

I.L.P. On Soviet Purge

an appeal

(We publish below an appeal of the Parliamentary Group of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain to Joseph Stalin. This appeal was handed to Soviet Ambassador Maisky for transmission to Moscow.)

—THE EDITOR.)

WE were among the first of the British workers in 1917 to hail the victory of the Russian workers and peasants over Czarism, the landlords and capitalists. In the Russian revolution, we found inspiration for the working-class movement of our country and of all lands.

With pride, we watched the Russian people lay a foundation, despite the severest obstacles, of a new socialist society. We did everything possible to advance the solidarity of our working class with the Russian masses in their progress towards a society free from exploitation and oppression.

But recent developments in the U.S.S.R. have shocked us. Because of our faith in Soviet Russia and the support which we have given it, we are compelled now to voice our protest.

The workers of Britain can never be convinced that the majority of the Bolshevik leaders, the most intimate associates and co-workers of Lenin, men who gave their all to the cause of the workers, have become, as if overnight, champions of capitalism, spies and agents of the imperialist powers, and tools of fascist reaction.

We cannot believe that even a fraction of the sweeping accusations against tried revolutionists like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky, Piatakov, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and Rakovsky have any foundation.

If the charges were true, we would be compelled to conclude that there was something inherently wrong in the Russian revolution to attract such degenerate types to the top of the ladder of leadership. That explanation we unreservedly reject.

The very nature of the "confessions," the manner and technique of the trials, their preparation, the inconceivable character of the alleged crimes, not only fail to convince—they have the opposite effect.

This is not working-class justice. It is an insult and an injury to all international working-class ideals and interests.

It is an outrageous travesty on the most elementary human rights and a bestial crime against the most fundamental advances towards social decency registered by mankind. Up to now only the worst capitalist reactionaries have shown themselves capable of such methods of treating working-class leaders and working people.

It is not the prisoners who have been on trial at Moscow. It is the system of bureaucracy which has grown up since the time of Lenin. If, as the evidence at the trials suggests, any "opposition" in Russia, however sincere its socialist purpose, is compelled to take secret forms, the responsibility rests with the bureaucracy which has denied it democratic expression.

At this moment of growing fascist reaction, when increasing sections of the capitalist world appear to be returning to the dark ages under the lash of the Hitlers and Mussolinis, it is vital for the U.S.S.R. to show the way towards the extension of genuine working-class democracy and freedom. Yet, it is precisely at this moment that

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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A.L.P. Maps New Fight

Alex Rose Declare Party Will Bring Big Issues To People Of State

The American Labor Party will carry the fight for the measures which were killed in the Legislature to the people, it was announced last week by Alex Rose, state executive secretary of the party. The issues on which the Labor Party will wage its campaign are the Child Labor Amendment; the high cost of living, including a workable solution of the milk costs, utility rates, high rentals and prompt construction of low cost housing, and other measures dealing with the basic welfare of the people of the state. The Labor Party's proposal on how to meet these problems, said Mr. Rose, is to elect more Laborites to the Legislature. In support of this contention, he cited the liberalizing effect the presence of five Labor Party members in the Assembly has had on their colleagues in Albany.

"The American Labor Party accepts the minor accomplishments of the 1938 State Legislature as a victory and the major failures as a challenge," said Mr. Rose. "The presence of five members of our party in the Assembly was responsible for a great forward stride in the progressiveness of the Legis-

The Paris Conference

International Gathering Lays the Basis for Revolutionary Unity; ICO Plays Big Role

By A. P.

Paris, France.

FROM February 19 to 24, there took place in Paris an international conference at which were represented the parties affiliated with the London Bureau for Revolutionary Unity (I.L.P., P.O.U.M., Italian Maximalists, S.A.P., etc.) as well as the I.C.O. and some of its sections, including the I.C.L.L. of the United States. Altogether, organizations from nineteen different countries participated. The I.C.O. took part in this conference in order to stimulate the concentration and collaboration of those revolutionary-socialist and anti-Stalinist communist forces that are ready to take a stand for the principles of the proletarian class struggle against the reformism of

the 2nd International and the reformism of the 3rd International. The Paris conference made definite and welcome progress in this direction. On the whole, the conference offered an opportunity for serious consideration and discussion of important problems of the international labor movement, something especially significant in view of desperate confusion generated by reformism and Stalinism.

COMING SOON!

RESOLUTIONS of the recent INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE in Paris

Two Speeches

by JAY LOVESTONE At the Paris Conference

will be published in coming issues of the WORKERS AGE

lature but that stride was not enough.

"The Legislature did much but left more undone. The pressing problems which beset our people have not been met. The Labor Party is convinced they must be met and that, in the face of the evidence of this session, they will only be met if more Laborites are returned to the Assembly and a delegation from our party is seated in the State Senate."

Role Of The I.C.O.

The delegation of the I.C.O. was in a position to support most of the resolutions of the conference. The general resolution on the perspective of the international working class movement was based on a joint draft of the I.L.P., the Italian Maximalists and the I.C.O. Drafts of the I.C.O. were also taken as the basis for the resolutions on Spain and the People's Front. On the other hand, the I.C.O. voted against the war resolution because this resolution called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism for all capitalist countries engaged in war, including those allied with the Soviet Union. The I.L.P., altho it voted for the resolution, shared the viewpoint of the I.C.O. on "mixed" wars. On the "Russian question," no resolution was adopted. By a majority vote, a draft was accepted as a basis for discussion but it was so self-contradictory that even its advocates did not urge that it be accepted as a definite decision. On the other hand, the I.L.P., the I.C.O. and the Socialist Party of Sweden proposed a resolution which called for the defense of the Soviet Union as a workers state with a socialist economy; for democracy in the C.P.S.U., the Soviet trade unions and the soviets; for the struggle against Stalinism and solidarity with the revolutionary opposition to the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union. This resolution received a considerable vote but a minority.

On a whole series of questions, the conference adopted a clear stand. Above all, it unequivocally rejected the whole People's Front policy. On other questions, clarity is still to be created and to this the I.C.O. is ready to contribute thru comradely discussion.

The resolutions will be transmitted (Continued on Page 2)

THOMAS HITS HULL'S NEW PRO-WAR SPEECH

(We publish below the open letter sent by Norman Thomas to Secretary of State Hull immediately after the latter's address before the National Press Club recently.)

—THE EDITOR.)

We have read with deep interest your comprehensive statement of an American foreign policy. With most of its statements of abstract ideals in international relations we are in hearty accord. Nevertheless, we find in the implications of your speech, both in what you said and what you left unsaid, another indication of the Administration's drift toward war.

We speak against a background of certain definite convictions. We want the maximum possible co-operation of the United States for peace; the maximum possible isolation from war. We believe in world trade but not war trade and believe that the costs of comparative isolation from war trade can be far more easily borne by an intelligent country than the costs of war.

We believe that the one sure effect of America's entry into war would be war dictatorship and virtual fascism at home. To this such measures as the May Bill for universal conscription clearly point.

We believe that American participation in a new world war would be as unsuccessful as American participation in the first World

War in the establishment of genuine democracy and peace. New war will not cure the ills which old war caused. We defeated the Kaiser only to get Hitler. By that precedent what would the next world war do? It would be waged by the same methods or worse, and by similar alliances of imperialist powers. It is not thus that fascism will be defeated in America or in the world.

Against this background of our own conviction, we raise the following questions based upon your speech of March 18:

One: Why do you ignore the neutrality law which the Administration of which you are a member supported but never enforced? How can you explain in terms of justice or reason the rigorous enforcement of what you call neutrality against Loyalist Spain but no enforcement at all of neutrality against the dictators who have wantonly attacked her?

Remember that the Spanish Government was elected "by orderly processes" which you so desire to defend.

By what right do you substitute the President's proclamation of May 1, 1937, addressed only to American shipping, for the enforcement of the neutrality law, the non-enforcement of which has clearly helped Japan rather than

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Britain Bars Czech Help

Chamberlain Grants Free Hand To Nazi Germany In Central Europe

In a carefully worded statement, designed to allay discontent in his own conservative ranks, British Prime Minister Chamberlain last week presented to the House of Commons a preliminary view of the government's policy in the present European crisis. Most important in the declaration was the announcement that Germany could have a free hand in Czechoslovakia and in Central Europe generally, since no "vital" British interest was involved.

The main points in the Chamberlain statement were:

1. Flat rejection of any pledge to aid Czechoslovakia in case of a German invasion.

2. Aid to France, Belgium, Iraq, Egypt and Portugal, should these countries be attacked. In each case, vital Empire interests would demand prompt British action in a crisis. But it was also made perfectly clear that this pledge would not apply to any involvement France might get into thru its Soviet or Czechish pacts.

3. Vigorous prosecution of negotiations with Italy in order to arrive at a "friendly agreement" as soon as possible.

4. Continuance of the "non-intervention" system for Spain.

5. Some vague and meaningless words about the League of Nations.

In substance, the Chamberlain declaration means that Great Britain will continue guiding its foreign policy strictly by its own imperialistic interests but will place even greater emphasis than in the past upon "wooing the dictators." All notion of a "democratic front," on which the fantasy of "collective security" is based, is now openly scouted, just as it was when Eden held the Foreign Secretaryship, despite the latter's fine words about "honor" and "duty." Chamberlain has also made it clear, altho without actually saying so, that Central Europe is to be regarded as a German sphere of influence, that the fascist insurgents are to continue to receive English backing in Spain, and that France is to be broken away from its Soviet and Czechish alliances. It is a policy of reaction all along the line.

Chamberlain's pronouncement is bound to accelerate the shifts now under way in European international relations. France is said to be already modifying its pledges to Czechoslovakia and its attitude to the Soviet Union. Anglo-Italian negotiations are reported to be drawing to a positive conclusion, altho it should not be assumed that the deep-going antagonisms between the two imperialisms have been more than temporarily bridged. Hitler has openly announced that "the Reich will act again across her borders if necessary," which is generally taken to refer to the Polish Corridor even more immediately than to Czechoslovakia. And the isolation of the Soviet Union grows deeper and more menacing as Stalin's suicidal foreign policy continues to play right into the hands of the imperialist war-mongers.

In labor's ranks, there is desperate confusion as to policy and

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JAY LOVESTONE Just Returned from Europe
Speaks on "Europe Near the Abyss"
HOTEL CENTER - APRIL 7 - 8:00 P. M.

WORKERS AGE

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PREVENTIVE WAR

The New York World-Telegram of March 23 publishes the following dispatch:

"A warning that Germany, Italy and Japan, 'when united in the next war,' will form the strongest military power since Napoleon, was sounded here by Dr. William E. Dodd, former ambassador to Germany.

"If France, the United States and Russia want to maintain the status-quo," Dr. Dodd continued . . . 'they had better declare war on the three military machines before they gain too much momentum.' And the news report is very accurately headed: 'Dodd Urges War To Balk Dictators.'

Dr. Dodd is an honest man, a frank and forthright man. He scorns the cheap hypocrisy of the Stalinist-'liberal' demagogues who pretend that 'collective security' is the road to peace. He knows that the 'collective action of the great democracies' is utterly meaningless unless it means ultimately action for war. He knows it and says so right out loud—for which he deserves our thanks. It clears the atmosphere and makes it possible to discuss the question intelligently.

Dr. Dodd favors a "preventive" war, a war of the non-fascist states against the fascist group just as soon as possible and under conditions most favorable to the former in order to forestall such a war later on under conditions most favorable to the latter. We may overlook Ex-Ambassador Dodd's diplomatic naivete in assuming as a matter of course that Germany, Italy and Japan will be allies in the coming war; the reality of international politics is somewhat more complicated. But the viewpoint he voices still deserves serious consideration.

Why are we against a "preventive" war? Not because we are against war in general and in the abstract, as our readers well know. We are against a "preventive" war because we are profoundly convinced, on the basis of all political logic and experience, that such a war not only would not achieve its alleged aims but would actually lead to results diametrically opposed to them. A "preventive" war against fascism, a crusade for "democracy," would in reality lead to the extension of reaction and fascism far beyond their present limits.

Does anybody think that Tory England, the backer of Franco and the eager wooer of Mussolini and Hitler, would enter any war out of love for democracy or hostility to fascism? Or People's Front France, which so cold-bloodedly abandoned first Ethiopia and then Loyalist Spain despite treaties and covenants? Or New Deal America, partner in the one-sided blockade of Spain and patron of the bloody dictators, Batista of Cuba, Trujillo of Santo Domingo and Vargas of Brazil? Nonsense! Any war these powers would ever wage would be a war for the advancement of their own imperialist interests, specifically, as Dr. Dodd puts it, "to maintain the status-quo."

But, in such a war, neither democracy nor fascism would play any role, except as demagogic camouflage. It is entirely to be expected that, should Germany or Japan be defeated in such a war and the danger of revolution arise, the imperialists of the "democratic" stripe would join with their late enemies, the imperialists of the fascist stripe, to restore "law and order," that is, to install a "strong" regime, probably in the form of a military dictatorship. The great crusade for democracy would then end in a counter-revolutionary crusade of reaction, and it is inevitable that it should do so, for our "great democracies" are also imperialistic and therefore thoroughly incapable of waging a genuine war of liberation and progress.

And, while our armies are busy spreading "democracy" abroad at the point of the bayonet, what would happen at home? Is there any doubt that a military dictatorship closely akin to fascism would be lifted into power in England, France and the United States, to the virtual extinction of all democratic institutions and popular rights? Can there be any doubt that the regime thus established would persist after the war on a permanent basis? The great crusade against fascism abroad would then end with the establishment of something very close to fascism at home.

In a word, a "preventive" war, in the form of a "war for democracy," might very well fall in with the imperialist power-politics of the "great democracies." But, for the masses, it would bring not democracy and freedom but fascism and reaction. That is why we are against Dr. Dodd's plan of a "preventive" war.

Free Anti-Fascist Prisoners!

REPUBLICAN Spain is fighting with its back to the wall. Franco's hordes, reinforced by contingents of "volunteers" sent by Mussolini and Hitler, are breaking thru the Aragon front and invading Catalonia, Barcelona is in danger! Yet, at this desperate moment, when Loyalist Spain should be mobilizing its every available resource of man-power and fighting spirit, over 15,000 revolutionary anti-fascists are to be found in the jails of the Republic, the victims of the Stalinist G.P.U. in Spain. Thousands of P.O.U.M.ists, Left socialists, members of the U.G.T. and C.N.T.-F.A.I., the best fighters against fascism, the leaders of the great mass upsurge that routed Franco in the first days

of the insurrection, are languishing in prison as a result of the bloody Stalinist crusade against the revolutionary sections of the Spanish labor movement. To keep these men in prison today, men who could inspire and invigorate the resistance to Franco, is deliberately to sabotage the anti-fascist struggle; it is an unforgivable crime against the Spanish people. The liberation of the anti-fascist prisoners from the jails of Loyalist Spain has now become vital to the cause of anti-fascist defense! All enemies of fascism, all friends of Loyalist Spain, must now once again raise their voices demanding the immediate release of all the anti-fascists in the prisons of the Republic!

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY Austrian I.C.O. Presents Position On Struggle Against Hitler

(We publish below a brief report from the I.C.O. group in Vienna as well as a leaflet issued by it in the crisis. It will be noted that the letter was written after the reorganization of the Schuschnigg cabinet along Nazi lines but before Hitler's invasion of Austria.)

—THE EDITOR.

Vienna, February 20, 1938.

WE have just heard the ridiculously demagogic but also threatening speech of Hitler. Our little country will certainly be influenced by it—partly attracted to it by its economic content and partly intimidated by its threat of force.

The sentiment here, in general, is very bad. Among the workers, there are two moods: one group sees how serious things are but thinks that all is lost and does not believe in the possibility of quick action of the working class. The second group is, to be sure, highly indignant but does not see the danger and believes that the situation is like what it was in 1936. "They will again clip the Nazis' wings and perhaps the foreign powers will also have something to say." This gross underestimation during the first days came to this: that even the foreign press spoke of a victory for Schuschnigg and our own press concealed the course of events and the accompanying conditions and lied about them.

In some factories, there were short, spontaneous protest strikes. So far, no material has appeared from either the Revolutionary Socialists or the Communist Party. We have circulated the enclosed leaflet in a number of factories and also in R.S. circles. And we have also arranged a discussion with the R.S. people on policy. They are against the slogan of arming, for they feel that even the first steps in this direction cannot be taken, not to speak of carrying the matter thru.

We are of a different opinion for the following reasons. The government press reports, in a highly inflated manner, of course, demonstrations of trade-union elements in the factories for an independent Austria and for preparedness for defense. Schuschnigg, too, is interested in showing that the workers support him. And, at legal meetings, people say: Well, yes, we are prepared. But put weapons in our hands; organize the means of defense!

It seems to us that a campaign should be conducted in which we say, on the one hand, what the Christian-Socialists want to hear and, on the other, what we ourselves want and what would set the movement going organizationally and strengthen its consciousness of its own power.

This situation will not last long. It is said that Schuschnigg is being reproached with capitulation by his own clique and, as the situation sharpens, as it soon must, a split in the government block will most likely come, especially if Hitler takes further action soon. Whether we can count on any real resistance from these people depends on our estimate of the situation among the police and the army command. It is to be taken for granted that, in a crisis, half of the police and army could not be used against the Nazis. For the moment, the imprisoned socialists are free and that means a great deal. I count, however, on an immediate resumption of the campaign of persecution of the workers movement, only even more severe and along German lines.

AUSTRIA FACES COORDINATION

Workers! Comrades! Schuschnigg has taken the first step toward coordination with National-Socialism. In the Berchtesgaden discussion, he allowed Hitler to dictate: the admission of the Austrian S.A. into the Fatherland Front; the coordination of the Ministry of Public Security; the coordination of the army. There will follow a customs and monetary union and a similar political situation in Hungary. At Berchtesgaden, Hitler threatened Austria invasion by German troops and civil war.

In this situation, Schuschnigg found himself ready to accept the German conditions and thus to abandon all his patriotic principles. A feeling of dissatisfaction with Schuschnigg prevails in his own camp; the study concludes, "it is primarily

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BOOKS

HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY. by Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 18. Public Affairs Committee, New York, 1938.

Most Americans spend all their money for necessities and have little left over for conveniences, not to speak of luxuries, according to Maxwell Stewart's careful study here under consideration.

One-third of the families in the Northeast and Far West, and 40% of the white and 60% of the Negro families in the South, are found not to spend enough money for food to provide an "inexpensive but adequate diet." Housing standards are also shown to be seriously deficient.

The study, as a whole, brief as it is, presents an instructive picture of how the typical American family disposes of its income. It is based on a recent investigation of expenditures of wage earners and clerical workers carried out by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and a subsequent Study of Consumer Purchases, conducted as a W.P.A. project by the Bureau of Home Economics and the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Roughly 75 cents out of every dollar spent by American families go to provide the three great necessities: food, shelter and clothing. Another 17 cents go for necessities scarcely less urgent—transportation, medical care and personal care, leaving 8 cents for education, recreation, church and community welfare.

The average American working-class or white-collar family does not put aside a cent in savings, the study reveals. Only one-fourth of the families investigated in North Atlantic cities had a really satisfactory diet. About 45% had a satisfactory diet with no margin of safety, while 30% fell short of the minimum requirements for health and efficiency. Most of the inadequate diets were found among families with low incomes. Families with poor diets usually did not have a reasonable standard of living with regard to other necessities.

Altho families differed widely in the way in which they spent their money, it was found that certain broad generalizations were possible: "As a family's income rises, it tends to spend more money, but a smaller proportion of the total on the basic necessity—food. The outlay for housing and personal care, on the other hand, remains at about the same ratio until very high income brackets are reached, when it tends to decline slightly. Clothing expenditures are relatively stable but tend to rise relatively in the higher income levels. The share of the total spent for all the remaining items, such as automobiles, medical care, recreation, education, gifts and contributions, rises rather rapidly with each increase in income."

Wide variations are found in housing standards, as well as in housing costs. About 90% of the families of wage-earning and clerical workers in Philadelphia live in houses which have inside flush toilets, running hot and cold water, electric lights and gas or electricity as kitchen fuel. In Richmond, Virginia, only 37% of the renters and 15% of the home-owners among the lower half of the wage earners have these facilities. On the lowest income levels, expenditures for reading matter is revealed to average only about \$6 a year, which suggests that the reading matter is limited to a daily paper. At the level of the average American, the outlay for reading material is about \$10 a year—enough for a daily paper and an occasional five or ten-cent magazine.

"If the diet and living standards of a large proportion of the American people is unsatisfactory," the study concludes, "it is primarily

Anti-War Youth Present Peace Petition to F.D.R.

By JOE ELWOOD

THIS year's American Youth Congress Pilgrimage to Washington "for a better, happier and healthier America" took place on March 10-12. Since the Youth Congress not only minimized the anti-war implications of the Pilgrimage but did not even mention the word "peace" in the call for the march itself, it became the responsibility of the Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge, youth affiliate of the "Keep America Out Of War" committee, and its supporters, to make it a Pilgrimage against war.

Supporters of the Youth Committee who brought with them a number of anti-war banners such as "Support the U.A.W.-S.W.O.C. Anti-War Stand" and "Support the C.I.O.'s Fight Against the May Bill," to be displayed in the streets of Washington during the parade which took place on Saturday, March 12, were prevented from doing so by the Stalinist leaders running the affair, who were afraid that this would embarrass the "most cordial" President in the White House who "was so enthusiastic" about the Stalinist display. In fact, how could the Stalinists act otherwise after the President had told them that "the American Youth Congress is the finest thing for democratic habits and practices"?

The Stalinists were also determined not to let the Youth Committee distribute any anti-war leaflets and warned that physical force would be used against those who "disobeyed." Despite this "order," thousands of leaflets calling upon the young people assembled in Washington to "make it a Pilgrimage for peace," were distributed during the parade, thus destroying the "respectability" which the Stalinists so much desired.

Demand for drastic reduction of armaments, immediate withdrawal of armed forces from China and from all other foreign territory, passage of a war-referendum amendment and abandonment of all plans for "industrial mobilization," were presented the same day to President Roosevelt in a petition from the Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge. This petition was endorsed by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers; Frederick J. Libby, head of the National Council for the Prevention of War; Dorothy Deter, national secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Oswald Garrison Villard; Norman Thomas; Ernest L. Meyer; Bertram D. Wolfe; and other national figures. Over 20,000 signatures were submitted by the Youth Committee delegation to the President.

"Youth has a right to speak out because the nation does not produce enough food, clothing, shelter and cultural opportunities to meet the needs of the population. . . . To provide every American family with a liberal diet and at the same time permit the purchase of such necessities and comforts which are ordinarily associated with this diet would . . . require an increase of production by some 70% or 80% above the 1929 level. . . . But why can't we reach this socially necessary minimum level of production? Why can't we use all of the country's plant and resources to full capacity? Why, instead, are we offered an "economy of scarcity" based on the restriction of production? These questions, which go to the very root of the problem and expose the irrationality and bankruptcy of the capitalist system, are neither asked nor answered in this pamphlet. But you are provided with the necessary factual material for reaching your own conclusions and that's a great deal.

R. W.

loudest against war. Youth fills the trenches," the petition stated. "Youth sounds a note of warning: 'No war in the East! No troops abroad! No naval expansion! No military dictatorship for America!'"

The signers urged pilgrimage delegates to continue the drive in their localities to keep America out of war by vigorous opposition to the naval-expansion and May bills and by urging the withdrawal of troops from China and the transfer of all war funds for housing, unemployed relief and the American Youth Act.

LaFollette War Stand

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dependent anti-imperialist foreign policy and demand its adoption by the government. Let the United States cease protecting the investments of the bankers and industrialists in China; let it cease fostering reactionary dictatorships in Latin America; let it grant the Philippine people complete independence. These should be our demands.

War And Profits Of course, the real trouble with the LaFollette program lies in its failure to connect war with the profit system. Capitalism goes to war not to give up profits but to stabilize and increase them, to ward off the threats arising from the workers at home and rival imperialists abroad. The employing class gets out of economic crises thru war, which uses up in double-quick time the "superfluous" commodities resulting from capitalist overproduction and which gives life to a dying economy by creating markets for death. If the entire purpose of imperialist war is profit-making, obviously it is impossible to conduct a capitalist war with profits removed. Things can be made uncomfortable for some individual capitalists or groups of capitalists

in the larger interests of the capitalist state, but war is totalitarian and so are its profits. A war-profits tax bill might conceivably become an issue for a mass peace movement but to believe that any legislation can make war a profitless venture for capitalism is sheer illusion.

Vienna metal factories were conducted against Hitler but it can never be said that they were held for Schuschnigg. Comrades! We do not support Schuschnigg's dictatorship. But we do not wish to replace clerico-fascism by the brutal and bestial slavery of Hitler-fascism and German imperialism.

Therefore, we call upon you to: Show your determination to defend Austria against Hitler everywhere in the factories and unions! Demand immediate organization of defense—workers defense in the factories and the arming of the workers!

Strengthen the struggle for your rights and the struggle against the cowardly clerico-fascism which has shown itself to be the greatest obstacle the defense of the Austrian people against Nazi-fascism! Strengthen the illegal workers organizations! Build an Austrian fighting front against fascism, brown and black!

English poll shows that the League of Nations is losing favor with the English people. To which the League could reply: "You made me what I am today. Why are you dissatisfied?"

—The Brewery Worker

In Austria, the working class is the only force which can bar the way and which can unite all anti-fascists beneath its flag. Schuschnigg woos the workers in order to win their favor and so squeeze out better terms for himself from Hitler. But the readiness of the proletariat to defend Austria will not be misused for this. The strikes in the

Labor Notes and Facts

THE National Labor Relations Board handed down its first decision involving a sit-down strike last week, directing the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation, North Chicago, Ill., to reinstate approximately ninety C.I.O. members.

The board did not specifically rule upon the legality of a sit-down strike, but did overrule the company's contention that participation in a sit-down should be a bar to reinstatement of the strikers.

"There can be no doubt," the board said, "that the direct and immediate cause of the strike was the illegal activity of the respondent (the company). Nor can there be any question as to the gravity of the respondent's unlawful course of action."

"Even assuming that the strikers' conduct was violative of certain state laws carrying criminal penalties, we cannot say that the respondent is therefore guilty in any lesser degree.

"One who engages in persistent and open defiance of a national law cannot be heard to assert that the retaliatory conduct of his employees in seeking to secure their rights is necessarily a bar to their reinstatement.

"Furthermore, in view of the fact that the respondent did take back a large number of the sit-down strikers, we find it difficult to believe that the respondent's objection on that score is put forward in good faith.

"The outstanding fact revealed by the record is that, had it not been for the respondent's illegal conduct, the orderly processes of collective bargaining, which the act is designed to encourage, would have taken place."

The C.I.O. members sat down, February 17, 1937, after the company had refused to bargain collectively with their union, the Amalgamated Association of Iron,

Steel and Tin Workers of North America. The strikers withstood one three-hour tear gas attack by approximately 150 sheriff's deputies but were driven from the plant on February 26 by a barrage of tear and "knock-out" gas.

Upon request, the N.L.R.B. ruled, the company must recognize the C.I.O. union as sole-bargaining agency for its production employees.

In ordering reinstatement of the strikers, the board ruled that employees hired since the strike must be displaced if necessary to make room for the reinstated employees.

RURAL DISTRESS Corrington Gill, assistant W.P.A. administrator, told the Senate Committee on Unemployment last week that at least 3,500,000 rural families, or more than one of every four such families in the United States, received public assistance at some time during the depression.

While most of these 3,500,000 families are no longer receiving public assistance, according to Mr. Gill, many are still not far above the destitution level.

He further asserted that the heavy turnover in rural cases indicated destitution to be even more widespread than was shown by data on grants of relief.

"In many rural areas the need for aid has increased faster than state and local relief expenditures, with the result that large numbers of rural families are experiencing serious privation. The unmet need is most acute in the cotton States, where it is estimated that 200,000 destitute rural cases are receiving no form of aid at all."

WAGES IN COTTON TEXTILE The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor recently made a study of the movement of hourly earnings in the cotton-textile industry, with special reference to the extent of differential between the North and South.

The study shows that the spread between cotton workers earnings in the North and the South increased during the year ending July 1937. Previously, during the ten years 1925-34, regional differences in the cotton-textile industry had been generally decreasing. The trend was reversed after 1935. By July 1937, Northern cotton mills were reporting the payment of an average of 50.0c an hour, as compared with the average of 39.7c reported by Southern mills. Such a regional variation in hourly earnings, altho smaller than during the period July 1924 to July 1933, was definitely larger than any which had prevailed during the operation of the cotton-textile code under the N.R.A.

N. Y. MINIMUM WAGES Elmer F. Andrews, Industrial Commissioner of New York State, recently announced that a minimum-wage scale is to be fixed for the 13,000 women employed in the 8,000 beauty shops throut the State.

Andrews appointed a board of nine which, under the authority of the minimum-wage law for women and minors, will survey the industry and make recommendations. The board will be the second to function under the law. Some time ago, the results of a survey of a board in the laundry industry were put into effect.

THE WORLD TODAY

(Continued from Page 4)

Fatherland Front is already shattered. The complete coordination of Austria is a question of only a short time. All contrary reports in the Austrian and foreign press are false.

That same Seyss-Inquart, who was unmasked as guilty of high treason by the documents discovered in Teinfalstrasse, Schuschnigg has now made his Minister of the Interior and supreme commander over the police.

The Austrian dictatorship, under Schuschnigg's leadership, has not dared to lift a finger in defense of Austria. Abandoned by the Western powers and without the support of Italy, Schuschnigg would have been compelled to rely on the working class in a defensive struggle against Hitler. But fear of the oppressed masses made him shrink from such a step. That he has amnestied imprisoned revolutionists and that he took an erstwhile social-democrat into his Hitler-appointed government, will help only to hide his more pronounced course toward Nazism.

In Austria, the working class is the only force which can bar the way and which can unite all anti-fascists beneath its flag. Schuschnigg woos the workers in order to win their favor and so squeeze out better terms for himself from Hitler. But the readiness of the proletariat to defend Austria will not be misused for this. The strikes in the

Trade Union Notes

By Observer

THE big Stalinist build-up in the trade-union movement is apparently beginning to crack up at last. In the U.M.W., there was recently reenacted the constitutional clause barring Stalinites from membership, which means that Lewis has a club to swing over them whenever they get obnoxious. In the U.A.W., they are on the run under the blows of the rank and file who are up in arms against their war-mongering and irresponsible demagoguery. The attitude of Dubinsky and other needle-trades leaders on Stalinist factional intrigue, is well known.

And now Joe Curran and the National Maritime Union! If there is one place where the Stalinites have had a free hand to show their stuff, it is the N.M.U. If there is one place where the union leadership has been ready to give the Stalinites all the confidence and credit in the world, it is the N.M.U.

But something seems to be happening even in the N.M.U. Last week Joe Curran submitted a report on the inner union situation to a meeting of the deck division of the union. Some sections of this statement are very much worth quoting:

"There are a couple of factions within the union that are going to have a dangerous effect on the union if they are not curbed." One faction is composed (according to Curran) of "ship-owners stooges," undercover agents of the A. F. of L. seamen's union and "a bunch of professional pie-cards."

"This is one faction and then there is the other faction, the communists, and they are almost as bad as these pie-cards. . . . They have political ambitions and it is evident from the way they are working that it is only a means to an end for them. They spend most of their time recruiting members for the party instead of aiding and bettering the conditions of the seamen. These factions forget that the first thing to be done here is to build the union and to work for the best interests of the men. The membership should definitely tell both of these factions that there is no room for them in the union; either they must go to work to improve the conditions of the seamen and better their interests or they are going to get out. . . . If any party is going to try to inject the interests of their party, I believe it must be stopped." Indiscriminate charges of "communism" should be ignored but, at the same time, the union "is not going to fall for anybody's personal or political ambitions."

An investigation of the staff and

Leon Blum on the Moscow "Trials"

(Continued from Page 4)

sacrifice, the highest sacrifice to the cause of the revolution—albeit such heroism does not seem to go very well with treason and hired espionage. However that may be, it is a fact that people who, only a few months ago, figured as among the greatest personages in Soviet history, have confessed to deeds which our reason refuses to accept, which come into conflict—as was the case also in previous trials—with real material impossibilities and which, I have the right to add, are established as morally false by ourselves.

We are asked to believe the confessions. That means to believe that Madeleine Paz is lying when she states that she has never met and never known Krestinsky. That means to believe that Dan is lying when he declares that he has never met and never known either Chernov or the German police official, Oberhaus. Such things cannot be asked of us. There is not the slightest reason for me to regard my friend, Madeleine Paz, as a liar or my friend, Dan, as a liar and a spy. There can be no state

editorial policy of the Pilot, official union paper, is under way. The deck division, one of the three sections of the union, has already voted to remove all non-seamen (virtually all Stalinites) from the staff of the Pilot, to reserve the columns of the paper for union matters and to bring charges against the "disruptive" groups.

Elections are coming in the N.M.U. Perhaps the present internal clash will be smoothed over for the moment. But only for the moment. Sooner or later, every decent, democratic, progressive union will have to settle accounts with the Stalinites, will have to get rid of them from all positions of leadership and influence. And not only the N.M.U. Watch the transport workers, the retail clerks and certain sections of the T.W.O.C.!

* Apparently, the reference is to the group around Octave Loones. This group issues the *Rank-and-File Pilot*, an oppositional paper. On March 25, Loones was expelled by a vote of 224 to 12 at a union membership meeting, altho a trial committee appointed some weeks before reported 4 to 1 against expulsion.

United Front In the U.S.A.

(Continued from Page 3)

2. Germany, France, etc., with the proletariat about evenly divided between the socialist and communist movement; 3. Great Britain, with the Communist Party a mere chip of the mass labor movement; 4. the United States with a radical movement thoroly isolated and split.

Now let us see how the united front applies to each group. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party is dominant and completely controls the working class thru the party and state organs. There are no other parties in existence and no united front comes into consideration.

In Germany and France, the labor movement was divided into the socialist and communist camps. To effectively combat reaction and the assaults of the capitalist class, united action by the whole working class was an absolute necessity. But there were two proletarian armies in the field. And, since the split had been caused by the irrepressible conflict of opposing principles, the merging of the two par-

reason—for a socialist state—which can prevent me from declaring aloud my full solidarity with them. And when I think particularly of Dan, when I recall the greatness and nobility of his life, his years of struggle and sacrifice of which I have been witness—when I think that the most shameful of all accusations have been heaped upon him by people who, in spite of everything, know him, then I cannot help shouting out my indignation.

These are the feelings which I cannot restrain within me. I know very well that tomorrow they will be utilized by the common enemies of Soviet Russia and socialism. That is not my fault. Why am I compelled to choose between speaking out, which is dangerous, and keeping silent, which would be disgraceful?

UAW Fights High Cost of Living As Crisis Deepens

By GEORGE F. MILES

Detroit, Mich.

AUTOMOBILE production continues in low gear. The week ending March 12 produced 57,438 cars as compared to 54,445 for the week ending March 5 and 56,677 for February 26. Production during the week ending March 12, 1937 was 103,649 or almost 100% more than the same week this year.

Production is expected to sag still further this week. Buick and Fisher Body in Flint closed down for a whole week and new lay-offs are expected in Chevrolet.

U.A.W. ACTS AGAINST HIGH COST OF LIVING

Continued growth of unemployment has centered attention on relief and on the high cost of living. In as far as relief is concerned, the United Automobile Workers has great progress to record. It has just begun a drive to organize the unemployed automobile workers into an auxiliary organization under the direct supervision of the union.

In addition, a preliminary conference on the high cost of living was initiated by the U.A.W. for March 30. The committee calling the conference consists of Homer Martin, Richard Frankenstein, Russell J. Merrill and F. J. Michel of the U.A.W.; Eve Stone, Zola Kennedy and Eunice Crooks of the Women's

ties was impossible. The fact that the two working class parties differed on the question of revolution did not mean that there were not a great many points of agreement on the immediate issues facing them. A united front was not only desirable but possible. In France, the spontaneous action of the workers forced the socialist and communist parties to enter a united front and saved the labor movement from destruction in 1934. In Germany, on the other hand, the failure to develop a united front resulted in the triumph of fascism. In each case, the united front, because it embraced the whole working class, had the power to alter history. And power is the essence of politics and of the united front as well.

In England, there is no problem of united front because the labor movement is united. The Labor Party is the labor movement politically. The slogan of united front can only distract the attention of the advanced workers from their real task of winning the masses for revolutionary socialism. The united front, unfortunately, is not an incubator for the hatching of revolutionists. Nor must it be mistaken for a Trojan horse which can be used to capture the citadels of labor. The revolutionist is not at war with the labor movement and need not resort to tricks. It may seem obvious but it is necessary to say that the function of the united front is to unite. Where there is no division, there can be no united front.

Until the formation of the C.I.O., there could be no real united front in the U. S. A., for the unit of the united front is a whole army of labor. Altho there have been many splendid united-front actions, they never amounted to a united front of labor, as they embraced only a tiny fraction of the labor movement. The first quality every united front must possess is precisely mass quantity.

The united front in the United States is taking shape under the exceptional conditions which have made for the division of the labor movement in such a specific form and at such a time. Unlike the European countries, the split has occurred over the forms of trade-union organization and not over the question of reform versus revo-

Auxiliary of the U.A.W.; Chester Graham of the Michigan Farmers Union and Charles Lockwood, attorney known for his campaigns against the milk trust.

The conference initiators discussed the following program: (1) educational campaign on cost of living problems; (2) organizational campaign among labor and farmer groups for action to combat high prices. (3) action to effect the lowering of Detroit rents and pressure on the Detroit Housing Commission to obtain the \$10,000,000 earmarked for Detroit by the U. S. Housing Authority; (4) lower utility rates for gas, electricity and telephone; (5) rural electrification; (6) reduction of the price of milk

lution. The expulsion of the U.M.W.A. from the A. F. of L. now gives de-jure recognition to an accomplished fact—the split in the American labor movement. The split was inevitable. But the conditions are such as demand a united front on common issues. Lewis recognizes the fact. Whitney proclaims it. Only the A. F. of L. seems to be hostile to the idea. But, certainly, even the A. F. of L. will have to admit that there are common aims on which the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the independent railway brotherhoods can get together. It is regrettable that Lewis's proposal for "a joint, united-front committee" has not gone beyond the columns of the Workers Age and New Republic, for T.R.B. reports: "Mr. Lewis's own fellows in the C.I.O. called the plan quixotic and it was not seriously discussed." Let Lewis place this proposal before the whole labor movement. A proposal that meets the needs of the whole labor movement cannot be ignored. The C.I.O. can thereby prove itself the true representative of the interests of the whole working class. If the A. F. of L. persists in its dog-in-the-manger attitude, it can only lose thereby and hasten the victory of the C.I.O. as not only the main stream of the American labor movement but as the sole body of organized labor. Should the A. F. of L. be compelled to accept the offer of a united front, then the labor movement as a whole stands to benefit immediately and the C.I.O., being the progressive force, will gain organizationally as well. At the same time, it will tend to further solidify the ranks of the C.I.O. itself. The A. F. of L., too, will garner some new members since the reservoir of unorganized workers is so full.

! ? ? !

A N incident in the Stalinist purge in the Soviet Union:

Sept. 30, 1937—Twenty-five members of the Young Communist League sentenced to eight or ten years imprisonment for participating in spiritualistic seances "to hold intercourse with Trotskyists in the spirit world."

and, at same time, protection of the farmers' income; (7) improvement of the quality of food.

Invitations to this conference have been extended to the Detroit Federation of Labor, local unions of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. as well as to farmer groups.

* * *

WAYNE COUNTY L.N.P.L.

The Michigan gubernatorial campaign injected itself into the sessions of Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League held on March 20. The 190 delegates representing 60 local unions listened to the sharp denunciation of Harry S. Toy, candidate for Republican gubernatorial nomination, as "not only a violent reactionary but a legal spokesman for the Ford Motor Co." and finally adopted a call to Michigan labor to rally behind the candidacy of Governor Murphy. A state conference of Labor's Non-Partisan League will be held in June. Resolutions were also adopted dealing with housing, revision of the welfare administration, opposition to the May Bill calling for drafting labor in case of war, for freedom of Mooney, for a wage-hour bill and for the unity of the C.I.O. and A.F.L.

The election of officers and the executive committee provided evidence that the factional opposition in the U.A.W. and its own inner divisions become issues no matter what the aims and purposes of any particular conference may be. In this case, Richard Frankenstein, progressive vice-president of the U.A.W., ran for chairman of the League and was opposed by Emil Maxey, a leader of the "unity" caucus. The latter was defeated badly because the "unity" caucus split wide open, with the Stalinist wing supporting Frankenstein because Mazey's expressed opposition to the endorsement of Governor Murphy for reelection.

The same division between the Stalinist and socialist wings of the "unity" caucus must have prevailed thruout the election of the executive, for leading socialists now charge a double-cross by their erstwhile allies and insist that the Stalinists have stacked the executive with their own allies.

First-Hand Report from Austria!

JAY LOVESTONE

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