

NEXT WEEK:

THE CONVENTION OF  
THE T.W.O.C.

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### DECAY AND DECLINE

APRIL figures reveal a sharp drop in industrial trend. This decline is in no small measure due to the coal strike.

However, regardless of fluctuation one month or another—for one reason or another—few can deny that uncertainty and stagnation grip the economic life of the country. It is hard to assign any one specific reason for this basic situation. No doubt European events play their part. Furthermore, pump-priming has had but indecisive effects in recent months. And experts are agog about the implications of the general political unsteadiness in the land.

It is essential that we examine conditions in a more fundamental sense. In 1938, American industrial production was only 72.5% of what it was in 1929—as compared with 76.9% for France, 98.6% for Italy, 115.7% for Great Britain, 126.2% for Germany, and 170.8% for Japan. Without discounting the greater role played so far by military preparations in the other countries, no one can attach too great significance to the definite long-range downward trend in our economy. Here is a tendency deeply rooted in the growing disequilibrium of the economic set-up in the United States—a trend not effected seriously by manipulations in Washington.

The inherent increasingly acute unbalance of American capitalism is thrown into still sharper relief when one examines the protracted substantial efforts made by government to correct this downward course. Certainly American industry would have been still deeper in the dumps were it not for the billions poured into sundry stimuli, shots-in-the-arm, and recovery schemes.

### LOOK AT ENGLAND!

It is clear from the rising fury of the spokesmen of Biggest Business against government expenditures that they are often not only unappreciative but also ignorant. What the U.S.A. is now going thru in her government budgetary problems, Great Britain experienced in a parallel period of her economic development. In fact, if one turns to the budgetary debates and theories of the eighties in England, he will find words and reasoning almost identical with those of our own economy-shriekers of today. First in Gladstone's "three principles on which all good finance should be based" (1882), was reduction of government expenditures. Disraeli went so far as to say: "There is no fleet and no army which gives England such power and influence in the councils of Europe as the consciousness that the income tax is in a virgin state."

According to the eminent British authority on public finance, Professor D. H. Macgregor, the proportion of England's national income spent by local and central governments was about 13% between 1840 and 1880. By 1914, it rose to 17%. Today, it is about 33%. Despite all howling, federal, state and local governments budgets in the U.S.A. still take a much smaller proportion of the national income. Even in the last eight years, the total federal government expenditures took but 12% of the national income.

Reactionary capitalist apologists in this country will in time have to sing a different song in order to protract the life of their profit system. It won't be long before they will adopt the approach of Britain's Balfour when he declared: "All the increase is due to the desire of this House to ameliorate the social position and to carry out great reforms. . . . All the forces of political life—honest, honorable and patriotic forces—move in the direction of increasing and not of diminishing expenditure." Of course, Balfour was reactionary to the marrow, as Wall Street well knows. Nor was Lloyd George a radical in 1908 when he stated with emphatic assurance that "no one need be afraid of any taxes being taken off in my time."

It is not our business to dissolve the silly suspicions many captains of finance and industry have in regard to Roosevelt. In comparison with the Lloyd George of 1908, the President is an ingrained conservative. We merely turn the searchlight on the past in order to shed some light on the present and developing future, as well as to show how inept and myopic so many of the high-priced policy-makers of the Wall Street ruling class are.

Present-day government spending will appear puny alongside of what's coming. We fear it won't be for social services either that billions will be poured out by the coming federal administration. Unless all the signs of the times are completely deceptive, armament programs will very soon become synonymous with public works in the U.S.A. We only wonder how soon before even our liberals will be saying—as they are now saying in England—that the "rearmament program is the greatest public works ever devised in time of formal peace."

## New International Center Greets I.L.L.A.

Points to Vital Socialist Work in U.S.A.

(We publish below the message of greetings sent by the International Revolutionary Marxist Center to the recent session of the National Council of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

IN the name of the parties and groups affiliated with the International Revolutionary Marxist Center, we send you our fraternal greetings. We are convinced that the decisions of your meeting will serve to strengthen the influence of the Independent Labor League of America within the American labor movement and, at the same time, contribute towards the development of the new I.R.M.C., in the creation of which the representative of your organization played a decisive role.

The establishment of the I.R.M.C. was made a necessity by developments in the international labor movement during recent years. The degeneration of the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union, the tragic experience of the Spanish revolution, the shameful attitude adopted by the big labor organizations toward the approaching world war—all these facts show drastically the depth of the crisis thru which the international labor movement is passing at present. In the midst of this crisis and in face of the ever growing danger of a new imperialist world war, we created the new International Revolutionary Marxist Center. It already unites the revolutionary Marxist organizations of eleven countries. We hope that the revolutionary Marxist organizations which have not yet affiliated officially with it will do so soon.

The purpose of the I.R.M.C. is, as indicated by its name, the defense of the revolutionary and internationalist essence of Marxism. This is possible only by taking into consideration the whole experience of the international labor movement during the last twenty years. The I.R.M.C. strives to prepare a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement not only by fighting the openly

reformist conceptions hostile to Marxism but also by freeing revolutionary Marxism from the distortions inflicted upon it by the factional pseudo-theories of the degenerate successors of Lenin. It desires to develop revolutionary Marxism by thorough discussion and study of the new problems of the present situation and by revolutionary action based upon this ideological clarification.

Weak as our forces may be today, the establishment of the I.R.M.C. is an important new fact in the history of the revolutionary movement. Created upon a broader basis than the international centers previously in existence—such as the London Bureau and the International Communist Opposition—the I.R.M.C. is assuming new tasks in a new situation on the basis of firm principles and a real international discipline that has nothing in common either with the conceptions of the Socialist (Second) International regarding international duties or with the bureaucratic regime of the Stalinist International.

The creation of the I.R.M.C. will help give a new impulse to the work the International Workers Front Against War is accomplishing in order to mobilize the masses against imperialist war.

We attach great importance to the collaboration of the I.L.L.A. in the Center. In view of the role played by American imperialism, the attitude of the American workers becomes more and more important for the international proletariat. Hence, we rejoice in the fact that the I.L.L.A., a revolutionary vanguard organization, is accomplishing successful work among the masses of the organized workers of the U.S.A. The I.L.L.A. belongs to the small number of revolutionary organiza-

## French S.P. Breaks With Stalinites

Blum Badly Defeated at Socialist Congress, Policy Sharply Censured

The leadership and policies of Leon Blum were decisively repudiated by the annual congress of the Socialist Party of France (S.F.I.O.) meeting in Nantes last week. The position taken by this congress, especially on the question of relations with the Communist Party, is likely to be of historic significance in marking the close of the era of S.P.-C.P. collaboration within the framework of the Popular Front.

The clash at Nantes, climaxing a long period of inner-party controversy, came first over the issue of Paul Faure's "doctrinal report." The party administrative committee, headed by Leon Blum, had decided to keep this report from the congress, altho Paul Faure is general

secretary of the party, because the report urged the rupture of all relations with the Communist Party as well as the adoption of a "pacificist" attitude by the socialists. But the congress voted 3,302 to 1,116 to receive and to debate the report.

Two days later, on the basis of this report, the congress decided to break all relations with the Communist Party, with which it had been linked since the formation of the Popular Front in 1936. This decision was taken on a resolution by Paul Faure passed by a vote of 5,490 to 1,761. A vigorous attack on the Populaire, the party's official newspaper, conducted by Blum, was made by a number of influential delegates (Continued on Page 2)

## Revolutionary Writers Fight Cultural Reaction

Issue Manifesto Stressing Socialist Goal

(We publish below the manifesto announcing the formation and presenting the program of the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism. While sharing with the League for Cultural Freedom, headed by John Dewey, a common opposition to totalitarianism and the suppression of cultural freedom, this organization, as its name implies, places fundamental stress on the inseparability of the liberation of culture from the liberation of the working masses and all mankind thru socialism. A number of writers have signed the manifestos of both leagues in view of the general similarity of aim.)

We heartily greet both organizations, for we too regard the struggle against totalitarianism and cultural reaction as among the vital tasks of the day. In both movements we see a welcome sign of the beginning of the turning of the tide among intellectuals. We anticipate fruitful and harmonious cooperation between the two organizations.—Editor.)

WE address this statement to all artists and writers who are concerned about the present drift of the United States to reaction and war.

Not in this country alone but everywhere, culture is threatened by advancing reaction, in forcing the recrudescence of social forms which had seemed obsolete, German and Italian fascism have at the same time compelled the revival of obsolete modes in art and science. In

the Soviet Union, on the other hand, where nationalism and personal dictatorship are replacing the revolutionary ideals of freedom and democracy, culture suffers regimentation and debasement no less severe.

### SOCIAL REACTION IN THE U.S.A.

Nor are signs lacking of deepening social reaction in the United States. Increasingly, experimentation is discouraged in the creative arts; a premium is put upon the conventional and the academic. The social sciences are witnessing the revival of various forms of obscurantism, the rise of an intolerant orthodoxy. Educators are being intimidated thru loyalty oaths. Government censorship cripples W.P.A. theater, art and literary projects. Terrorism is exercised by the Catholic Church over such cultural enterprises as the movies. Covert sabotage hinders the publication of work by independent and revolutionary writers. And in heresy-hunting bodies like the Dies Committee, many of these tendencies find official and concentrated expression.

Such conditions are a challenge to existing cultural organization. Yet no ready fully to meet the challenge. If life in the totalitarian states intellectual in America it is preparing, under pressure of "anti-fascist" hysteria, for voluntary abdication. Cultural circles, formerly progressive, are now capitulating to the spirit of fascism while ostensibly combating its letter. They fight one falsehood with another. To the deification of Hitler and Mussolini they counterpose the deification of Stalin, the unequal support of Roosevelt, The mysticism of "Aryan" supremacy they match with the national-democratic myth conjured out of America's historic infancy. To the war drive of the fascist powers they reply with a war drive of their own.

In consequence, the intellectual gains of recent decades are being rapidly wiped out. The last war set moving in this country a profound current of scepticism in respect to bourgeois values in art and life. Responsible for the finest cultural achievements of the post-war period, this tendency culminated after 1929 in the radicalization of a significant part of the intelligentsia. But now, in the name of a spurious "anti-fascist" unity, numerous intellectuals are deserting their hard-won critical independence. They are giving up their opposition to capitalist exploitation and oppression, to imperialist domination of colonial lands. They no longer protest repression and frame-up in this country, in the Soviet Union, and in other "democracies." They have forsaken the struggle for the right of asylum. In the name of a "democratic front" against tyranny abroad, they put up with increasing tyranny at home, in short, they have surrendered the right—and duty—to protest all injustice, to investigate all formulas, to challenge all dogmas, to think thru all problems. And inspired by Stalinist and social-reformist propaganda, they advocate a new war for "democracy." Yet this war must (Continued on Page 4)

### Mr. Roosevelt Is Worried

WORD has it that the White House is disturbed by the volume of correspondence that calls for an isolationist policy by this country to avoid entanglements abroad. The President is counted on during his next cross-country trip to argue for a 'positive' foreign policy grounded on 'American participation in world affairs.' —U. S. News, May 22, 1939.

## Soviet Spurns Anglo-French Pact

Molotov Scores Proposals, Trade Talks With Nazis May Begin Soon

Speaking for Dictator Stalin, seated close behind him as he spoke, Soviet Premier-Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov sharply criticized and virtually rejected the Anglo-French

proposals for a three-power military pact against the Berlin-Rome Axis in a sensational address at the session of the Russia Supreme Soviet held last week in Moscow. He also indicated that trade talks with Germany might be initiated very soon. A few days later, a formal reply was sent to London along the same lines.

Molotov's address promptly dispelled the impression carefully cultivated in recent weeks by the press of the "democratic" countries that Soviet Russia was already completely lined up in the so-called "peace front." (The Workers Age persistently warned against this misconception and stressed the possibility that the U.S.S.R. would act along quite different lines.) The Soviet Premier-Foreign Minister not only scored the British proposal for its failure to extend the system of guarantees to the small Baltic states but also bluntly voiced his suspicion that London had not yet definitely dropped the idea of "appeasing" the dictators. His entire address rang with scepticism as to the intentions of the "great democracies" and he carefully quoted Stalin's warning of last March against "pulling British and French chestnuts out of the fire."

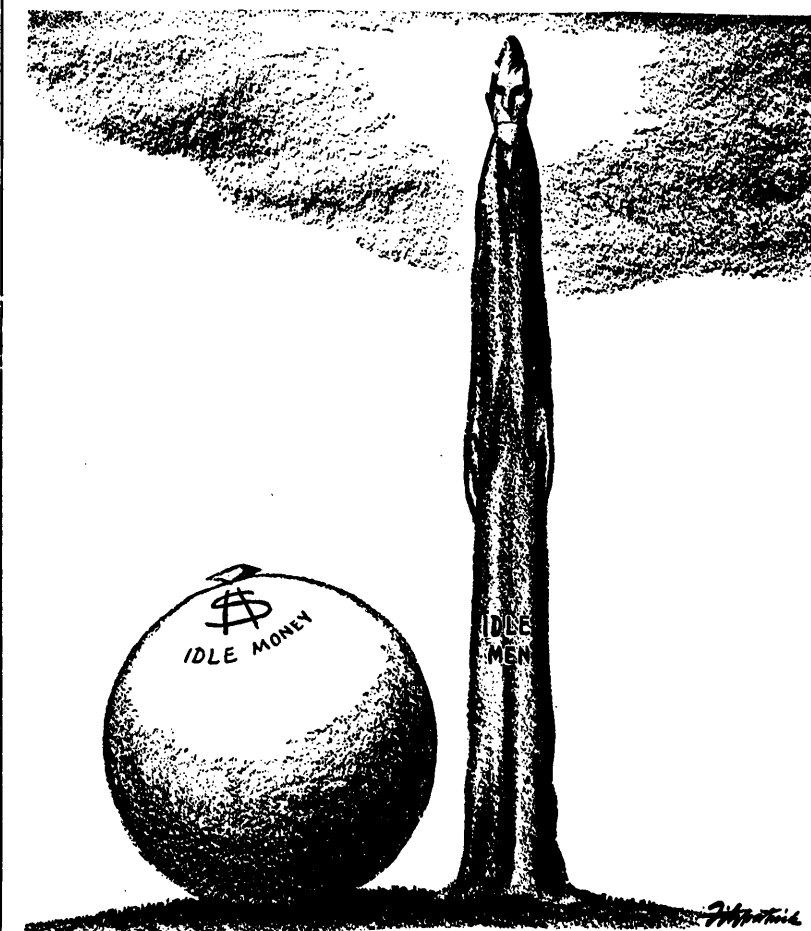
Molotov did not definitely close all doors to continuation of discussions for an Anglo-Franco-Soviet military pact, and in some quarters in London and Paris confidence was expressed that such an alliance would still come into existence in the near future should the Russian demands be met with adequate concessions. But in other, more realistic and probably better-informed quarters, it was felt that all the dickering over demands and concessions was mere shadow-boxing, that Soviet Russia had no intention whatever of definitely tying itself up with the western "democracies" but was determined to maintain a free hand and to continue its wary game of playing off the two imperialist blocs against each other thru a careful policy of "isolation." Molotov's remarks on the possibility of trade talks with Germany were taken as a virtual confirmation of the reports that such negotiations were already under way. Indeed, rumors are rife that these Nazi-Soviet talks, informal as they have been, have gone considerably beyond purely commercial matters. Soviet Russia recently signed a new trade agreement with fascist Italy.

In London and Paris, official quarters declared themselves "stunned" at the "utterly unexpected" stand taken by Soviet Russia. The French Foreign Office was understood to be exerting its influence to get Britain to yield to the Russian demand for a thoroughly iron-clad, completely reciprocal military pact, but in London it was hinted that there was a distinct possibility that Prime Minister Chamberlain would again revert to "appeasement," a policy never really discarded by him. Even should a pact with Russia be finally signed, it was said, it would be deprived of much of its supposed significance by the conflicting "ulterior motives" of both sides.

To insure enforcement of the hard-core contract and to help stabilize the industry, the new pact provides for the appointment of a committee of six miners and six operators to consider "all questions arising under this contract relating to cooperation and efficiency and performance of the contract by the parties." The committee is authorized to refer points of disagreement to the industry's permanent board of conciliation.

The old agreement in the anthracite fields expired April 30, but the mines were kept open while the negotiations proceeded here.

### WORLD OF TODAY



## Labor Law Hit in Penna.

Sit-Down Strike Banned, Union Activities Greatly Restricted

Harrisburgh, Pa. A bill outlawing the sit-down strike as an "unfair labor practice" and an "illegal act" and sharply restricting essential union activities, was passed last week by the Pennsylvania State Legislature and is waiting for the signature of Governor James.

Both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders made vigorous protests against passage of this bill, which is an extensive revision of the state labor-relations act.

"The state labor act now is really a criminal code," protested James L. McDevitt, president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor (A. F. of L.). "The new bill just about nullifies the labor-relations act. Certainly there was no justification for these sweeping changes."

Patrick T. Fagan, a district president of the United Mine Workers (C.I.O.) and a member of the state board that administers the labor act, declared: "The bill destroys every vestige of advance that has been made by the worker in this state. Labor would be better off if the entire (labor-relations) act were repealed."

## British Labor Bans Popular Front

Popular Frontism was again condemned and the expulsion of Stafford Cripps for having attempted to build up a Popular Front with the Liberals and the communists was upheld by the annual conference of the British Labor Party meeting at Southport last week. Cripps's expulsion was confirmed by a card vote of 2,100,000 to 402,000.

While opposing conscription, the conference nevertheless refused to go on record favoring resistance to it. The card vote on this issue was 1,670,000 to 286,000. The conference also took action to condemn by an almost unanimous vote the British White Paper on Palestine.

Immediately after Cripps's expulsion had been confirmed, he and four colleagues applied for reinstatement, declaring that they were "prepared to sign the undertakings which are obligatory on every member of the party" and promising to "abide by the decision of the conference on a Popular Front."

The new Labor executive council was instructed to prepare for a general election.

## UMA Signs Anthracite

Closed-Shop Provision Included In Contract, No Change In Standards

New York City. With the initialing of a new two-year agreement, the United Mine Workers of America won the closed shop last week in the anthracite fields of Northeastern Pennsylvania.

The basic scale of wages and hours remains unchanged under the new hard-coal pact, which became effective immediately. Altho formal signing of the contract was deferred until it is approved by referendum vote of the Pennsylvania miners, Mr. Lewis predicted that the assent would be "overwhelming." The scale committee of the union and the full body of seventy-five operators have already ratified the agreement.

The contract specifies that the establishment of a closed shop and the granting of sole-bargaining rights to Mr. Lewis's organization is not to be construed as "intruding on the rights of management as heretofore practised and understood."

To insure enforcement of the hard-core contract and to help stabilize the industry, the new pact provides for the appointment of a committee of six miners and six operators to consider "all questions arising under this contract relating to cooperation and efficiency and performance of the contract by the parties." The committee is authorized to refer points of disagreement to the industry's permanent board of conciliation.

## Padway Threatens to Call for NLRA Repeal

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

(Frank Howard was away from Washington most of last week. Instead of his usual weekly Washington letter, he has wired us a number of important items of information, which we present to our readers.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C. SOME startling statements made at hearings on the Wagner Act but not reported in the press:

1. By Padway, counsel for the A. F. of L.: that he would recommend that the A. F. of L. call for the complete repeal of the N.L.R.A. in 1940 and the passage of a new law, if the proposed amendments are not enacted.

2. By Madden, chairman of the Board: that the N.L.R.B. would have to invoke more severe penalties against employers violating the act if the National Manufacturers As-

sociation continued to advise employers to disregard the law when "uncertain" of its applicability.

Feverish war preparations continue . . . F. D. R. boom gains ground . . . Expensive engraved announcements of the National Meeting for Moral Rearmament (Buchman movement) are out. The meeting is scheduled for Constitution Hall, June 4, F. D. R., Hoover, the Secretaries of State and War, the Attorney General, Senators Borah, Barkley and Bankhead, House Minority Leader Martin, Dr. Alexis Carrel of Rockefeller Institute and others are quoted in favor of the movement. Attorney General Murphy says: "M. R. A. safeguards the great traditions of our past, and will provide the sinews of our might for the future." Bankhead "welcomes the movement for Moral and Spiritual Rearmament as a bulwark of the democratic tradition and a basis for unity thruout the nation." I will report the meeting next week.



# Important Labor Laws in Illinois Legislature

## Labor Movement of State Must Exert Every Effort

By MIRIAM MARSHALL

ORGANIZED labor throughout Illinois is pressing for the passage of several bills and the defeat of others as the state legislature nears the close of this session.

### THE LANTZ BILL

Some time back, Senator Lantz, a gentleman farmer from Congerville, introduced a bill entitled "The Illinois Employment Peace Act," which would create an Illinois Employment Relations Board. This bill requires that a union in order to be recognized as collective-bargaining agent by any employer shall obtain, by secret ballot, the favorable vote of a majority of all of his employees in the state. A similar majority vote of all employees is necessary in order to declare a strike. Also the Board must be notified at least ten days before a strike is called. The Board in turn is to immediately notify the employer. Secondary boycott or picketing is made illegal—in fact, only what the police call "good picketing" would be permitted, as there must be no interference with the conveyance of materials or the entrance and exit of employees. With the aid of a good corporation lawyer, this bill could be used to declare almost any act of union labor illegal. After its introduction by Lantz, this bill, S. B. 297, was placed in the Agricultural Committee of the Senate.

The Illinois Federation of Labor was unable to get a copy of the bill until twenty-four hours before the first hearing. The Chicago Crime Commission spoke for the bill at this hearing. The opposition was not heard but did succeed in obtaining a second hearing at which the bill was supported by the Illinois Agricultural Association and was opposed by representatives of the Illinois and Chicago Federations of Labor. These labor bodies claim that both organizations which spoke for the bill are just "fronts" for the real sponsors who have not yet made themselves known. However, let us consider these supporters.

Lantz is a landowner and raiser of pure-bred stock. The Illinois Agricultural Association is the Illinois section of the Farm Bureau, a powerful organization, dominated by the more well-to-do farmers. Recently, the list of supporters has increased. Representatives of 50,000 members of the Council of Retail Trade Associations, meeting in Chicago, voted endorsement, asserting that passage of the Lantz bill is "imperative for the commercial, industrial and agricultural well-being of Illinois." The committee elected to visit Mayor Kelly included the president of the Civic, Business and Professional Women's Club, along with the officials of three retail associations. And what of the Illinois Manufacturers Association? Does silence indicate consent? Or more?

There is good reason to believe that this anti-labor bill is backed by the large industrial and commercial interests of the state and that they have won the cooperation of the middle-class elements, the owning farmers and the smaller merchants, who, in fact, are appearing as the sponsors of the bill.

Farmers supported a similar bill in Minnesota; the Agricultural Council of Wisconsin sponsored such a bill; the voters of Oregon established a similar act by referendum vote. And now the bosses have grown bolder—the Illinois bill is the most offensive of them all. The employers are mobilizing for a widespread offensive against labor, of which these bills are a part, and they are encouraged in their attack by the division in labor's ranks. However, the Illinois Federation of Labor took one step to strengthen labor's position when President Victor Olander wrote to all A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions in the state, calling upon them to defeat the Lantz bill.

### BILLS AGAINST INJUNCTION EVIL

United support of labor is needed to secure the passage of several bills for the protection of workers in their right to organize and to strike.

H. B. 94, known as the anti-injunction bill, prohibits detective agencies or employers from hiring labor spies, companies from hiring private detectives to interfere with their employees exercise of their right of self-organization and collective bargaining, and individuals from making private reports on labor activities for money or other considerations. The bill carries a

penalty of \$500 to \$2,000 and/or up to 11 months in the county jail.

H. B. 98 limits the use of the injunction in labor disputes. The employer is required to testify at a hearing to which the defendant has been called before an injunction can be obtained. However, provision is made for a five-day temporary injunction, to be issued without notice to the defendant in cases where the employer can show that it is necessary to prevent substantial injury to his property. The issuance of a temporary injunction requires the placing by the employer of security sufficient to recompense those enjoined.

H. B. 390 prohibits the housing or feeding of employees on the premises of the place of employment during a strike.

### STATE MINIMUM WAGE BILL

The state wage-and-hour bill, H.B. 531, following the federal act, sets a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour and maximum hours of 8 hours per day and 44 hours per week for the period thru October 1940; 30 cents per hour, 8 hours per day, and 42 hours a week thru October 1946; and 40 cents per hour, 8 hours a day and 40 hours per week after November 1, 1946; with a minimum of one and one-half the regular rate for overtime. Workers on the farms and workers in private homes are excluded from the provisions of this bill. The same is true of the federal act and of most wage-hour legislation in the various states.

The Domestic Workers Association, Chicago local, is attempting to improve this situation by the passage of H. B. 302 and S. B. 243. This bill will amend the minimum-wage law for women so that those in domestic service will be included. Then it will be possible for the domestic workers to call upon the State Department of Labor to set up a committee, composed of two employers, two domestic workers, and one impartial citizen, to establish a minimum wage for domestic workers. This will affect about 100,000 workers in Illinois.

The discrimination in many trade unions is causing a number of Negroes to support H. B. 373. This bill would invalidate the contract or collective-bargaining agreement of any union which discriminates against Negroes. Such discrimination can be established by showing that there is a provision in the constitution or by-laws which bars Negroes or by proof that the union has refused to allow 20 persons to apply for membership or rejected their applications because of race or color.

Union discrimination against Negroes must be stopped, but this bill will not do it. If Negro workmen try to enforce this law, they will find that they cannot really use it to stop

discrimination. Most unions which discriminate against Negroes do not have discriminatory clauses in their constitutions or by-laws. Those that do can delete them and use other methods. Most unions do not refuse to take applications or admit to rejection of applications because of color. Those which do can easily drop these crude methods. They would still have, untouched by this law, many effective methods of discrimination, such as requirement of ability in the trade or skill which is controlled by the union, or requirement of apprenticeship also controlled by the union. Then, if membership should be gained anyway, it could be made unattractive by charging high dues, by giving Negroes only poor jobs or only few jobs and membership can be lost thru inability to pay dues during a period of unemployment.

On the other hand, there would be a grave danger of employers using this bill to frame unions which do not really discriminate against Negroes. Also this bill would set precedent for the government determining who can and who cannot belong to unions.

### LABOR MUST CLEAN HOUSE

Union discrimination must be stopped by the unions themselves. In Illinois, at the present time, the campaign of the Domestic Workers Association for its minimum-wage bill is a fine example of solidarity between Negro and white workers. The International Brotherhood of Red Caps, a predominantly colored union, is working within the organized labor movement to eliminate discrimination from the railroad unions. The unions in the mass-production industries recently organized under the C.I.O. do not differentiate between Negro and white. The I.L.G. W.U. has long stood for solidarity regardless of nationality or race. Negro workers who seek equality in the trade unions must join with progressive labor forces and work thru the unions themselves to gain this equality for all workers.

Cooperation between the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods, and a real determination to build the solidarity of all workers, regardless of race, sex, creed or political affiliation, will create a victorious labor movement. Such a labor movement could win the support of large sections of the working farmers and the small producers and merchants. Such a labor movement would be able to defeat such legislation as the Lantz bill and secure the passage of favorable laws in all the legislatures.

\* As we go to press, we learn that the Lantz bill has been defeated in the Illinois Senate by a vote of 28 to 16. —Editor.

# New Federal Food Stamp Plan Tried

## Effect in Relieving Surpluses Doubtful

By ALBERT EASTON

THE food stamp plan now being tried out in Rochester, N. Y., is being offered by many enthusiastic New Dealers as the latest panacea for the overproduction of farm products. Actually, from the point of view of farm surpluses, nothing new is being done, since for a number of years the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation has been purchasing large quantities of farm products which were glutting the markets at any given moment and then distributing the goods free to persons on relief. The new plan is merely a modification. Instead of giving food away to people on relief, the government is experimenting with a scheme of increasing the food purchases of relief recipients thru stamps or scrip. Any recipient of public relief of any kind—W.P.A. workers, Social Security beneficiaries (indigent aged, blind, etc.), and direct state or local relief clients—may buy orange stamps or scrip to amounts of from \$1 to \$1.50 per member of a family per week. With each dollar's worth of orange stamps purchased, the relief client receives free 50 cents worth of blue stamps. With the orange stamps, the person on relief can buy any foodstuff he desires. The blue stamps, however, will purchase only those foods which

are listed as surplus by the F.S.C.C. for that week. At present in Rochester, the experiment is limited to W.P.A. workers and direct-relief recipients, but it is intended that the recipients of other forms of relief be also given the opportunity to make use of the food-stamp plan later on. The plan is voluntary. The 50% bonus in blue stamps is the incentive to get the relief clients to respond to the plan.

By means of the food-stamp plan, the government claims that the relief clients will be induced to spend a greater portion of their income on food since the proportion now spent is deemed inadequate. Thus, a family of four receiving \$50 a month and spending \$20 on food might be convinced to raise its food purchases to \$30 by means of the blue stamps obtained free. According to the scrip plan, this particular type of relief family would have to buy at least \$16 worth, and may buy as much as \$24 worth of orange stamps, and receive in addition from \$8 to \$12 in blue stamps. To the extent that the relief family gets that much more money for food, the plan is, of course, all to the good. But to spend from one-third to one half on food will leave very little for rent, light and heat, clothing and other necessities of life. The whole plan is in itself an obvious admission of the very low standards of relief.

It would, however, seem that the relief client is not the chief concern of the government, nor is the farmer. The New Dealers have come to believe that, although they have given direct aid to the unemployed, to the farmers and the big capitalists, they have neglected the retailers, wholesalers and jobbers in such lines as food. By means of this food-stamp plan, it is intended that these groups of business men should benefit, since the relief client would go to his neighborhood grocer to purchase his food supply. The grocer, in turn, would buy thru the normal channels and thus there would be set in motion a general improvement of business. Yet, if increased purchasing power is the desired end, why then the dropping of one-third of the W.P.A. workers as proposed for the coming year? Certainly, the maxi-



# CLOTHES for the LIVING - NOT SHROUDS for the DEAD!

- How would you like to sit at your machine all day sewing shrouds for dead people? It wouldn't be very nice, would it, especially if you were thinking all the time that the shroud passing thru your machine might soon be worn by your brother, husband, or son.
- Well, that gives you some idea of what will happen if war comes, and what you will have to go thru. But that is only part of it. There will be other things.
- Think of all the hard work and heartbreak that has gone into the building of your union, the years you have spent struggling for decent standards so that you and your family might enjoy decent lives.
- The day war is declared the fruits of all your hard work will be destroyed. For war means military dictatorship, which means the end of your union just as surely as fascism does.
- They will tell you to give your life in the fight against fascism in Europe and they will put you under a military dictatorship not far removed from fascism. Instead of destroying fascism where it exists today, a new world war will spread it all over the world.
- The war into which we are being driven will be fought for the same old stakes—the division of spoils among the imperialist robber states. To the rich, it will bring swollen profits. For the masses, it will mean death on the battlefield and suffering at home.
- The fight against fascism and war in this country is one and the same. It is a fight that can be fought successfully with your help.
- If you cherish your union and your freedom and the lives of your people, if you would rather sew clothes for the living than shrouds for the dead,

## Join Labor's Anti-War Council

Among the sponsors are: Rose Pesotta, Joseph Schlossberg, Louis Nelson, Murray Gross, Minnie Lurye, Benjamin Baraz, Herman Zukowsky

Above is presented a leaflet published recently by the New York Needle Trades Section of Labor's Anti-War Council, an affiliate of the Keep America Out of War Congress.

# Curran Tactics Hurt Ship Strike

## NMU Leader Fails to Extend Struggle

By JACK SODERBERG

May 21, 1939.

IF ever a lesson is needed how not to run a strike, the present National Maritime Union tanker strike is a glaring example. The strike was declared some four weeks ago and involves four companies, the most influential and by far the largest being the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. This company alone operates considerably more than one hundred ships.

Shortly after the decision to strike had been taken, it became evident that the action was anything but effective. It is true that on the great majority of the tankers, the crew loyally walked off. On some ships—especially those arriving in port some time after the strike decision—the crew stayed on. On others, the original crew was replaced by plow-jockeys and puddle-jumpers who were given certificates by the U. S. Steamboat Inspectors without further proof of sea experience than their say-so. Other ships, which could not secure a scab crew, were simply laid up and foreign bottoms were chartered in their place. Standard Oil products continued to be merrily shipped from port to port as well as abroad. The union, because of Curran's refusal to broaden the strike, was and is helpless.

Curran refuses, despite the demands of the crews, to declare this fuel oil and other Standard Oil products hot, and he bases his refusal on existing agreements with these companies. He considers a flimsy agreement more sacred than the winning of a strike involving the vital question of a closed shop! Such "agreements" aren't worth having and the sooner they are violated and thrown overboard the better for the membership as a whole. In contrast to this miserable attitude on the part of Curran, we find that the Seafarers International Union, with which the Sailors Union of the Pacific is connected, has on several occasions simply sat down, refusing to sail their ships bunkered with hot oil, thereby forcing the companies to purchase their fuel oil from concerns not struck. If the S.I.U. and the S.U.P. can do it, so can the N.M.U.

Realizing this but lacking what it takes to admit his mistake and tack over, Joe Curran approached the Standard Oil and offered to negotiate at the point where previously he had broken off, provided the companies would rehire the crews originally sailing and discharge the plow-jockeys and puddle-jumpers. The companies, understanding that this proposal came from Curran only because he realized that he was losing the strike, naturally declined any further dealings with him.

That's the picture today. However, the strike is still far from lost—provided steps are taken to broaden its effect into allied fields. Even now it isn't too late to do so, and certainly it must be done if there is to be a vestige of organization left on

the ground that it had "misled" its readers on foreign affairs and was "flirting with Moscow."

Why isn't the strike broadened to include these workers? Why are such elementary points in strike strategy forgotten?

Curran whimpers the source of the oil and allied products carried by the tankers struck. John L. Lewis personally promised all possible assistance prior to the strike. The workers in the oil refineries down in Texas are all members of the C.I.O. Oil Refinery Workers Union. Yet, each and every scab ship sailing is loaded and pumped by members of this union! You need not be a seaman to understand that if no oil was pumped into the ship, she would not sail. Why isn't the strike broadened to include these workers? Why are such elementary points in strike strategy forgotten?

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# Anti-War Meet In New Haven

New Haven, Conn.

NORMAN THOMAS, member of the Executive Committee of the Keep America Out of War Congress, spoke at a meeting held here recently under the auspices of the New Haven Chapter of the K.A.O. W.C. Thomas developed a program for keeping America out of any European war. Among his suggestions were complete divorce from any war trade, a more concerted effort to solve our unemployment and housing problems, restriction of the President's power in the realm of foreign affairs, and a popular referendum on any declaration of war by the United States.

Thomas pointed out that "collective security" might work in the cold blue sky, but that all powers, "democratic" and fascist alike, played the same game of power-politics, and that their ideologies made little difference between them. The Spanish embargo, recognition of Franco, aid to Latin American dictators by Roosevelt, the American silver policy toward Mexico, inclusion of such "democracies" as Poland, Turkey, and Greece in the "collective-security" front of "democracy against fascism"—all went, he said, to prove his contention that "ideological" differences in forms of regimes did not make much of a difference in the practical policies of the powers.

The entry of the U.S.A. into war will result in fascism here, he emphasized, and the best way to prevent both war and fascism in America, he said, was some immediate solution to the ever-growing problem of unemployment.

The meeting was well attended, over 500 being present. Of particular significance was the large attendance of young people who were much impressed with what Thomas had to say and who showed interest in the K.A.O.W.C. as an organization.

# Blum Defeated At SP Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

on the ground that it had "misled" its readers on foreign affairs and was "flirting with Moscow."

Faure's motion forbidding collaboration with the communists specifically bans not only existing

forms of such collaboration in the Popular Front but also communist-inspired organizations that may be formed in the future.

Sharp differences were also manifested on foreign policy. Leon Blum represented the pro-war position, advocating a "firm international front against aggressor nations."

This policy was strongly opposed by the "pacifist" faction led by Paul Faure on the ground that it was bound to lead to war. The congress finally adopted, by a vote of 6,395 to 1,185, a compromise position which amounted in effect to support of the government's alliance-building policy, also stressing also that a "foreign policy limited to organization of military resistance would not be sufficient to safeguard peace."

It was obvious that despite their sharp differences both factions were anxious to avoid a definite break which might result in another party split. A strong effort was made to build up an atmosphere of reconciliation and unity.

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## WORKERS AGE

(From Frank Howard's dispatch in the Workers Age, May 3, 1939.) "FDR TO RUN AGAIN, FARLEY AGREES.—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."

(From Felix Belair, Jr.'s dispatch in the New York Times, May 31, 1939.) "Moreover, while Mr. Farley has yet to make any public statement . . . friends who talked with him last week in Chicago received the impression that he had confirmed his belief that President Roosevelt would have no difficulty in getting a renomination on the Democratic ticket if he so desires."

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# Britain Continues Policy Of Division in Palestine

## White Paper Aims to Play Off Arabs Against Jews

By C. ROBERTS

(We publish below an interpretation of recent developments in regard to British policy in Palestine. Other articles with somewhat varying viewpoints, tho of course laying equal stress on the paramount necessity of Jewish-Arab labor solidarity against British imperialism, will appear in subsequent issues of this paper.—Editor.)

THE British government recently abrogated the Palestine mandate, drastically restricted immigration and land sales to Jews, and prepared to establish an "independent" Arab state in ten years. This would keep the Jews in the perpetual minority status of about one-third of the population.

This action comes as no surprise. It fits consistently into the scheme of Empire policy since the inception of the mandate. Long before Munich, Palestine was one of the places where the British Foreign Office revealed itself fully. From the General Allenby occupation to this day, it has impeded immigration, restricted land purchases, stubbornly resisted Jewish efforts to cooperate with the Arabs, aided and abetted Arab terrorist leaders, hindered economic development.

Great Britain's primary interest in Palestine is to secure military control. Palestine is one of the vital points on the life-line of the Empire. It controls the entrance to the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal route to India. It is the only large sea-plane landing base. The Mosul oil pipe-lines terminate at Haifa.

To secure control, Britain has always followed a policy of "divide and rule." This is true particularly in the question of terrorism which has not only kept Arab and Jew divided but has wrought more damage among the Arabs than the Jews. The terrorists consist of some 1,500 brigands, led by the ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who is head of the Palestine Moslems and is now in exile in Syria. These men, in conjunction with the feudal landlords, the effendis, not only attack the Jews, but also extort money from the Arab peasants and city workers, threaten them with death if they organize or cooperate with Jews in any way. The number of Arabs killed by the terrorists far exceeds the number of Jews.

The second and basic motivation for the issuance of the White Paper at this time is the imminence of a war. For the last few years, Italy and Germany have been gaining influence among the Arabs by subsidizing them with guns and money. Britain believes that concessions to the Arab leadership at this time will make allies out of the entire Moslem East. And the 120 million Indian Mohammedans are not to be forgotten in this respect.

Britain also feels that the Jews are committed to its support because they will fight Hitler anyway. If the abrogation of the mandate will strengthen the Empire, then the Jews cannot oppose it, for doing so would "strengthen Hitler" by weakening Hitler's imperialist enemies. Therefore, those Jews who place their trust in the British Empire must support the White Paper, and in doing so, they become politically impotent, virtually signing their own death-warrant by their inability to do anything.

### ASPECTS OF THE WHITE PAPER

The White Paper is divided into three sections—political provisions, immigration, and land sales. The constitutional provision establishes a five-year transitional period during which Jews and Arabs would be appointed heads of departments subject to the veto of the High Commissioner. The Arabs, by virtue of their two-thirds majority, would have the upper hand. However, the Arabs who are to be appointed are not peasants or workers. They are the present reactionary leaders of the terror—the group that already has the economic control thru being the feudal landlords, and religious control because of the Mufti.

At the end of the five-year period, Britain plans to set up a constitutional state, the provisions of which will be determined by what happens during that period. Britain further prescribes rigid assurances of strategic, transport, and economic interests. We can see that Britain has no intention of relinquishing political control. The High Commissioner's veto and the prescribed assurances confirm that. And by giving the Effendis control in the transitional period, Britain precludes any semblance of democracy developing or continuing even where it now exists among the Arab people.

During the transitional five years, immigration will be cut to 15,000 a year. This restriction is not imposed because the country is unable to absorb any more. But the White Paper says economic criteria cannot be employed in the situation—the political aspects are the determinant factors, that is, the terrorist wave and the widespread fear of Jewish immigration among the Arab populace. But the British War Office, in a bulletin issued earlier this year, maintained that the terrorists were only a handful who did not have the sympathies of the people. Furthermore, since the beginning of Jewish immigration, the Arab standard of living has increased manifold. The Arab population increased 26% between 1922 and 1931, while adjacent areas were stationary. Their birth rate in Palestine is the highest in the Orient and their infant mortality (as have work standards. Therefore, it can be seen that this section of the White Paper is also a fraud.

The section on land provides for strict regulation of sales if "Arab cultivators are to maintain their existing standard of life and a considerable landless Arab population is not soon to be created." It is incredible that the British Foreign Office expects anyone to take this seriously. The land west of the Jordan comprises about 26 million dunams (a dunam is one-quarter of an acre). Of this, at present, 13 million dunams can be cultivated, of which 6.5 million are. The Jews own 1.3 million dunams, or 5% of the land.

### THREAT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

The interests of British imperialism dictate the cessation of immigration at this time. Britain's colonial policy cannot permit the further development of the Jewish community, which, if it is to grow, must of necessity industrialize the land as quickly as possible. This must be done if the needs of the Jews are to be satisfied and in order to enable a mass refugee immigration. Colonial policy requires an undeveloped country which will be permanently dependent, economically and politically, upon England. These two interests are contradictory. Industrialization has the further effect of developing a large—and, for England, a dangerous—Arab proletariat with whom the Jews have a common cause—against the foreign imperialist rule.

This contradiction is inherent in the British system. Chamberlain is not acting only for the "reactionary Tories" but for the entire British ruling class, whose interests are tied to that of imperialism. The British are well aware of this contradiction, but the Zionist leadership with the possible exception of the Hashomer Hatzoiar and the Left Poale Zion) is not. Therefore, we have this peculiar situation: the Zionists in America and England are appealing to British "honor" and "sense of justice," while the Yishuv (Palestine Jewish community), for the first time in its history, is demonstrating against this! There is a real danger that this may be accompanied by chauvinism if a leadership with a pro-Arab and anti-British orientation does not appear soon. Public opinion may follow the reactionists and irresponsible Revisionists who have always been anti-British as well as bitterly anti-Arab. If this happens, Jewish-Arab hostility will be further crystallized, which would fit well with British plans and interests.

At this time, more than ever, the program of cooperation between Jewish and Arab workers and peasants is fundamental. Such a program will make clear the basic opposition of interest between the reactionary terrorists and the mass of Arabs, and the real community of interest between the masses of Arabs and Jews against British imperialism and the terrorists.

# I.L.P. Explores Labor Party Tie

## Addresses Inquiry to Labor Executive

(We publish below the communication recently sent by the National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. to the Executive of the British Labor Party on the question of affiliation. This letter was published in the April 28 issue of the New Leader, I.L.P. paper.—Editor.)

April 24, 1939.  
THE annual conference of our party at Easter instructed the N.A.C. to renew discussions with your Executive regarding the conditions of affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Labor Party. The object of this letter is to clarify certain points.

1. We understand that if the I.L.P. affiliated, your Executive would be prepared to recognize the "organizational independence" of the I.L.P.  
We assume that the I.L.P. would remain an organizational unit, with its membership and branches responsible to its own N.A.C., its own press and literature, and its own meetings and conferences. We appreciate this decision by your Executive, which provides the first basis for our affiliation.

2. If the I.L.P. were affiliated to the Labor Party, it would be necessary for the I.L.P. to accept the party constitution and standing orders of the Labor Party.

We find that your constitution requires an affiliated organization to "accept the program, principles and policy of the party," and that individual members and candidates of the Labor Party are also required to accept them. It would be helpful if we could have some indication of what such acceptance involves.

As you are aware, whilst our party accepts wholeheartedly the basis of the independence of the Labor Party from the capitalist parties and its objective of socialism, we have certain policy differences, particularly regarding the issues of peace and war and the methods of extending public control, such as public-utility corporations. We know that our views on these matters are

also held by many members of the Labor Party, and assume, therefore, that they would not be an obstacle to the affiliation of our party, and that we should be free to advocate our policy publicly. We are encouraged in this interpretation of your constitution by the statement of Mr. C. R. Attlee in his book, "The Labor Party in Perspective," in which he says:  
"The Labor Party has always comprised people of very various outlooks, and . . . its note has always been one of comprehensiveness."  
3. Members of the I.L.P. elected to Parliament would be required to accept the standing orders of the Parliamentary Labor Party. (Labor Party caucus in Parliament.—Ed.)

Whilst these standing orders are subject to change, we understand that they now require, among other things, that (a) members shall not vote contrary to the decisions of the Parliamentary Party; (b) members shall have power to abstain from voting, despite decisions of the Parliamentary Party, on issues upon which their conscientious convictions are involved, including matters related to drink, religion and war, and shall have the right to explain in Parliament their reasons for so doing.

We should like to be assured that the "conscience clause" is applicable to other issues than the three mentioned above. In our view, issues affecting the conditions of the working class and involving socialist principles are equally matters of conscientious conviction. Could you inform us whether, if our party affiliated, M.P.s belonging to our Party would have the right, if the necessity arose, to abstain from voting on such other matters and to explain in Parliament and publicly why they did so?  
There would be no desire on our part to seek such occasions, but we hope that under the standing orders such freedom would be permitted.

4. The Labor Party constitution includes among its objectives: "to cooperate with the labor and socialist organizations in other countries." The I.L.P. wholeheartedly endorses this principle, but it wishes to be clear on the question of international affiliations.  
The Labor Party is affiliated to the Labor and Socialist International. Before 1932, the I.L.P. was also directly and separately affiliated to the L.S.I. This caused certain difficulties. The I.L.P. would not desire to renew its direct affiliation to the L.S.I.

On the other hand, the I.L.P. would wish, if affiliated to the Labor Party, to retain its association with the International Center of Revolutionary Socialist Parties. This center does not claim to be an International and does not impose a rigid discipline on the parties associated with it.  
We should be glad if your Executive Committee would consider the matters raised in this letter at its

# "What Man Has Made of Man"

I HEARD a thousand blended notes,  
While in a grove I sat reclined,  
In that sweet mood when pleasant thoughts  
Bring sad thoughts to the mind.

To her fair works did Nature link  
The human soul that thru me ran;  
And much it grieved my heart to think  
What Man has made of Man.

Thru primrose tufts, in that sweet bower,  
The periwinkle trailed its wreaths;  
And 'tis my faith that every flower  
Enjoys the air it breathes.

The birds around me hopped and played,  
Their thoughts I cannot measure—  
But the least motion which they made  
It seemed a thrill of pleasure.

The budding twigs spread out their fan  
To catch the breezy air;  
And I must think, do all I can,  
That there was pleasure there.

If this belief from heaven be sent,  
If such be Nature's holy plan,  
Have I not reason to lament  
What Man has made of Man?

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

# How the Stalinites Betrayed Spain

## Lust for Power Sapped Loyalist Cause

By IRVING PFLAUM

(These paragraphs are from the article, "Russia's Role in Spain," in the May 1939 issue of the American Mercury. Irving Pflaum, who covered Czechoslovakia and Spain for American newspapers, is a member of the staff of the Chicago Times.—Editor.)

IN economic and social matters, the Russians carried thru [in Spain] what can only be described as a counter-revolution. I am aware how fantastic this will sound to uninitiated ears. But it is a fact that the communist capture of control brought with it the smashing of farm and factory collectives, restoration of industrial property to owners, an so on. It was all in compliance with the new "party line," drawn in Moscow in 1935, calling for collaboration with the bourgeoisie. Government divisions wrecked communes set up by peasants—the communist Lister's army did a lot of such smashing in the Aragon region. Since the great immediate objective was to bring about alliances with capitalist democracies, it was necessary to offer these countries a "respectable" ally. The social revolution which had developed after the war had to be stopped. . . .

By 1938, its [the Spanish C.P.'s] methods had undermined the spirit of both civilians and army. General apathy took the place of the revolutionary zeal evidenced in the earlier period. The draft displaced the volunteer system. The kind of fighting forces that had defeated Franco's trained troops and their foreign reinforcements now gave way to a softer, "disciplined," and continually more spiritless army, chafing under the police regime of its communist commissars. More than two-thirds of the most ardent and self-sacrificing fighting men, being anti-communist, were insufficiently supplied, and in effect demobilized when their assistance was most needed. More and more we began to hear simple Spaniards say: "What difference who wins; it's tyranny on both sides."

When Franco reached the sea, in March 1938, Prieto, still Minister of Defense, told me: "It's not munitions so much as cojones (guts). The men don't want to fight as they did in the early days." At that time, Prieto had finally revolted against the communist rule. Having worked with the Russians for a year, his testimony is especially valuable. He was demanding a return to policies of the pre-Stalinist days, cessation of the communist counter-revolution, more arms for Spanish troops, curbing of the communist police. If these steps were not taken, he warned, defeat was certain. Prieto was forced to resign, and with his exit the communist domination was made even more rigid and thoro. Nine months later, the Loyalist army retreated into France.

There is a shocking and significant contrast between the spirit and performance of the army before and after May 1937. In the initial ten months the people's army, without munitions or heavy arms, untrained and disorganized, won many major engagements. The people's militia held the mountain passes of Madrid against Moors and legionnaires, captured the mountain barracks, cut deep into Badajoz, and made important gains in the area of Pozoblanco. They saved every important capital of Spain for the republic and cut Franco off from Central Spain by both land and sea.  
During the second twenty months

earliest convenience and let us have its comments upon them. Our N.A.C. would be ready to appoint representatives to meet representatives of your Executive should you feel that this would facilitate clarification and agreement.  
Yours fraternally,  
On behalf of the National Council of the I.L.P.,  
FENNER BROCKWAY,  
Political Secretary

# An Economic Survey Of America

## Federal Data Point to Crisis of Capitalism

IN April 1938, President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress in which he urged that Congress make a sweeping investigation of the trends and causes of the concentration of power in industry and trade, with particular emphasis on the extent and practices of monopolies. In response to this message, Congress created the Temporary National Economic Committee, of which Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney is chairman, and launched the so-called "monopoly" investigation. At the hearings held last December, some very instructive information to American economic structure and trends was brought forward, which the January 1939 issue of the U. S. Department of Labor's Labor Information Bulletin summarizes as a sort of economic inventory of the United States.

### POPULATION AND INCOME TRENDS

Trend of population.—The population of the United States has grown from 23,000,000 people in 1850 to approximately 127,000,000 in 1935. It doubled between 1850 and 1880, but during the next 30 years, 1880 to 1910, it increased by only 80%. By 1960, it has been estimated,

been saved, all Andalusia could have been recovered. In any event, General Franco's victory could not have been so quick nor so decisive, and there would have been time and propitious circumstances to negotiate a diplomatic peace.

Everything was ready. . . . But, suddenly, very shortly before the day scheduled for the offensive, in the midst of a Cabinet meeting, the Ministers of Education and of Agriculture, communists both, submitted their resignations under some excuse or other. Senor Largo Caballero, went to see President Manuel Azana and submitted the resignation of the whole Cabinet. At the same time, he told him about the operation that was being prepared, lamenting the fact that the communists provoked a crisis at such an inopportune moment.

President Azana begged Senor Largo Caballero to continue at the head of the government until the operation was carried out, saying that if the communists insisted on a resigning, the Cabinet would be reorganized without the help of that party. Senor Largo Caballero accepted and returned to his office, resolved, like President Azana, to eliminate the communists from the government. If this plan had been successful, the fate of the war would have been changed entirely.

Having heard—perhaps thru President Azana himself, who used to be in constant communication with Indalecio Prieto, socialist Minister of the Navy and the Air—about President Largo's conference with Signor Azana Caballero, a few hours later two socialist ministers presented themselves at the latter's office. Dr. Negrin was one of them. They told him that, in view of the attitude of the communist ministers and bearing in mind that under the circumstances the government could not do without the Communist Party, the two of them, and Senor Prieto also, were resigning.

The maneuver was clear. The three Centrist Ministers (that was Senor Prieto's affiliation) were declaring their solidarity with the communists for the purpose of eliminating Senor Largo Caballero. It was necessary to stop his Estremadura operation, lest it be necessary. This state of mind was expressed by Simeon Vidarte, a socialist deputy who belonged to Senor Prieto's group, with these candid and criminal words: "If Largo Caballero is successful in that offensive, nobody will be able to throw him out of the government." That is the way they thought they would win the war.

FOR months, Senor Largo Caballero had been preparing a military operation in Estremadura, on the West of Spain. The idea was to cut the line of communication of the Rebel army with the South, whence it received constantly reinforcements of Italian and Moroccan troops.

The success of that operation, splitting the enemy into two unconnected parts and depriving him of the foreign troops and war material that entered thru the ports near the Strait of Gibraltar, could have changed completely the course of the campaign. The North could have

### SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE

# Open the Doors!

THE fruitful barbarization of life in recent years, with its ruthless persecutions, political massacres called "purges," and savage accentuation of racial and national hatreds, has made us all somewhat hardened to human suffering. But even the most callous must experience a shock of horror at the desperate plight of the nine hundred German Jews on the Hamburg-American liner St. Louis, now stranded somewhere in the Atlantic, the whole world closed to them.

Persecuted, robbed and terrorized by the Nazis since 1933, these refugees made their escape from Germany on May 14. Everything they had or could scrape together had been spent to win their release. Hope rose high, for their papers were in order, with official permits to land in Cuba issued to them by the authorized representatives of the Cuban government in various European cities.

Two weeks ago Saturday, they arrived at Havana. But they were not permitted to set foot on shore. Passports and other official papers were contemptuously ignored and the door was slammed in their face. For meanwhile, Cuba's President, Laredo Bru, the puppet of Butcher Batista, whom the Stalinites here only recently hailed ecstatically as the "Cuban Roosevelt," had issued a decree excluding European Jews—and had made it retroactive!

What now? Where shall they turn? Back to Germany, with its concentration camps, prison and torture? Every port in the New World is barred to them, even the doors of our own "land of freedom," once proud to be the refuge of the oppressed, the haven of the homeless!

As the St. Louis steams aimlessly out of Cuban waters, talk of self-destruction on a mass scale is rife abroad. Pick-up boats have been sent to follow the liner on watch for suicides overboard, like buzzards after the covered wagons. The Jews must not be permitted to put themselves out of their misery. That would be highly improper!

A civilization capable of such atrocities does not deserve to survive. At such a moment, no American with a spark of decency or humanity in his breast will fail to raise his voice demanding that our doors be thrown open to the St. Louis with its forlorn, miserable cargo of outcast human beings.

there will be in the United States only 10% more people than in 1940. In other words, the rate of increase of the population of the United States has been steadily declining. From 1900 to 1920, the average annual rate of increase was 1 2/3% and from 1920 to 1935 slightly over 1%. From 1940 to 1960, it is estimated, the rate of gain will be only 0.5% a year.

Trend of national income.—From 1850 to 1915, there was a gradual but almost uninterrupted growth in the national income produced in the United States. It rose from less than 5 billion dollars in 1850 to approximately 35 billion dollars in 1915. During the World War and thru 1920, the national income advanced at a rapid pace and reached 69 billion dollars in 1920. A sharp decline in 1921 to about 50 billion dollars was followed by rapid increases thru 1929, when the national income reached its highest level of nearly 81 billion dollars. The significant fact to remember is that during all these years the national income of the United States increased faster than the population.

The depression started in 1929 and brought with it the largest and fastest decline in the national income ever experienced in the history of the United States. It was not until the national income produced had fallen to about half of what it had been in 1925 that it started again on the upgrade in 1933. Thereafter, it reached 70 billion dollars in 1937 but declined to about 61 billion dollars in 1938.

Income losses since 1929.—Between 1929 and 1938, as a result of the depression, there was a cumulative loss in goods produced and services rendered in the United States of approximately 133 billion dollars. This is one and one-half times as much goods and services as was produced during 1929, the year of the highest national income on record.

Employment and pay-roll losses.—Assuming that the number of people available for work each year since 1929 was the same as in 1929, there was a total loss in employment in non-agricultural occupations between 1929 and 1938 of more than 43,000,000 man-years. This is equal to a full year's work for over 43,000,000 men. It must be remembered also that this assumption does not take into consideration the increase in the working population since 1929 of about 5,000,000 and the nearly 2,000,000 workers who were unemployed in 1929.

As a result, wage earners and salaried workers in non-agricultural occupations lost an aggregate income of nearly 120 billion dollars between 1929 and 1938. This is nearly 2 1/2 times as much as they earned during the whole year of 1929 and three times as much as they earned in 1938.

Losses in farm income.—During the same 9-year period, 1929 to 1938, the gross income of all the farmers in the United States was 38.6 billion dollars smaller than it would have been had the annual income been maintained on the 1929 level of 12 billion dollars a year. In other words, farmers lost in 9 years a total income which is equivalent to more than three full years work for all the farmers and their families in the United States.

Dividend losses.—Had dividends to stockholders during the 9-year period been continued at the same level as in 1929, stockholders in the United States would have received 20.1 billion dollars more than they actually received.

### DISLOCATION OF ECONOMIC MACHINE

The greatly reduced incomes of wage earners and farmers in the United States was without doubt the principal factor in the continuous dislocation of the economic machine since 1929. On the one hand, the reduced standard of living of millions of workers greatly diminished the demand for goods and services produced, while on the other hand, a rapidly advancing technology in industry made it possible to produce more goods with fewer workers, thus further reducing the incomes of the wage-earning group and their capacity to consume.

The population of the United States does not now increase as rapidly as in the years prior to 1920. At that time, the growing output of factories and mills was absorbed more quickly because there were more and more people to feed and more and more people to house and clothe. This type of demand for increasing quantities of goods and services is now diminishing in the United States.

The distribution of the national income in the United States is such that a small portion of the population, enjoying incomes of \$5,000 a year or more, receives a big share of the total income. American industry is geared to mass production and cannot rely on the demand of these few high income families to keep going in full swing.

On the other hand, the 5 million non-relief wage-earning families with incomes averaging less than \$1,250 a year are not able to increase their demands for the goods and services which American industry and trade are capable of producing. Nor can industry and trade depend for their market on the millions of workers who are unemployed and rely entirely on relief or on those who are partly employed and are compelled to supplement their meager incomes thru relief.  
(Concluded in the next issue)

### MASS INSTALLATION MEETING

of the

Needle Trades Division  
LABOR'S ANTI-WAR COUNCIL

Speakers:

ROSE PESOTTA                      NORMAN THOMAS  
LOUIS NELSON                      JAY LOVESTONE  
    JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Saturday, June 10—1:00 P. M.

at

Hotel Center, 108 West 43rd Street

UNION LABOR ORGANIZES AGAINST WAR



# Workers Age

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

VOL. 8. SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1939. NO. 23.

## A DANGEROUS SITUATION

FROM Detroit comes the disturbing news that an automobile worker has been shot in the course of a pitched battle between members of the two unions in the field. This is the first time that shooting has ever been resorted to in the course of several years of bitter inner-union struggle in the automobile industry. The exceptional good sense of the mass of the automobile workers kept them, in the past, from such excesses and it is to be hoped that both unions will now immediately curb such tactics, which are not only bound to bring discredit upon unionism in the industry but may even be the immediate pretext for new employing-class schemes to short-circuit the legitimate aims and activities of trade unionism. Before it is too late, both unions must take steps to make impossible a repetition of such bloody battles as occurred in the mining industry between the supporters and opponents of John L. Lewis and later between the United Mine Workers of America and the Progressive Miners.

The cause of the present outbreak is, of course, conflict over which union is to be the collective-bargaining agency of the automobile workers. Such open clashes are now under way in the Briggs and Graham-Paige shops. Regardless of any differences of opinion as to the timeliness of the Briggs strike, the fact remains that it arose originally because of some real grievances and nothing should have been done by any organized force in the industry to impede a settlement satisfactory to the best interests of the workers involved. The situation was complicated, however, by the fact that the local union, affiliated with the U.A.W.-C.I.O., soon shifted the issue to a fight for the closed shop, thus turning the strike into a move against the U.A.W. led by President Martin, and causing the latter organization to step into the situation claiming to represent a majority of the workers.

In the case of Graham-Paige, the reverse situation occurred. A small number of C.I.O. supporters sat down and tied up production, claiming to represent a majority of the workers in the shop. In both cases, many thousands of workers were thrown out of employment without having had an opportunity to voice their opinion on the matter. The entire situation is indeed one fraught with great danger to unionism in the industry.

It is difficult for an outsider to determine the validity of the claims of either the independent U.A.W. or the C.I.O. affiliate. There is one consideration, however, which offers some guidance as to relationship of forces. The Briggs local union is affiliated with the U.A.W.-C.I.O. How many followers of President Martin there are in the Briggs plants is unknown, but it is known that he does not have a local union of Briggs workers affiliated with his organization. Similarly in the case of Graham-Paige, the C.I.O. affiliate may and does make all kinds of claims as to membership, but the fact remains that there is only one local union of Graham-Paige workers and that local union is affiliated with the independent organization led by President Martin.

In the interests of the thousands of workers in Briggs and Graham-Paige, it would be well if the two unions could get together at least to the extent of agreeing not to interfere with the legitimate business of the local unions involved and to leave the conduct of such business in the hands of the duly elected officers. Any other course is bound to bring aid and comfort to the employers and untold grief to the divided and embattled auto workers.

## GOVERNOR LEHMAN SIGNS

GOVERNOR Lehman has signed the Devany bill prohibiting persons who "advocate the overthrow of the government by force, violence or any unlawful means" from holding civil-service or teaching positions in the state. In a face-saving statement, he offers the shabby excuse that the bill merely repeats the language of the penal code and that only those who are excluded under it who are felons under existing statute. But if that were the case, the new law would be utterly superfluous, since any one convicted of a felony in this state would hardly retain a civil-service or teaching position.

The fact of the matter is that the Devany law sets up what is virtually a political test oath for holding a civil-service post in this state. Its provisions would exclude a Thomas Jefferson who publicly declared a "revolution every twenty years" to be a "very good thing" since "the tree of liberty is watered with the blood of tyrants"; or an Abraham Lincoln who proclaimed in his first inaugural address the "revolutionary right [of the people of the United States] to dismember or overthrow the existing government." Under the Devany law, signed by Governor Lehman, neither of these men would be fit for the civil service of the state.

Last year, Governor Lehman vetoed the McNaboe-Devany bill, the predecessor of the present legislation, with a ringing declaration. Today, he signs a proposal only superficially different. This is a measure of the reaction that has swept the country in the intervening period. This is a measure of the degree to which the war hysteria, deliberately stirred up by the Administration, has already degraded our national life.

A few months ago, in warning against the trend indicated by the Devany bill, we gave it as our opinion that Governor Lehman would probably veto it. We were wrong. We greatly overestimated the quality of the Governor's much-vaunted "liberalism" and we greatly underestimated the force and impact of the reactionary wave deluging the land.

Governor Lehman's approval of the outrageous Devany bill should be an eye-opener for all of us. The Administration's preparations for war, material and psychological alike, are already beginning to drive this country into the shadow of the totalitarianism that will descend upon us as soon as war is declared. And among the most zealous instruments of this totalitarianism will be some of the renowned New Deal "liberals" of today, who will then be merely following in the footsteps of the Wilsonian "New Freedom" that gave us Newton D. Baker, George Creel, Postmaster General Burleson and Attorney General Mitchell D. Palmer, that gave us the "Red" raids, the suppression of the freedom of the press, and the torture of conscientious objectors at Leavenworth.

REPUBLIC STEEL sues the C.I.O. for \$7,500,000 triple damages for alleged "injuries" inflicted upon it during the Little Steel strike of 1937. It was in front of a Republic Steel plant in Chicago that ten persons were murdered on Memorial Day two years ago in an attack by company-dominated police upon C.I.O. pickets. The murderers walk the streets today scot-free. Where are the "damages" for the "injuries" perpetrated in this massacre? But, of course, human lives don't count!

With the blood of its ten victims on its hands, Republic Steel comes into court to claim "damages." And the same legal system that could find no way of reaching those guilty of the Memorial Day massacre will give its full protection to the blood-stained corporation!

"NAZI Coup Unifies Czech Labor Ranks," reads a headline in the New York Times. And the story tells of how, since March 15, the date of the Nazi invasion, all trade unions of Czechoslovakia have dropped their differences and have joined together in one trade-union center. All types of unions are represented on the new executive committee, and are collaborating in maintaining some semblance of an organization.

The danger of an invasion of the United States is remote, of course, but the danger of a drive for power by the reactionaries and demagogues, bringing with it anti-labor laws and restrictions of civil liberties, is imminent. Must American labor wait for reaction or fascism to unite its ranks? Or will labor realize the need of haste and unite its ranks before it is too late?



## Letters to the Editor

### On Socialist Unity

New York City.  
Editor, Workers Age:  
ALWAYS an interested reader of the Workers Age because of its generally realistic and undogmatic point of view, I was particularly interested in the correspondence relative to prospect of socialist unity. As a Socialist Party member, I've always been in favor of unity in the general socialist movement only when based on agreement on social-fundamentalism.

But what is the situation in the socialist movement today? We find defeatism, disillusionment, apathy, bewilderment and above all, confusion as to where we are going and what we want to do. It seems to me that even before we even consider the prospects of socialist unity, it is extremely necessary to analyze the state of the movement today, and reevaluate our goals and tactics. What do we mean by socialism? What is fascism? How did Stalinism come about? What type of dictatorship is the proletarian dictatorship which will be consistent with democratic rights of the workers? Do we want dictatorship? Should we defend Soviet Russia in the next war? Is Soviet Russia under workers control?

These are only a few of the problems which are at present creating havoc in the intellectual life of revolutionaries. One thing is certain—and that is that the theories of twenty years ago do not apply today, and what is necessary is a new theoretical appraisal.

What I propose is very simple. I propose that some radical group take the initiative to organize week-end conferences of all points of view in the labor movement to discuss the above-mentioned problems. Such representative people as Eugene Lyons, Ben Stolberg, Norman Thomas, Jay Lovestone, Louis Waldman and others should be invited. The primary function of such an affair would be not to result in organizational unity of any groups, but a thorough appraisal of the socialist movement and where we are going.

ABRAM LASKY  
Chicago, Ill.

Editor, Workers Age:  
I HAVE been reading with a great deal of interest the forum on socialist unity conducted in the Workers Age. This, I believe, is an outstanding contribution to the cause of unity, so badly needed during this critical period of general world reaction. The great betrayal dealt by Stalinism from within, plus the crushing body punches of fascism from without, has weakened the revolutionary movement to such an extent that the movement is in great danger of becoming extinct in our generation. Our only hope of keeping it alive as a vital force and the rallying point for workers in all countries lies in the direction of unity of the revolutionary and growing revolutionary forces both at home and abroad. Otherwise, we dig our own graves.

E. C.  
Chester, Pa.

Editor, Workers Age:  
MIGHT I add a few words on the unity question in answer to Comrade Sagarin? I did not mean to convey the idea that I was calling for "unity from below" with the Trotskyites. That is not unity, but recruiting. I do not see the ousting of certain leaders as the conditions for unity, but the ousting of a certain spirit—the "Trotskyite manner," if you will. To me, Schachtman and Trotsky both typify that manner.

E. C.  
Chester, Pa.

Editor, Workers Age:  
I cannot and must not forget everything in the past—and I'm not referring to party policy. Remember the Trotskyites and the A.W.P., the Trotskyites and the S.P. There they worked in the "Trotskyite manner." Keep in mind their attitude to the P.S.O.P., their present work in the P.S.O.P. (see especially Trotsky's letters to and about Pivert). Can such people learn to act in a different way? Can they divorce themselves from their present attitude?

I'm not arguing party policy or party line. But this is just as important, just as essential. I am not afraid to work with the Trotskyites, but I am very doubtful of any results of value. In unity lies hope of

solidarity—and also the seeds of further disunity.  
JAMES THORPE

### Labor Must Demand Guarantees

Detroit, Mich.  
Editor, Workers Age:  
I wonder how many readers of the Workers Age have noticed that even the mild and temporary opposition to conscription offered by British labor has exorted from War Secretary Leslie Hore-Belisha the pledge that "there was no intention of damaging trade-union rights."

This should provide a valuable lesson for us. But will it? Mr. John L. Lewis and his Congress of Industrial Organizations have already pledged organized labor to unconditional support of President Roosevelt's pro-war foreign policy. This without receiving or even demanding the slightest concession to guarantee the life and function of the trade unions in the event of war!

The stand of A. F. of L. President William Green on the general question of America's participation in the coming war is most meritorious. His ringing denunciation of "the aggressors of yesterday who are today protecting their plunder" indicates a clear-visioned view of the causes of war. Mr. Green is to be congratulated for his lead to labor in the fight to keep America out of war. But unless I am mistaken, Mr. Green also has not yet taken a stand against the many bills sponsored by the Army War College which would wipe out, with one sweep, rights which labor secured thru decades of struggle on the economic field. Mr. Green, speaking for American labor, should now demand trade-union guarantees from our own Hore-Belishas.

WILLIAM CLEARFIELD

### Urges Jews to Join with Arabs

New York City.  
Editor, Workers Age:  
THE bayonet's uses are greatly limited. One cannot dig coal with them, nor can one plow fields with them.

Without the least desire to extenuate the crime committed by British duplicity, my little knowledge of the Palestine situation leads me to the conclusion that Zionists were guilty of a great folly in placing their faith in British bayonets. It was very generous of the British imperialists to "give" Palestine to the Zionists as a "homeland." But the Zionists would have shown much more wisdom if they had deferred acceptance of the "deed" to Palestine until it was endorsed by its present occupants. Failure to show such wisdom gained the enmity of the Arabs (which, no doubt, the gentlemen of Downing Street foresaw) and no amount of good will or good work done for the Arabs by

## 25 YEARS AGO

JUNE 1 — JUNE 8, 1914

JUNE 1, 1914.—Cleveland Board of Education threatens dismissal of all teachers who join the union. Samuel Gompers addresses huge protest meeting.

June 1.—House unanimously votes amendment to Sherman Act exempting unions from action under the anti-trust laws.

June 2.—U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations reports that children of five are working in northern canneries.

June 5.—9,000 men and 900 girls go out on strike at the Pittsburgh Westinghouse plants.

June 5.—Russian Minister of Finance informs the Budget Committee of the Duma that \$3,760,000,000 are needed for the army and navy for the next five years.

June 6.—Boy Pioneers of Socialist Party are organized with a membership of 69. Hold first outing in Van Cortlandt Park.

June 7.—Ella Reeve Bloor arrested in Fall River for speaking to striking mill workers.

### Gene Debs On War

"THE master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain, and nothing to lose; while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives."—Eugene Victor Debs.

"THE working class who fight all battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in declaring war or making peace. It is the ruling class that invariably does that."

—Eugene Victor Debs

the Zionists since, has been able to overcome it.

It is for true friends of the Jewish people to point out that their only salvation lies in human accord with the exploited, not in paper agreements with the exploiters.

FRANK D. SLOCUM

### Protests C.P. Violence

New York City  
Editor, Workers Age:  
THE Communist Party in this country prates endlessly about its devotion to democratic institutions and methods, especially to free speech and free press. Let us see what these fine phrases mean: as carried out in actual life. I will not go into too much detail but will simply give two typical instances which occurred recently.

The first example took place on May Day, the day of workers solidarity and unity. At about five in the afternoon, four members of the Independent Labor League were distributing leaflets on the north side of Union Square. A group of white-shirted and bereted Lincoln Brigadeers (about ten) gathered around and prevented the passers by from seeing the leaflets. In order to avoid a public scandal on May Day, the leaflet distributors left the spot.

Some real violence took place on May 11, at the time of the Young Communist League convention. Leaflet distributors of the I.L.L.A. and the Y.P.S.L. were attacked on the east corners of 50th and 49th Streets and 8th Ave.; three or four of them had their leaflets dumped into the street; and one socialist was beaten.

Since action of this sort is typical of Stalinist tactics, the similarity of such conceptions of democracy to the outlook of the Nazis becomes fairly perceptible. Such methods furnish a good example for the fascists in this country and betray their G.P.U. origin.

J. SYMONDS

### Praises the Workers Age

Austin, Texas.  
Editor, Workers Age:  
THE Workers Age is contributing much to the progress of socialism and the achievement of peace. My enthusiasm grows with each issue.

S. O. J.

## PHILADELPHIA

Jay Lovestone will discuss

"The European Situation and the Working Class Movement"

when he speaks on

TOMORROW'S WAR

at

Labor Institute Hall

810 Locust Street

Friday, June 16,

8:30 P. M.

Independent Labor League of America, Philadelphia Branch,

810 Locust Street

General Admission: 25c

## Talking It Over:

# Dos Passos's New Book

by Bertram D. Wolfe

ADVENTURES OF A YOUNG MAN, by John Dos Passos. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1939. \$3.00.

IN "Adventures of a Young Man," John Dos Passos continues his massive mosaic portrait of his own land and time which has carried him all across the "42nd parallel," thru the World War in the United States and France, thru reconstruction, the boom days of the "Big Money," the stock-market crash and collapse of the structure of post-war capitalism and post-war radicalism. The great "U.S.A." trilogy ended with the depression, the disintegration of the middle-class characters, the shooting of Eddy Spellman, strike-relief truck driver, the split in the Communist Party, and the nameless vag taking to the road again. "Adventures of a Young Man" recapitulates some of the ground already covered, and carries the picture up to the year 1939, ending with the collapse of the Spanish Revolution between the claws of the wise formed by Franco on the one end and the G.P.U. on the other. The present work is submitted, according to the jacket, as "the first of a series of contemporary portraits," so that Dos Passos promises to continue his gigantic efforts to put the whole of his land and time between the covers of his books.

The camera eye, the newsreels, the biographical vignettes of representative men, and the crisscrossing of disconnected lives from different social strata, have all been abandoned for the technique of straight narration. We follow a single hero, Glenn Spotswood (the "young man"), thru his brief life from childhood to death in Spain, and consider other characters only insofar as their lives cross his. This makes for a gain in simplicity and ease of reading, and gives the author an opportunity to pursue his character further and portray him more roundly. On the other hand, I missed the vastness of aim and scope provided by the more complicated technique of "U.S.A."

This is, then, a full-length study of a young American who became, thru heritage and experience, a radical, joined the Communist Party in its leftist dual-union days, engaged in organizing work and strike activities for its miners union, was arrested, tried on a framed-up murder charge, succeeded with the aid of the party defense organization in beating the rap, became critical because local miners were less well taken care of and were sacrificed to a "propaganda trial," the whole point of which disappeared a month later because of a change of "party line." He was expelled for venturing to disagree, tried in vain to form a "splinter party," then went to work as a non-party organizer in a party-controlled unionization campaign, then to enlist in the Spanish civil war, where his status as an expelled member and one who objected to the frame-up of the Barcelona "uncontrollables" caused his prompt arrest by the G.P.U. They were preparing to execute him without his ever having seen a day of fighting, when the Franco offensive rolls over Catalonia, and he is spared from death at the hands of those he had thought of as comrades in common cause, merely because they need some one to carry water over a machine-gun-swept open space to an outpost covering a retreat, and he consents to go to his death in that less ignoble form. As with all Dos Passos's "lives," a large part—in actual pages, the larger part—of the work is taken up with fragments of childhood experiences, sex initiation, and formative experiences (Part I: The Parental Bent; Part II: Schooling and Youthful Errors), but the work grows in scope, interest and intensity in the third and final part, called "Moment of Choice," which carries him from the mine strike to the closing sentence: "He was dead."

Those who remember Mac, Don Stevens, Mary French, Ben Compton, etc., from "U.S.A." will find nothing essentially new in Glenn Spotswood except that the study at greater length and with greater sympathy permits Dos Passos to give us a more interesting and less two-dimensional figure.

Dos Passos's fictional figures never have the same rounded three-dimensionality as those amazing brief biographical vignettes of Veblen or Reed or Steinmetz, and even here with this full-length story there is a peculiar feeling of incomplete penetration that leaves the hero almost two-dimensional. As a novelist, Dos Passos seems to hold back from analysis of emotions and thoughts, and presents his characters rather from the outside, doing and being acted upon. The central figure "turns his head away," "feels suddenly ashamed," "shivers"—thinks and feels, so far as we are permitted to know, in tiny flat inarticulate fragments without extension or intensity. That is why the innumerable characters in the massive trilogy are none of them memorable: you forget their names and individualities almost as soon as you have closed the book, something which is by no means true of the subjects of the biographical vignettes. It would be interesting to see what Dos Passos would do if he should try some time to apply the same skill in penetration and rounded portraiture to a fictional character. As it is, Glenn Spotswood is scarcely more memorable than the fragmentary characters of the preceding three novels.

But the vast picture of the society of our day continues to grow with each succeeding book. The mine strike is the best picture of a labor struggle that has come from the author's pen, and the picture of the Communist Party, of its bureaucratic high priests and blind followers, and of the middle-class neurotics who take the frame-up and lynching of a mine worker and the expulsion of a troubled and earnest worker for his critical doubt as all part of a simply marvellous thrill ("My, this is exciting . . . Sign me up in your revolution . . . I think it's greater!"). The picture of the moral disintegration of the Communist Party, rather than of Glenn Spotswood, the "Young Man" who tried to serve it and was crushed by it, is the unforgettable picture in this book.

"Adventures of a Young Man" may be purchased thru the Workers Age Bookshop (131 West 33rd Street, New York City) for \$2.25, postage free anywhere in the U. S. A.

## Writers Fight Reaction

(Continued from Page 1)  
give birth to military dictatorship and to forms of intellectual repression far more violent than those evoked by the last war.

Among advanced intellectual circles in the United States the most active forces of reaction today are the so-called cultural organizations under control of the Communist Party. Pretending to represent progressive opinion, these bodies are in effect but apologists for the Kremlin dictatorship. They outlaw all dissenting opinion from the Left. They poison the intellectual atmosphere with slander. And they have succeeded in imposing their views and methods on groups formerly independent of the Communist Party.

ARTISTS AND WRITERS MUST UNITE

Against these forces we, the undersigned, believe that artists and writers must unite to defend their independence as craftsmen, indeed, their very right to work. It goes without saying that we do not subscribe to that currently fashionable catchword: "Neither communism nor fascism." On the contrary, we recognize that the liberation of culture is inseparable from the liberation of the working classes and of all humanity. Shall we abandon the ideals of revolutionary socialism because one political group, while clinging to its name, has so miserably betrayed its principles? Shall we revert to a program of middle class democracy because the Kremlin government, in obedience to its own interests—which are no longer the interests of the Soviet people or of the masses anywhere—directs us to do so. On the contrary, we reject all such commands. Democracy under industrial capitalism can offer no permanent haven to the intellectual worker and artist. In its instability it becomes the breeding-ground of dictatorship, and such liberties as it grants us today, it will violently revoke tomorrow. The idea of democracy must come to flower in

socialist democracy. In the revolutionary reconstruction of society lies the hope of the world, the promise of a free humanity, a new art, an unrestricted science.

The defense of intellectual freedom requires, moreover, that we reject all theories and practices which tend to make culture the creature of politics, even revolutionary politics. We demand complete freedom for art and science. No dictation by party or government. Culture not only does not seek orders but by its very nature cannot tolerate them. Truly intellectual creation is incompatible with the spirit of conformity; and if art and science are to be true to the revolution, they must first be true to themselves.

We are not alone in these convictions. Our principles are in general agreement with those contained in a recent manifesto of Andre Breton, the French poet, and Diego Rivera, the Mexican painter. Movements inspired by their manifesto have already appeared in France, England and elsewhere.

We appeal, therefore, to all writers and artists in the United States who are in substantial accord with our views to unite with us in forming a League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism. The function of this organization will be to give publicity to our aims, to provide a forum for cultural discussion and to campaign against all reactionary tendencies in intellectual life wherever they arise.

(Signed: James Burnham, V. F. Calverton, Eleanor Clark, David C. DeJong, F. W. Dupee, James T. Farrell, Clement Greenberg, William Gruen, Melvin J. Lasky, James Laughlin, Dwight Macdonald, Charles Malachuk, Sherry Mangan, Lyman Faine, James Rorty, Clark Mills, George L. K. Morris, George Novack, Kenneth Patchen, William Phillips, Fairfield Porter, Philip Rahv, Harold Rosenberg, Paul Rosenfeld, Meyer Schapiro, Delmore Schwartz, Winfield T. Wolfe, John Wheelwright, Bertram D. Wolfe.