Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Meet in N. Y.

LaFollette, Martin Speak At "Keep America Out Of War" Mass Rally

Senator Robert M. LaFollette and Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, will be the leading speakers at the big anti-war meeting at the Hippodrome, 6th Avenue and 43rd Street, the coming Sunday, March 6. Among the others to address the meeting will be: Norman Thomas, Bertram D. Wolfe, John T. Flynn, Oswald Garrison Villard and Maj. Gen. Wm. C. Rivers.

The meeting is sponsored by a "Keep America Out Of War" committee, consisting of several hundred outstanding figures in labor. political, civic, religious and literary fields. General admission is free but there are reserved sections at \$1,50c and 25c.

The growing "Keep America Out Of War" movement is attracting the support of men and women in labor and liberal circles of differing political views but agreeing that a common stand ought to be taken against the war-mongers who are trying to stampede America into another world slaughter.

Senate Scuttles Anti-Lynch Bill

After a thirty-day filibuster, the Senate voted last week to lay aside the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill in order to take up the emergency-relief resolution which a final vote is pending. The vote on laying aside was 58 to 22

The anti-lynching bill, which makes possible the federal prosecution of a state official who wilfully fails to prevent a lynching and also permits the kin of a lynching victim to recover damages from the county in which the crime occurs, was passed by the House last April by a vote of 277 to 120. When it came to the Senate the bill met with the approval of about 70 Senators and would undoubtedly have passed could the upper house have gotten to vote on it. But the Southern Senators started an endless filibuster deliberately calculated to prevent the measure from ing a vote. Several attempts at invoking cloture, which would have limited debate, failed since a two-thirds vote is required. And so, after thirty days of sabotage, the Southern Senators won out, for the present at least.

It was noted on several occasions that, altho the anti-lynching bill was officially an administration measure, the White House made not the slightest effort to exert pressure to end the filibuster and get action on it. President Roosevelt, who found it quite possible to send a personal message to the House against the Ludlow Amendment, did not move a finger on the Wagner-Van Nuys bill. The Republicans in the Senate used this as a pretext for helping the reactionary Senators kill the measure by refusing to vote for cloture.

The fate of the anti-lynching casts a lurid light not only on the desperate plight of the Negro in the South but also on the workings

Big Anti-War Labor Against War Nazi Deal Spurs

UAW and CIO Initiate Movement in Detroit

Detroit, Mich. United Automobile Workers, told a provisional anti-war committee of over forty representatives of the U.A.W. and other C.I.O. unions which convened last week upon his invitation, that the only basis of a real anti-war movement was the labor unions. Martin suggested the calling of an international antiwar convention of trade unions of all nations to fight the war-mong-

A provisional committee of nine was elected with Homer Martin as chairman. The meeting agreed on a program and decided to enlist the support of all labor, religious and civic groups ready to support the adopted program.

The program, tentatively phrased, included the following: Popular pressure on governments against imperialist intrigues; opposition to increases in armaments and demand for the utilization of war funds for low-cost housing and for betterment of the social order; opposition to all legislation of the type embodied in the Sheppard-Hill and Tydings-McCormick bills designed to set up a war-time dictatorship; withdrawal of American

| troops and warships from China; Homer Martin, president of the boycott of Japanese goods; and the principle of popular referendum before declaration of war as embodied in the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment.

> In his short but impressive address, Martin emphasized the necessity of fighting the big-business plot to foist a "fascist regime on American labor when war is declared." He warned that big business is attempting to escape responsibility for economic chaos by embarking on war.

"The militant, class-conscious labor unionists must tell the cockeyed world," he said, "what labor thinks about war before it is too late. I will give you all I have to promote the anti-war movement."

The meeting issued this statement: "We are determined to keep America out of war in Europe or Asia. We are deeply concerned over the current war talk and preparations for war and deplore the tendencies in some quarters to prepare the public mind for war. We warn the American people against 'holy wars.' In our time, war between great nations has always (Continued on Page 5)

War Foes in U.S.

British Connivance With Fascist Powers Smashes "Collective-Security" Myth; But Secret Pact With England Held Despite Protests

The sudden shift in British diplomacy, involving a more vigorous and publicly avowed effort to 'conciliate" the fascist powers at all costs, is having a marked effect upon the course of American foreign policy, according to reports from Washington. The administration idea of a "united front of the democracies" to "quarantine the aggressor nations," as enunciated by President Roosevelt in his Chicago address, has undoubtedly suffered a bad blow, while nation-wide sentiment for peace has been greatly strengthened, tho with a turn towards isolationism.

Under the circumstances, with England openly playing the game of the fascist powers, it is hardly possible any longer to keep up the talk about "collective security." The administration is expected therefore, to soft-pedal this aspect of its propaganda in the immediate future and to try to achieve the same ends thru some apparent concessions to isolationist sentiment

The line will now be that, just because the United States can not rely on the other "democracies," it needs a super-strong navy; previously, rearmament was justified as a means of implementing "collective security."

Whatever may be the line of propaganda taken by the administration, its war-like course in the Far East will not be modified. American policy is based not upon concern for democracy but upon the imperialistic interests of our big-business groups. Nor will the alliance or understanding that obviously exists between the U.S.A. and Great Britain, despite all official denials, be basically affected by Chamberlain's pro-fascist policy. The rapproachement between the two powers in the Far East is the result of their common hostility to Japan and not of their common attachment to democratic ideals. Indeed, Britain's "reconciliation" with Germany and Italy is regarded as an asset since it will tend to release British power for action in the Far East by freeing it, to some extent, of European preoccupations. However, the English alliance will have to be even more vigorously denied and carefully hidden by the administration in view of the growing hostility to Tory Britain among the masses. But the old policy, orientated on Anglo-American action joint against Japan, will be followed nevertheless.

The greatest obstacle to the administration's course in foreign affairs is the unmistakable strengthening of peace sentiment at home as a result of Great Britain's recent "run-out." "It was admitted today," Bertram D. Hulen reported quite revealingly in the New York Times of February 23, "that the sensational turn of events in Europe might make the conduct of American diplomacy more difficult thru the stimulus that appears to have been given to peace senti-ment in this country." What must the real character of American diplomacy be if it feels itself hampered by widespread peace sentiment among the people!

Only Socialism Can Bring Peace

= an editorial statement :

WITH increasing force, as the for what interests have the great in hand with Tory England, the being driven into a new war, this time in the Far East. And an armed conflict breaking out in the Far East, with this country involved, will hardly remain localized for long; it will almost certainly become the prelude to another world war even more barbarous, disastrous and ruinously destructive than the last.

A virtual alliance, probably including a naval agreement, already exists between the United States and Great Britain, for joint action to protect the "interests" of both against Japanese aggression.

What are these "interests" in China to defend which we are called upon to go to war? They are hatred of fascism to the war the investments, commercial privi leges and financial prospects of banking and big-business groups in this country, the "right" of these groups to coin profits out of the toil of the Chinese people undisturbed by Japanese competition. They are imperialistic interests of exploitation and oppression. They are the selfish interests of no more than a tiny handful of Americans

of our much-vaunted "democracy" in this country. Fine "democracy." indeed, where a measure, passed by the House and avowedly supported by a big majority of Senators, can be blocked by a handful of reactionaries thru a piece of shameless sabotage!

days go by, this country is masses of this country in China or anywhere else that require defense by armed force? Such is the American stake in the Far East.

Slogans Of War

Of course, we are not going to be asked to go out and get killed for the profits of big business, not even for the "open door" in China, which is the slogan under which American imperialism operates in the Far East. We will be asked to fight to "uphold our national honor" and to "make the world safe for democracy" again; to "help the Chinese people" against the Japanese; by some, even to "defend the Soviet Union." They will seek to harness our idealism and machine, even more brazenly President Wilson exploited similar sentiments in 1917.

But it will be the same bloody fraud, the same unscrupulous deception of the people. For the last thing American imperialism wants freedom and democracy in China; that would mean an end to all foreign domination and exploitation, American included. The last thing American imperialism wants is to do anything to "defend the Soviet Union" which it hates and fears far more, as a socialist republic and a standing threat to capitalism, than it hates and fears Japan, which is merely an imperialist rival. Imagine, "making the world safe for democracy," hand

Whatever may be the fine "demo-

cratic" phrases in which they are enveloped, the real aims of the American government in such a war will be: first, to protect and extend its own imperialistic interests against Japan; and, secondly to ensure "order" and "security" in the Far East by suppressing any outbreaks of popular revolt that may occur and by undermining Soviet influence, perhaps even helping to organize and finance the forces of counter-revolution. American troops sent to the Far East in the name of "democracy, would become the police force of reaction against the peoples of China, Japan and the Soviet Union. In such a crusade of reactionary repression, British and American imperialism could very easily find a common basis for accomodation with Japanese militarism, after the decisive test of war had readjusted the relation of imperialist forces in the Far East. Against the common foe-socialism and democracy-the victorious and the vanquished powers would readily unite to their mutual advantage.

The "war for democracy" would not only bring reaction and increased imperialist oppression to the Far East: it would also bring military dictatorship very like fascism at home. The Industrial Mobil ization Plan and the Sheppard-Hill

(Continued on Page 2)

Lewis Corey

speaks on

"C.I.O and A.F.L."

(Labor Faces Its Future)

Friday, March 4 NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

131 W. 33rd St.

C.I.O. CONDEMNS THE SHEPPARD-HILL BILL

Labor would be placed under rigid military control in time of war by the terms of the Sheppard-Hill bill now pending before the House Military Affairs Committee, the C.I.O. warned last week in a letter sent to all affiliates.

Declaring that the bill "is the most recent of many attempts that have been made to subject the free American labor movement to a fascist regime in the event of war," the C.I.O. office charges that its real purpose is hidden under the pretense that it aims "merely to regulate production and prevent war profiteering."

Viewed from the Left

= By Politicus

What Price Price Policy?

WITHIN two weeks, the administration announced two different policies on the question of prices. Acting under Schindler, whom Mr. Meyer describes labor pressure, Roosevelt declared that prices must be lowered as a New York attorney. without cutting wages. But then he declared that prices ought to be a little higher, especially in certain fields. It is pretty clear that the first statement was a bow in the direction of labor and the consumer sections of the population, while the second represents true New Deal price-fixing and price-confusion. It

must be kept in mind that the lease of \$400,000,000 previously the 1926 average; building ma- somehow the position of the laborground chambers of the Treasury. farm prices, 30%. Obviously, these not much worsened by a war. It was accompanied by the revival prices fall into different social catebig business on the dole.

Now labor has a real stake in prices. It wants cheaper comequitable prices, while cutting the ruling class as a whole, at the exoverstuffed profits of the corporate pense of labor, farmers, fixedmiddlemen who, for all practical purposes, own our "free and independent husbandry" lock, stock and barrel. These are obviously two different, tho both sound, attitudes towards prices. In the last year, for example, farm prices, that is, as received by the producing farmer, have dropped 25%. But steel billets are exactly the same price this year as last. Strenuous objection can and should be made to the gouging of the farmers at the expense of labor as a consumer while the corporation system pro fits by the arrangement.

The administration has a totally different idea in mind when it speaks about raising prices. It seeks to pursue an inflationary spects would be secured against policy—its desperate "solution" for the capitalist crisis. This was the great masses of the American meaning of pouring the hundreds working people would stand to lose of millions of gold dollars into cir- everything-our blood, our liberculation, hoping thereby to inflate ties, our living standards, our prices. It also ties up very neatly great achievements in labor organwith the rehabilitation of the ization during recent years. R.F.C., which, as late as last Nothe expense of the masses of the front!

Furthermore, consider the extreme confusion the administration generates around its price policy. claims the necessity of boosting



Who Profits by War?

(We take particular pleasure in re- | Hourly wage rates rose in 1917 printing a splendid article on what and 1918, but were quickly outlabor got out of the World War that stripped by the dizzier ascent of appeared in Ernest L. Meyer's column prices of the things labor had to n the New York Post of February buy. 3, 1938. The author is Sidney Thus, wage rates increased 30%

—THE EDITOR.)

By SIDNEY SCHINDLER

Did not he or his father earn dollar-a-year executives, all doing the farmers to assure them of haps for some individuals, helps the groups and embittered labor organizations? The answer is sobery but emphatically: No!

The \$10-a-day wage and the silk shirt are figments of the mind.

of the Reconstruction Finance Cor- gories and require different pro- \$10 a day and wear \$4 silk shirts poration, Hoover's agency to put grams to cope with them. But the in the halcyon days of 1917 and administration is interested in a 1918? Were we not one Big, solution which will benefit the cap- Happy Family of doughboys and modities; it wants an alliance with road, which, while dangerous per- | our bit instead of snarling pressure

Socialism Brings Peace

(Continued from Page 1) expect should America be plunged seveltian version of "collective

salary earners, social-security pen-

Big Business The Only Gainer

In a word, American big business would be the only gainer in war; its coffers would be filled to overflowing with swollen war profits and its investments and business pro-Japanese competition. But the

For this war that is being planvember, was supposed to be on the ned, the administration is now preernment organization has one two-billion dollar rearmament proitalist production by deficit financ- ments budget in history, and the ing, that is, by feeding the banks, indications are that additional billarge corporations, railroads, etc., lions will be added in time. This reenough money to stimulate their armament program not only recapital expansion. That this policy flects the increasingly aggressive and again, when it was incorporat- tion; it also implies an increasingly ed into the New Deal as one part reactionary course at home—aban-tive security" in his Chicago adof government "pump-priming," is donment of federal low-cost hous- dress, everywhere correctly interalready a matter of history. That ing and other important public preted as a move towards an Engthe administration tries it again, works; cuts in unemployment relief this time in conjunction with infla- and retrenchment of social-welfare people want peace and are deeply tionary experiments, shows the plans; governmental regulation of aroused at the course the adminislimited means capitalism possesses unions in order to keep them in to get out of the tangle of its own line with the war program. Recontradictions—but all of them at armament means reaction on every

Menace Of "Collective Security"

That is the fate towards which Stalinite, all united on the slogan we are being rapidly driven by the of the "concerted action" of the It sets up the 1926 index as its war-mongers. Of course, they "great democracies." Against this standard and, on that basis, pro- operate in the name of "peace." So "national front" for war, we must "state of international anarchy." did Woodrow Wilson when he steer- build up the broadest possible com- But we propose to meet it not by ed this country into the World mon front against war, embracing a military alliance of "democratic" War. Then, the slogan was a "con- all sections of the people who desire robber-states but by a united intercert of free nations against auto- peace and are ready to unite their national front of the workers and freedom of speech, lapsed with the cracy"; today, it is "collective secu- efforts for it. In this movement, as laboring masses the world over declaration of war, what remained rity of the great democracies in all forward movements in pres- against predatory and war-like im- of the Thirteenth and its prohibiagainst fascism." This slogan of ent-day society, labor is the most perialism, whether "democractic" tion of involuntary servitude? 'collective security" is both a fraud powerful and dependable force. or fascist. Because this "interna- Other and hard-won statutory and a menace. It is a fraud be- Naturally, other groups, such as tional anarchy" stems from the standards likewise melted away. cause there is not and can never the farmers and the middle classes, antagonisms and conflicts inher- In Vermont, Connecticut, Massabe a common front of the "great are vital for any real anti-war ent in capitalistic imperialism, we chusetts and New Hampshire, the democracies" simply out of "ideo- struggle but they can achieve are convinced that the only way to governors or commissioners were logical" solidarity; the diplomatic their full effectiveness only by eliminate it is to eliminate the authorized to modify or suspend all friendships and hostilities of these allying themselves with the labor system of capitalism itself. We laws pertaining to labor or to the powers are determined by their im- movement under its leadership. On may throw obstacles in the way of employment of women and children perialistic interests not by their al- the other hand, if labor fights hard the war-makers and postpone in war time. eged "democratic ideals." Look at for peace, it will surely win the or head off the war that is now democracies," crawling before Mus- and would most suffer from it run, war will continue to face us cents, to say nothing of their sacrisolini and Hitler! The "collective should it come. security" idea is a menace be- Our struggle against war must as capitalism continues to exist. labor to sit by passively as the cause it serves as the cover under also be a fight against war-making Fundamentally, the only answer to country drifts into war is to re-

of phrases about "quarantining" nas been reached with Great Britain for war in the Far East. 'Collective security" is utterly meaningless unless it is implementthem hand and foot to the imperialistic war machine.

American People Wont Peace The American people, in its great materials to Japan, thru independmass, wants peace. Above all, the ent labor action and pressure on the American laboring masses want peace. They have shown it by their the markets of this country to China support of the LaFollette-Ludlow and the Spanish Loyalist govern-Amendment. They have shown it ment. While the employing-class by their demand for the withway to the scrap-heap. This gov- paring. It has already launched a drawal of American warships and Japan, American banks lend it Marines from the Far East. They money and American business men avowed purpose—to stimulate cap- gram, the biggest peace-time arma- have shown it by their cold recep- sell it all sorts of war materials. tion of the attempts of the ad- The same is true of the capitalists ministration to stir up a jingoistic of other countries, Great Britain frenzy in connection with the above all. Only the working-class Panay incident. They have shown it, above all, by the widespread assistance to Japanese aggression. failed when Hoover tried it in 1931, foreign policy of the administra- popular hostility that greeted the Only international working-class President's feeler towards "collec- action can stop Japanese millish alliance. The masses of the

Alf. M. Landon, the Liberty shipment of war materials of any Leaguer, to Earl Browder, the sort to the Japanese militarists!

which military alliances are being imperialism and all its works, at war is socialism—for only socialism nounce all its recently won gains secretly prepared. Behind the cloud home and abroad. We must come can bring peace!

from 1913 to 1918, but the average cost of living went up by 74%.

The Workers Share Corporate incomes, however, made no such sacrifices. From 2.674 RANDOM subway and street conversations as to our entering a rose to 4,838 millions in 1917 and fact, was lower than in any recent war manifest a curious, dishearten- 4,542 in 1918, an average increase year up to the coming of the desecond and important declaration prices. But metals and hides, for ing mixture of fatalism and hope. of 73%. Corporate earnings were on prices was preceded by the re- example, are about 5% less than The common impression is that even greater by the amount of in- not affected. Thus, the average come not distributed by dividends. number of employees affected in a "sterilized" in the Kentucky under- terial, less than 10%; textile, 30%; ing man will be bettered or at least In the meantime, the workers share war-time labor dispute, 547, was in the national income fell from a lower than in any year between

35.66% to 34.18%.

The lowest figure in the fifteenyear period, 1913-28, was reached 855. in 1918. The fact that the total national income, with but one exception, 1920-1, increased steadily during this entire period indicates that the war involved a redistribution of wealth the wrong way. Labor grew poorer while the rest of the country profited in the prosperity of the war to end war. And the worst of the story is that labor put up no fight to protect its shrinking standards.

The number of strikes rose steep ly from 979 in 1914 to a war-time bill are a sign of what we may the "aggressor nations," the Roo- average of 3,707. But the increase is misleading. The average durasecurity," a naval understanding tion of strikes was small, 18 days, as compared with 37% days in 1920-23. The 1917-18 average, in

> to the aid of the Chinese people ed by military pacts; once imple- resisting Japanese aggression and mented with such pacts, it is a to the aid of the Spanish people deadly trap for the masses, binding heroically fighting against Franco's fascist band and its foreign backers. How can we do this? Most effectively of all, by stopping the shipment of munitions and war government, and by forcing open press screams its head off about movement can stop this shameless itarism!

As against the "cooperative ac tion" of the imperialist "democracies," preached by the jingo champions of "collective security," we urge the cooperative action of tration is steering towards war. the labor movements of the United Behind the administration, there States, Great Britain, France and is rallying a "national front" for other countries to prevent, by war, stretching all the way from strike action, if necessary, the

Socialism The Only Road

We, too, are alarmed at the

War Dictatorship

THE basic fact must be I faced that modern war cannot be conducted save by dictatorial power, and the democratic framework, even if it is allowed to retain its existence and identity, is relegated to a position subservient to that held by the clique in authority."-Rose M. Stein: M-Day.

pression. The large industries were four-year pre-war average of 1916 and 1914. The average number of employees affected per dispute in that entire period was

Finally, starting from the 1916 level, the number of strikes rose 1% in 1917-18, but the number of employees involved fell 23%. The entire picture for labor is one of a decline in militancy that matched the decline in living standards.

The Gag Is Invoked These losses, spurred on by the Wilsonian dictum of no strikes in war-time, were facilitated by an

almost fascist authoritarianism. Recalcitrant workers were threatened with immediate loss of draft exemptions In Watertown Mass the threat was carried out. Fifteen states, in addition to the federal government, enacted loosely phrased sedition statutes.

And, lest juries be loath to convict, the Nebraska Legislature provided that no person indicted for sedition might make a public address without permission. Arizona, Montana and South Dakota included in the definition of sabotage "violating the constitutional or statutory rights of another as means of accomplishing industrial or political ends."

The mythical Mr. John Q. Public has, let us say, a contract with the International Gadget Company under which the company is to supply him with a thousand gadgets. The Supreme Court and other courts have held he has constitutional rights of property in that contract, so that, if the Gadget Workers Union should strike and curtail shipments to Mr. Public. they and their leaders are felons.

Two states forbade all strikes. In a number of other jurisdictions, the same result was approached by court decisions. Twelve states, including New York, Massachusetts and New Jersey, enacted anti-loafing statutes, compelling all citizens to work at a useful or lawful occupation or be assigned to a job "at such compensation as the council and employer shall agree to be reasonable and proper."

Strikers were excepted, but how many war-time councils will hold that a union organizer or picket is employed at a "useful or lawful

What Did Labor Gain?

The number of cities enacting similar ordinances appear to have been considerable. Granted that the First Amendment, providing for

It is the laboring groups who England, that greatest of "great support of all those who hate war being prepared. But, in the long will pay for the war in dollars and as an imminent danger just as long fices upon the field of battle. For and more.

Stalinism Is Not Internationalism

By WILL HERBERG CTALIN'S recent declaration, are not determined by the interests again referring, after years of of the workers in the various silence on the subject, to the vital countries or of the world as necessity of international workingclass support if socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is to achieve its goal and the Soviet Union itself foreign policy were always in the to be safe against its enemies, has aroused a veritable hysteria in the employing-class press of this country. Completely ignoring the real significance of the declaration, as indicated in the February 26 issue of the Workers Age, the papers have made it into a pretext for a dreadful hue-and-cry against internationalism in the labor movement which Stalin is somehow supposed to represent. Stalin's crimes try; if that is done, it will not conagainst the workers of Russia and flict with the essential interests of of the countries in which the the workers anywhere else. Comintern operates are so numerous and so grave, that many pro Stalin's "Internationalism" gressive elements are tempted to echo the denunciations of the em

ploying-class press without giving

much thought to what it is all

about. Yet this is a grave mistake

that may bring lasting injury to

the best interests of the American

The Substance Of Internationalism

wrong in Stalin's appealing to the

workers of other countries, the

United States included, to support

the efforts of the Russian masses

to build up a socialist society with-

out profits or poverty in their land

and to help them ward off any

armed attack from the outside.

Nor is there anything wrong in

in case of need. Such mutual sup-

port and assistance is the sub-

damentally the same all over the

at its command.

labor movement.

A Fraud But that is not Stalin's way. In

1934-35, Stalin decided to stake everything as far as the safety of the Soviet Union is concerned upon alliances and agreements with the big capitalist "democracies." especially England and France. Thereupon, he ordered the leaders There is nothing the least bit of the official communist parties, who are merely his puppets, to forget about the class struggle and socialism in these "democratic countries and to lick the boots of the ruling groups there in abject subservience. That is why no matter what atrocities the Chautemps government in France has committed against the workers, the Com-Stalin's pledging the support of munist Party has so far continued the Russian masses to the labor to support it; France is supposed to be an ally of the Soviet Union movement in the rest of the world That is why the American C.P. leaders make themselves ridiculous stance of internationalism and in- by the nauseating way they crawl ternationalism is the very heart of on their bellies before the Roose the labor movement. Nearly a century ago, class-conscious workers even of the New Dealers themdiscovered that labor's underlying selves; the United States, it is hoped, may become an ally of the Soviet Union in the Far East. interests and aspirations are funworld and that labor's enemy too is Today, the fantastic hopes placed essentially the same because the by the Stalin regime in the "great

tional. They therefore came to the fascist attack are seen to be no conclusion that cooperation and more than vain delusions because solidarity are as necessary internacuriously enough, these "democrationally as at home in each country | cies" seem to prefer the company and that, without such internation- of the fascist powers, which are al cooperation and solidarity, labor after all, as capitalistic as they are could never achieve the full power at its command.

In 1864, European workers formand the International Working Mon's

In the form of the International Working Mon's ed the International Working Men's In the face of this situation, Stalin struggle against war is the efficacy Association, to which the National is apparently preparing some big of sanctions and boycotts. Much Labor Union of this country was shift in his foreign policy; his sud- of the confusion is due to the mixaffiliated. Today, there are all sorts den talk about "world revolution" ing of two different things: treatof international organizations of and "international solidarity" is ing consumers boycott and embargo labor established to facilitate com- the shadow that this coming change as if they were of equal importmon action and mutual assistance. casts before it. Perhaps, before ance, even one and the same thing. the consumers that count most be- involving no fantastic schemes, One of the most important of these long, the order will go out from is the International Federation of Trade Unions, to which practically all important trade-union federations in the world are affiliated, policies, just as they did a few stockings and panties into a fire pool, pottery center, where some even the American Federation of years ago when they gave up the on the campus at Vassar and think trade unions, the Communist Party, the author reveals the necessary Labor. When important strikes "united front from below" and dual have taken place anywhere in the unionism for the People's Front, mentary policy of the Stalinist world, workers organizations else- without explanation or discussion; regime in the Soviet Union. Real where have generally come to their just as they had their minds chang- internationalism means the genuine assistance, morally and financially. ed for them on the labor-party independence of each section of the In the same way, workers move- question within twenty-four hours. international movement, as an ments in Europe, such as the strug- Who knows what they'll begin equal among equals, independent gle against fascism, and workers preaching next—but whatever it is, thinking, independent discussion of institutions of various sorts, have it will be in strict accordance with problems, independent formulation received great aid from American the new gospel from Moscow.

tionalism is the very life-blood of internationalism means that the Stalin clique and the political subthe labor movement; without inter- labor movement in any country jection of everyone he, intellectual nationalism, the labor movement frames its own policies on the basis slavishness, the hero-cult and pupcannot live or fulfill its mission. of its own conditions and needs, pet leadership. No wonder the employers and their and then coordinates its efforts on press, conservative and liberal a world scale; Stalinist mock-"in- it is the most grotesque travesty alike, rail so frantically against it! ternationalism" means a mechan- of it. Our indictment of Stalin is not ical uniformity enforced everythat he stands for internationalism where, without regard to the real viet Union and how Stalin's policies but that his alleged "international- interest or needs of the workers hamper and undermine its effective should not be confused with the largely solve the country's waterism" is a fraud. Stalin's policies, anywhere, a mechanical uniformity

| trolled Communist International whole, but by what appear to him to be the demands of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Even if this best interests of the Soviet Union -which it is not-it would still not mean that the line followed by the working-class movement everywhere should be made automatical ly dependent upon it, a mere me chanical reflection of it, so to speak. For the policy of the work ing-class movement of any country should obviously be determined primarily by the needs and conditions of the workers of that coun

capitalist system is itself interna- democracies" as a bulwark against

and the policies of the Stalin-con- that is the reflection of the mo- issues of this paper. —THE EDITOR.)

The Old Army Game

FROM PRES. ROOSEVELT'S

CHICAGO ADDRESS

(October 5, 1937)

live in amity without fear-the

peace-loving nations must make a

The peace-loving nations must

make a concerted effort in opposi-

tion to those violations of treaties

and those ignorings of humane in-

stincts which today are creating

It seems to be unfortunately

true that the epidemic of world

When an epidemic of physical

lawlessness is spreading.

a state of international anarchy

can rest secure.

FROM WOODROW WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

peace and justice in the life of in which we can breathe freely and the world against selfish and autocratic power and to set up among the really democratic and self-governed peoples of the world such a concerted effort to uphold laws and concert of purpose and action as principles on which alone peace will henceforth assure the observance of these principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the ment backed by organized force. and instability from which there of necessary social reconstruction can never be maintained except by neutrality. . . . a partnership of democratic na-

The right is more precious than peace and we shall fight for the things which we have always car- disease starts to spread, the comried nearest to our hearts—for munity approves and joins in a liberties of small nations, for a to protect the health of the comconcert of free peoples. . .

universal dominion of right by a munity against the spread of the disease

> FROM WOODROW WILSON'S ST. LOUIS ADDRESS (Sept. 5, 1919)

WHY, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman, let me say, is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the needed improvements for every deep-seated hatred was commercial and industrial rivalry. . . . This section of the country, no power war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war.

Boycott, Embargo In Fight on War

will appear in the next issue.

—THE EDITOR.)

Consumers boycott action is, in ing those that consume most. cover such fields as flood-control,

of policy, independent leadership; trade unions, with the I.L.G.W.U. This is not internationalism but Stalinist mock-"internationalism' usually in the forefront. Interna- a miserable caricature of it. Real means the political monopoly of the

Stalinism is not internationalism;

(What we can do to help the Sodefense will be discussed in coming embargo. This may be a measure

(This is the sixth of a series of they have stopped Japan in its in articles by Bertram D. Wolfe on the vasion of China. It's a way of struggle against war. The final article "getting something off your chest." but it builds facile illusions that you have really done something effective and can concentrate on that form of struggle.

Consumers boycott has the further defect that it does not begin with a struggle with one's own imperial- of the National Resources Commitism— doesn't even envisage such a tee. This list includes some 10,000 struggle.

It has the further defect of being necessarily an all-class action, five billion dollars. The projects, the Chamber of Commerce, and work for the water-basin in which the Pottery Manufacturers Asso- is located the famous Middletown ciation marched together in a joint of the Lynds. The report recomparade under the slogans of: mendation was as follows: "Drain-Defend China By Not Buying Jap | age basin: Wabash. Project descripanese Porcelain Ware-Buy Amer | tion: Anderson, Muncie, Newcastle ican! This shows the logic po and Noblesville, Indiana, sewagetential in every consumers boycott | treatment plants. Estimated cost: directed against a foreign country. \$3,000,000. Remarks: Plans ready; It is easily turned into class-col- need imperative." laboration propaganda, into an instrument of whipping up a war fever. Our ruling class during the which carries the sewage produced last war made effective and de- by 6,500,000 persons, less than 30% grading use of the slogan of boy- of which receives any treatment cotting German goods; they even whatsoever! And, the report em-

The Embargo

The consumers boycott, at best a deceptive and ineffective weapon, (Continued on Page 6)

Instead Of **Battleships**

THE drive of the Roosevelt ad-I ministration towards war. expressed in its gigantic rearmament program, does not only foredoom Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of pass—if we are to have a world and the brutal oppression of warthe American people to the misery time dictatorship, but right now, in the midst of preparations for war, it is making more and more impossible the realization of vitally necessary social services on the pledge of which the New Deal rode

Writing in the New Republic of February 16, Jonathan Mitchell reviews some of the recommendations of the National Resources Committee for various public works, federal and non-federal, all of which, however, fall in the class . . A steadfast concert for peace is no escape thru mere isolation or to repair the ravages of capitalist methods of production. This report as a matter of fact, is considered the only available source of a previously compiled list of P.W.A. projects prepared by engineers. In the spring of 1936, about 5,000 nonfederal projects were approved after painstaking sifting, approval democracy, . . . for the rights and quarantine of the patients in order being withheld from the federal group. These projects called for an expenditure of about a billion dollars-approximately the amount being used for additional naval building. However, this list was never made public, and a group of Senators and Congressmen who asked to see it, were rebuffed upon orders of the President!

"This excessive caginess on the administration's part," writes Mr. Mitchell, "gives rise to curious reflections. Administration spokesmen frankly admit that, since the P.W.A. list contained urgently under Heaven could have prevented its being authorized by Congress, once its contents were generally known. The administration erally known. The administration was terrified lest this happen and upset its budget-balancing plans. However, if Mr. Roosevelt had not suceeded in sitting on the lid of congressional inquisitiveness, we might very well today be in the midst of a great public works program. There would have been a gram. There would have been a smaller margin of governmental credit available for naval armaments and, with the country busily at work conserving and developing its physical and human resources, there might not have been any wish for them."

It is suspected, however, that many of the suppressed P.W.A. projects are included in the report projects, taking six years to complete and costing a little more than

For example, under flood-control

The Wabash, be it noted, forms part of the Ohio River system extended it to the German language phasizes, this "grossly polluted and the music of Richard Wagner. water," after filtration, is used as drinking water by 2,500,000 people.

"For about four billions," Mr. Mitchell comments, "we could basin problems and bring our-

(Continued on Page 5)

Vol. 7.

March 5, 1938

A DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

TT/HAT has happened to Austria and what is only too likely to happen to Czechoslovakia, should be the final object lesson to all those who have let themselves be misled by the "collectivesecurity" fraud. For what is the theory behind "collective security"? That the way to call a halt to fascist aggression is a common front and a concerted effort of the "great democracies." Somehow, it is assumed that powers like England, France and the United States, just because their form of government at home is democratic, have a certain international solidarity among themselves and a common hostility to the fascist states. The one great hope, therefore, is supposed to lie in developing united action against fascism among these "great democracies," for the sake of which everything, the class struggle and socialism included, must be forgotten.

Never was there a gospel more false and suicidal than the gospel of the "great democracies"—and Austria proves it! England is a "great democracy," the very "mother of democracy," in fact. Has England ever shown any natural tendency towards a "democratic front" against the fascist powers? Has England ever shown itself particularly concerned with blocking the aggressive designs of Germany or Italy? Quite the contrary! The record shows that, without England's toleration and assistance, the fascist powers could never have reached their present position. The record shows that the big objective of British foreign policy has always been, and remains today, precisely to prevent a so-called "ideological" alignment of democratic versus fascist states on the international arena. Let us look at the record:

Who financed the rearmament of Germany? England! Who prevented any "concerted action" from being taken when Germany remilitarized the Rhineland? England! Who financed Mussolini when his regime seemed to be at the point of collapse? England! Who stood by, smiling benevolently, when Japan first invaded Manchuria some years ago? England! Who blocked oil sanctions and thereby abandoned Ethiopia to the mercies of fascist Italy? England! Who is mainly responsible for the criminal "non-intervention" fraud that has crippled the Loyalist defense in Spain to the advantage of Franco and his fascist backers? England! Who has already extended de-facto recognition to the Franco clique and is now intriguing to obtain belligerent rights for it? England! Who is getting ready to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia? England! Who gave its blessings to the Nazi rape of Austria and who is already giving its blessings in advance to the coming rape of Czechoslovakia? England! Who is going to become Hitler's attorney in regaining Germany's "lost" colonies? England! Who is now driving full speed ahead to "conciliate" the two big fascist powers in Europe, no matter what the cost?

Surely the record is clear enough. It shows that what guides British foreign policy is not a noble, self-sacrificing allegiance to "democracy" and the deological" alignment based upon it, but rather the traditional considerations of imperialistic powerpolitics. British diplomacy is directed today, as it has been since the rise of fascism, towards blocking fascist expansion in directions unwelcome to Empire interests while, at the same time, supporting the fascist regimes as a bulwark against revolution. The New York Post is avowedly a bourgeois paper and a liberal supporter of the People's Front to boot, yet there is more realism and common sense in the following paragraphs from its editorial of February 17 than in all the "communist" demagogy of the Daily Worker:

"No matter how artfully it may be disguised by reforms at home, the present British government is fundamentally reactionary and fundamentally sensitive to pressure from the great British international business combines. . . . There isn't any 'united front' of democratic powers and there isn't likely to be one. Main reason for that is that the people who are running the key power, Britain, are more concerned with their private profit than with democratic principle."

And what is true of Great Britain is true, each in can bear witness. . . .

British Imperialism In

By GEORGE PADMORE

ESPITE the appointment of a into labor conditions in Trinidad. that colony is going from bad to worse. The authorities have proposed the enactment of a new Sedition Bill; public open-air meetings are being prohibited; newspaper editors are threatened with prosecution; British troops have been landed to garrison the industrial centers of the island; a sum of money has been voted for the purpose of arming a special middleclass volunteer force in order to back to work. protect vested interests; while several trade union leaders, including Uriah Butler, president of the British Empire Workers and Citi- and instituted an eight-hour day. zens Home Rule Party, have been Even the scavengers employed by arraigned before the Criminal As- the City Council of Port of Spain sizes on charges of murder, sedition and incitement to riot. A wave of official terrorism and intimida-

tion is sweeping over the country. West Indian workers. Negroes as well as East Indians, are among the worst paid laborers in the world and, in consequence, their standard of living is extremely low. In recent years, their conditions ave become almost intolerable, due unemployment and the rising cost of living. Unorganized and without any political rights, they have been unable to obtain any bodies, hot-beds of sedition and form of social relief.

Strike Movement

Last May, Captain Cipriani, Party and an elected member of pointed by the government as one interests of the workers. of the two representatives of the is absence, the employers, especito rationalize industry and the orkers, goaded into desperation, leclared a stay-in strike on June 19th. Immediately the strike was declared, the managers of the companies called upon the government to assist them in crushing the Port of Spain to the south of the island, the center of the oil industry. On arrival there they began out. beat up the strikers and to clash, ten workers were killed and by denying them the possibility of

sixteen wounded. Despite all the military display

its own sphere, of France and the United States and the other "great democracies" as well. They are first and foremost, capitalistic imperialisms and they frame their foreign policies from the point of view of imperialistic advantage not

altruistic love for "democracy." The notion that "democracy" is conception playing any real role in international politics is a grotesque absurdity. And the policy of "collective security" based upon this notion, is a snare and a delusion, leading those who put their trust in it to utter disaster. To depend upon Great Britain or any other capitalistic democracy for defense against fascism, is to lean not on a broken reed but upon a pointed dagger that pierces to the very heart. The people of Spain, Austria and Czechoslovakia, the victims of the "great democracies,"

The West Indies

(Some months ago, we published | wide. Thousands of East Indian two articles by Clarence Jenkins on agricultural laborers on the great French imperialist oppression in the sugar plantations refused to work. colonies. In this issue, we publish an Motor transport in many parts of account of the colonial regime of an- the country had to stop for want other "great democracy" - Great of petrol; ships arriving in the Britain. The author is George Pad- harbor of Port of Spain were unnore, well-known radical, for years able to discharge their cargoes. active in this country.—The EDITOR.) The entire economic life of the country was at a standstill.

Alarmed at the tremendous wastage of petroleum on the oilfields, the companies decided to negotiate Royal Commission to inquire with the strike leaders. The government, however, obstructed negothe general political situation in tiations by threatening to arrest Butler, the strike leader, who had gone into hiding. The police, bent upon getting their man, went to the extent of offering £100 to any spurned this offer and appointed a elegation to confer with the employers. After much haggling, the companies agreed to certain of their demands and the men went

The government departments especially the public works, also increased the pay of their workers received an increase in wages.

Reactionary Drive

Inspired by their success, th workers began to organize trade unions for the first time in the history of the island in order to safe guard their gains and to press for the right of collective bargaining. But, as was to be expected, the employers, who are organized into a powerful Chamber of Commerce, bitterly opposed trade unionism Bolshevism, and would have no dealings with them. On the other hand, the government, while recognizing the unions, has adopted a president of the Trinidad Labor policy which, if continued, will reduce their effectiveness and usethe Legislative Council, was ap- fulness in defending the economic

In order to stifle all criticism, olony to the Coronation. During the first thing the governor did was to impose a censorship upon the ally those on the oilfields, started press during the strike and to threaten native editors with summary imprisonment if they dared to comment upon the military measures he had adopted, and especially the hunt which the police, aided by marines and volunteers, had started for British strike. Police were despatched from and other strike leaders. Entire villages were rounded up and house-to-house searches carried

drive them off the oilfields. In a to curb the activity of the unions erests, such as oil, agriculture, ommerce, etc., a new sedition ordinance received its first read-

(Continued on Page 5)

With the March 19 issue will begin the

Pre-Convention Discussion the Workers Age

Articles on the various questions now being discussed in the I.C.L.L. are requested. Please keep all articles within 1,200-word limit.

The first of the discussion articles will be "BLAZING NEW TRAILS" by Jay Lovestone

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Special Correspondent Describes Irish Labor Party's Position

(We publish below a second article by our special Irish correspondent, T. Farrell. The first article appeared in the last issue.—THE EDITOR.)

Dublin, Jan. 26, 1938

The British press is now boosting de Valera and commenting favorably on the discussions that have taken place between him and the National Government. In my last letter, I suggested that the real reason behind these talks was to insure that Ireland should not prove to be a hostile base against British worker who would betray their imperialism in any future war. Full confirmation of leader. The strikers, however, this view is now given in Reynold's News:

> "In return for a new Anglo-Irish trade pact and cancellation of Britain's claim to land annuities, roughly £5,000,000 a year, Mr. de Valera is prepared to create a new Irish army and a modern air force. . . .

"The defense proposals include the arming and equipping by the British War Office of a greatly increased, highly-mechanized Irish army, prepared to protect Eire not only from attack by a foreign enemy but also from forces within the country.

"The plan has been worked out in detail by the new British Army Council and High Command who were the real originators of the London discussions. "The new defense plan, it is held, will strengthen Britain's hold on the country. . . . "

This plan does not merely apply to Eire; it must be remembered that Hore-Belisha visited Ulster and held conversations with Craigavon prior to the discussions with de Valera. It is obvious that the British High Command is determined to have its way. The press already foreshadows that de Valera is suggesting, as a solution to the problem of "partition," the proposals made by Lloyd George in 1921, which were rejected; these proposals were an autonomous Ulster Parliament, with representatives elected by proportional representation, to an all-Irish Parliament, instead of to Westminster. Despite the stunt election precipitated by Craigavon, some such compromise is bound to be made in the interests of the

The Irish Labor Party is demanding a full and frank statement of everything discussed and agreed upon and that the proposals be laid before the Dail.

De Valera also plans an election, under cover of which he hopes to be able to get away with his plans. The proposal to spend the £5,000,000 annuities on creating an army, to protect British imperialist interests-against "enemy forces within the country"-is significant. The economic situation in Ireland is terrible. Eighty percent of the people are propertyless. Under the present government, 100,000 emigrants have left Ireland and there are 97,000 unemployed. In a country which is mainly agricultural. the cost of living has risen tremendously. Since 1933, bacon has risen from 1 shilling 1 pence to 1 shilling public assembly has been made. 7% pence; beef, from 10% pence a pound to 1 shil-Then, at a meeting of the Legis- ling 33/4 pence; herrings, from 1 shilling 63/4 pence which the government mobilized to lative Council on November 13, a a dozen to 2 shillings 11/4 pence; milk, from 41/4 ntimidate the people, the strikers body whose majority are govern- pence to 51/4 pence a quart; tea, from 2 shillings refused to return to work until ment officials and nominees of the 3% pence to 2 shillings 8 pence per pound. Under their grievances were redressed. By governor, representing vast inposes that a man, wife and 5 children should live on 14 shillings a week.

Fianna Fail, de Valera's party, draws its support from the new and relatively inefficient industrial class. Cumman non Gaedheal, Cosgrave's party represents the interests of the graziers, ranchers and importers. That these two parties are united against the demands of the masses, is obvious. The Irish Labor Party fully realizes this. Discussions are taking place in order to formulate a real fighting policy so that Irish labor may make a bid for power.

The British labor movement must actively assist in this fight. They must directly participate in the elections, both in Northern Ireland and in Eire, on behalf of the Labor candidates. British Labor M. P.s visiting both parts of Ireland, can help in fostering and cementing the unity and common purpose of the British and Irish working class.

T. FARREL

(In the next issue there will be an article by Lambda thoroly analyzing the recent events in Germany.

-THE EDITOR.

Labor Notes and Facts

THE payroll tax imposed under the Federal old-age insurance I program is a device for "distributing poverty among the poor," Abraham Epstein, executive secretary of the American ers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U Association for Social Security, asserted in a recent broadcast since the union's inception, was over Station WEVD.

"Instead of following the modern principles of social insurance, of increasing the purchasing power by distributing the cost of social insurance among all elements of society, our

1933.

program places the cost entirely and purchasing power of employed upon the workers—both directly as wage-earners and indirectly as consumers," he declared.

Not only do the financial provisions of the old-age benefit system offer no increased security but the reserves set up "definitely tend in the direction of greater insecurity.'

tem is to build reserves by setting the Social Security Board. the contributions higher than necessary and by keeping the pay- about one-third of the reporting ments on a low level. But since this hoarded money comes only from the relief load of less than 10% direct taxes on wages and payrolls, while, in ten urban areas, the inwhich reduce purchasing power, the consumptive power of the masses is doubly reduced.

"Moreover, since no funds at all are provided by the well-to-do, the reduced purchasing power must inevitably result in decreasing consumption, curtailing production diminishing profits and intensifying unemployment."

NO WAGE-CUTS

An impartial wage board refused the demand of Full Fashioned Hosiery Manufacturers for a general and the increases both in cases and wage reduction in the organized in obligations incurred are signifisection of the industry, including cant. 15.000 workers in Philadelphia. Several "adjustments" were authorized, however.

Manufacturers of America, repre- 980,000 were incurred in January ized 60 new mills during the recessenting fifty-six union mills, had for general relief extended to sion, and this is why they are after sought a wage cut of from 6% to 1.800,000 cases."

The decision of the wage board declared that the only changes justified now were "in extra allowances, preferential and 'out-of-line' rates that have developed inequalities in earnings and costs, as well as such rates as have become obso lete and not adapted to the improved methods of the industry."

G. F. Lang of Philadelphia, who sat on the board for the associa- forces. tion, concurred in this part of the decision with Dr. William M. Leiserson, a Washington statistician who served as impartial chairman. A dissent was filed by Spain by Italy and Germany, in- from Bermuda by Canadian gov- "the present system of unfettered Isadore Katz, counsel for the union. vasion of China by Japan, and the ernment steamer, as a "salutary private initiative in the industry"

ARBITRATION AWARD IN G. M. | many. The first arbitration award, recently announced, under the con tract between the General Motors Corporation and the United Automobile Workers Union, was rendered by Willard E. Hotchkiss.

Under the agreement, Mr. Hotch kiss was called in to decide whether six workers as a result of an in- William Lamson, of the Transport risk of being jailed. For example, the scene of labor disturbances. insect blights; a fifteen-year prowas dipped into a barrel of tar.

The arbitrator found that three dent; Walter Reuther, president of dition to the maintenance of the Criminal Assizes with sedition and which you can get four battleof the workers were unjustly discharged and therefore their rein- Houser, U.A.W. regional director; statement was ordered. For the Emil Mazey, Briggs local presiother three workers, tho their re-instatement was not ordered, the W. welfare director. award recommended that they be not placed on a blacklist.

Both the company and the union accepted the award.

DROP IN INCOME

Both the number and the per capita income of workers employed ed by regular monthly Buro of between August and December 1937. Since the decline in average the the U.A.W.; and others. ward trend of per-capita income other automobile centers.

industrial workers since early in

INCREASE IN RELIEF LOAD Some significant information on the increase of the relief load in various parts of the country as a result of the present depression, "The idea underlying our sys- was released recently in a report of

The reports showed that only districts indicated an increase in crease exceeded 40%.

New York City showed one of the lowest percentages of increase, 3.1%, while Flint, Mich., headed the list with 285.1%.

"Reports to the Social Security Board from urban areas," it was stated, "indicate that the increases in costs of general relief for January in the number of cases were less sharp than those for Decem-

"The January figures, nevertheless, reflect a picture of acute need

Labor Front Against War

(Continued from Page 1) been motivated by imperialisti

"The growth of fascism accentuas is evidenced by the invasion of

The meeting elected a provisional committee of 21 with the following officers and members of the executive committee: Homer Martin chairman: vice-chairman, left open for a representative of religious or civic groups; secretary, Tucker P. Smith, of U.A.W. West Side local the company was justified in firing educational department; treasurer, their mouths without running the bados, near Trinidad, also recently sufficient to wipe out the four worst cident in which a non-union worker Workers Union; others: Richard T. at a recent meeting of the Legis- A number of workers' leaders are gram of the Buro of Public Health, Frankensteen, U.A.W. vice-presi-

Included on the provisional commanaging editor of the United at non-agricultural pursuits, cover- Thomas, members of the U.A.W.

period was greater than the de- committee is permanently estab- of the Legislative Council. crease in living costs, per-capita lished, it plan huge mass-meetings purchasing power of employed of the kind being held in New York nalist and editor of the Sunday toiling masses of the West Indies, SUBSCRIBE NOW workers also declined. This was the City on March 6 at the Hippodrome | Chronicle, is being charged with Indians as well as Negroes, for the first important reversal of the up- for Detroit, Flint, Lansing and all sedition for publishing a letter West Indian bourgeoisie is one of

W. Schaeffer *Imprisoned*

the Joint Council Knitgoods Work fairs Committee, New York. 1937

sentenced last week to serve a four-month term for his activities in organizing the Brooklyn knitgoods shops. Schaeffer is one of the best

known and best-loved leaders in the knitgoods industry. He worked as a knitter for 27 years and well and favorably known to knitgoods workers in the metropolitan area, union and non-union alike. He was to be seen wherever there was a picket line in the industry.

Before he was sentenced, the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce notified the union, thru an employber of Commerce and the sentence demanding clemency of the gov-

of the union, held the day Schaeffer few comments on conclusions may went to jail, telegrams of protest not be out of place. It appears to and sympathy were received from me that there is, thruout the scores of union shops, many of pamphlet, a tendency towards which had been organized by him.

In an interview with the Workers Age, Louis Nelson, manager of the union, said: "The Brooklyn in entirely too favorable a light. Chamber of Commerce has made i its business to smash the union but, in spite of this attempt on "Upon the basis of these prelim- their part, the Knitgoods Union is inary reports from urban areas, it growing. The Organizing Departis estimated that in the country as ment of the Union, of which The Full-Fashioned Hosiery a whole total obligations of \$44,- Schaeffer is the head, has organ-

Britain in West Indies

(Continued from Page 4)

ing. Three days later, to coincide with the opening of the trial of and qualified the it is, given to the Butler and other trade-union lead- notorious basing-point system of ers before the Criminal Assizes, pricing for tonnage-steel products. the governor ordered H. M. S. But this only emphasizes the genates the normal menace to peace, York to Port of Spain and brought eral conclusion that the steel ina company of Sherwood Foresters dustry has already far outgrown absorption of Austria by Ger- gesture" to the populace. And, to in fact, altho the authors of the add insult to injury, the mainten- study do not say so, it is already ance of these troops will be borne quite ripe for nationalization. by the taxpayers.

Struggle Against British **Imperialism**

Intimidation has reached such a stage that even members of the Legislative Council cannot open sweeping over the island of Bar- of Entomology, which it considers lative Council the governor, in ad- now being charged before the costing about \$200,000,000 (for the U.A.W. West Side local; Loren British garrison, voted the sum of rebellion. The trial of all the ac-ships), which it believes would vir-\$51,000 for rearming the volunteer cused has not been completed, but tually eliminate venereal disease and local forces, on the excuse that one man by the name of Ulric in the United States. it is necessary for the colony to Grant has been sentenced to ten prepare itself against foreign in- years' imprisonment for taking vasion. Captain Cipriani, however, part in a demonstration of unem- by the administration, which is objected to the expenditure of such mittee are also William Munger, a large sum upon military pur- six workers were shot and several ed to rearmament to defend the inposes at a time when the workers wounded. Marines were also landed terests of American finance-capital Automobile Worker; Eve Stone, are suffering from economic de- on the island. director of the U.A.W. Women's pression. He described the measure Auxiliaries; William Nowell, of the as class legislation, arming the rule, the people of Trinidad and the meager appropriations for re-Negro Organization Department of forces to quell labor unrest in the governor took objection to Cipri-

BOOKS

GREAT INDUSTRY. Public Af-

This pamphlet, one of the latest in the very useful series published by the Public Affairs Committee is largely a summary of an important study made recently by the University of Pittsburgh's Buro of Business Research, entitled "The Economics of the Iron and Steel Industry." And it is a very good summary too, packed tight with nformation yet remarkably read-

able for all that. This timely pamphlet opens with a few facts about the geograprocesses of the industry and its markets, with a relevant word on labor costs. Then the steel industry er that it would see to it that he under the N.R.A. receives somewould get it." The case was ap- what more extended treatment, pealed to the Appellate Division followed by sections on labor conand to the Court of Appeals but ditions, unemployment and living was fought bitterly by the Cham-standards and labor unions and collective bargaining, with a final was sustained. The union is now statement on "inferences concerning public policy."

It would obviously be impossible At the last membership meeting to summarize a summary; yet a understatement and exaggerated "cautiousness" which puts the steel companies and their labor policies How is it possible, for example, to speak of company unions as "a imited, rather stunted, form of labor democracy" or to give so oneships." sided a picture of company "wel-While automobile accidents and these pages? Nevertheless, the four "general principles" laid down for labor organization in steel, al-

> cord with the principles of "industrial democracy." The most surprising thing about the "inferences concerning public policy" is the support, tentative

ready widely noted in the press,

are quite sound: (1) necessity of

leged to be derogatory to the service. Mr. Smith will appear before the next Criminal Assizes.

A similar wave of repression is ployed in Bridgetown, during which

other West-Indian colonies are still lief and useful public works. the U.A.W.; Tracy Doll and R. J. interests of the employers. The smarting under a number of economic and social grievances which ruling classes and will never make ed by regular monthly Buro of executive board; George Addes, InLabor Statistics reports, declined ternational secretary-treasurer of ternational secretary-treasurer of ternational secretary-treasurer of the secretary-treasurer of ternational secretary-treasurer of ternational secretary-treasurer of the secretary-tr ternational secretary-treasurer of refer the matter to the Attorney- autocratic methods of administra-General, adding the warning that tors. It is high time for a funda- ists and trade unionists to help per-capita income during this Martin urged that, when the there was no privilege to members mental change along the road of these colonial workers. self-determination. This is the task Mr. Lloyd Smith, a native jour- which history has placed on the signed by an ex-civil servant, al- the most reactionary colonial

Flint P. G. **Makes Gains**

Flint, Mich.

Progressive, supporters of the lartin administration in the United Automobile Workers, placed in office three men out of six in the U.A.W. local primaries and prepared to elect the remainder of their slate in the finals next week.

Elected by virtue of polling a najority of total votes cast were: Fred Grant, third vice-president; James Fortier, recording secretary; James Austin, financial secretary.

Jack Little, progressive candidate for president, ran ahead of Roy Reuther, candidate of the socalled "union-builders" group; phical distribution and technical Ralph Newman, progressive, ran ahead of Louis Baraty for first vice-president; and Ralph Amy, progressive, led Douglas McLean, for second vice-president. Both Baraty and McLean belong to "union-builders" group.

In the final elections, voting will take place for the three on which no majority was obtained in the

Instead of Battleships

(Continued from Page 3)

elves up to the level of civilization reached by pre-history Egyptians and Sumerians. Instead, Mr. Roosevelt proposes that we toss away a quarter of this amount on war-

Dust Bowl storms have been frontpage news for years, the fact that \$500,000,000 (half of the naval budget) would provide erosion control for the entire country or that organization; (2) industrial rather the engineering technique for conthan craft unionism; (3) collective structing virtually accident-proof bargaining on a national not a roads is now known, remains hidplant basis; (4) organization in ac- | den away in the pages of the National Resources Committee Report. The Department of Agriculture, under which is the Buro of Public Roads, submitted a budget for projects, estimated at about two and a half billions. To put present engineering technique to work and to grapple with landshark booms, might bring the cost of road building, including grade crossings, clover-leaf turns and proper lighting for night-driving, up to a billion dollars for two thousand miles. But the actual plans of the Buro are far less than that—it is asking merely the necessary funds to keep pace with the ncreasing number of automobiles so that congestion and accidents

will at least not grow worse. In addition to these large-scale items, there are such as the fivemillion dollar request of the Buro

But these and other projects are no longer even being considered ready to increase the billions devotin China and Latin America, but After 140 years of Crown Colony insists on slashing right and left

TO WORKERS AGE

Trade Union Notes

= By Observer :

THE national agreement obtained from the General Electric Company by the United Electrical and Radio Workers of America, is a great achievement for the C.I.O. and for the whole labor movement. It follows in line after the U.A.W.'s contracts with General Motors and Chrysler and the S.W.O.C.'s agreement with "big steel." It is another big advance on the road towards organizing the millions of workers in the great massproduction industries of the country.

The G. E. agreement, the first ever signed by the company on a national scale, grants the union sole-bargaining rights in those plants where it is designated majority representative. For five plants, with 27,000 workers, this will take place immediately; for the rest of the company's 60,000 employees, the agreement is to become operative as soon as the union convinces G. E., thru N.L.R. B. elections or otherwise, that it has majority support in the company's remaining 15 plants. The contract is to run for one year.

The achievement of the C.I.O. electrical-workers union is big enough but it can hardly be regarded—as James Matles, the union's organization director, seems to do—as "superior" to the S.W. O.C. contract with "big steel." It is true that the G. E. agreement is to run for a year, while the steel contract is subject to sudden revision and even termination; this is undoubtedly a big point in favor of the former. The General Electric contract also provides for solebargaining power, while the "big steel" pact does not; but, under the circumstances, this is largely only a formal advantage. On the other, hand, however, there is a big weakness in the G. E. agreement to which it is necessary to call attention in order to have a clear picture of the situation. That is the provision with regard to wages. From the newspaper reports, it appears that wages "are left on a flexible basis, subject to reduction in the event of a sharp drop in the industrial pay scales in the communities in which the General Electric plants are located." It appears, furthermore, that adjustments in pay are to be connected with changes in the cost of living, as gauged by the Labor Department's quarterly index.

We don't want to pass judgment without any detailed knowledge of the circumstances but we can't help feeling that this way of gearing wages with prevailing rates in the community and with cost-of-living figures, is very dangerous. In the communities in which G. E. plants are found, it is generally these plants that set the higher wage standards, the other wage levels of the community being pretty low as a usual thing. To tie G. E. wages to community wage levels is inevitably going to act as a drag on them. The same is true about tying wages to cost-of-living figures. We still remember the devastating attack made by John L. Lewis on this idea over a year ago when it was proposed by the steel companies to their company unions. He pointed out, quite effectively, that it was a scheme of binding the workers for ever to one standardof-living level, without much chance of substantial improvement. Of course, the cases are not altogether comparable and the effects are not likely to be either. But the principle of the thing remains: to make wages depend in any important way on such external and uncontrollable factors as community pay scales or cost of living is very dangerous from a tradeunion standpoint.

Quite apart from all this, we wonder why Mr. Matles found it necessary to single out the S.W. O.C. agreement for such invidious comparisons. Why was it necessary for him to gloat about the "superiority" of his agreement over the

THE A.F.L. AT WORK

Let no one say that the A. F. of L. is not reacting to the vital needs of American labor in the present critical situation! We have just come across a striking picture of the great intellects of the A. F. of L. at work, grappling with the big problems of the day. It is from the New York Times's report of the recent session of the Executive Council:

"The Executive Council spent part of its session hearing a jurisdictional dispute between the teamsters and the hoisting engineers. The engineers union has been demanding that its member pull the lever on a truck carrying and unloading concrete, rather than the driver who does the job as part of his duties.

"After protracted hearings and exchanges of briefs before Dr. John Lapp, referee for the buildingtrades unions, the work was ruled as being within the province of the teamsters, and the engineers spokesman, John Possehl, appealed to the Executive Council.'

With bated breath, we are still awaiting news of the outcome of this great controversy!

Two Letters to the Editor $\|$

New York City As I was reading the papers today about Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, I recalled what I had read in the Workers Age a few weeks ago, in the January 1 issue, on the first page:

"4. On Austria: It was decided (by England and France) to allow Germany a free hand in Austria, even to the point of Anschluss. The hope was expressed that this would create a rift between Germany and Italy.

"5. On Czecholovakia: It was de cided to exert pressure on the Czechoslovakian government with the purpose of effecting certain changes as a concession to the Nazi elements."

That's just the way the things are working out and you told it in advance by more than a month.

I am a member of the Communist Party but not a Stalinite as you call it. I read the Workers Age pretty regularly. I don't agree with everything you say by any means, especially about Spain, but I find a lot of good ideas and information your paper and interesting articles.

I remember this item particularly because I had an argument with not of the struggle against war. somebody about what England would do and I used your information. I said England could never be depended upon to help the Soviet Union. Now I think that even that fellow will have to admit I

lutionary party and called for the militant struggle against the capitalist system. For that reason, I supported it. Since the introduction of the new line, the People's Front policy, the C.P. has lost its character as the vanguard of the working class. Its policy in America, in supporting Roosevelt's foreign policy, I am now convinced, will lead us straight into imperialist war. It has come

Hartford, Conn., Feb. 1, 1938

Enclosed please find my contri-

bution to the \$10.000 drive. I am a

former supporter of the Communist

Party. At one time, I was sincerely

convinced that the line of the C.P.

was correct. This was during the

period of ultra-leftism. At that

time, altho the party was unreal-

istic in its approach to the working

class and its program was much

too far to the left of the needs of

the workers, it was at least a revo-

out against the Ludlow-LaFollette resolution calling for a referendum of the American people on the question of waging a foreign war. It speaks in the name of democracy, and defends democracy, yet it denies to the people this fundamental democratic measure. It is for this reason that, a short while ago, I refused to donate to the Daily Worker which has become an organ of the war-mongers and

Its course in Spain has weakened the revolutionary struggle of the Spanish proletariat against the fascists and, if persisted in, will lead to defeat. I denounce its persecutions of other anti-fascist bodies in Spain. Because I was in Germany when Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered by the German socialists, Noske and Scheidemann, it has affected me very deeply to hear of the death of Andres Nin at the hands of the Spanish Noskes and Scheidemanns. His only crime was to raise the slogan of "All power to the working class."

I have witnessed in horror and dread the slaughter of veteran revolutionists in the Soviet Union and have wondered when they will end.

For these reasons, I welcome the opportunity to help by my contribution the Workers Age and the Independent Communist Labor League in its fight for a sound revolutionary line based upon Marxism and Leninism. This is my hope for your success.

Fraternally yours, Louis Ertman

ing under the slogans of peace that are really movements for the preparation of war. I think, roughly speaking, we can distinguish three types of movements in this connec-

There is the movement of reactionary bourgeois isolationism, the elements that say hands off in the Chinese and Spanish situation because they support Japan in China and Italy in Spain. There are not matic manouvers, the "collective-many who support Japan but there security" swindle? Any movement are those who support Italy because they believe Italy is doing a good "clean-up" job in Spain. Now, with them, we have nothing but direct war.

Secondly, there is the Stalinist war propaganda, poisoning the very name of peace. The test is simpleit fights Japanese imperialism but refuses to fight American imperial-

Third, there is the unclear, sincere peace movement that wants the American Marines and the bigbusiness interests to get out of the war areas. This is not so much because of a conscious opposition to imperialism and capitalism as because of a hatred for war and its consequences.

We have simple touchstones for testing all peace movements. The touchstone can be found in the following: Are you opposed to America's entrance into the war and, S.W.O.C. contract with "big steel"? volutionary position on war cannot destroy all movements masquerad- with it, to preparedness and the ment, when the war is on.

FASCISTS TOO?

CCORDING to the Daily A Worker of February 5, "the resolution adopted by the Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers is a resolution giving aid to Japan, . . . aiding fascist aggression. . . ." And, according to Clarence Hathaway, in the same issue of the Daily Worker, Homer Martin's anti-war declarations, based on this resolution, are really 'pro-Japanese tactics."

We have before us the statement signed by several hundred sponsors of the "Keep America Out Of War" movement. This statement urges the following program, every point of which is included in the U.A.W. resolution and which in its entirety is exactly equivalent to the resolu-

"1. The immediate removal of American ships and Marines from Chinese territory. .

"2. No increase in the army and

"3. The amendment of the Constitution along the lines of the original Ludlow Amendment. . .

"5.... No alliance with any nation or group of nations for war, declared or undeclared, under any name or pretext."

Are the signers of this statement —which is, we repeat, practically the same as the U.A.W. resolution —"giving aid to Japan" and "aiding fascist aggression"? Specifically, are the following signers engaging in "pro-Japanese tactics" when they support the statement?

ROGER BALDWIN, of the American Civil Liberties Union. ABRAHAM EPSTEIN, of the American Association for Social

Security. PAUL BRISSENDEN, of Coumbia University.

MAX DANISH, editor of the Justice, official paper of the I.L.G.

CLINTON GOLDEN, Pittsburgh regional director of the S.W.O.C. ABRAHAM MILLER, of the

New York Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. ROSE M. STEIN, author of "M-

N. A. ZONARICH, president of the Aluminum Workers Union of

the C.I.O. ERNEST L. MEYER, columnist

of the New York Post. OSWALD GARRISON LARD, of the Nation.

HERMAN F. REISSIG, of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

One last question: How about SENATOR ROBERT M. LAFOL-LETTE who is going to address the March 6th meeting at the Hippodrome arranged by the "Keep America Out Of War" committee? Is he also exerting his efforts in order to "give aid to Japan"?

diplomatic moves which lead to entrance into war?

Test Number Two: Do you reject as the chief of these diplosecurity" swindle? Any movement that does those two things we must support and help to develop and clarify.

I emphasize that we must work with these organizations and elements that meet these tests because, out of them, will come those who will swell the ranks of the conscious revolutionary opponents of war and of the system that breeds it; out of them will come those who will provide a mass membership for our organization if we live up to our duties in this connection.

I emphasize again that our position differs from all of these positions that I have enumerated. Here are three single tests of the revolutionary position on war: (1) Opposition to your own imperialism first; (2) opposition to capitalism as the basic cause of war; and (3) for the sharpening of the class struggle in place of its abandon-

Boycott and Embargo in The Anti-War Struggle

(Continued from Page 3) of real and fundamental importance, and the struggle for it one which may greatly strengthen the struggle against war, including the struggle against one's own government's war plans. There are two phases to the embargo. The first is demands on the government. We must demand of the government that it end the credits and war munitions shipments to Japan. With all this talk about enmity to Japan, Morgan has sent money to Japan, Ford has sent munitions and the United States government has sent scrap-iron, gun-cotton and other war materials! Instead of shouting "Support the President," we can and must attack the President and his policies on that. We must demand the end of these shipments and credits and the end of the embargo on Spain. The United States is supplying Italy with oil and munitions and credits for its war on Spain. It denies the Spanish gov ernment, in the name of a fake neutrality, the right even to purchase munitions from the United States.

So we must make the demand upon the government to stop credits to Japan and to extend credits to China, to stop helping Italy and Germany and to supply (sell) munitions to the legal government of Spain.

But the second phase of the embargo is the independent action of the masses. Its purpose: to stop the shipment of munitions and supplies to the other side and to give active aid to China and to Spain and support to the revolutionary forces that develop in those countries.

The Revolutionary Position on War

Now, a few words on our general work on the question. First, it is necessary for us to make clear to ourselves that our complete re-

be carried in a day into any mass organization. I do not mean that we are deceptively to hide it; but we must recognize that it can only be a general agitational and educational propaganda campaign at present. This is so because our complete position on war involves our complete position on the capitalist system. It is, however, a very effective point today to attack capitalism-the two main points of attack are capitalism's twin evils, depression and war-that is why the Communist Party has given up both! Because the attitude toward war involves the attitude toward the social order, it is our job to teach and make clear the inseparable connection between capitalism and war and to expose all the shibboleths used and the camouflage used in preparing the war in the name of "peace, democracy and civilization."

Secondly, in the mass organizations, while we cannot at any one moment carry tional campaign into living realization, we can carry on a concrete campaign on slogans which tie up inseparably with this position. In the course of the fight for them, we can clarify their relation to the entire struggle. And it is our business to evolve concrete slogans that will make our position clear and then to mobilize labor to fight, thru its own organizations under its own leadership and control.

The Peace Movement

Third, there is the problem of our attitude towards the peace movement. I think it is our duty to develop, to support and to help to clarify every sincere peace movement. But first develop it and then you will have something to clarify. The main stress is on a broad movement that will learn by its own experience.

Our task is also to expose and