" to George VI that one would have welcomed having Chicago's former mayor, the moronic Big Bill Thompson, replace LaGuardia for that day as chief magistrate of the metropolis. On this day, LaGuardia hit a new low in political morality—a new low for a big-town mayor.

No services to genuine democracy were rendered in these welcomes by Roosevelt, Lehman and LaGuardia to the symbols of British imperialism. The very fact that such manifestations could take place is but a sign of the onward march of reaction in our country—an onward march all too often inspired, organized and led by the very ones who pose as true and tireless liberals and who seek our support and confidence on that basis.

On a par with this phenomenon as a swing to reaction is the increasingly truculent intervention of the Vatican not only in domestic policy but also in foreign affairs. The new Pope, had he wanted, could long ago have shut up Father Coughlin, America's prince of peddlers of fascism. But Coughlin is apparently looked upon by the Vatican as a valuable force in American domestic policy.

And now comes the news that Pope Pius XII whose "ascendancy to the throne of St. Peter" was hailed by the Stalinites as a veritable act of God in the service of peace, democracy and humanity, is actively intervening to prevent the conclusion of an Anglo-Soviet pact. Well, well, not exactly a gentle and appreciative response to the "outstretched hand policy" of Browder, Thorez and Polit!t!

We, as all the world knows, think that the U.S.S.R. should keep out of all entangling imperialist alliances. We do not look upon the Franco-Soviet pact, that was and is, as an instrument of good for the Russian or international working class. Nor do we see the slightest cause for jubilation by the world labor movement should Stalin conclude a "peace pact" with Chamberlain or Hitler. However, this does not in the least blur our vision or close our eyes to the dangers inherent in the Papacy's effort to play an active role in international affairs. It took centuries of struggle and sacrifice to strip the Papacy of its temporal power, to quarantine it in the Vatican. Now with the world steeped in reaction, the Pope boldly comes out as a temporal power in a most crucial moment of civilization.

What a sinister sign of the dark days thru which we are passing!

Watch for it!

"EUROPE IN TORMENT"

By Jay Lovestone

The first of a series of six articles on "Tomorrow's War"

In the Next Issue!

S.O.S.... Send on Something...

THIS time we are not dealing with a large and obscure subject. Our object is clear and vital; our subject is simple and worthy. It is all to save the Workers Age from appearing irregularly or suspending for the Summer. Could we put the case any more plainly? Could we say it more straightforwardly? Unless and until you readers and friends of the Workers Age respond more swiftly and give cash much more generously, we will not be able to appeal at all in August.

We know you don't like to hear such talk. Frankly, we like crying even less than you do. But we are not tear-shedders; we are no false alarmists; we are no wolf-criers. However, this time the danger is graver than words portray. Of course, some money has come in answer to our appeals. To be accurate, a fortnight of emergency measures, two weeks of frantic calls have brought only 20% of our minimum needs. THERE IS NOTHING TO JUSTIFY THE SLIGHTEST RELAXATION IN YOUR EFFORTS TO SAVE THE WORKERS AGE FROM REDUCTION OR SUSPENSION. And there is nothing to justify even a moment of postponement, or the slightest excusable delay, in giving today and giving wholeheartedly.

Need we throw our plight into sharper relief? We hope not. At any rate, we cannot, because if this S.O.S. call doesn't bring relief, well . . . that's all and finis for some weeks at least.

The labor situation in the United States and thruout the world makes the Workers Age of crucial importance.

The economic and political conditions at home and abroad make the Workers Age an imperative need for all working men and working women, for all socially-minded thinking people.

The world war crisis demands we continue our vigorous battle for American working-class unity and international labor solidarity in order to insure genuine peace.

Dear readers and friends: Rest assured we will not prove chaff before the wind in the storms ahead. We have common targets to aim at. We have common enemies to hit. But it's up to you to make all of this possible—hard-hitting and straight-shooting against poverty and misery, reaction and militarism, fascism and war. Never forget that ONCE YOU WILL THE END, YOU MUST WILL THE MEANS and will the means IN TIME—AT ONCE.

Give today. Give generously. Send on something without debate or demur. We will not be able to continue without your instant aid—without stint or delay. Things are at the point . . . indifference, apathy, or postponement can only spell ruin—the shortest cut to . . . Snatch your paper from the jaws of disaster. Save it now and save it for good of us all and for the best that we all seek so fervently.

Fascism Born of War Real Menace

Article I in Series "Fascism in America"

By WILL HERBERG

THE recent hearings before the Dies Committee have dragged out into the light a few of the many fascist groups that infest this country, groups of whose existence we were all uneasily aware, even tho in a dim and unreal sort of way. There is no doubt that the country at large is "fascist-conscious"; there is a wide and increasing feeling that we are being menaced by some sort of fascist danger, which most people identify with Hitler or Hitler's Bundists in America. Everything you don't happen to like you label as "fascist". To Mr. Ickes, the "economic royalists" are undoubted fascists, while to the "economic royalists", on the other hand, President Roosevelt is unmistakably following in the footsteps of Hitler. Indeed, there are many in whose vocabulary the convenient term "fascist" has now replaced the equally convenient, and equally meaningless, epithet "communist" for purposes of political mud-slinging and vituperation. And there are still more in whose mind "fascist" has somehow become fused with memories of the "Hun" of World War days to form a composite picture of a scheming, conniving, vicious foreigner forever plotting to overthrow our institutions and blow up the Panama Canal.

Is there really a fascist danger in this country? Yes, there is, but it is very different in character and direction from the popular conception. The fascist danger confronting us is not the danger of the invasion of our shores by Hitler's hordes, a nightmare conjured up out of the super-heated imaginations of the jingoists; nor is it the danger of Nazi "spy rings" or secret agents; nor is it the danger of foreign-language groups operating in this country, such as the Italian Blackshirts or the German Bund. In fact, the danger is not of foreign origin at all; it is rooted in this country, in the conditions that surround us, in the forces that are at work on every side.

WAR WILL BRING FASCISM

If fascism is a real and imminent danger today, it is the fascism that will emerge just as soon as America is involved in another imperialist war. The essential feature of fascism as a regime (tho not as a movement) is the authoritarian regimentation of national life within the framework of the capitalist order. That is exactly what we will have once the United States is plunged into another world war. This is not speculation or surmise; it is not even a forecast. It is the statement of a fact so obvious that it is taken for granted by all competent

authorities on the subject. Indeed, laws have already been drafted, the so-called "M-Day laws", "laws which require only the insertion of a date and a few details, to be presented to a Congress fired with the war spirit, perhaps blinded by war hysteria, laws which would take away the rights of liberties of every American citizen and convert this country in a single day into a totalitarian dictatorship, under the sole control of the President, for the duration of the 'emergency'."

For war today is totalitarian and demands a totalitarian regime if it is to be waged effectively. "The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war . . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free." The regime of such an "immense camp" will be an all-pervasive military dictatorship indistinguishable in its operations from fascism.

In the white heat of war frenzy an authoritarian war dictatorship in this country will naturally tend to bolster up its totalitarian regimentation of national life by suffusing it with the ideology and emotional fervor characteristic of fascism, in

(Continued on page 3)

1 "The Defense of America," by George Fielding Eliot, in Harpers Magazine, December 1938.

2 "Labor in Wartime," by Frieda Wunderlich, an article in the symposium, "War In Our Time."

Administration of Wage-Hour Law Hit

Labor Unions Protest Mishandling of Act

Washington, D. C. SIGNS are multiplying that the wage-hour law is in for some pretty critical examination in the near future. There is wide dissatisfaction with the way it has been carried out by Administrator Elmer Andrews and his staff, and there is quite a sentiment in certain quarters for amending the act itself in various ways.

The wage-hour administration recently suggested a number of amendments that it regards as necessary for the better functioning of the law. There is the proposal, for instance to exempt from the overtime provisions employees of little country telephone exchanges and similar establishments. There is another proposal to eliminate from the scope of the act employees

Crisis Grows As Powers Defy Japan

Britain, U.S.A. In Joint Front Against Japan; Soviet Bars New Pact Plan

Tension in the Far East increased to a critical point last week as the hostility between Great Britain and Japan centering around the blockade of Tientsin and Kulangsu was intensified by the order issued by the Japanese naval commander at the newly captured city of Swatow that all foreign warships leave the port. The British and American naval officers in Swatow waters, after consultation with their home govern-

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A Timely Warning

"NEW surprises in foreign affairs from the White House are expected before Congress adjourns. . . . But it is not unlikely that, after Congress goes home, the White House may again make headlines in an attempt to 'straighten out world affairs'."

—United States News, June 19, 1939.

That's the best reason in the world for Congress to remain in session all year—or else tie the President down with such mandatory neutrality legislation as to bind his hands and prevent him from plunging us into war as a result of his efforts to "straighten out world affairs".

HOTEL EUROPE—1939



"All doors are left open for further negotiations . . ."

Hillman Reported As Favoring Unity

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

by FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

DESPITE Lewis's statement which seems to doom hopes for labor unity, the New Dealers are insistent that it will be achieved before the Democratic convention in 1940. They point to Miss Perkins's assurance in Denver: "A solution has been found for the great ob-

stacle between them, and other snarly problems, such as to who is to be president of what, should not be difficult to solve." This seems to put John L. Lewis and bitter-enders in the A. F. of L. behind the eight-ball—and when the Administration turns on the heat.

Sidney Hillman is privately reported to have told the New Dealers he does not agree with Lewis on this matter and may say as much later, if necessary. The major consideration for us is not to take too seriously a lot of the loose talk about labor unity being impossible since Lewis made his blundering pronouncement.

F.D.R. BOOM PROGRESSING

The F.D.R. boom is progressing nicely, thank you. The President's copy to a newsmen's question—"You go stand in the corner"—is all part of the build-up. F.D.R. is not supposed to know that anyone wants him for president in 1940. He is to be drafted and one fine day early in 1940 he will learn about it and agree to accept—if by that time it is not clear that he will be defeated if he runs.

I have learned that Judge Padway disclaims ever having said that he would recommend repealing the Wagner Act in 1940 if amendments to it are not made. I'm glad to publish his correction but I still think he said it in the heat of the moment and as an aside. But if he says he didn't, he didn't. I don't think he meant that some such law should not be on the books.

For many reasons I'm glad these

ALP To Be Independent This Year

No Old Party Alliances Now, But Pledges Support to New Deal in 1940

New York City.

A policy of independence and no alliances with either of the old-line political parties was adopted by the State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party here last week upon the recommendation of Alex Rose, state secretary.

In a statement to the press, Mr. Rose declared that the party had adopted the following policy:

"The American Labor Party will be independent in 1939. It will not exchange support of candidates for public office with any other political party. This is in contrast with the policy adopted in 1936 when it supported President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman, in 1937 when it supported the LaGuardia ticket, and in 1938 when it supported the Lehman ticket.

"The American Labor Party will name its own candidates for every political office. It will center its energies on the reelection of its present councilmen and will make every effort to increase the Labor delegation in the City Council of New York. It will concentrate on building and strengthening the party to prepare for the 1940 presidential elections where it will throw its support to a New Deal presidential candidate.

"This policy of complete independence in the 1939 elections will give the American Labor Party an opportunity to conduct an intensive educational drive against the reactionary Republican program in state and national affairs, and also against the thoroughly unprincipled local Democratic machines which are the beneficiaries of the good will that exists for the Roosevelt and Lehman administrations and whose loyalty to the New Deal is questionable at best.

"The American Labor Party is very conscious of its strategic importance in New York State where it holds the balance of power, and where it will probably decide the outcome of New York's 47 electoral votes.

"The American Labor Party regards itself as the only political party in the state that stands foursquare behind the New Deal. In the 1939 campaign we will cement our ranks, build our organization, and prepare ourselves for the tremendously important test in 1940."

(Read the editorial on page 4.—Ed.)

NLRB Alters Procedure

Washington, D. C.

The National Labor Relations Board announced last week that it had amended its rules to permit employers to petition the Board for an election to determine which of two or more rival labor organizations should be certified as representing a majority of employees for collective-bargaining purposes in cases where no labor union had petitioned the Board for such certification.

The Board also stated that it had amended its rules so that the period of notice of hearing in unfair labor practice cases should be not less than ten days instead of five days as at present.

Wagner Act hearings are in progress. It gives an opportunity for the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. to express—aloud—their antagonisms and may help force the unity question. If this national spectacle were not taking place, the sore would be an unnoticed, festering one, and certainly at least as bad as it now is.

Watch for some brilliant fireworks when the Neutrality Act amendments come up in the Senate. I can assure you that Borah is preparing one of the great speeches of his public career. It is going to be a long, hard fight and I seem to be the only observer here who thinks the Administration may not win. I can tell you that letters and telegrams saying the proper things from Age readers will count more than you realize. Why not sit down and phone or write ten friends and ask them each to write or telegraph? It's an easy job to do this now and may keep America Out of War just that much longer. I find Charles Beard's recent New Republic statement effective with doubting and undecided liberals. No one can accuse him of being pro-Nazi.

The Saturday Evening Post's editorial on Krivitsky (issue of June 24) has just been read here by Washingtonians and it hits the bull's eye. Five persons have already asked me whether I have seen it. They declare that it does not leave the New Masses a leg to stand on. What a world—when the Statepost has to chide the New Masses for anti-Semitism!

School System Menaced by Reactionary 'Economy' Drive

By D. BENJAMIN

New York City

UNDER the guise of economy, a most vicious attack has been unleashed upon the free public-school system of New York. Led by such stalwart institutions of American "democracy" in New York City as the Citizens Budget Commission (biggest bankers, manufacturers, merchants, and real-estate interests), the New York Realty Board, the Merchants Association, and the Chamber of Commerce, demands have been made that would in effect abolish gains made in education during the last hundred years.

Taking the lead in this entire move have been Mayor LaGuardia with his cut of \$8,000,000 from the minimum budget requested by the Board of Education (this minimum was deemed entirely inadequate by all teachers groups) and the Republican State Legislature with its cut of \$5,000,000 in state aid to education in the city. Thus the state duplicate in their attacks upon teachers and educational services those made by the previous Democratic administrations. Thus are the teachers and the schools buffeted about by both Republican and Democratic politicians, each playing the game of the Citizens Budget Commission when "in," and each demagogically singing the tune of the complaints of teachers and parents when "out."

The \$13,000,000 cut thus far made is only a beginning as far as the Citizens Budget Commission is concerned. The Taxpayers Association has already demanded a "saving" of \$86,000,000 at the expense of the school children and teachers.

What does the budgetary and state-aid cut mean for the children? Already the Board of Education has proposed the following in order to meet the situation:

1. Abolition of all kindergarten classes.
2. Abolition of all evening schools, including evening high schools and trade schools.
3. Abolition of community centers, playgrounds, after-school recreation centers, and summer play centers.
4. Abolition of day classes for adults in citizenship and English for foreigners.
5. Cutting down on textbooks and supplies.
6. Practically cutting down necessary building repairs to the zero point.
7. Larger-sized classes, thus aggravating the already bad overcrowding problem.

For the teachers the proposals made by the Board of Education in line with the state-aid and city budget cuts, as well as suggestions made by certain organizations and authoritative individuals, indicate that the gains resulting from decades of struggle will be taken away overnight, unless effective and vigorous resistance is offered. Among the dangers threatening the teachers are:

1. Dismissal of 1,000 teachers, resulting from the closing of kindergartens, evening schools, etc.
2. Dismissal of several hundred regular substitutes and possibly of many regular teachers appointed during the past few years, as a result of increasing the size of classes.
3. Cessation of further appointment of new teachers. Many have been waiting for years after passing most arduous examinations; others have sacrificed considerably in order to prepare for examinations and get on the list.
4. Denial of permanent licenses to many probationary teachers on grounds of lack of physical health and strength. For the first time, teachers having three years of satisfactory credit in the teaching service are being asked to take further physical tests before obtaining a permanent license—and this from an unsympathetic chairman of the Medical Board. Under this ruling, 750 will have to submit to a further examination within a few months.
5. Many teachers will be compelled to retire at the age of 65 instead of 70. While one may argue the merits of this proposal, yet it will undoubtedly work a hardship on some who have assumed responsibilities and organized their lives on the basis of retirement at 70.
6. The possibility of legislation to dismiss married women from the school system—especially those who have husbands working for the federal, state, county or city governments or in the school system.
7. The likelihood of legislation for cutting the salaries of teachers. Already, Ellsworth Buck of the Board of Education has proposed a salary cut for all teachers as a way of making good the cut in the state-aid and the city educational budget. The same suggestion has been made

This Is Scabbery!

ON Saturday, June 10, Sam Sponseller, C.I.O. representative at Flint declared at a C.I.O. meeting in that city:

"Martin has key men in certain departments (of G.M.) and might be able to shut down the plants thru them. To protect ourselves, it is our duty to see that General Motors secures people to replace any who walk out."

What is this but ordinary strike-breaking—under the banner of the C.I.O.? The least we can expect is that the responsible leaders of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and of the C.I.O. itself will publicly repudiate such tactics and to disavow Sponseller and his kind.

Labor's Stand on Arms Problem

Nelson Debates With ILGWU Editor

(We publish below the most important paragraphs of an article by Louis Nelson, manager of Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U. in the June issue of *Gerechtigkeit*, the Jewish paper of the I.L.G.W.U. To this article, the editor of *Gerechtigkeit*, against whom Nelson polemicized, appended the following note:

"We admit that Brother Nelson is right in his charge that the leading article entitled 'The First of May' in the previous issue of *Gerechtigkeit* is not in line with the resolution adopted by the I.L.G.W.U. at its Atlantic City convention. The editor admits it was his fault for forgetting the resolution. But it was not his fault alone; it was also the fault of the resolution. Political developments during the past two years... have completely altered the world situation, so that the resolution is no longer appropriate. A resolution inconsistent with life's realities is soon forgotten. Take, for instance, the very basis of the resolution: 'Whereas, previous conventions have adopted resolutions and made the I.L.G.W.U. part of the world labor movement against fascism and war; be it therefore resolved, that this convention goes on record as being unalterably opposed to the armament of nations.' Well, this may have been correct in 1937 but today the world labor movement is for arming against fascism and if the I.L.G.W.U. is a part of the labor movement, it cannot be against armament for the struggle against fascism."—Editor.)

By LOUIS NELSON

THE present world situation accurately analyzed in an editorial captioned "The First of May," in the May issue of *Gerechtigkeit*. But the editorial contains opinions which are in fundamental contradiction to the resolution on this question adopted at the Atlantic City convention of the International. The editorial says:

"The first of May was designated as the day on which the international working class demonstrates its power and its demand for a better and more just world. The various slogans put forward in these demonstrations are not always the same. They change with the time, circumstances and conditions in the various countries. Until recently, abolition of military armaments was one of the demands. This May First the workers will not make this demand. The main demand today is the struggle against fascism and Nazism and the defense of democracy and freedom. But we know that arms are needed for the struggle against fascism and Nazism and for the defense of democracy, because Hitler and Mussolini spread the rule of fascism and Nazism and destroy democracy by means of arms."

These views contradict the resolution adopted at the 1937 convention in Atlantic City. The resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas, the whole international capitalist world is preparing for another world slaughter which will kill millions of the world's working class; and

"Whereas, fascism is the open dictatorship of the capitalist class; and

"Whereas, previous conventions adopted resolutions and made the

by the Citizens Union. Stanley Isaacs of Mayor LaGuardia's administration has insisted upon a "voluntary" salary cut for those earning more than \$5,000 a year. (Experience has shown that this would be followed next by a demand that the lower-paid members of the faculties follow suit). The Citizens Budget Commission has hinted at the proposal that mandatory increases in salaries for satisfactory service be suspended for a certain number of years—in fact, that the whole law be repealed.

8. A greater rate of fatality for those taking examinations and endeavoring to get on the lists for appointment. The Board of Examiners will undoubtedly fail an even greater percentage of graduates of colleges aspiring to become teachers or of teachers seeking promotion and taking examinations for higher licenses.

Nor can we believe that the "economy" advocates and reactionary forces, assuming they attain the objectives outlined above, will stop at that point. Events are already casting their shadow ahead. Dr. McDonald of the American Educational Association and the Educational Signpost (a semi-fascist teachers organization) has proposed the closing of all city colleges (City College of

I.L.G.W.U. a part of the world labor movement to combat fascism and a world war; now therefore be it

"Resolved, that this convention go on record as strenuously opposing the arming of nations and the attack of the fascist countries against the working class of Spain; and be it further

"Resolved, that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union participate in the world movement against war and fascism."

The problem of war and fascism is no longer an academic one. War may break out any day, and, as an important section of the labor movement, it is our duty to clarify and not confuse the issue. *Gerechtigkeit*, which I consider one of the best trade-union journals in the country, should discuss the question of war and fascism without falling victim to sentiment. Nor must we be misled by the propaganda of the so-called "democratic" powers. Instead, we must carefully consider the role which labor must play in such a world war.

The war hysteria now being created in the United States is new. Similar tactics were resorted to before and during the last world war—the famous "war to end wars" and "to make the world safe for democracy."

In the above-mentioned editorial, the editor says: "Fortunately, the working class is not alone in the struggle for democracy. All liberal and progressive forces are interested in the fight. It is to be regretted, however, that the working class is divided and does not fight with united forces. The struggle would be much more effective and successful if all forces of labor were united."

Very unclear are the editor's remarks on the "liberal and progressive elements." Whom does he characterize as "progressive" and "liberal"—the Chamberlains, Daladiers, Landons and others of the same stripe?

I rather lean to the position of the American Federation of Labor on the question of war as expressed in the letter of William Green sent to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in April of this year.

These so-called "liberal" and "progressive" elements, including the New York, Hunter, Brooklyn and Queens Colleges) as a way of meeting the problem. The Citizens Budget Commission sees no reason why New York State teachers should not have their living and working standards lowered to those in other states, where conditions are much worse. Others have whispered that state protection for education should be dropped, thus returning the schools to the clutches of local politicians.

A definite attempt is being made to divide the teachers and to create a panic atmosphere so that the mass of teachers, for fear of getting worse, will accept something very bad. Unappointed and substitute teachers against regular teachers, single teachers against married teachers, women against men, teachers on the maximum salaries against those still obtaining increments, younger teachers against older teachers, kindergartners against those in the elementary division—and with this break-up into categories, the powers-that-be hope to develop division, a dog-eat-dog attitude, where they can play off one group against another, and thus ultimately put across their attacks against all.

Tenure, salary levels, appointments and jobs are all at stake insofar as the teachers are concerned.

Discontent Grows In Amalgamated

Tailors Uneasy as N. Y. Market Shrinks

By L. HENDIN

(These paragraphs are from an article by L. Hendin in the June 11 issue of the *New York Forward*, a social-democratic newspaper. Mr. Hendin is labor editor of the *Forward*.—Editor.)

SOME years ago, when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America announced that it had concluded a national agreement with the employers throughout the entire country, there was great rejoicing, particularly among the New York tailors. This national agreement was supposed to call a halt to the cutthroat competition between the various clothing markets and to put an end to the chaos and demoralization that was especially pronounced in New York. There was double rejoicing because together with the national agreement, the tailors got a 12% wage increase in all the markets of the country. Progressive and labor circles enthusiastically greet-

ed this achievement of the Amalgamated. Before much time had elapsed and before any one had so much as a chance to look around, the wage rise had disappeared thru reductions, and the rejoicing began to die down among the tailors. And then a little while later, it began to be felt that the national agreement was not introducing stabilization into the industry and that the New York market was still continuing to shrink as in the past. Quite naturally, therefore dissatisfaction among the New York tailors began to mount. But these tailors are well-disciplined soldiers. They keep their troubles to themselves and try to prevent them from coming out into the open. However, even for them there is a limit.

As a result of the great dissatisfaction among the New York tailors and as a result also of the numerous committees sent to the General Executive Board, the G.E.B. of the Amalgamated decided some months back that the General Office should undertake to bring about stabilization in the clothing markets of the country. A special committee of the G.E.B. was appointed for this purpose. Sidney Hillman, the president of the A.C.W., announced that he himself would supervise the whole matter and see to it that stabilization was definitely achieved. But the tailors can hardly be blamed for their lack of enthusiasm even at this announcement. Past disappointments had made them a little sceptical and mistrustful. Nevertheless, some hope and expectation was manifested.

Less than two months have passed and dissatisfaction among the tailors is rising again. To people on the outside it might appear that it is a little too soon to expect results, but the New York tailors know from experience that if they depend on the too far-distant future, things will only get worse.

We fully realize that bringing about stabilization in all the markets of so big an industry is con-

gressives" elements—who are they? Is it Rumana, which suppresses labor organizations and minority groups, robs the Jews of all human rights and drives them out of the country? Or is it Poland, which resorts to the same practices as Hitler and Mussolini? Or is it possible that the editor has in mind that "mother of democracies"—England, which rules over its colonies with the same iron hand that Hitler and Mussolini rule over Germans and Italians?

Or perhaps the editor was referring to the French "democracy." Look at Morocco and other French colonies in Africa. Look at France itself where the "liberal" and "progressive" Daladier has destroyed all the gains of labor and has forced upon it the sixty-hour week.

During the Spanish counter-revolution which Hitler and Mussolini initiated against the Spanish Republic, the so-called "democratic" government of France refused to send food and arms to those who were sacrificing themselves for democracy in Spain. The so-called "democratic" powers are not concerned with the democratic ideal. They merely mask their imperialist appetites under such slogans.

It was the so-called "democratic" powers that helped Hitler and Mussolini come to power. Did these "democratic" powers render any aid at any time to the former democratic governments of Austria and Germany? Did they not help to drown socialist Vienna in the blood of its best working-class sons?

But perhaps the editor refers to the "democratic" power which supplies 85% of Japan's munitions, so that 85% of the innocent women and children were murdered in China with American munitions?

These are the same "democratic" powers, including the Soviet Union, whose "Non-Intervention Commission" caused the Spanish Republic to bleed to death. Because "democratic" England was interested in having Franco rule Spain...

Wage Rates And Unions

(The following table of average hourly earnings in union shops and degree of organization in the women's garment industry is taken from the June 1 issue of *Justice*, official paper of the I.L.G.W.U. It is significant to note that wages in the several branches of the industry follow very closely the degree of organization.—Editor.)

AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS IN UNION SHOPS, AND EXTENT OF ORGANIZATION, WOMEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY, UNITED STATES, BY BRANCHES OF INDUSTRY, 1938

Branch of Industry	Average Hourly Earnings (in cents)	Extent of Organization (%)
Coats and Suits	121.2	97%
Embroidery	90.8	75%
Dresses	80.6	83%
Rainwear	68.5	72%
Belts	63.1	64%
Neckwear	58.4	85%
Bathrobes	57.6	74%
Blouses	54.0	48%
Buttons	51.3	38%
Corsets and Brassieres	49.3	24%
Underwear and Nightwear	49.1	32%
Infants, and Children's Wear	47.6	34%

ected with a great many difficulties, that definite plans have already been worked out and that rapid progress in this field is very difficult. The Amalgamated office has even presented figures to show that there is some exaggeration in the charge that the New York clothing market is shrinking in the number of garments cut within its borders. The trouble with these figures is that they are subject to interpretation. The tailors have no question about the number of garments cut in New York. What they would like to know is: Who is making up these garments?

The New York tailors have a striking example before them—Passaic. In the course of the last few years, the men's clothing market in that city has grown from about 3,000 people employed to about 9,000. It is not difficult to see that this expansion took place at the expense of New York. In plain words, it

means that 6,000 New York workers lost their jobs in the process.

The men's clothing industry, according to information provided by the Amalgamated, is 90% organized. The union has a national agreement and exercises a certain control over the industry. But if under the very nose of the Amalgamated office in Passaic, such things can happen, where is the union and its control?

What advantage does Passaic possess in this competition of markets? Certainly no economic advantage such as nearness to raw material, etc. Among the New York tailors, there is talk that Passaic possesses an advantage of a quite different kind... But this we don't want to discuss here; we would rather hear the explanation from the General Office of the Amalgamated.

Perhaps you might wonder: Why the General Office? Why not the New York Joint Board? Passaic is under the control of the New York Joint Board. But those who are acquainted with the way things are done in the Amalgamated know that it is a highly centralized organization and that its main policies are determined from above, by the General Office.

More than that. From certain tailors who are strongly dissatisfied we learn that even they do not throw the blame on the New York officials. On the contrary, they shrug their shoulders and declare that apparently the New York officials are helpless. And there is some logic to this. It is surely not in the interest of the New York officials of the Amalgamated to allow the New York market to dry up. As a matter of fact, we know that these officials have upon several occasions carried on a fight to protect the New York market. But the New York employers' keep on demanding reductions under threat of closing up their shops. And the New York tailors have already given so many reductions that no more are possible.

It is therefore only natural that the New York tailors should so soon begin to demand of the General Office that the plan for stabilizing the markets and bringing order into New York be carried out as quickly as possible.

erful and large that it would simply engulf the A. F. of L.

"That is why Lewis declared there could not be peace with the A. F. of L. at the present time and with its present leadership. Unless unity came on C.I.O. terms, Lewis feels that the basic need of organizing millions of unorganized workers into industrial unions would suffer. Certainly the entire record of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy testifies to the charge that they would impede any such organization drive."

Of course, this analysis—with its "resurgence of the C.I.O." and the C.I.O. "engulfing the A. F. of L."—flies in the face of the most elementary facts of the situation. But what are crude facts to Trotskyism, which moves and breathes on the exalted plane of "revolutionary" make-believe? As well argue about astronomy with a follower of Glenn Voliva, who believes the earth is flat, as about the realities of the labor situation with a devout Trotskyite. They're above such things!

But it is rather curious to see the very, very "independent" Trotskyites serving as volunteer apologists for John L. Lewis's blind unreasoning hostility to labor unity. Even the Stalinites couldn't do it any better!

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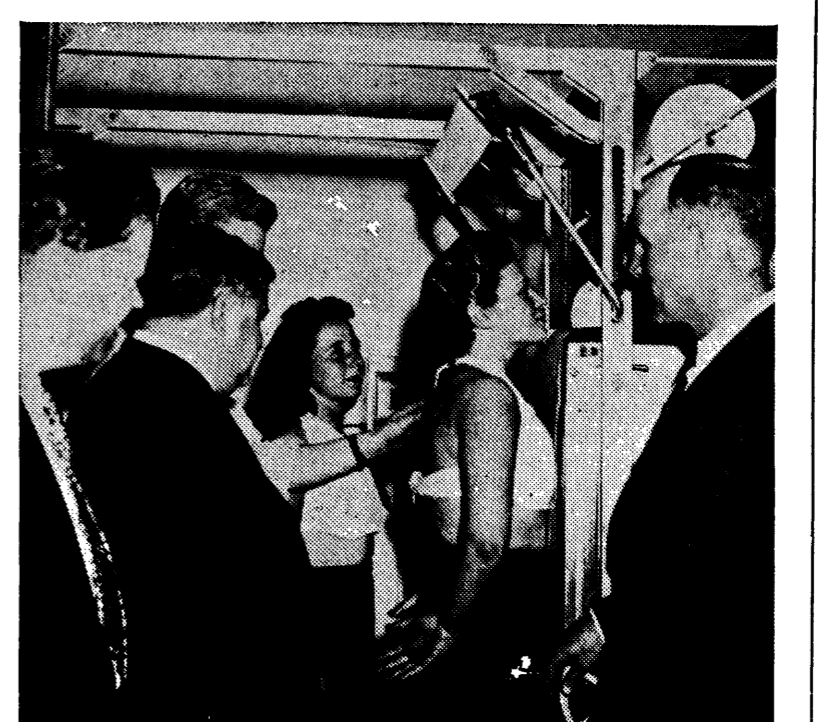
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FREE X-RAYS FOR DRESSMAKERS



Alice Brent is x-rayed by Dr. Arthur Burns as Adeline Eisenstad awaits her turn at the launching of a free chest x-raying program for over 90,000 New York dressmakers under the auspices of the Dressmakers Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U. Charles S. Zimmerman, I.L.G.W.U. vice-president and manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, originated the plan as part of a complete program to fight tuberculosis in the city. Watching the x-raying are, left to right: I.L.G.W.U. President David Dubinsky, Mayor LaGuardia and Health Commissioner Rice.

Teachers Union has distributed over a million leaflets calling the public's attention to the issues involved.

Now is the time for labor to organize a huge delegation to Mayor LaGuardia, Governor Lehman, and the state legislative leaders with a demand that the schools must not be touched, that the cuts in state aid and the city budget be rescinded. Let such a delegation demand a special session of the State Legislature and an open hearing. Let it demand the same from the city administration and the Board of Estimate. Let it threaten a "strike in votes" and other forms of social pressure to attain these just demands. Let it remind the leaders of the State Legislature and of the city administration that their pledges to the teachers and to education have been violated. Let it make it clear, if there is a special session of the State Legislature, that school services must be restored, and not at the expense of the teachers and workers involved either.

Organized labor, thru its unions and thru the A.L.P., should consider the organization of a mighty Madison Square Garden meeting to dramatize its will. In this it can and should involve the teachers, parents and students.

In A World of Make-Believe

WE have had occasion in the course of the last week to examine all sorts of reactions to and estimates of John L. Lewis's curt statement that peace with the A. F. of L. was "impossible." But nowhere, where we are free to confess, not even in the Stalinist press, did we come upon a more astonishing interpretation of the Lewis "incident" than in the Trotskyist Socialist Appeal. Writes B. J. Widick, the Appeal's trade-union "expert" in the issue of June 23:

"Surprisingly little attention was paid in the press to the semi-annual meeting of the C.I.O. executive council in Washington, D.C., last week. Surprising because it reflected a serious underestimation of the C.I.O. 'The attitude of John L. Lewis on the question of unity with the A. F. of L. flows from a resurgence of the C.I.O. movement. The victory of the United Mine Workers of America in the nation-wide strike solved satisfactorily the acutest crisis of the C.I.O. movement.'

"The Briggs auto strike victory gave further impetus to the growth of confidence in the industrial-union movement.

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The Era of Popular Frontism Comes To End

THE decision of the annual congress of the French Socialist Party, held recently at Nantes, to break off all relations with the Communist Party is an event of first-rate significance, for it marks the end of a period in post-war political history, the brief but well-defined period of socialist-communist collaboration within the framework of the Popular Front. The movement began in France and now it ends in France, leaving behind it a trail of wreckage, disillusionment and demoralization everywhere.

The united-front experiment began four years ago with high hope everywhere. At last the forces of labor were being welded into a solid front against fascism and reaction. At last the communists were abandoning their "third-period" sectarianism and the socialists their traditional fear of the left for the sake of joint action against the common enemy. Everywhere the impulse of the French example was felt in stimulating closer relations and increasing collaboration; even in this country, for a time, it proved possible for the Socialist Party and the I.L.L.A. to establish a degree of cooperation with the Communist Party.

But it was not long before these optimistic illusions were rudely shattered. The C.P. "line" had indeed changed but it had changed to something infinitely worse than what it had ever been. The Stalinist parties, in short, quickly revealed themselves to be primarily agencies of the Soviet Foreign Office and instruments of the Soviet G.P.U.

As agencies of the Moscow Foreign Office, they used their position in the new united front to destroy its working-class character, to destroy it altogether as a united labor front, and to convert it into a mechanism for subjecting the workers to the "democratic" bourgeoisie under the name of the Popular Front—obviously an extension to domestic politics of the new Soviet foreign policy of diplomatic collaboration with the "great democracies." In this they were eagerly aided by the right-wing socialist leaders, to whom the Popular Front meant but the continuation under another name of their discredited policy of political class collaboration.

As instruments of the G.P.U., the Stalinist parties embarked on a course of "capturing" the labor movement so as to make it subservient to the reactionary aims of the clique in the Kremlin. In this drive of "rule or ruin," which invariably became "rule AND ruin," no consideration of the interest or welfare of the workers or their organizations was allowed to stand in the way: corruption, intrigue, unprincipled combinations, frame-up, provocation—in fact, the entire methodology of the police spy—became the order of the day wherever Stalinism managed to get a foothold.

Naturally, all this happened first and in a most virulent form in France, but essentially the same tale could be told of England, the United States and even of the underground movements in the fascist countries.

What Popular Frontism brought with it and what it resulted in, surely need not be recited here; the Daladier dictatorship in France, the Franco victory in Spain, the shattered and demoralized condition of the French trade-union movement are there for all to see. And these events have not been entirely lost upon the great masses of workers in the socialist parties and trade unions. The scales of the early Popular Front illusions have begun to fall from their eyes; the deprecations of the Stalinites are being more vigorously and more indignantly resented and concerted action in defense is beginning to be taken more and more frequently. At the same time, the undeniable shift in the diplomatic policy of the Soviet Union to the point where kowtowing to the "great democracies" is no longer the order of the day and where even a rapprochement with Nazi Germany is not altogether out of the question, is depriving Popular Frontism of much of its original meaning from the Moscow point of view. The period that began in 1935 has obviously run its course; the Nantes congress put an official end to it.

Altho the illusion of collaboration with the "democratic" capitalist parties unfortunately still persists among decisive sections of the socialist leadership, Popular Frontism, in the sense of unity or cooperation with the Stalinites, is definitely thru. It came into existence as the result of the powerful mass demand of socialist and trade-union workers for unity; it has now come to an end as a result of an equally powerful mass demand on the part of these same workers, who have learned from their own bitter experience what collaboration with the Stalinites really means.

It will be long before the disastrous effects of the few years of Popular Frontism are overcome in France and elsewhere and the Stalinites dislodged from the positions they have managed to acquire under its protecting cover. But the big thing is to recognize clearly and without hesitation the main lesson of the entire experience, and that is that there can be no collaboration with Stalinism. In the Stalinist parties, there may be, and indeed there undoubtedly are, many sincere workers, but Stalinism as such, as an organized political force, is an element utterly alien and hostile to the legitimate labor movement, alien and hostile to its needs, interests and aspirations. It is, in the strictest sense of the term, an arm or instrument of the G.P.U. Contact with it breeds corruption, decay and demoralization.

French labor has learned this lesson and is acting accordingly. British labor demonstrated its understanding of the problem at the recent Labor Party conference where every sort of tie with the Communist Party was overwhelmingly rejected. Let us hope that this lesson will not be lost on certain leaders of our own labor movement and that they, too, will awake to the situation before it is too late.

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

WAR IN OUR TIME, by the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, Hans Speier and Alfred Kaehler, editors. W. W. Norton and Company, New York, 1939.

THE papers that go to make up this book are an outgrowth of the discussions of the General Seminar of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research ("University in Exile"). They represent a joint effort to deal with the tremendously difficult problem of modern war in terms of social relations and consequences. "Our aim," the editors declare in the introduction, "has been to analyze and describe the social implications of war and preparation for war: the increasing penetration and control of our individual and collective life by modern war, and its effect on the forms of our political and social organizations, the working and destiny of democratic institutions, the relations between nations, their financial status, the functioning of the economic systems and the standard of living." The high standing of the contributors and the careful selection of subjects are in themselves a guarantee that this rather far-reaching aim is at least partly realized.

Yet the essays are very uneven in quality. Some—such as the introductory essay on "Power Politics and Peace Plans" (Hans Simon), or

the discussions of "Domestic Policy and Foreign Relations" (Emil Lederer), "Sovereignty" (Arnold Brecht), "The Philosophy of Power" (Albert Salomon), and "Power in Our Time" (Max Ascoli)—are almost entirely worthless and might just as well have been omitted at a considerable saving of good white paper. Others—such as the articles on "Problems of Population" (Hans Staudinger), "Foodstuffs and Raw Materials" (Karl Brandt), "Autarchy" (Eduard Heimann), "The Economic Meaning of Conquest" (Arthur Feiler), "War Finance" (Gerhard Colm), "War Economics" (Emil Lederer), "War Expenditures and Economic Balance" (Alfred Kaehler), "Labor in War-time" (Frieda Wunderlich), and "Morale and Propaganda" (Hans Speier)—are extremely interesting and instructive, one or two indeed being quite outstanding in the literature on the subject. Most are well worth reading and pondering.

It would be futile, of course, to attempt to recapitulate or even to summarize the conclusions reached by the authors of these papers on their special subjects. But perhaps it would not be out of place to reproduce here two or three of the essential ideas that seem to be common to most of the contributions in this volume and that are of the utmost interest to all of us:

1. The next war is bound to be totalitarian in character, whatever

Will Those Off WPA Find Jobs?

No Real Prospect for Upturn of Business

PRESIDENT Roosevelt is asking of Congress about \$1,500,000,000 for the W.P.A. for the coming year. This represents a slash of a third in comparison with the \$2,250,000,000 appropriated for work-relief this year. It is a cut that will mean the dismissal of nearly a million relief workers, bringing the total on W.P.A. down to about two million.*

On what grounds does President Roosevelt justify this drastic cut? On the ground that "we are justified in expecting an upward trend in the volume of employment." Is this expectation sound? Are there any signs of such an "upward trend" in the volume of employment? As would absorb the million thrown off W.P.A.? The facts point in quite the opposite direction.

As the chart printed with this article shows, there has recently been some increase in the number of factory workers and in factory payrolls in this country. In March, factory employment, after seasonal adjustment, was about 10% above its low point of June 1933, while pay rolls have made a somewhat larger gain.

This, however, is by no means the whole story. Employment in manufacturing industries accounts for only a little over one-sixth of total employment. And even gains in the total number working do not involve equivalent reductions in unemployment, because the number of employable persons is augmented by more than half a million each year.

At least five million more jobs consequently are needed today than in 1929 to employ labor fully.

Actually, there are about five million less jobs. Data derived from the President's Committee on Economic Security show that there were 42.2 million people at work in March this year. This was just five million less than in June ten years ago, and is barely equal to the number gainfully employed last June at the bottom of the 1937-38 business decline. The number out of work in March this year was 10.6 million—actually 300,000 higher than last June. This rise, of course, was due to the increase in "employables."

How, then, can the requisite number of new jobs be created for the million W.P.A. dismissions? How must industrial production expand to make a million jobs? Government statisticians answer six to eight points in the Federal Reserve Board index. This index will average approximately 96 for the current fiscal year, ending June 30. If total employment is to increase by one million, this index must maintain a reasonably stable average of around 102-104 (about last November-January's level).

Again, however, this is only part of the story. Persons on W.P.A. today represent only about one half of the unemployed in their families. Hence to make provision for one million workers from relief families, two million new jobs apparently will be necessary. And then, there are the 500,000 to 600,000 new workers also to be taken care of.

The total need, then, will be more like 2.5 million. To create that many new employment opportunities would require—on the basis of above-noted estimates—a sustained advance of roughly 15-20 points in the F.R.B.

may be the domestic regime of the country waging it. "One should clearly realize there is no dictatorial type of warfare as opposed to a democratic type, either with respect to the technological aspect of military strategy and tactics or with respect to economic and propagandistic measures: the character of a major war under modern social, economic and technological conditions approaches the totalitarian type regardless of the political organization of society" (p. 34).

2. The coming war casts its totalitarian shadow before it in the period of war preparation. "Not the economics of preparedness nor the propaganda of national honor nor the regimentation of labor will remain an exclusive concern of dictatorship. They are of the substance of modern war, whether it be socially anticipated or actually waged; it is the timing rather than the magnitude of the national effort that can be said to depend on a particular form of government" (p. 13).

3. War will bring military dictatorship to the remaining democratic countries of the world. "The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war . . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free" (pp. 257-258). A careful study of this book will well repay the intelligent reader.

Reviewed by W. H.

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index. This would carry it to an average of around 110-115 for next fiscal year, comparing with 119 in 1929 and 110 in the post-depression peak year, 1937.

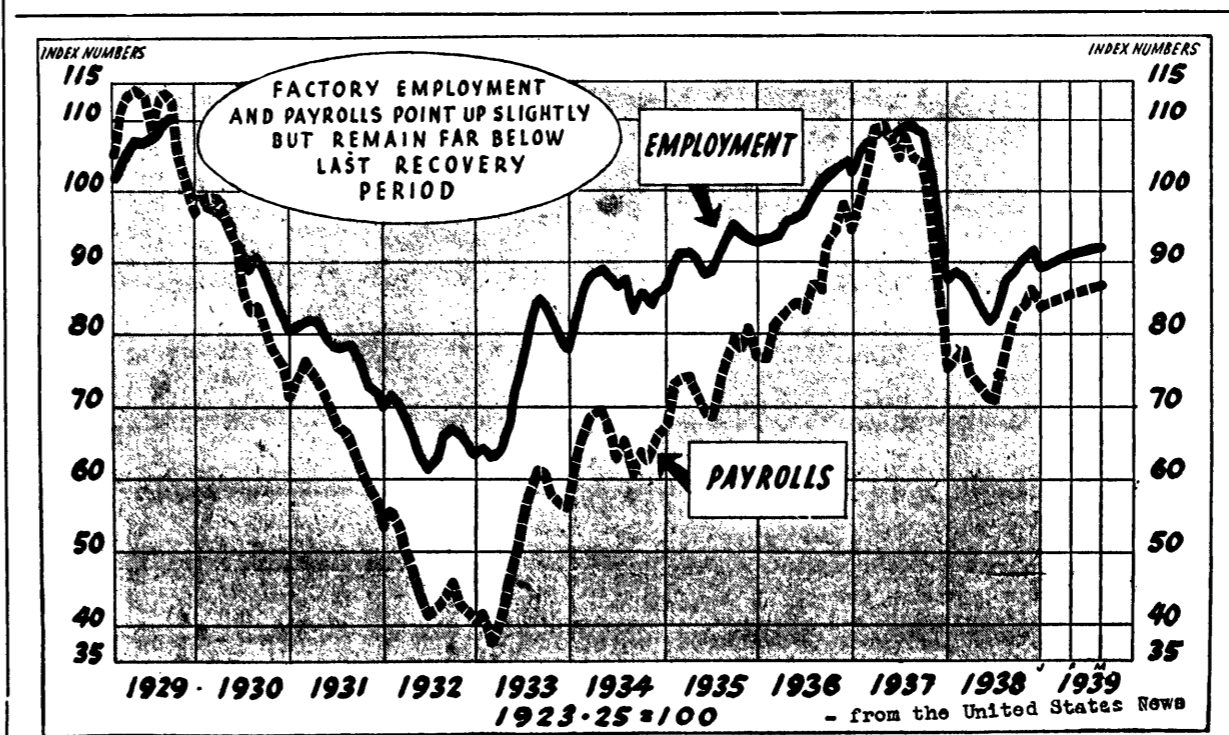
There is not the slightest possibility of such improvement.

In fact, despite the President's comforting words—and cold comfort they are, too, to the million workers who will lose their W.P.A. jobs—the unemployment situation is worse than ever. The number of jobless today is close to 11,000,000, back practically to the level of five years ago, an increase by 4,000,000 in a year and a half.

Not only will the million thrown off W.P.A. not be absorbed by an "upward trend in the volume of employment," but there is likely to be a net increase in unemployment even aside from that. And the President asks for an appropriation a third less than the very inadequate sum extended for work-relief in the fiscal year just drawing to an end!

Perhaps it is not without significance that this 1940 budget, which calls for an \$800,000,000 slash in W.P.A. funds, also includes an almost billion dollar increase in expenditures for arms and war preparations. The unemployed are to be starved in order to feed the munition makers!

* According to the relief bill recently passed by the House of Representatives, \$125,000,000 of the \$1,477,000,000 W.P.A. appropriation is earmarked for W.P.A., which is required to hire only 25% of its labor from relief rolls. This provision would lop off 170,000 workers from the total of 2,000,000 on W.P.A.



Fascism Born of War is Real Menace

(Continued from Page 1)

this case derived from a mystical nationalism along the lines of traditional "100% Americanism". The dark, unreasoning hates and prejudices, submerged today and only half avowed even by those who share them, will then come to the surface and be granted an honored place in the new "patriotism". Fascism may come from "above" as well as from "below", and the Italo-German way is not the only road to totalitarianism.

AFTER THE WAR—WHAT THEN?

But the war will not last forever—we are reminded—and when the war is over, the whole authoritarian set-up will be dismantled and we will return to our democratic ways. After all, isn't this what happened after the last war?

A case could be made for the contention that our democracy has never been quite the same since the World War, that it still bears the scars of the Wilson-Palmer-Burlesque regime. But that is not the point. The point is that 1939 is not 1917. Twenty-two years ago, when this country entered the World War, American capitalism was still in a healthy, flourishing condition; it still possessed the inner strength not merely to keep itself going but to develop and expand to new levels. Today, our economy is in permanent crisis; it looks back to ten years of severe depression, interrupted here and there by a certain revival, quickly followed by recession. Private investment, the very spring of the capitalist system, has dried up. More than ten million men and women are unemployed. Capitalism no longer possesses the inner strength to keep going, not to speak of expanding; it is a machine that has run down. Only continuous governmental intervention and control, on an ever-increasing scale, can keep it in operation at all. Only the systematic restriction of the freedom of action of the laboring masses can maintain any sort of equilibrium, temporary and precarious at best.

Thus, inherent in the very nature of our present-day economy are powerful drives towards a totalitarian set-up, towards an authoritarian regimentation of national life. Once war comes and establishes such a regime in the form of a military dictatorship, it is utterly fantastic to expect it to be dismantled just as soon as hostilities are over. It will be altogether too essential for the preservation of capitalism to admit of any such possibility. No; once war comes and with it military dictatorship turning into fascism, it will be here to stay!

WAR AND WAR PREPARATIONS

But even this is not the whole story. For modern war begins to exert its effect on the economic, social and political life of the community long before the first shot is fired. In other words, the coming war casts its dread shadow before it—and that shadow is war preparations. In war preparations, both material and moral, the full-fledged totalitarianism and reaction of the war to come are already implicit, coming to expression according to the drive of circumstances. Here, too, there is little fundamental difference between the "democracies" and dictatorships of today; just as in actual war the distinction tends to disappear, so in the course of preparation for war there is a growing similarity between the two. The mobilization of all phases of economic life for preparation for war implies the extension of authoritarian governmental control to the point where it shades off into the war regime itself. Rearmament means the "regulation" of labor for uninterrupted production and efficiency only to a less degree than actual war. And the whipping up of a jingoistic hysteria, which is an essential part of war preparations, is obviously a foreshadowing and preliminary stage of the orgy of frantic emotionalism that comes with war.

Perhaps all this is not yet so obvious in America today altho the keen observer will not miss the signs. But look at France. Under cover of preparing for a "war of defense against the dictators", an authoritarian, dictatorial regime is being erected before our very eyes in that country. Similar trends are not to be overlooked in England. And America is no exception, at least in this respect.

War and preparations for war — this is the quarter in which the danger of fascism is most threat-

British Labor Face Big Problems

Labor Party Congress Bans Popular Front

By BOB EDWARDS

Southport, England.

THE twenty-eighth annual conference of the Labor Party meeting here at Southport is a gathering of very great importance to the working class movement, not merely of Britain, but of the world.

It is meeting in one of the most critical periods in British history, and, whatever one's views may be about its shortcomings as a socialistic weapon of the working class, it is, nevertheless, the political expression of British trades unionism and is, consequently, the mass party of the workers.

This fact gives its decisions an importance and a significance which transcend its shortcomings in Parliament and its feebleness in the country.

Eight hundred delegates are assembled here, representing a quarter of a million individual members and over two million affiliated members. The overwhelming proportion of the delegates are from working class homes in working class districts. Here and there is a sprinkling of the professional classes, professional politicians and a lawyer or two.

But the men who carry the votes and make policy decisions are well-groomed and well-fed trade union officials who have lost touch with the working class many years ago.

To attend such a conference of Labor is to be constantly reminded of the tremendous contribution which the L.L.P. in the past has made in the training of its personnel. Fully three-quarters of the older delegates have, at some time or other, received their training as workers,

propagandists, research workers and organizers in the ranks of the old I.L.P.

There will be no surprises at this conference. The block votes which decide all issues of policy are in the hands of a few trade union leaders and their votes will be cast automatically in line with the policy of their unions and Trades Union Congress.

The opening speech of the conference by George Dallas, the chairman, was in strict accordance with Labor Party policy. "Twenty years after the close of the World War," he said, "the dark cloud of an even more catastrophic world war casts its shadows over this assembly. . . . "Mighty forces, representing irreconcilable conceptions of national and international life, are being marshalled and equipped with modern instruments of destruction, whose power terrifies the imagination. . . ."

"The danger of war in Europe will be averted," he went on to say, "only when it is fully realized that any act of aggression would be confronted by collective strength powerful enough to overcome it and promptly to restore peace. A treaty of non-aggression and mutual assistance, associated with the sanctions system of the Covenant, should be concluded at once and should cover the whole of Europe."

The pact with Poland and Turkey, the assurances given to Roumania and Greece, he welcomed, but the circle must be enlarged to include the Soviet Union. "Moscow," he declared, "is a custodian of peace."

All this is familiar to us, but from George Dallas, a genuine Labor leader, it contained the freshness of sincerity. Strange that this man and hundreds like him should be beguiled into repeating the same old negative jargon that failed the working class movement so completely in 1914!

The revolutionaries in the Labor Party must learn how to reply to men like Dallas and do so more effectively than they have been able to do thus far in this conference.

Every speech which followed in the debate was in opposition to the policy of the Executive Committee, which offered military pacts and alliances to the millions of war-weary workers. Even the speech of Ernest Bevin was in opposition, altho he threw half a million transport workers votes behind the Executive when the vote was taken.

"Labor," roared Ernest Bevin, "must hitch its peace program to a real economic star. I don't want this movement," he continued, "to be fighting for the salvation of the Paris Bourse, the London Stock Exchange, and Wall Street. I want it to build its peace policy by fighting for the salvation of the common people throughout the world."

A significant speech for Bevin! But the only effective contribution to this debate was the speech of William Mellor. "This is Chamberlain's policy," he said, "and Chamberlain is the old fox of British finance. If Labor once gets involved in National Service and conscription, it will throw socialism back for a generation. The policy of collective security and the resolution of the Executive have no real effective socialist content."

The whole temper and tone of the debate was a demand for a fighting socialist alternative to the policy of the platform. But an organized opposition is sadly lacking. The opponents of the Executive Committee were overwhelmed by the block vote.

The same thing happened in the debate on Spain. Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., moved the report on behalf of the platform, which was just a resolution. (Continued on page 4)

about it; because committees to formulate wage-hour standards have been set up in only seven industries, with not one wage-hour schedule issued; and finally because Andrews recommended a list of amendments to the act, among which are those mentioned above, without even so much as consulting the unions. These amendments, trade-union spokesmen declare, set up a number of new exemptions which labor vigorously opposes. The law as it stands, it is contended, is already too limited. Particularly are the unions incensed at Andrews's proposal to exclude Puerto Rico from the operations of the act, which would undoubtedly tend to make that island even more of a sweatshop stronghold than it is today.

It is not likely that the matter will come up before Congress this session but trouble is brewing and there is certain to be a blow-up before long.

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DOUBLE-CROSSING THE JOBLESS

THE House relief bill, with all its amendments, is undoubtedly one of the most vicious measures of its kind ever to receive the sanction of the lower house. It slashes the already inadequate appropriation recommended by the President to a point where W.P.A. lists will probably have to be reduced to 1,500,000 at a time there are over 11,000,000 jobless throughout the country. It destroys the system of prevailing wage rates, so important to organized labor. It orders the wholesale dismissal of hundreds of thousands of people on W.P.A. under the savage 18-month clause. It abolishes the federal arts projects. And the list of iniquities is not exhausted by any means.

The Administration press, such as the New York Post and the Daily Worker, pretend that it's all the evil work of the Republican-Tory Democratic block in Congress and that the New Dealers are stainless knights in shining armor, battling on behalf of the unemployed. But such a picture is absurd on the face of it. Are there no more than 80-odd Administration men in the House? Yet that was the highest vote registered for any amendment to the Woodrum bill. As against such fancy pictures, let us look at the facts; let us see what the line-up actually was in the House on the relief measure.

"In most instances," reports the New York Herald Tribune in its June 17 issue, "Representative Rayburn (Majority leader of the House) found himself battling on the side of Representative Clifton A. Woodrum . . . who, as floor manager of the bill, led the fight for the more conservative appropriation. . . . Attacks on the bill by the radical fringe were met by Representative Woodrum with the statement that the Speaker of the House, Representative William B. Bankhead of Alabama, and the House leadership were supporting it. Representative Rayburn (House Majority leader) at one time said that he thought that 'all in all, the committee has done a good job.' This in spite of the fact that President Roosevelt has expressed his disapproval of the bill. . . ."

And in the New York Post of June 19, Robert S. Allen, one of the "Washington Merry-Go-Round" boys, an unofficial spokesman of the Administration, dots the i's and crosses the t's by describing the House bill as passed as a "notable victory for the New Deal," a "signal victory for the Administration."

The general outlines of this amazing picture now emerge clearly enough. The President is officially "against" the House bill. But the President's key men in the House, Speaker Bankhead and Majority leader Rayburn, give it their blessing ("All in all, the committee has done a good job") and help Representative Woodrum, the notorious "economy" slasher, to put it thru. The majority of the Administration men in the House vote for it. And, when it's all over, New Deal spokesmen describe it as a "signal victory for the Administration." But President Roosevelt, you understand, is "against" it!

Doesn't it bear all the earmarks of a political double-cross? Labor is vitally interested in defeating the vicious House relief bill. It can still be done by exerting the full measure of pressure on the Senate—with the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. joining forces for this purpose. But, in view of the plain facts, it would be no less than self-defeating folly to place any reliance whatsoever upon the Administration in this fight.

A.L.P. DEFINES ITS POLICY

EVERY friend of the American Labor Party will rejoice at the decision of its State Executive Committee recently to avoid any alliances with other parties this Fall and to concentrate all efforts on building up the independent forces of the party for maximum effectiveness in the elections this year.

There is no doubt that this is the policy best calculated to strengthen the party as a decisive political force in the state and to deepen and intensify the labor-party consciousness of its supporters upon which so much depends. The party is quite ready for a full measure of independence this year and is eminently in a position to make the most of it.

But it may be doubted whether the A.L.P. leadership was wise in committing itself so unreservedly and so much in advance to support of the New Deal candidate for President in 1940, whoever he may be. We will not here stress the arguments we have repeatedly made in these columns that on its general record, particularly on relief and foreign policy, the New Deal does not deserve such support on the part of labor. We merely want to point out that with political conditions so thoroughly unsettled, with so little of the 1940 situation clear as yet, it is the very opposite of good politics to give any such blanket endorsement to the New Deal candidate, whoever he may be, as the A.L.P. has done.

It would be far more consonant with the objectives and principles of the A.L.P., and far more prudent from the standpoint of practical politics as well, if, instead of wholesale commitments in advance, the party set to work to develop a national program of its own, a program reflecting the immediate and long-range aims and aspirations of labor in this country, a program that would clearly distinguish the party in the public mind from even the left wing of the New Deal. On the basis of such a program, the A.L.P. would be in a far better position, when the time came, to decide upon its line of action in the 1940 elections.

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Indian National Congress Shaken by Inner Crisis

Divided, Confused Left Wing No Match for Gandhi

By J. CORK

A severe internal conflict is in process within the Indian National Congress, and has been for some time. The division, as usual, is between left and right, between those who are for an uncompromising revolutionary struggle for independence from England and those whose policy is for compromise and collaboration with British imperialism within the framework of the Empire. The right wing is lined up solidly behind Gandhi and his policy of non-violence, class collaboration, and compromise with imperialism. The left, on the other hand, is organizationally divided, and ideologically confused. At present the rights are in the saddle and driving hard.

GANDHI TRIUMPHS AT CONGRESS

The recent convention of the Indian National Congress, held in Tripuri in the early part of March, reflected the division and registered a decisive triumph for Gandhism. The rights came there with only one purpose, an organizational one—to cut the ground out from under the feet of Subhas Chandra Bose, who had been elected a few weeks previously as president of the All-India Congress. Bose is hardly a consistent revolutionary, but his election reflected the first sign of a broad rank-and-file revolt against the authoritarian leadership and the compromising principles of Gandhi. Gandhi accepted the challenge to his leadership. Right after the election, he declared that policies and principles were involved and that the election of Bose meant rejection of the policies and principles advocated by him (Gandhi). Immediately, the gigantic organized machinery of the rightists was set in motion. Sentiment and veneration for the Mahatma were exploited; emotions were whipped up; even corruption, financial and moral, was indulged in. Gandhi's demagogic staff at Rajkot was deliberately staged for its effect on the convention since it came before the convention had completed its work. Add to this the fact that many of the delegates carried financial reasons, also they had participated in the vote for president, held previously, and what ultimately happened at the convention can be easily explained.

The rights succeeded in realizing their main objectives, namely, passage of two resolutions, one of which practically amounted to a censure of the conduct of the president (who he had hardly had time to indulge in any "conduct"), so short was his occupancy, and the other expressing complete endorsement of Gandhi. The latter resolution reads in part: ". . . firm adherence to the fundamental policies of the Congress which had governed its program in the past years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, and there should be no break in these policies. . . . Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such a crisis. . . . imperative that the executive authority of the Congress should command his implicit confidence, and nominate the Working Committee for the ensuing year in accordance with the wishes of Gandhi."

DIVISION IN THE LEFT

This signal victory of right-wing reaction in the Congress was made possible by the division among the left elements. With the right wing pressing brutally and uncompromisingly for support of Gandhi and his program, the division between the principles of revolutionary struggle and class collaboration became sharp and unbridgeable. In such a situation, a clear-cut and principled fight against Gandhi and Gandhism was necessary for the future healthy development of the Indian nationalist movement. Instead, certain elements of the left flopped for the unrealistic slogan of "unity," which in practice could be realized only by capitulation to the right wing. That

the Communist Party of India should be the spearhead of the move to capitulate to Gandhi is to be expected logically from their People's Front line, which here, too, has led to betrayal of the interests of the colonial masses. The Stalinists came to Tripuri with posters proclaiming their slogans of national unity: "Revolution, but under Gandhi's leadership," "March to Gandhi's little hut." One of their floor leaders, a Mr. Bharadwaj from Cawnpore, openly asserted: "We want Mahatma's leadership."

Elements, however, from whom one might have expected more in view of their recent attitudes, behaved no better on the central issue of the struggle against Gandhi. Nehru surrendered to the false cry of "unity," and the Congress Socialist Party, if my source of information is correct, did the same and through the Congress worked in close collaboration with the Stalinists.

M. N. ROY'S POSITION

The only one who took a sharp and uncompromising stand in the struggle against Gandhi was M. N. Roy, who has recently exhibited a welcome shift in his attitude, which previously had tended to see the Indian National Congress too much as a homogeneous whole and to underestimate the speed with which the left would have to organize and strike out independently. Roy offered an amendment which read in part: "This Congress is of the opinion that its policy should always be determined by the sole purpose of attaining complete independence." Roy's amendment was defeated. He fought most vigorously against the resolution censuring Bose, but without success. Soon after the convention, Bose was forced to resign as president and a Gandhist was put in his place.

The fight against Gandhi will have to be carried on amongst the masses. There is a broad social base for support of this fight inside the Congress. That the fight will get sharper is clear. The false "unity"

at the Congress was achieved by the acceptance of principles which rule out all forms of revolutionary struggle. It is to be expected that it will be maintained by the attempt to eliminate from the Congress all revolutionary forces. The right wing on its part makes no bones about it. On May 10, according to the New York Times, Vallabhai Patil, senior member of the Congress Working Committee, speaking at Delhi, made an attack upon "extremists" and emphasized the "need of purging the Congress Party and changing its constitution to insure that only persons of the highest integrity (i.e. Gandhists, no doubt—J.C.) find a place in its organization." Coming events cast their shadow before.

LEFT WING NEEDED

A conscious and clear left wing inside the Congress is certainly needed at present. A realignment amongst the left forces is going on. It is reported that many leading elements have left the Congress Socialist Party as a result of its failure to fight Gandhi at Tripuri. They feel that a new left wing is necessary. The first step towards the crystallization of this new left wing inside the Congress has just been taken. With M. N. Roy seemingly as the prime mover, a League of Radical Congressmen has been organized. More than 300 active Congressmen met in a conference at Calcutta on May 1 to establish the League. The conference declared that the present leadership of the Congress was neither willing nor able to organize the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Indian people, and that a new consciously revolutionary leadership was necessary for the purpose. It declared that it would be the prime purpose of the League to popularize the revolutionary implications of the Congress program and to mobilize the rank and file of the Congress in an uncompromising struggle along these lines. Branches of the League of Radical Congressmen are being formed all over the country. From a distance, with the scant information as yet available, this new League of Radical Congressmen seems to give a promise of becoming a broad vital left-wing force inside the Congress movement. It remains to be seen what development it will take and what its complete program will shape up to be.

25 YEARS AGO

JUNE 23-29, 1914

JUNE 23, 1914—Parisian postmen strike against wage-cuts.
June 24—Because of lack of funds, 300 schools will be closed for the summer in New York City.
June 24—Workers of Baldwin Locomotive Works earn \$14.86 for a work-week of 65 hours, testimony at U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations reveals.

June 28—The "Curse of the Habsburgs" strikes again. Archduke Ferdinand and Duchess of Hohenberg assassinated in Sarajevo. Previous to this, Franz Joseph's wife was assassinated in Switzerland; his brother executed in Mexico; his son Rudolf committed suicide; his sister-in-law burned to death; and his grandchild mixed up in a murder scandal.

June 28—The second trial of Carlo Tresca begins. First trial in 1912 ended in a disagreement. The case arose out of the 1912 silk strike in Paterson.

June 29—50,000 men desert the Huerto forces in Mexico.

June 29—At the U. S. Commission for Industrial Relations hearings it is revealed that

Women in hotels and restaurants work 98 hours.

Car-men work 20 hours a day.

Dishwashers earn \$5 for a work-week of 73 hours.

Women cooks earn \$8 for a work-week of 78 hours.

June 29—Martial law declared in Bosnia. Demonstrations and riots against the Serbs.

June 30—Dr. C. F. Baxter of Blackwell's Island convicted for selling morphine to prisoners in workhouse.

Crisis Grows In Far East

(Continued from Page 1)

In the face of the Japanese challenge to the imperialist interests of the western powers, the United States joined Great Britain in a virtual common front against Japan. Representations and protests were made by Washington in connection with the Tientsin and other incidents. Voices were even heard in favor of a joint Anglo-American blockade of Japan in the Pacific. "Isolationist" and anti-war spokesmen in this country continued their strong warnings against any intervention by the American government in support of British imperialist interests, stressing that such action would entangle the United States in a dangerous war situation.

Tension also increased last week on the continent of Europe with renewed threats to seize Danzig made by Josef Goebbels, German Propaganda Minister, in two addresses at a Nazi demonstration in that city. No immediate action was expected but there was little doubt that Danzig would be Hitler's next objective.

The Soviet government again rejected last week the Anglo-French mutual-assistance pact proposals in a formal statement in which these proposals were declared to be "unsatisfactory." Despite official "optimism" in London and Paris, the feel-

POUM Greets ILLA Council Session

Expresses Gratitude for Militant Support

(We publish below a letter of greetings sent by the Executive Committee of the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) to the recent session of the National Council of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

Paris, May 15, 1939.

To the National Committee of the I.L.L.A.:

THE Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. sends its greetings to the I.L.L.A. assembled for its National Council meeting and hopes that your deliberations and decisions will be for the welfare of the American and international proletariat.

Strong ties of solidarity unite the I.L.L.A. and the P.O.U.M. Both parties have pursued a similar course in their development although in different circumstances.

Both parties knew when to break away from the bureaucratized Communist International, and how to remain faithful to the principles of revolutionary socialism. Our loyalty to such principles during the Spanish civil war brought upon us the most cruel persecution by the Stalinists and by their accomplices in the Spanish Popular Front.

If they have not been able to destroy us, it is due to the active solidarity of the vanguard of the international proletariat.

In this fight, the I.L.L.A. has occupied the leading place and it is our duty to proclaim it, and to express our gratitude to you.

The forces and factors which brought down the Spanish revolution are many. If Spanish fascism, actively aided by the other fascisms and by the international bourgeoisie, was able to conquer the heroic proletariat of our country, it was due primarily to the betrayal of Stalinist and social-democracy to which has been added that of the leaders of anarcho-syndicalism who opened the way. But the Spanish revolution, also temporarily vanquished, can teach invaluable lessons to the international proletariat. On the basis of these experiences and aided by the fact that our party has won the healthiest and ripest section of the Spanish proletariat, notably the socialist Left and elements from the C.N.T.-F.A.I., our party will without doubt become the true party of the Spanish revolution.

These lessons, together with our experience during the last twenty years, should help the vanguard of the international proletariat to clarify and fortify its tactics and its ideological positions. The international workers movement is going thru a profound crisis. This crisis has proved tragic not only to the Spanish revolution but also to the world proletariat.

In the face of the betrayals of the Socialist (Second) and Communist (Third) Internationals, there was no international revolutionary organization able to draw to it the sympathies and the support of the working class in favor of the Spanish revolution and against world capitalism.

Today the proletariat is almost powerless to fight the danger of war and the Internationalism tamed by the imperialist democracies working hand in hand with the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The P.O.U.M. and the I.L.L.A., together with other independent

Marxist parties, have understood the need of coping with this situation, within the limits of their possibilities, by giving the proletariat instruments to fight capitalism which would be capable, in the future, of leading it to its final revolutionary emancipation. These instruments are the International Workers Front Against War and the International Revolutionary Marxist Center. Our parties belong to both these organizations. Thru them, the P.O.U.M. and the I.L.L.A., which have the desire and the will to work steadfastly, must work towards the establishment of the true revolutionary International.

Close collaboration between our organizations is possible and necessary in another direction.

Latin American countries offer us splendid possibilities for work. The Communist International has abandoned, in these countries as elsewhere, the fight against imperialism in order to support, openly and shamelessly, American imperialism. The Fourth International, gnawed by the narrowest sectarianism, is incapable of lifting and upholding this banner. According to our information, Trotskyism, which for a time was able to attract the sympathies of those in opposition to the degenerate Stalinist course, is today in the same condition in the Latin American countries as it is in Europe—in full decomposition. Our party, like yours, has wide sympathies there. It is necessary to give political content to this sympathy and an organic base by means of persevering work. We have already established contact with some independent groups in Latin America. We are preparing a bulletin to be distributed there. . . .

Close collaboration between our two organizations in this, as in other fields, will not only strengthen the fraternal ties that bind us but will be of extreme value to the cause of the proletariat and of Socialism.

At the present moment, our party faces great difficulties. In spite of Franco's terror, the P.O.U.M. militants who remained in Spain continue their work and their struggle made possible by their experience in secret work over a long period of years. We have now in exile about 2,000 militants. The groups in the underground and in exile will be the basis for the future Spanish revolutionary party. Among the very urgent tasks which we must undertake the most pressing is that of saving these comrades. We cannot count upon the aid of the Communist Popular Front organizations nor official organizations abroad; we can only rely upon the help from the independent revolutionary organizations. Of all the independent organizations, the I.L.L.A. is the one which can help us most. This help we ask of you in the name of the sacrifices made for the great cause we both defend.

To the comrades of the I.L.L.A., our fraternal gratitude and our best proletarian greetings,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE P.O.U.M.

British Labor Party Faces Important Problems

(Continued from Page 3)

ital of the numbers of tins of milk, bandages and medical supplies which the Labor Party had been able to send to Spain. But Sybil Wingate, who for a short time was the nurse to the I.L.P. contingent in Spain, simply annihilated little Ellen and the Executive by a cold, logical re-assertion of Labor's political policy in relation to Spain. She reminded them of their support for "non-intervention," of how little a great movement like the Labor Party had in comparison with their great wealth and opportunities.

Ellen Wilkinson has shed many a

tear on Labor platforms, but her casual handling of this subject compels one to ask just where does she stand politically.

The conference has already taken a decision which is tantamount to the overwhelming rejection of the Popular Front. By 1,227,000 votes to 1,083,000 it decided to hear Sir Stafford Cripps state his case against expulsion. Had there been any danger of Cripps carrying a decision against the Executive, there is little doubt that the voting would have been somewhat different, but from the very beginning it was clear that in the ranks of the Labor Party there is very little support for Popular Frontism.

Cripps was overwhelmingly defeated by 2,100,000 to 402,000. He found little support even among Divisional Labor Parties who, we were led to believe, were strong supporters of the Popular Front.

The important issue arising out of this debate and decision is that the British Labor Party, with all its shortcomings, stands today foursquare by its original constitution—the complete independent political action of the workers. This is a very significant factor, because it gives the guarantee that the main body of labor in Britain will not commit the mistakes of the German, French and Spanish movements by giving up their independence. Whilst this is so, there is always the possibility of a development towards a closer understanding of the class struggle and its implications.

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