

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

PARIS IN THE SPRING 1939

Paris, April 16, 1939. PARIS in the Spring! This is no fun. The skies are leaden—heavily overcast and threatening. The snow flurries multiply as if to fall in line with proof that not only in economics and politics things aren't as they should be, as people want them to be.

The early Sunday morning peace and quiet are rudely disturbed. For the first time in months—since Munich days—newsboys are shouting news on the big boulevards. Radios are going full blast. What is it all about? What has happened again to disturb the routine, the very much set routine?

This time it is the Roosevelt message to—and indictment of—Hitler and Mussolini. So heavy and menacing are the clouds of war that any rumblings above—especially from a different or distant source—are hailed, nay, seized upon, as rays of hope and peace. Deliverance from the heavens, as it were? Deliverance? Downpour? Deluge? A continent sinking and clutching at a straw.

What of the Roosevelt move? Opinions are divided—as are even hopes. Not a person in Europe but who, pendulum-like, swings between hope and fear, hope for just a little better and fear of lots worse. Maybe it will help! Perhaps it might precipitate the war because the Nazis and their partners in plunder, realizing America's certain entry, might, then decide to move on before the United States is fully prepared. Who knows—and who really can tell? But all care.

Why, then, does Roosevelt follow up his message with a prompt rush of most of his fleet to the Pacific, to the American sector of the world war front?

Few here like to answer questions. Many feel that that's all they have been doing to themselves—and not with very much satisfaction. On the surface, things have been ominously quiet and in some respects even less jittery than in New York or Washington. But it has been just too quiet to be a token of peace. It is a frozen quietness, a sullen acquiescence and resignation to fate, a stillness of paralysis before a wave of agonizing pain. It reminds one of the Madrileno walking about their streets menaced constantly by infernal aerial bombardment—as if not interested. Surely something horrible will soon break this stillness. This is the mood and manner of the hour.

Yet some things are more or less clear and certain even in these moments of doubt, difficulty and despair. Roosevelt's message does bring home to everybody here the general gravity of the situation at hand. Competent observers recognize the President's accurate timing and direction—in view of the impending explosion. More than that, F.D.R. put his finger on the sore spot when he admitted that the basic conflict is rooted not in a clash over so-called "ideologies" but rather in the struggle for the world market. This is what he meant when he emphasized that the United States would participate in efforts to secure "the most practical manner of opening up avenues of international trade to the end that every nation of the earth may be enabled to buy and sell on equal terms in the world market. . . ." Surely, Wall Street imperialism, with all its resources and equipment, has nothing to fear and all to gain from such a wide open-door policy.

And this message was in a crushing sense the funeral oration over the hopes and illusions of those who could not see that in the coming war Yankee imperialism would participate sooner and more decisively than even in the last one. Why, it's even far more than that. Here Roosevelt flings a challenge right straight into the teeth of the fascist imperialist axis—the American imperialist challenge in the fight for world hegemony. Here is a clever and deadly maneuver not merely to put Hitler and Mussolini on the spot, to take the initiative away from them, but also to rally opinion and support behind himself at home. How much intertwined are foreign and domestic policies today! A master stroke thru dramatic initiative in behalf of American capitalism abroad to rally and consolidate backing for his program aiming at stabilization of capitalism at home!

In a dollar economy it is obviously next to impossible to separate morals and ideology from customers, cash, and profit and loss. The market is the sanctum sanctorum. Over it the holiest and most hellish of wars is yet to be fought.

And the most painful tragedy of it all is this: only the international labor movement turning world working-class solidarity and revolutionary struggle against the imperialists of all lands—so-called "democratic" and fascist imperialists—can save humanity from the infernal holocaust. But today this revolutionary and civilization-saving force is woefully weak—altogether too weak at the moment to fulfill this historic role.

ARMED CURRENCY CONFLICT

In view of the perilous European situation, it would not surprise us to see the President devalue the dollar by an additional 9.04%. More than a hint of this was offered by Secretary of Agriculture Wallace when he told the Senate Banking Committee that "we must be ready for armed conflict among the currencies of the world."

For some time, such a war has been going on in North China. Here the U.S.A., France, and Great Britain have been chafing at the Japanese manipulations. It is not unlikely that such armed currency conflicts will soon be seen in many sections of Europe.

In this highly complicated war two facts tower above all others. First of all is the predominant position of Wall Street. Second is the certainty that the currency war is an organic phase of the general disintegration and chaos that, barring unforeseen circumstances, must come to a head in a world conflagration. Then, much more than paper currencies will go up in smoke.

Gold has been coming into the U.S.A., at the rate of \$100,000,000 a week. At this rate, the entire gold supply of the world will be brought to American vaults inside of three years. This flow is at once a consequence and a cause of grave derangement in the machinery of international exchange, in the entire set-up of world capitalist economy. It has sinister political implications, as was revealed in the sullen complaints recently made by Nazi finance overlord Walther Funk.

Much depends on these intricate developments as to when the guns will open fire in a declared war—that is, in a "decent, big, and respectable" war waged by the first class powers, equipped with the finest death-dealing machines, the mightiest tribute to their class civilization.

MANKIND'S FATE AT STAKE



—from United Automobile Worker

UAW Heads OK Joining Federation

Resident Board Members Endorse Proposal; Full Jurisdiction Granted

(Special to the Workers Age) Detroit, Mich.

Approval of the terms for A. F. of L. affiliation negotiated by President Homer Martin and a committee of the International Board of the United Automobile Workers of America, was given by the Advisory Committee of the U.A.W., consisting of the Michigan members of the International Executive Board. In a letter to the entire Board in the name of this Advisory Committee, approval is recommended with the understanding that the terms include full union autonomy, recognition of the U.A.W. constitution, "jurisdiction over all automobile and automobile-parts industries, including tool, die and pattern makers working in such plants, and all tool, die and pattern makers working in tool shops not already organized under the A. F. of L.; full jurisdiction over all aircraft and farm-implement industries including tool, die and pattern makers in such plants."

From the C.I.O. auto-union affiliate, it became known that all officials defeated at the last convention in Cleveland had been retained on the payroll by decision of the first Stalinist-controlled International Board meeting. This applies to former vice-presidents Walter Wells, Wyndham Mortimer and Ed Hall and former Board members Loren Houser, Charles Madden, Morris Fields, Fred Pieper, Tracy Doll, Charles Millard, F. J. Michel and Russell Merrill. For most of these, the "hush money" will stop with the next meeting of the International Board for they were placed on the

FDR to Run Again, Farley Agrees

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

FRANKLIN Delano Roosevelt will be the Democratic candidate in 1940—war or no war. I can report that this is now the "line" of Tommy Corcoran and other New Dealers—and remarkable to tell—of James Aloysius Farley. What happened to good old Jim is difficult to say. Perhaps F.D.R. called him in and said: "Jim, you and I know that only I can be reasonably sure of winning for the party in 1940. You are young enough to be president in 1944 and I hereby pledge you my support and also the vice-presidency in 1940, which will practically guarantee you the presidency in '44. Furthermore, Jim, you and I have always been pals and I want to request you as a great personal favor to accept my judgment and retire for the good of all concerned." Whether this is what happened, no one but the two participants know but the news is leaking out that these are the plans of the high command. As I have stated before, this eventually having taken place, Mr. Garner's candidacy is as dead as a do. This doesn't mean the dodo will not continue acting as if it is alive.

Preliminary to this decision, Kelly of the notorious Kelly machine in Illinois called on the Great White payroll only to keep them from going to the membership with their complaints. It is expected that outstanding Stalinists and Fellow-Travelers, such as Mortimer and Hall, will be retained in leading appointive positions.

Senator Schwelienbach or one of the western Senators is expected to make a sensational attack on Secretary Wallace and the policies of the Department of Agriculture any day now. These Senators say that Wallace has been too sympathetic to the Chicago Board of Trade and has not cracked down on the futures grain market.

THE LEISERSON APPOINTMENT

The Leiserson appointment to the Labor Board pleases almost everyone here except those who felt the Labor Board had to be kept sacrosanct, even to personnel and rules of procedure. This means that Mad-

father and said as much as I have said in the above paragraph. (This was before the Farley support news leaked out.) Shortly afterward, Mitchell, Negro Congressman, who runs errands for Kelly, pledged the "Negro vote" to the Democratic Party in 1940 "if F.D.R. is the candidate." So the F.D.R. boom, in its present stage, has been launched.

AGAINST THE "NEGRO VOTE"

Anent the "Negro vote," I quote from a political analysis just made by Charles G. Ross of the Washington Star: "The colored voters, say the statisticians, hold the balance of power in eight Northern states in any close election. It will be one of the prime objectives of the Republican high command to bring them back to their old allegiance and on the outcome of this effort may well depend the presidential election of 1940."

If it is to be a war for "democracy," then why are the democratic rights of labor being sacrificed to the rearmament program? Why did the War Department force the dropping of the Barkley amendment to the air-expansion bill, which would have barred government contracts to firms not abiding by the Wagner Act?

If it is to be a war for "democracy," then why do the Administration forces seek to constantly increase the powers of the President, especially in foreign affairs, at the expense of Congress and the people? Why do they try so desperately to "revise" our neutrality legislation so as to give the President arbitrary power to involve us in any war situation at his own "discretion"?

If it is to be a war for "democracy," what about our "allies"? What about Imperialist Britain, whose concentration camps in the colonies and air bombings of Indian villages gave the lead to Hitler; imperialist Britain, whose diplomacy has bolstered and fed the fascist powers, whose intrigues have meant the sacrifice of whole peoples and cultures? What about imperialist France, now ruled by a labor-hating decreedictatorship so very like that which paved the way for Hitler in Germany?

New Munich Seen In Tory Policy

But London Initiates Conscriptio; Danzig Already "Written Off"

WITH world attention fixed tensely on Hitler's forthcoming address to the Reichstag in which Germany's "answer" to President Roosevelt's "peace message" would be proclaimed, development in Europe continued last week to move in the two directions along which it had proceeded the preceding weeks: formation of rival imperialist blocks or networks of alliances and efforts at "appeasement" of the fascist powers. The initiative in both directions was taken by the British government, with France following obediently behind, and Washington kept in touch with all developments so as to make possible "parallel action" on its part.

FDR Proposes To Overhaul Relief Set-up

Urges Agency Merger To Eliminate WPA Along Byrnes Plan Lines

Washington, D. C. A complete overhauling of federal relief machinery was projected last week in government-reorganization plans drafted by the President and submitted to Congress.

These reorganization proposals include: Consolidation under a single federal agency of the W.P.A., the P.W.A., the U. S. Housing Authority, the Public Roads Bureau and the Treasury's Public Buildings Section. The W.P.A. would definitely disappear in name and probably also in fact as a flexible work-relief agency. This proposal is very similar to that contained in the measure sponsored by Senator Byrnes against the opposition of relief and labor organizations.

Consolidation of government lending agencies to absorb the R.F.C., the Home Owners Loan Corporation, the Federal Housing Administration and possibly the Farm Credit Administration.

Setting up of a new "welfare agency" to take over the activities of the Social Security Board, the N.Y.A., the Bureau of Public Education, the Public Health Service and the C.C.C. It is also expected that some provision for continued relief for white-collar unemployed thru assistance to state-sponsored programs will be made under this head.

Elimination of duplicating functions of existing government departments.

The Roosevelt proposals were made under the provisions of the government-reorganization act enacted recently. The measure permits the President to reorganize most government agencies by executive order. The order becomes effective within sixty days unless both houses of Congress disapprove them.

den and Leiserson will side together ideologically, against Edwin Smith who, if he is not a Fellow-Traveler, is the C.I.O.'s Man Friday on the Board.

OXFORD MOVEMENT MAKES HEADWAY

The Oxford or Buchman movement is making headway here. A group of Scandinavians recently arrived on these shores to confer with dignitaries and to seek to win them to "God guidance." I have a booklet in my possession by Bunny Austin, British tennis champ, in which he recommends "moral rearmament" as the only way out of the crisis. The booklet contains quotations from Josiah Stamp, Stanley Baldwin and many other leaders of imperialist England, the Queen of Holland, the King of Belgium, Her-

(Continued on Page 4)

Washington kept in touch with all developments so as to make possible "parallel action" on its part.

Taking advantage of the atmosphere of war panic thruout the country, the British Cabinet intensified the drive towards militarization. In a sudden move that caused a big sensation, it announced the inauguration of compulsory military service, for the first time in the peace-time history of England. According to present plans, about 300,000 youths will be called up immediately for training, with a million more to follow later. Strong opposition to this measure, which only few months before Chamberlain pledged he would never take in times of peace, was voiced by the Labor forces but it was pushed thru Parliament nevertheless. Along with conscription came a new staggering budget, swollen by heavy rearmament costs.

Meanwhile, the British Foreign Office was making but little headway with its "Stop Hitler" movement, rebranded the "peace front." Most of the Balkan states were officially still undecided altho they were mostly strengthening their relations with the Axis powers. Soviet Russia, before committing itself finally, demanded stronger and more definite commitments from England, which the latter was still unwilling to give.

On the "appeasement" front, on the other hand, there was a great deal new taking place. In a surprise action, London ordered the return of its ambassador, Sir Neville Henderson, to Berlin, thus officially signaling an "improvement" of Anglo-German relations. It was said that Henderson was returning with specific proposals, the acceptance of which would make another "appeasement" conference possible. When the British envoy arrived in Berlin, however, he was demonstratively snubbed by the German Foreign Office, which was apparently holding out for a much higher price.

In Britain, very influential business interests were publicly demanding an "understanding" with Germany, in which concessions to the latter would be made if necessary. Peter Bennett, president of the powerful Federation of British Industries, closely connected with the Tory party, was especially vociferous. According to the United States News (April 24), Chamberlain was backing a deal between British and German business men, which, incidentally, threatened "to cut deeply into American foreign trade." Talk that a "new edition of Munich" was being prepared, was heard in authoritative circles in London.

Falling in line with British policy, Washington also took some steps last week in the direction of "appeasement." The Treasury announced certain modifications of the 25% penalty duties which it recently imposed on German imports. The Treasury also promised that in the immediate future regulations would be announced by which penalty duties would be lifted on German products for which American importers had paid full price. In Washington it was said that, should Hitler's ad-

(Continued on Page 3)

May Day for Socialism and Peace!

NEW YORK MAY DAY MEETINGS

Sunday, April 30 8 P. M.

at the HIPPODROME 43 St. and 6th Avenue

Auspices: Social Democratic Federation, Socialist Party, Workers Circle, I.L.L.A., and other organizations.

Monday, May 1st 2:30 P. M.

at the HIPPODROME 43 St. and 6th Avenue

Auspices: Local 22 Local 60, Local 155, Local 89, Local 62, I.L.G.W.U.

FELLOW-WORKERS:

The labor movement today faces the most serious world crisis. The governments of the imperialist world are rushing headlong towards war, building great military machines, threatening utter destruction to the hard-won and hard-held rights of labor, endangering our entire civilization.

Right here in America, labor faces war-mongering, armaments economics, militarist reaction and fascism. The New Deal has turned away from the gigantic tasks forced upon the nation by the economic crisis. It has failed to meet the problem of the existence of ten million unemployed for nearly a decade. It has failed to realize its promises of adequate relief, of decent housing, of social and economic reform generally. Instead, it has turned towards war, militarism, and gigantic arms expenditures.

The Roosevelt Administration is the acknowledged leader of the War Party in this country. Embroiled in foreign conflicts thru the vested interests of Wall Street, America is being driven to aggressive involvement in the predatory, imperialist war that is now brewing. The President has already committed us to secret war alliances; he has already secretly pledged

American money, materials and lives to the British Empire and to the France of the Daladier dictatorship. When Britain's fleet moves to the Mediterranean, the U. S. Navy is ordered to the Pacific, as if by joint agreement with the pro-fascist Chamberlain government. Is it there to "protect our coasts"? Or is it there to involve us in an overseas war for Wall Street and Standard Oil and the investments of the financiers of the City of London and the Paris Bourse, the very financiers who have been supporting Franco and Hitler and Mussolini for years?

The coming war is being sold to us as a war for "democracy" against fascism. That is what the entire War Party, from Roosevelt and Landon down to Earl Browder, tell us. But even the very beginnings of opposition to the Administration foreign policy have revealed that the war these people are preparing and advocating would mean the end of all democracy at home!

If it is to be a war for "democracy," then why did President Roosevelt, Secretary Hull and Jim Farley intervene so brazenly to kill the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment? Is it not democracy for the people to have a right to vote on whether they should go out and be killed in some foreign war?

If it is to be a war for "democracy," then what about the so-called "industrial-mobilization" bills, all ready to be enacted on M-Day, bills that would give the war machine, thru the President, absolute dictatorial powers over the entire life of the country, over every trade union and labor organization thruout the land?

The truth is that this "war for democracy," the preparations for which are already undermining the rights and living standards of the masses, is the surest road to military dictatorship and fascism in America. There lies the danger and against this danger we must unite. On May Day, the day of international solidarity and peace, let us demonstrate:

Against the War Plans and War Preparations of the Administration!

TODAY, with the situation at home and abroad so menacing, labor unity is imperative. Without unity in our own ranks, we will never be able to withstand the wave of reaction that is sweeping the country, the increasing broadsides fired at trade unionism, the

(Continued on page 3)

SUP in Big Victory On Hiring Halls

Strike Threat Brings Government to Terms

By JACK SODERBERG

April 19, 1939.

SOME three weeks ago, I told you about the Maritime Commission having informed the West Coast unions of its intention to open government-controlled hiring halls, taking away from the existing unions their right to man the ships from their own halls as heretofore. The introduction of these government-controlled halls would mean the complete emasulation of the union as such, leaving but a shell of its present strength. The infamous "deferred list" in vogue prior to the 1934 strike—a blacklist of militant union men—would again be introduced. The reply to this threat was a strike vote by the Sailors Union of the Pacific and the vote showed an almost 100% decision to strike—not only the four Commission ships involved but everything floating on the Pacific.

LUNDEBERG LAYS DOWN THE LAW

Armed with this decision Harry Lundeborg, the militant secretary-treasurer of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, went to Washington and in no uncertain terms informed the admirals that if the funk-hall issue was not withdrawn, the Coast would strike. Faced with this, the gentlemen of the Commission decided not to press the issue and Harry Hopkins wrote a letter informing Lundeborg that the government had decided to ship its men thru the union after all. One of the greatest victories of the S.U.P. in its long and militant career!

In the meantime, the Bridges and other Stalinist-controlled outfits approached the matter from the point of view of political horse-trading. In a wailing letter to Madame Perkins, Bruce Harmon, Stalinist secretary of the Maritime Federation, pointed out that since

"we have consistently supported the Administration, aren't we now entitled to some consideration." Naturally, this sort of bunkum brought no results and it required the solid determination of the S.U.P. to show the admirals that no funk-halls were ever again to be opened on the West Coast.

On the East Coast, the government halls have flourished since the inception of the Maritime Commission and on the Stalinist theory that you can't fight the government the N.M.U.—Stalinist controlled—has consistently followed a policy of sending its men down to the hall to be picked by the Shipping Board. The conditions of work and the living quarters on the Commission ships on this coast are a disgrace. But "you can't fight the government" and so nothing was ever done about it.

However, the admirals, after having seen the fight the West Coast sailors were prepared to put up, have decided to abolish their halls on the East Coast as well, to recognize the N.M.U. on this coast, and to ship its crews thru the union halls here too. They knew they were beaten on the West Coast, and they knew furthermore that a victory there would give the rank and file on this coast the necessary inspiration to break the Stalinist stranglehold and demand equal conditions for both coasts. And so, the fight of the S.U.P. not only brought victory in their own territory but also brought it here despite Curran et al. And this is the union whose leadership, according to the Stalinists, is "phony," "shipowners stooges," etc., etc.!

And to Bridges, who made such efforts to prevent the S.U.P. from taking a strike vote on the theory that the government would never capitulate but would break the unions, to Bridges we may well say: "Little man, what now?"

Progressives In Local 16 Make Gain

By JOHN COOK

New York City.

AS we analyze more closely the results of the elections in Waiters Local 16, we see how significant is the victory scored by the progressives against the so-called "Union Fusion" ticket. In order to understand the situation better, we must clarify the issues and analyze the groups and the general vote received by these groups in the elections.

The "Union Fusion" group is made up first of the United Rank and File group, which is composed of the Stalinists and their fellow-travelers. Then, the "Non-Partisan" or Stensler group, make up of the remaining followers of Coulcher, now serving time in Sing Sing for racketeering. This latter group has no other principle than keeping a few individuals in office at any cost. Their love for their allies, the Stalinists, is very limited.

The Italian and Spanish groups are playing up to the national prejudices of Italians and Spaniards in order to put in office some Italian and Spanish stooges of the Stalinists.

Last but not least is the so called Gitz group which was organized to keep Gitz in office because he was slated for oblivion by the Stalinist machine. Gitz acted in time and remained on the "Fusion" slate.

As opposed to this powerful combination stood the Progressive Culinary League as one united group fighting against any political control of the union, fighting for democracy in the union, fighting for security on the job and against favoritism in the distribution of jobs to unemployed. The progressives came out also against the squandering of union funds. In one year's time, the Stalinists had emptied the treasury clean of almost \$50,000.

These were the issues on which the progressives waged their election campaign.

We can safely say that the most active, the most militant members of Local 16 lined up with the progressives. The progressives elected the president and the vice-president, and carried the bartenders department with four executive board members, one business agent and one organizer. Many executive board members elected on the "Fusion" ticket are expected to line up with the progressives on real fundamental union issues. The stranglehold of the Stalinist rubber-stamp executive board was broken in this election.

The progressives got at least 48% of the popular vote. Many progressive business agents and executive board candidates lost by 5 or 7 votes. The administration used all the means at its disposal from the office to carry the elections. Members who had not paid dues for a year were reinstated and allowed to vote. About 300 new members knowing nothing about the union were herded together and told how to vote.

Notwithstanding all of these manoeuvres and tricks, the progressives are proud to say that they succeeded in breaking thru the powerful Stalinist "Fusion" machine. This is only the beginning.

What's Wrong In The Cloak Union?

Local Politics Hinders Central Control

By INSIDER

(This is the second of a series of articles on the problems of the New York cloakmakers. The third will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

ONE might ask: What is the wrong in this situation? The answer is that there is really no such thing as a Joint Board, strange as this may sound. A Joint Board we understand to be a central body that represents and defends the interests of all the workers regardless of craft and possesses a unified policy and approach to all the daily problems in the industry. What we have is a Joint Board in form but, in fact, each local is a Joint Board for itself. The better the position a craft occupies in the industry and the more influence a local manager wields in the union, the more it is able to "grab" for its members—and not even for all members but for a small group of them, the local "boys." All this is, of course, at the expense of the members of the other locals.

Let us take the five most important locals and see how they function in their relation to the Cloakmakers Joint Board. Cutters Local 10 is only formally affiliated with the Joint Board. It acts independently when it comes to cutters complaints or problems. Pressers Local 35 acts in a similar fashion. As for Italian Local 48, where the workers are, in the main, concentrated in Brooklyn and out-of-town areas, and where most of the employers are also of Italian nationality, you can be sure that they do whatever they think best for their own local interests. Operators Local 117 and Finishers Local 9, seeing that the others are "grabbing" for themselves, are also attempting to imitate them.

Here is a concrete example. With the introduction of the piece-work system, the Joint Board established a department to take care of price settlements (piece-work rates) for the workers. This department has, of course, nothing to do with the cutters, because they work week-work. Manager Breslaw of Local 35 proclaims: "I don't want anyone to interfere in the price settlements for my pressers." Sorkin of Finishers Local 9, who of late has been following in Breslaw's footsteps, also does the same thing. So we see that the Joint Board Central Price Adjustment Department in reality settles prices for only part of the operators. (I say part, because Heller has a separate little department and settles prices for operators independently.) To get an idea how chaotic and decentralized our Joint

Board is, one has only to step into the office of one of the employers associations and see how the representatives of the Joint Board—of the union—stand there helpless and unable to take up and settle complaints because the "interests" and politics of the various locals are pulling in all sorts of directions.

SEPARATE DOMAINS

In the Joint Board proper, the apparatus is divided and subdivided into separate departments and each manager of each department is a separate domain for himself, with his own approach and methods of work. Many of these departments were created because it was necessary to satisfy this or that chief of a local. The job was created for the man and not the man for the job. The general manager, who is supposed to be the leader of the entire union, is in reality powerless, because he doesn't care to come into conflict with the "machine-men" of the various locals.

At the meetings of the Joint Board or at local meetings, the big industrial and organizational problems are rarely discussed on the basis of the real situation and are never taken up in time, for, behind the discussions, there is always the consideration: "What will the people of my opposition say?" "Is it good for the politics of my local?" It is obvious that decisions made as a result of such discussions cannot be sound and cannot bring any results for the membership and the union.

ATTITUDE TO OUT-OF-TOWN SHOPS

Up to the time of the N.I.A., the attitude of the Joint Board and local leaders to the out-of-town shops was to consider them as open shops and try to drive them out of existence. But, instead of being driven out, these shops increased in numbers. With the coming of the N.E.A., the union changed its policy, out-of-town shops were unionized and the standards of the workers were raised to some extent. However, the main center, New York, still regarded these out-of-town shops as sort of step-children and there was still the hidden idea that in due time these shops would, in one way or another, be eliminated. The workers in the out-of-town and Brooklyn areas feel very strongly that the "New York" union is trying to discriminate against them, that it considers them unwanted members and is therefore not very aggressive in defending their conditions. No wonder these workers consider the "New York" union their enemy; no wonder that, with the assistance of other forces, they have begun to help themselves. The cry of "Cloaks for the cloakmakers." "The bundles for New York" and "We must abolish section work," as well as the propaganda of some writers in the Jewish Day that the whole problem is really a struggle between the New York Jewish cloakmakers and the "shiksies" (non-Jewish girls)—all this has been interpreted by the out-of-town and Brooklyn workers as

(Continued on Page 4)

News of the I.L.L.A.

by D. Benjamin

Developing Greater Political Activity

PARTICIPATION of local organizations in legislative, public and appropriate investigation hearings. Spokesmen to be sent to make known our position; members and workers to be gotten to attend such hearings; proper publicity to be gotten out in order to popularize our policy and the role of the I.L.L.A.

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY

2. Bills, measures and actions of local governmental bodies to be followed closely by local divisions of the organization. Wherever advisable, resolutions should be adopted and forwarded to the proper bodies and to the local press. Efforts should be made to convince the greatest number of unions and mass organizations to do likewise. On very important questions, supplementary action in the form of letter and card campaigns might be considered.

ANTI-WAR WORK

3. Alertness in reacting to all proposals affecting the questions of foreign policy, war preparations and war moves. Convincing the K.A.O.W. movement to undertake appropriate actions and cooperating with the K.A.O.W. movement in its campaigns are most important. Such activities have significance largely to the extent that unions and mass organizations are rallied, and workers in the shops, offices, etc. are mobilized for necessary action.

LABOR POLITICAL ACTION

4. Participation in local labor-party movements. This takes two forms: (a) getting unions to affiliate and to consider labor-party problems seriously and involving their members therein; and (b) having existing labor-party clubs for the purpose of carrying on constructive activity therein.

5. Members of the I.L.L.A. in mass organizations should raise appropriate general labor and political questions in those organizations, with due regard at all times for the needs, interests and stage of development and position of such organizations. In this connection, there must be a high sense of responsibility, with no attitude of "putting anything over," or "capturing." Our members must remember that union discipline is final on union matters.

6. Participation in local conferences of bona-fide labor organizations for the purpose of planning joint activity on issues on which there is agreement. The I.L.L.A. local division should be mobilized in an earnest manner for agreed-upon action. If advisable and decided upon, the question should be raised in various local labor organizations. Proper publicizing of the attitude and role of our organization in such activities is important.

EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA

Public meetings on necessary occasions in order to present the analysis, position and viewpoint of the I.L.L.A. Branches and local organizations should use their initiative and organize such meetings for political and educational purposes. Participation in joint meetings with other organizations should also be undertaken when common action or joint protest is desired.

8. Publication of leaflets, bulletins, pamphlets, etc. in printed or mimeographed form for propaganda or agitation purposes. Distribution or sale of these, especially in shops, industrial markets, unions (headquarters or before meetings), public meetings, forums, labor schools, etc.

9. Systematic and intensive sale and distribution of the Workers Age, our best and most effective instrument for the political education of workers. The Workers Age is most invaluable for popularizing our views on such basic questions as war, fascism and imperialism; labor unity; independent labor action; labor and social legislation; the role of the capitalist state, including that of the United States; the nature of the capitalist system.

10. The establishment of educational institutes, classes, forums, study circles, discussion groups, etc. For more systematic presentation or discussion of basic political principles or questions. Special weekend and vacation institutes should also be considered.

11. Organization of open-air meetings in the summer time.

12. Arrangement of radio talks whenever it is possible or financially feasible.

13. Participation in mass demonstrations whenever the issue is dramatic and of real importance. This method of bringing pressure and popularization is effective only if well-prepared, with significant numbers participating, and if used only upon special and most important occasions that lend themselves well to such action. Likewise with participation in the sending of mass delegations.

GREATER ALERTNESS NEEDED

14. In order to make the above actions possible, it is necessary that our branches and divisions of the organization as a whole concern themselves more consciously with political problems and activities. It is necessary that each individual member become more politically educated and alert, that each comrade understand the import of all phases of activity, political as well as trade union, I.L.L.A. and Workers Age building as well as work in mass organizations. Every member must be able to educate others politically. Systematic political action in and thru mass organizations plus independent political action by the I.L.L.A. plus political work by each and every I.L.L.A. member. And all these together must constitute the basis of our political work.

Greetings from Dressmakers

- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| F. Ginsburg | M. Zimmerman | M. Slotnick |
| Limy | Joseph Rochevsky | M. Tushinsky |
| I. Bortnick | Celia Herman | Joe Friedman |
| Louis | Yetta Bergman | S. Joffe |
| A. Kushman | N. Feldheim | B. Weiser |
| B. Atlas | Bertha Bergman | Max Medwin |
| Abe Roschko | Irving Novick | Harry Pomerantz |
| Ch. Cohen | Louis Presser | Herman Bankel |
| Hymn Spitalnick | A. Adler | B. Knauer |
| Joe Sigmund | L. Sedeman | I. Taterow |
| Max Needelman | Shop Chairman | Sam Slutsky |
| D. Gassner | Harry Farber | Max Goldberg |
| Isidor Sherer | Harry Rothstein | Max Lake |
| Louis Steinberg | Spitz | Joe Rasimowitz |
| Ben Siegel | Morris Kaplan | Dave Fields |

Greetings from the Workers of Samuel Chapman Dress Shop

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| I. Cooper | Minnie Koolkin | Ruth |
| H. Horowitz | Rose Weinberg | Rose Kleinman |
| J. C. | Mary Lapidus | Norma Davies |
| Goldie Chibka | Herbert Sussman | C. Cooperman |
| Hymn Steinberg | Joe Raif | M. Rubinstein |
| Benny Cohen | Frank Messinger | B. Fleesler |
| Max Killkovsky | Ruth Baxter | Philip Kahan |
| Sam Weinstein | Sonia Eisenberg | Aaron Kaufman |
| Rebecca Margolin | Martha Gerard | Jennie Shachtman |
| Louis Rosenthal | Fay Fisher | Isidor Turkewitz |
| Minnie Frankel | Bella Cohen | Hymn Kruger |
| Mildred Schiller | Helen Lefcowitz | Pauline Cohen |
| Sarah Kramer | | Benny Cushman |

Greetings from Knitgoods Workers

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| I. Gill | S. Wiener | J. Price |
| J. Zinberg | A. Worker | D. Ielardi |
| M. Tatz | J. Steinman | E. Kraus |
| S. Cohen | S. Zimmerman | M. Ozer |
| E. Geltzer | I. Dittersdorf | J. Heltzer |
| J. Takson | Anna Fox | J. Graziano |
| A. Rosner | Sam Bail | J. Gullotta |
| T. Marmorore | Sam Kramer | E. Hoffman |
| Ph. Heller | A. Froum | A. Knitter |
| S. Minsky | Millie Gerardi | Louis Nelson |
| A. Title | S. Gold | Sarah Rose |
| I. Berezin | P. Tauber | Harry Goodstein |
| M. Zell | A. Lerman | Harry Panzer |
| H. Amsel | Nat Shaffer | Nat Litty |
| B. Telsy | E. Holt | Sam Bail |
| R. Siegel | W. Komiss | Mary Shaines |

Greetings from Furriers

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| J. Teitelman | Sam Cohen | Lena Rabinowitz |
| Sarah Solomon | Sarah Gross | Lena Greenberg |
| B. Colenberg | | S. Kass |

Greetings from Los Angeles

- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Harry Stone | Max Marcus | M. Cox |
| Celia Lichtman | Charles Swit | H. Dobkin |
| I. Lutzky | L. Seltzer | Phil Garb |
| Paul Berg | Tommy Lawrence | J. L. Goldberg |
| Dan Hyman | | Rose Kaplan |

Greetings from Clinton, Mass.

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Earl Tarerill | Nora Grier | Myers Cutner |
| A. Thlatt | Adolph Fortugud | A. Heydn |
| A. Fried | | Sam Sandberg |

Greetings from Philadelphia

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Rose Lane | Horace K. Jubes | Anna Solomon |
| Oscar Cooperstein | Dora Jaffe | A. Bloomfield |
| Walter Maroff | E. Wolf | Anna Baum |
| Leah B. | | C. Culansky |

Greetings from Individuals

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|------------------|
| B. Antonoff | Mignon and | Kay Field |
| Quality Dairy | Kenneth Krause | Milton Rosenberg |
| 302 Troy Ave. | Lee and Charles | Victor Cibulsky |
| Brooklyn | McDowell | |

ADDITIONAL GREETINGS WILL APPEAR IN COMING ISSUES

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from

Progressive Dressmakers Branch
No. 122 Workmen's Circle

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from

United Cloak, Suit, Infants & Children's Coat Operators & Sample Makers Union
Local 117, I.L.G.W.U.

Louis Levy, Manager
Rubin Zuckerman, Chairman

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from

KNITGOODS WORKERS UNION
Local 155, I.L.G.W.U.

Louis Levinson, President
Louis Nelson, Manager

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from the

Service Employees of 463
7th Ave. N. Y. C.
Members of Local 32 - B.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from

DRESS AND WAIST PRESSERS UNION, LOCAL 60
I.L.G.W.U.

Max Cohen, Manager

May Day Greetings from

PLAYTHINGS & NOVELTY WORKERS OF AMERICA

Local 223

A. ESPOSITO, Manager
E. DIANA, President

May Day Greetings from I.L.L.A. Branches

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---|
| BALTIMORE, MD. Branch, I.L.L.A. | FT. WAYNE, IND. Branch, I.L.L.A. | TORONTO, ONT., Canada Branch, I.L.L.A. |
| CHICAGO, ILL. I.L.L.A. North Side Branch South Side Branch | LOS ANGELES, CALIF. Branch, I.L.L.A. | NEW YORK DISTRICT I.L.L.A. Bronx Branch Manhattan Branch Harlem Branch Cloakmakers Branch Dressmakers Branch Teachers Branch Bronx Youth Branch Manhattan Youth Br. |
| CLINTON, MASS. Branch, I.L.L.A. | PHILADELPHIA, PA. Branch, I.L.L.A. | |
| DETROIT, MICH. Branch, I.L.L.A. | SPIVAK, COLO. Branch, I.L.L.A. | |
| FLINT, MICH. Branch, I.L.L.A. | WILKES-BARRE, PA. Branch, I.L.L.A. | |

ADDITIONAL BRANCH GREETINGS WILL APPEAR IN COMING ISSUES.

MAY DAY

GREETINGS

from the

WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND
714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"PROTECTION FOR THE WORKER BY A WORKERS' ORGANIZATION"

May Day Greetings

JOINT BOARD
DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS' UNION

JULIUS HOCHMAN, General Manager
BEN EVRY, President
PHILLIP KAPP, Secretary-Treasurer

AMALGAMATED LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 10
ISIDORE NAGLER, Manager

DRESS AND WAISTMAKERS UNION, LOCAL NO. 22
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Manager-Secretary

DRESS & WAIST PRESSERS UNION LOCAL NO. 60
MAX COHEN, Manager

ITALIAN DRESSMAKERS UNION, LOCAL NO. 89
LUIGI ANTONINI, General Secretary-Manager

Recovery Movement Faces Another Serious Snag

War Disturbances, Long-Term Factors Responsible

By ROBERT WALTERS

RECOVERY is facing another serious snag, government economists have recently informed the President. Some downward revision must now be made of the degree of industrial recovery to be expected during 1939, they all agree.

All plans, until now, have rested on the assumption that the vigorous upturn during the second half of 1938, interrupted by a "resting period" in the first quarter of 1939, would get under way rather slowly during the second quarter and would gather momentum during the second half of this year.

The actual situation, as revealed in part by the accompanying chart, is this:

A bottom in industrial activity was reached last April in the case of non-durable goods—goods like textiles and foodstuffs that go quickly into consumption. In the case of durable goods—goods with a life of three years or more, such as steel and automobiles and glass—the bottom came in June at a level only 50% of the 1923-25 average.

Government last year returned to large-scale spending of borrowed money as a means of turning the depression tide.

Rising industrial production and rising consumption coincided with the rising trend of government spending or "investment," during 1938. The upturn in industrial activity was among the sharpest on record. It was followed, starting in January, by a resting period as the production of goods and their consumption held in rather close balance.

This "resting period" was forecast by the economists who write reports for the President.

It was during this period, as government outlays approached their peak, that the planners expected a consolidation of forces in private industry that would serve during the remainder of 1939 to take over the recovery load as the government gradually contracted its supporting expenditures of borrowed money.

Signs during the first two months of the year suggested that this transition would be effected successfully.

It now appears, however, that these signs may be belied by events. Instead of adding to inventories, as expected, many industries have again begun to ride on old inventories. The momentum that was gathering appears now to have lost some of its force at least.

The volume of government spending of borrowed money now is approaching its peak. That volume will average about 350 million dollars a month for the next three months and then will start to decline. Expenditures both for heavy public works and for W.P.A. will begin to contract by July and will taper off sharply after the first of

New Munich Is Seen

(Continued from Page 1)

dress on April 28 be at all "conciliatory," the American ambassador would be ordered to return to Berlin.

As far as Germany was concerned, indications were that the next move would probably be against Danzig, it was an open secret that Danzig had already been "written off" by London and Paris and its annexation by Germany was only a matter of days. "It is not supposed to be known," Pearson and Allen revealed in their "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column of April 26, "but on his way home from signing the defensive alliance with Great Britain, Colonel Joseph Beck, Polish Foreign Minister, got a telephone call from Foreign Minister Bonnet of France urging him to stop in Berlin to discuss Danzig. Bonnet's idea was to arrange for return of the allegedly Free City to Germany before it caused real trouble."

After Danzig would come the Polish Corridor. Already Poland was said to have given Germany permission to build military roads across the Corridor. Its annexation in some form was also on the immediate Nazi program.

Exactly what would be Hitler's line in his Reichstag address on April 28 was not clear. In the best-informed circles, the Nazi leader was expected to present a program of German demands, including "restoration" of the "lost" colonies, and then to declare that, once these demands were granted, Germany would be ready to "pledge" itself to peace. It was also likely that Hitler would deny that the countries mentioned in the Roosevelt message really felt themselves menaced by Germany; in this connection, the German Foreign Office was collecting replies to a questionnaire sent out from Berlin to a number of the countries in question, the answers, of course, being largely dictated by Nazi pressure.

THE articles by Ruben Levin, "New Styles in Anti-Unionism" and "Injunction Judges Still Flourish," that appeared in recent issues of this paper, were taken from Labor, the weekly paper of the standard railroad unions. —Editor.

next year. Government spending can be expected to bolster the rate of industrial activity in the months immediately ahead and probably will cause some further rise from the present combined index level of 98% of the 1923-25 average for industrial production.

But the important question now is whether or not private investment is going to carry forward when the government starts to contract its own spending.

The general tendency seems to be to attribute the snag in the recovery movement to "uncertainties" caused by the international situation and the imminent danger of war. That there are also more fundamental long-range factors at work is now generally acknowledged by all realistic economists and is even beginning to reach certain of the Wall Street "brain-trusters." Thus S. B. Lurie writes in the April 6 issue of the Fortnightly Review, issued by the well-known house of Fuller, Rodney and Redmond: "There are . . . several adverse long-term influences at work to which consideration must be given.

As we pointed out in January, 'the rate of secular growth probably has leveled off, if not turned down.' For one thing, the time of a rapidly growing economy when depressions were shortened by accumulated demands of new purchasers probably is over. . . . Except for the impetus provided by technological developments, there are no new frontiers left to be opened and the period of rapid industrial expansion is probably over. Secondly, with economic nationalism the order of the day and the world engaged in a mad rearmament race which is diverting capital from productive channels, there is little chance of an important international business revival. . . . The factors cited appear to be of sufficient importance to have created a downward secular trend which limits the extent of each recovery phase."

It is these "adverse long-term influences [creating] a downward secular trend which limits the extent of each recovery phase" that are the bottom of the failure of recovery. And these "adverse long-term influences" the New Deal has not been able to affect.

What an Idea!

WASHINGTON, D. C. REPRESENTATIVE Osmer of New Jersey recently introduced a bill embodying a new kind of plan to keep America out of war. Here is:

THE OSMERS PLAN
Mandatory provisions requiring the President to take command of army forces in the field.

Following first order of selective draft, these would be drafted:

The Vice-President.

Cabinet officers in order of creation of their posts.

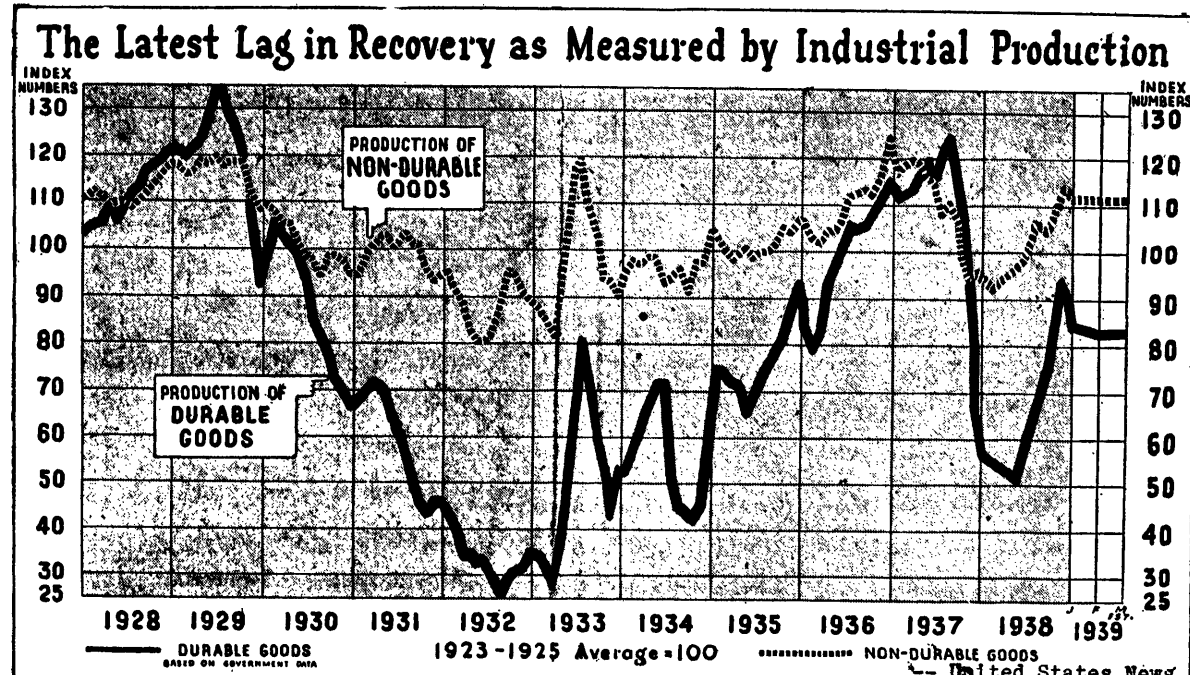
Members of Congress who voted for declaration of war.

Directors of corporations selling munitions and raw war materials to foreign nations on credit.

Directors of corporations selling similar materials to the U. S. government.

Bankers who lend war monies to foreign nations.

None of selected draftees to receive officer's commissions; all required to enter active combat duty "after normal training"; anyone claiming physical disqualification to spend "duration of the war in bed."



May Day for Socialism

For World Unity Against War, Reaction, Fascism

(Continued from Page 1)

campaign to undermine and destroy all vital social and labor legislation, the encroachments of militarism and armaments economics. The reunification of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. on a basis that will guarantee industrial unionism for the mass-production industries is the great need of the day. A continuation of the present state of bitter civil war in labor's ranks would be a disaster beyond measure for the entire labor movement. The peace negotiations must be resumed and the fatal breach healed as quickly as possible. On May Day, the day of international solidarity and unity, let us demonstrate:

For Labor Unity! For a Powerful, United Labor Movement!

A UNITED labor movement vigilant and alive to its interests, could really call a halt to the reactionary campaign to destroy labor's rights of self-organization and collective bargaining as guaranteed under the Wagner Act, to cripple the reform legislation of recent years, to slash relief, to abolish the W. P. A., to hamstring the trade-union movement thru schemes of "incorporation" or governmental "regulation." But for this, relying on the old employing-class parties is futile; only militant independence on the political field can accomplish anything today. A beginning towards independent political action has already been made, especially in New York State where the American Labor Party functions as an independent organization. But it is only a beginning. The very bread-and-butter needs of labor, to say nothing of its broader aspirations, call for complete political independence from both of the old-line parties, Republican and Democratic alike. Both parties are rotten with reaction thru and thru; both parties have no interest in labor except as a pawn in the political game; from neither party can labor expect anything but deception and betrayal. The Republicans and conservative Democrats are trying to scuttle the Wagner Act; but let us not forget that President Roosevelt himself has come out in favor of government control of labor unions, which would mean their end as free organizations. The anti-New Dealers are bitterly hostile to housing and other socially useful public works; but let us not forget that President Roosevelt himself has scuttled his earlier promises of slum clearance and public housing, apparently preferring to enrich the private contractors and land-sharks and to guarantee the mortgages of private investors. The reactionary "economy" block in Congress slashed the deficiency relief appropriation by fifty million dollars, thus depriving scores of thousands of W.P.A. workers of their means of subsistence; but let us not

forget that President Roosevelt showed the way not only by fixing the sum he requested of Congress far below what was generally recognized as necessary for the unemployed but also by drastically reducing the sum for relief and recovery items in his 1940 budget so as to be able to swell the vast total set aside for armaments. All these signs tell one story: with the drive to militarism and war, the progressive possibilities of the New Deal, whatever they may have been in the heyday of the present Administration, have been completely exhausted. Labor has nothing more to rely upon except its own organized might, exercised independently on the industrial field thru united, powerful trade unions and on the political field thru a strong, nation-wide labor party. On May Day, the day of international solidarity and militancy let us demonstrate:

For Independent Labor Political Action! For a Nation-Wide Labor Party!

THE cause of labor is international. The masses of all countries are faced with the twin menace of war and reaction, whether in outright fascist form or in "democratic" guise. And only united international labor action, only the coordinated struggle of the forces of labor thruout the world, can halt the outbreak of war and stop the onward march of fascism and reaction. On May Day, the day of international solidarity and fraternity, let us demonstrate:

For International Solidarity Against War, Reaction and Fascism!

THE chaos, barbarism and distress rampant thruout the world are a direct result of the frightful decay of the capitalist system under which the vast masses of mankind groan. The system of private monopolistic control of society's means of life, the system of private profit and private greed, the system of national-imperialist aggression and conflict, has long outlived any useful functions it may once have had; it is now an unmitigated curse upon the human race, the curse from which most of the evils that infest the world flow. There is only one road to salvation for mankind and that is the road of socialism, the road to a society where the people themselves own and control the means of production necessary for life, a society without exploitation or poverty, without imperialism or war, a society of peace, freedom and plenty. On May Day, the international day of labor, let us demonstrate:

For Socialism, Peace and Freedom!

British Labor During the World War

By CHARLES VINCENT

(Concluded from last issue)

IN Great Britain, the number of days lost on account of strikes rose from 2 1/2 millions in 1916 to 5 1/2 millions in 1917. On the Clyde-side, the industrial struggles very often assumed a revolutionary character owing to the Clyde Workers Committee and its B.S.P., S.L.P. and I.L.P. supporters. The C.W.C. was organized on the basis of direct representation from the workshops; the control of policy was vested in the rank and file. Its objective was "to obtain an ever-increasing control of workshop conditions until all the functions of management pass into the hands of the working class as the means to the complete expropriation of the employing class." The labor and anti-war struggles were closely connected. Defense groups were organized to protect anti-war meetings. Women and discharged soldiers were active supporters of the movement. Resistance to the Munitions Act was particularly vigorous. Lloyd George, when he visited Glasgow in December 1915, was obliged by mass action to listen to the demands of the C.W.C. for labor control over dilution, wages, etc., tho at first he had refused to recognize it, as it was an unofficial body. The Clyde-side movement was temporarily beheaded on account of the deportation and imprisonment of its best militants, MacLean, Gallacher, J. Muir, Maxton, etc., but it gained a fresh impulse after their liberation. Demonstrations in favor of revolutionary Russia were particularly successful.

In May 1917, a general strike of the engineering trades spread over England. In June, a joint socialist council of the B.S.P. and the I.L.P. called a Labor Conference with the object of defending peace and supporting Russia. Over 1150 delegates of all sections of the labor movement attended.

MASS SWING TO LEFT

The masses were rapidly moving to the left. There was a big majority in the 1917 Labor Party conference in favor of an international socialist conference to be held at Stockholm. Trade-union and Labor Party officials, tho they did their utmost to stifle the voice of class-conscious minorities and supported imperialist war aims until the last minute, cleverly adapted their propaganda to the changing mood of the masses. They followed the example of Lloyd George who promised that, as soon as war would be over, England would be transformed into an earthly paradise "fit for heroes to live in." For the first time, the Labor Party described itself as a socialist body. The "Labor and the New Social Order" program included the nationalization of mines, transport and power, work or maintenance for the unemployed, shorter hours and a minimum wage. Immediately after the armistice, the Labor Party returned to the opposition.

Peace did not put an end to the revolutionary movement. Owing to demobilization (which was delayed as long as possible), disorganization of industry and trade depression, unemployment figures soon rose to an unprecedented level. In January 1919, 100,000 Scottish workers struck for an 8-hour day. The movement spread to northern Ireland. In Glasgow, violent clashes with the police took place and the town was occupied by the army. In the same year, a general strike of the railway men ended in complete victory. From 1917 to 1922, strikes involved 8,868,000 men and 174,781,000 days were lost. (During the years of "labor unrest," 1909 to 1914, the figures were 4,136,000 strikers and 83,290,000 days lost.) During the same period, membership of the Trades Union Congress rose from 3 to 6 1/2 millions.

Serious mutinies took place in the Army. Soldiers and sailors demanded immediate demobilization and refused to be sent to Russia to fight the Soviets. In November 1919, a Hands off Russia Committee, representing all tendencies of the labor movement, was created. Such was the strength of the movement that the government was obliged to recall the Archangel-Murmansk expedition. But it continued to support the Whites with money and material. The London dockers refused to charge munitions for Poland which was waging war on Russia. When, in August 1920, Soviet troops counter-attacked in Poland, Lloyd George threatened to send the fleet to the Baltic if they did not immediately withdraw. A joint Labor Party and trade-union conference decided on general strike and forced Lloyd George to capitulate. The struggle against intervention marked the culmination point of the mass movement which was accompanied by intense agitation thruout the whole Empire.

WHY LABOR FAILED

The demagogy of the Lloyd Georges and Hendersons, the survival of a long opportunist tradition in the labor movement, the weakness of the socialist vanguard (ultra-leftism of the B.S.P. and pacifism of the I.L.P.) contribute to explain the fact that the crisis did not receive a revolutionary solution. So do the failure of the German revolution and stabilization of capitalism on the Versailles basis. The very foundations of the Empire had been shaken, but British capitalism, tho obviously on the decline, still retained a great power of adapting itself to increasingly difficult cir-

Cotton Farm Relief Plans in Snarl

New Deal Schemes Fail to Bring Benefits

By JOHN T. FLYNN

ONE of the most amazing snarls in the long history of government salvation of farmers is to be found now in the case of the cotton farmer.

Washington has resounded for days to the battle cries of the farm messiahs. Back in 1932, cotton sold at the farm as low as 8 cents a pound. In 1933, the present Administration took over the job of saving the cotton farmer. After six years of salvation, here is how the record stands:

In 1933, the cotton surplus was about eight million bales. Now it is eleven million and will soon be nearer thirteen million.

Cotton is selling for 8 cents a pound. The government has spent nearly a billion dollars.

It has an annual bill of about 45 million for carrying charges on the cotton it holds as security for the loans it has made.

The foreign market for American cotton has almost been wiped out.

FROM FRYING-PAN INTO THE FIRE

The cotton farmer is worse off than ever. At the moment, therefore, the Administration cotton program is utterly bankrupt.

Now there are various plans to save the cotton farmer. This involves two features of the trade. One refers to the surplus; the other, to future cotton crops.

The surplus is the most disturbing, most devastating factor in the

present cotton situation. It has been created by the government. It loaned from 9 to 12 cents a pound on cotton to farmers to encourage them not to sell their cotton and thus to keep the price up on what they did sell. The increased price killed the foreign market like a chilling shadow.

There are several plans to cure all this. Here is:

The President's plan—to pay a subsidy to the export trade to enable Americans to sell cotton abroad below the world price. Cost—\$15,000,000 up to August and \$60,000,000 a year thereafter.

The Smith-Bankhead plan—to enable the farmers who agree to reduce their acreage to buy cotton held by the government for loans at 5 cents a pound which they could sell at 8 cents or more. The more they reduce future acreage the more they can buy of the loan cotton at 5 cents.

As for future cotton, Senator Smith wants to guarantee farmers at least 75% of the "parity" price of new cotton. Chairman Jones, of the House committee, wants to subsidize the use of cotton domestically, have the government accept its losses on surplus cotton and release the surplus cotton from the loan barriers.

The Senate passed the Smith-Bankhead bill. The House is opposed to it. But now a new issue arises. All the other farm-crop defenders want subsidies for their favorite farmers. Where it will end no one knows. All we can see is that

(Continued on Page 4)

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

THE SCHOOL FOR DICTATORS, TO LEFT
by Ignazio Silone, Translated from Italian by Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1938.

IN this book, I am convinced, we have a masterpiece of political literature that will go down in history along with such immortal classics as Niccolò Machiavelli's "The Prince" and Karl Marx's "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." Undoubtedly, it is the most significant study of fascism made in the last decade and a half; moreover, since fascism is hardly an isolated phenomenon, it necessarily deals with some of the most fundamental political problems and tendencies of the day, and does so with profound insight and understanding. It is called "The School for Dictators" but only because, to paraphrase Silone, the dictators have nothing to learn from it while their victims have. Far more properly might it be called a manual for the realistic socialist anti-fascist in the struggle against totalitarian dictatorship, the great scourge of our age.

Silone's long essay is cast in the circumstances. However, the war-time experience has shown what the working class is capable of doing when it has recourse to direct action, when it takes advantage of all the contradictions within the ruling class without compromising itself, when it obeys only the dictates of international solidarity. In 1920, the government of the biggest Empire in the world was forced to give up its plans for waging war on a revolutionary country.

And now? The trade-union, Labor Party and Communist Party leaders do not seem to have profited by the lesson. They are ready to ally themselves with a Churchill (the main drive of the intervention in Russia) or a Lloyd George (the wrecking of civil and trade-union liberties) to defend democracy against Hitler. Trade unions are ready to support the government's rearmament plans without even knowing if His Majesty's forces will be on the side of democracy or fascism. And yet, as W. Gallacher, who once upon a time was head of the C.W.C., wrote only a few years ago: "Hitler and Goebbels got a great deal of their demagogic stock-in-trade from David Lloyd George, the great master of that form of trickery." Apropos of the repression in Ireland, he then remarked: "It can be laid down with the utmost precision that there is nothing associated with fascism that has not already been in evidence in this country. In fact, it is from the British bourgeoisie, far-seeing and unerring, that most of the inspiration for the brutality of monopoly capitalism has come."

Who was changed since 1935, David Lloyd George, British imperialism, or Mr. Gallacher? But the British government has retained something of the lesson of 1914. All the measures which had to be enforced with the greatest difficulties in the middle of the war—breaking of trade-union rules, inviolable conscription, suppression of the freedom of speech and writing—are already being prepared with a view of their immediate application on the outbreak of war. The government will not take the risk of a war before the labor movement is entirely domesticated and there is nothing left of democracy but the name.

5. W. Gallacher: Revolt on the Clyde, 1935, p. 110.
6. W. Gallacher is now a leader of the British Communist Party and its M. P.—Editor.

dramatic form of a dialogue, a series of conversations between Mr. W., would-be American dictator, Professor Pickups, his intellectual mentor, and Thomas the Cynic, a political exile who agrees to give them a course of lectures on dictatorship. Mr. W. and the Professor, despite—or perhaps because of—their mutual contempt and incessant quarreling, are but the two sides of fascism: Mr. W., the "practical" side, the drive for power as power; Professor Pickups, the "ideological" side, the propaganda and apologetics of fascism. Thomas the Cynic, obviously the mouthpiece of the author, is well described by him as a "tireless controversialist and unshakable in his convictions, tho his completely unprejudiced outlook sometimes makes him a highly inconvenient partisan to his political friends. . . . He abhors euphemism and is in the discouraging habit of calling even unpleasant things by their right names. . . . His many bitter experiences and the cool analysis to which he has subjected them have freed him from party dogmas, without, however, quenching the inner urge which led him as a youth towards the workers. This, however, is known only to his friends, while others who hear him arguing and criticizing, cannot understand why he still remains a socialist." Out of the discussions of these three men, there emerges a brilliant, profound and penetrating study of fascism on the make, on the road to power, with sidelights, illuminating as flashes of lightning, on scores of related questions.

It would, of course be futile for me to try to summarize the course and results of the conversations within the scope of this review and I am not going to do it. A mere listing of the titles of the five parts into which the book is cast may, however, do service as a significant indication of its content. They are:

"The Game and the Rules"—a general discussion of the science and art of politics and of the "political sense."

"The Dictator's Vocation"—the characteristic marks of the fascist leader.

"Fascist Party Politics"—the fascist party and the peculiar conditions that make fascism possible and favor its growth; fascist mythology and the technique of mass propaganda.

"Temptations"—what fascism must avoid if it is to ride to triumph.

"The Victory of the Substitute"—fascism as the "symbolic substitute" for socialism and democracy; the victory of fascism thru the "coup d'etat with the assistance of the authorities."

It would be futile, also, to attempt to convey an impression of the vast range of erudition and information displayed in the book—of the insight, wisdom, and unflinching realism, all enlivened by that brilliant, ironical wit that is so characteristic of Silone. Such qualities can be experienced only thru direct communication.

If the book has any defects, aside from a few dubious historical analogies, they are its self-imposed limitations. It is based primarily on the experience of Italian fascism and so it says nothing whatever about anti-Semitism, a deplorable lack. It deals only with fascism on the road to power and stops short so suddenly that we actually feel a sort of resentment at the abrupt termination. Let us hope the author will himself transcend these limitations and remedy these shortcomings in some future work.

Reviewed by WILL HERBERG

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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RAIL LABOR SHOWS THE WAY

MEETING in Washington recently, the Railway Labor Executives Association, the official group of the leaders of the sixteen standard American railroad unions, with at least three-quarters of a million members, strongly affirmed their support of the war-referendum proposal embodied in the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment. For the anti-war movement in this country, this is the best of news indeed.

A determined and well-planned effort is being made by the Roosevelt Administration, aided and abetted by the entire pro-war party, stretching all the way from Wall Street's Henry L. Stimson to Moscow's Earl Browder, to induce a state of acute war jitters among the people and to arouse a frenzy of jingoism and war fever. It would be idle to deny that this campaign has already met with some success. Increasingly large sections of the American people are tending to fall into a fatalistic, helpless attitude: war is bound to come in Europe and when it comes we are bound to be involved. Some, indeed, are even beginning to be infected with the poison of "collective security," with the propaganda of another war "to make the world safe for democracy." The danger is great.

In this situation, the war-referendum proposal offers an exceptionally favorable means of resisting the war-mongers in high places. It is a proposal that makes a wide appeal to the American people and most effectively expresses their profound opposition to any step threatening to involve this country in a foreign war. The Administration understands this very well and is therefore more bitterly hostile to the war-referendum idea than to any other plan or proposal raised by the peace forces. It is a ground on which we have the best chance of measuring strength successfully with the war party at Washington and throughout the country.

The action of the railroad workers should be an inspiration and an example. The standard railroad unions are very highly regarded everywhere in labor's ranks, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike. Any position they take does not merely represent the sentiments of an important section of American labor; it also carries great weight with the labor movement as a whole. An effective movement to halt the war-makers is possible only if organized labor supplies the backbone and mass power. The railroad unions, together with the many other labor organizations that have already taken their stand on the war-referendum and other anti-war measures, show the way.

A WELCOME ANSWER

IN the March 22 issue of the Workers Age, we denounced the vile attempt of the official paper of the C.I.O. faction of the U.A.W. to inject a religious issue into an already critical situation. Towards the end of our remarks, we appealed to Norman Thomas to say a word in condemnation of such practices, especially as some well-known Socialist Party members are associated with the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and its paper. We are glad to present below Norman Thomas's letter in reply to our appeal:

"April 12, 1939.

"Dear Comrade Herberg:

"I write you this brief letter to say definitely that neither I nor the Socialist Party approves of the wholly unwarranted way in which a religious issue was dragged into the factional fight in the U.A.W.

"As you know, I have believed that the best hope of one strong union lay with the C.I.O. union, but by no means do I approve of the kind of article which you denounce in a recent issue under the heading 'Unspeakable Villeness.'

"I have not yet learned definitely who was responsible for it or how it happened to appear. I shall probably make further inquiries in Detroit. It is a dangerous thing to create a precedent by dragging a religious issue into a labor controversy, especially where there is no just ground for bringing it in.

Fraternally yours,

NORMAN THOMAS

What New Deal Means by Housing

DOES the United States Housing Authority really clear slums and create low-cost housing projects, the only way that this can be done—thru direct federal action? Has the U.S.H.A. really gone to town on the land-sharks and building contractors, pushing aside their profit greed in the interests of the great masses who need housing?

Here's what the U.S.H.A. itself confesses in a recently distributed folder:

"As the housing movement has matured, business men and others have learned that public housing is not really 'public' in the full sense of the word. They have seen that, altho the government undertakes most of the financing for projects assisted by the U.S.H.A., private capital also invests in them. They have seen that altho the local housing authorities plan and operate these projects, construction itself is in the hands of private industry."

"All projects assisted by the U.S.H.A. are built by private contractors. Of the \$889,000,000 which constitutes the immediate program, about \$689,000,000 will be paid directly to contractors."

This is what the New Deal means by housing—financing the private contractors, guaranteeing the mortgages of private investors!

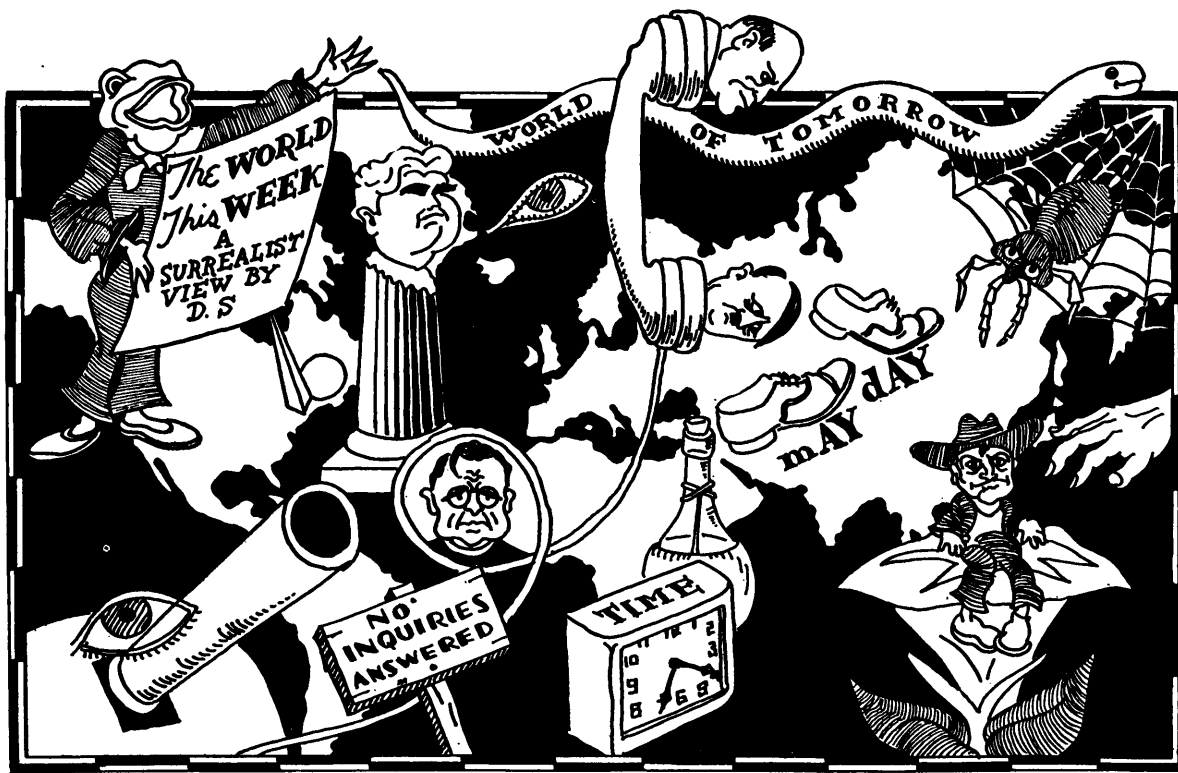
Some Clinical Notes

CLINICAL note on the workings of the Stalinist mind: "Why do the Trotskyites suddenly come out with the slogan 'Defend the Soviet Union,'" asks a reader in the Daily Worker of April 3.

"The Trotskyites 'concern' for the safety of the Soviet Union," answers the pontifical V. J. Jerome, "can be considered only in terms of their unceasing anti-Soviet slanders and their feverish activities to bring about fascist military attacks upon the Soviet land. . . . Attempts to isolate the Soviet Union by hypocritical cries of 'defense' befog the danger to the bourgeois democracies with the aim of undermining united action for peace. . . . The disguised purpose of the cry ['Defend the Soviet Union'] is to make the Soviet Union appear weak and helpless. . . . 'Defend the Soviet Union' on the treacherous tongues of the Trotskyites means not only 'Surrender the Soviet Union' but also 'Surrender France, England and the United States.'"

Clinical note on the workings of the Trotskyist mind: "We consider," proclaims the "All-American Bureau, sub-secretariat of the Fourth International" (Socialist Appeal, April 18), "a proletarian party as the main instrument in the liberation of the working class. The base of such a party must include not empirical and conjunctural demands but a program of transitional slogans and what is more important, the program of social revolution. The idea that one can create a party ad hoc for a concrete conjuncture is absolutely incredible and opportunist in its essence. A workers party with a so-called minimal program is eo ipso a bourgeois party."

HERBERT BENJAMIN, general secretary-treasurer of the Workers Alliance, deserves some kind of blue ribbon—or red ribbon. Here is a man who actually told a Congressional committee that he is a communist. He didn't say that he had once been a communist but had become a Jeffersonian Democrat. He didn't say that, he believed exactly what the communists believed, he was not himself a communist. He didn't say that, that some people might regard his opinions as radical, they were really no different from those of Abraham Lincoln. He said quite plainly before a Congressional Committee that he is a communist. Such candor is entitled to recognition.—from an editorial in the New York Times.



Perspectives for New International Center

Paris Conference Resolutions Are Basis

IMPORTANT developments are taking place in the international organization of the revolutionary socialist movement, with prospects of the early formation of an International Center combining all sections.

For many years, there has existed and functioned the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity. At the present time the Bureau is composed of the following parties and sections:

- Swedish Socialist Party.
- British I.L.P.
- Dutch Revolutionary Socialist League.
- Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.)
- Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists).
- Palestine Workers Party.
- Greek Archio-Marxist Party.
- Czechoslovakian "Alarm" Group.
- International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Youth.

The Bureau has contacts with revolutionary socialist groups in 24 countries, and has established an Enlarged Bureau with which a number of additional organizations are associated. These include:

- International Communist Opposition.
- Independent Labor League of America.
- French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.).
- Dutch Revolutionary Socialist Workers Party.
- International African Service Bureau.
- Indo-Chinese Workers and Peasants Party.
- Palestine Federation of Socialist Communists.
- German "Neue Weg" Group.
- Austrian "Funkte" Group.
- French Party of Proletarian Unity (P.U.P.).

This involved organization has meant needless overlapping. A conference has been called for the end of April, at which a proposal will be made for the establishment of an International Center into which the Bureau and the other international organizations, like the International Communist Opposition, would be merged.

It is proposed that the seven points adopted by the Bureau Conference in Paris, February 1938, should be the basis of the New International Center. These points are:

1. Class action as the basis of the struggle against capitalism, the capitalist state, war, fascism and imperialism.
2. Rejection of the policy of the Popular Front, practised by the Socialist (Second) and Communist (Third) International, as a form of class collaboration.
3. The real alternative is a workers front. The workers front can make temporary agreements with petty-bourgeois organizations for specific objectives, on the understanding that this does not limit the independent class action of the workers for the aims of the social revolution.
4. Rejection in war time as in peace time of social-patriotism and every form of civil peace with the capitalist class.
5. Support of the revolutionary struggle for emancipation by the oppressed peoples of all colonial and semi-colonial countries, and the linking together of the movement of the colonial peoples for national freedom with the revolutionary struggle of the colonial workers against their exploiting class.
6. Defense of the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, against imperialist aggression, for the purpose of defending the conquests of this revolution by international working-class action on a class basis. The advocacy of proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union.
7. Recognition of the necessity (a) to overthrow the apparatus of the capitalist state, and (b) to establish, during the transition to socialism, a socialist revolutionary working-class power, that is, a proletarian dictatorship, which, whilst destroying the power of the capitalist class, provides the maximum democracy in the working class and does not repeat the errors and terror of the Stalinist regime.

It is not intended to regard the new center as a new International,

Cotton Farm Relief

(Continued from Page 3) The President's program is now accepted as an appalling failure and no one has any program for the future save to pay money to the farmers.

(These paragraphs are from the New York World-Telegram of April 13, 1939.—Editor.)

25 YEARS AGO

APRIL 26 - MAY 3, 1914

APRIL 27, 1914. — U. M. W. A. threatens general strike of 500,000 miners as protest against the murders at Ludlow.

April 27.—M. D. Foster, chairman of House Mines Committee, announces, after three-hour conference with John D. Rockefeller Jr., that the latter rejects peace.

April 28.—President Wilson sends federal troops to Colorado.

April 28.—Gas explodes in Teion Mines, Charleston, W. Va., entombing 208 miners.

April 29.—Federal Troops enter Colorado strike zone; 15 more killed in day's battle with strikers.

April 29.—Rep. Keating of Colorado charges that the Colorado state machine is run by Rockefeller.

April 30. — Upton Sinclair and other picketers in mourning arrested before Standard Oil Building in New York.

April 30.—Labor unions of Paraguay to boycott American products in protest against invasion of Mexico.

May 1. — \$0,000 march in New York May Day parade. Complete cessation of work as Italy celebrates May Day. Eight-day recruiting campaign of S. P. of Germany adds 70,000 members; membership now at 1,052,200.

May 2.—Secretary of War Garrison issues proclamation to all in Colorado strike zone to give up arms. Coroners jury at Trinidad fixes blame of firing of miners tents on militiamen and mine guards.

May 2. — Women's suffrage demonstrations held thruout America.

but, in the words of the February 1938 resolution:

"It will serve as a center for the regeneration and reconstruction of the international working-class movement and for the preparation of the revolutionary Marxist International under the appropriate political and organizational conditions as they develop; it will serve to stimulate and organize all the forces in the working-class movement which are preparing the way for a working-class International which shall be truly revolutionary."

What's Wrong With the Cloakmakers Union?

(Continued from Page 2) meaning that the union wants to take the bundles away from them. Certain elements, with ulterior motives, are also, spreading the idea among the Italian workers that the "Jewish" union in New York wants to destroy them.

A realistic and constructive leadership would have analyzed thoroughly the situation thus created in the industry, in the union and among the membership and would have adopted effective measures to meet the new developments:

Real, well-functioning, centralized control in the Joint Board, with the Joint Board making policies for everybody and the general manager acting as a real leader, with only one department manager controlling all inside and contracting shops of each association and all business agents assigned to these shops;

An aggressive organization campaign to organize non-union shop in our own industry and to bring under the control of the Joint Board those shops that produce women's coats and suits in other industries;

A real effort to bring some economy into the administration of the union; and, above all, A serious attempt to have the members of all locals, no matter where they are working, get their equal share of work, at the same standards and with the same protection from the union and all its officers!

Bertram D. Wolfe

(Author of "Diego Rivera: His Life and Times")

speaks on

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Talking It Over:

Is It Mann or Marx?

by Bertram D. Wolfe

ONE of the strangest phenomena of our times is the mass migration of artists, scientists, teachers and men of letters from lands like Germany to America's shores. There has been nothing quite like it since the fall of Constantinople which dispersed the intellectuals of the ancient world over Western Europe. This migration will not fructify America to the same extent as that of the Byzantine scholars did the West European world because modern methods of printing and means of communication and the existence of a world economy have made it easier to spread ideas without the physical presence of the particular progenitor. Yet fruitful it is bound to be.

As for the totalitarian lands, they will be even more impoverished than we enriched. Even should their military might be victorious for a time, in the end their power must perish since modern military power rests on economic strength, and economic strength on an untrammelled science and relatively free spirit of inquiry and play of ideas.

The Soviet Union, too, is preparing disasters for itself by its increasing regimentation of art and science and literature to the increasingly paralyzing bureaucratic regime. There free inquiry has not so much been expelled as subjected or purged. The results in the long run are hardly less dangerous, tho the economic foundations provide a basis for a greater persistence and swifter resurgence of a higher culture.

Finally, even the "democratic" capitalist powers are putting increasing brakes on freedom of thought and inquiry, so that the crisis in culture is becoming a general one. The migrating "thinker," increasingly, leaves his powers of thought behind him and lays on the altar of the new land a stultifying incense of uncritical praise. Where reason is not dethroned, it is too often eager to abdicate, with substantially the same results.

A critical approach to our own land, its institutions and problems, is becoming increasingly "bad form" among the polite, and "treason" among the intellectual corporals and recruiting sergeants. It is eschewed as something which "plays into the hands of fascism," or "gives aid and comfort to the enemy." The other fellow's institutions we are free to criticize, but not our own. Yet our need and our duty in this, as in other matters, begins at home. Yielded to, this spirit will guarantee that rot and corruption will spread the faster here, at the very moment when Thomas Mann and Nicholas Murray Butler are raising their sweet voices in a beautiful love duet to "America, New Cultural Center of the World."

Moreover, intellectuals, torn up by their roots from the economic-cultural-popular soil which nourished them, are apt, more than ever, to develop their characteristic occupational diseases: the separation of theory from practise, of the individual thinker from the socially cumulative conception of thought; the illusion of the immaculate conception of an idea in the mind of an individual thinker, which idea then miraculously changes and rules the world.

THE CULTURE THAT REMAINS BEHIND

IT was Angelica Balabanoff who reminded us in stirring fashion the other night, at a send-off for our delegation to the conference of the International Workers Front against War, that a few artists and writers and teachers alone do not make a culture, that while they may migrate and continue to think or abdicate their powers of thought or let them wither in unfamiliar soil, the great mass of Germans and Italians, the producing, toiling, creative, aspiring mass of working men and peasants of those lands cannot migrate. And their creative powers, their aspiration for freedom and for a more decent and better organized world, is a basic form and root of culture that remains in their native lands, tho for the moment it lives underground. Her ringing words gave the lie to Mann and Butler who complacently imagine that when they move from land to land, all culture moves with them.

How fantastic the illusions of uprooted intellectuals may become, and how impotent, is illustrated by all the political "ideas" expressed in the recent writings of Thomas Mann: contempt for the crowd, aristocratic snobbery, self-adulation of the individual intellectual, a return to myth-making (and in the name of rational thought!), servile incense to the institutions of plutocratic America and England, war-mongering, which, if successful, will bring military dictatorship here in the name of fighting it in Germany.

In my mail last week, came a letter from the "International League for Truth in Germany." Having forgotten that the masses are still in Germany—a minor detail!—and that in them the real roots of culture and freedom are imbedded, this strange League dreams of a revolution in Germany without the masses. All that is needed is that the exiled intellectuals should spread their "truths" in Germany once more, the same "truths" which, divorced from the masses or inadequate to their needs, were impotent to stop Hitler's rise to power or shake him while they were still there. The letter is gotten up with an air of mystery and fantasy worthy of a Huckleberry Finn. Who is behind it, it is hard to tell, for it is signed: "For Truth in Germany, John Doe." Mr. "Doe" encloses a copy of a play "which has been sent into Germany by the thousands thru various routes and means carefully worked out by students of the Gestapo and its methods. With this 'document,' which carries truth in the Swiftian manner, we test out our lines of communication." And more of the same.

As a sample of the "truth" which is to set Germany free, the letter takes as its inspiration a quotation from Thomas Mann which shows how much Thomas Mann, John Doe and the "International League for Truth in Germany" do not know about politics. The Mann revelation reads as follows:

"I have a private suspicion that the elan of the march on Vienna had a secret spring; it was directed toward the venerable Freud, the real and actual enemy, the philosopher and revealer of the neuroses, the great disillusioner, the seer and sayer of the laws of genius."

Thus we get the real secret of Anschluss, the aspiration that caused social-democratic Germany and Austria, to strive for the unification of the two lands, the secret spring of imperialism and conquest. And next we will learn that Mussolini marched into Albania because the name of its sovereign sounded to him like a Jewish command. Doubtless, other revelations are yet in store for us.

Intellectuals who have not discovered the obvious fact that capitalism is sick, can only explain things in terms of the fact that Hitler is sick. But what in decaying German capitalism permits a sick man to come to power? This to the Thomas Manns and the John Does is a closed book sealed with seven seals.

FREEDOM IN IRON PANTS

AND the play that was to liberate Germany is conceived in the same terms. Its Martian dictator is able to rule only so long as he is "frustrated" and is able to bind the vast frustrations of the people into a national unity, a hatred turned outward. When he marries and then falls in love with his wife and dreams of having a child, then he loses his hypnotic power over the masses, he loses his hatred, and they turn their hate on him. He almost regains his power when he discovers that despite the locked iron shorts he made for his wife, someone managed to make a key for them and his alleged son is really the son of the lockpicker! But at that moment, the man who made him cuckold bashes in his skull with an iron bar, and the totalitarian land is liberated and that is the "truth" that is to make Germany free!

There is evidence that the whole scheme is even more fantastic than it sounds. The author of the earthquake play is Chester S. Williams, high official in the Washington government. Other New Dealers, inventors of plowing under crops and bidding up silver and arming to the teeth and other methods of "saving" a sick capitalist system without the organization of the masses, without the abolition of capitalism, or a socialist transformation of society, are also behind it. It is even rumored, Huckleberry Finn fashion, that American spies and G-men in Germany help in the distribution of this earth-or-belly-shaking play, and that the Gestapo is to topple when half of them receive it and turn it in, while the other half don't and are suspected for not turning it in, and then they are to jump at each other and seize each other by the throat, and the whole Gestapo is to choke itself to death, and thus Germany will be free—albeit without the need of organizing the masses or the inconvenience and unpleasantness of a social revolution.

The whole thing would be funny if it weren't so tragic: so pitiful in its noble aspirations, in its ignorance of the mechanism of social transformation, in its pathetic eagerness to delude itself, and in the suggestion that uprooted intellectuals are not sinking their roots into the new soil and using their intellect for the fructification of the culture of both lands, but are merely withering at the torn-up roots and too arrogant and socially ignorant to know it. The way of international solidarity, of working-class organization, or reorganization, in underground Germany, of overthrow of a rotting and decaying system and socialist transformation of society under workers rule, aided but not bossed by intellectuals who accept that way—all this may be a hard and long and painful road, but there are no short cuts such as making Hitler fall in love, lose his hypnotic voice thru tenderness at becoming a father, or overthrowing the gospel of Hitler by way of the gospel of Freud without benefit of the teachings of Marx.

Nor can the intellectuals, merely by shifting their habitat, escape the crisis in economic, political and cultural life that besets an age in which one system rots and dies, and another is still powerless to be born.