

NEXT WEEK:
CAUSES OF SPANISH DEFEAT—By Julian Gorkin

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

WAGNER ACT AMENDMENTS EN DANGER COLLECTIVE BARGAINING . . . by J. Elwood . . . page 3.
FUR PROGRESSIVES WIN BIG SUPPORT . . . Page 2.

Vol. 8, No. 19. NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1939. 5 CENTS

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

DIFFERENT TIMES, DIFFERENT SONGS

I HAD always been under the impression that we in the United States had the greatest tempo, if not a monopoly on it. "Speed" was our middle name and sort of second nature to us—once thought.

But I have changed my mind a little on this question. I think no more that way. If you want to know speed, if you want to see it, if you want a taste of it, then see the rate of change in European attitudes and relations today and watch the hurricane speed with which Europe is putting its house in order so that it can burn down fastest in the war about to come. Let me cite just two instances.

Take so reserved and critical a weekly as the Economist of London. The other day it pounded out this violent break with decades of tradition of British imperialism:

"England is required to mobilize her resources to the last man, the last pound and the last machine to safeguard her own and imperial frontiers and to resist aggression in foreign fields. It is the need for swift and drastic action, recognized by a vast majority of the population, that has made the compelling statement of every man's and every woman's immediate duty inevitable. To wait upon the outbreak of hostilities for the building up of the forces needed to fight by the side of our allies or for the introduction of the machinery required to make the maximum use of the country's capital, labor and commerce would be foolish and fatal; for the war has already begun. . . . We need men and women at full stretch to make essential goods. We need to mould production and distribution strictly to the pattern of military priorities and vital foreign trade."

What more fervid plea for conscription! What more outright demand for instant giant strides towards a fascist reorganization of life in Great Britain! And this from the cleanest, most intelligent and best representative of English liberalism!

Now let's turn to the topnotcher of the "Cliveden set"—but yesterday denounced by the Daily Worker as fascist, blatantly anti-Soviet. Mr. J. L. Garvin, editor of the Sunday Observer, tells us on April 16 in a very significant article captioned "All In": "As was evident from the outset, there is no possibility of pursuing any effective policy anywhere in Eastern Europe, without the most thorough understanding between the Soviet Power and the western democracies. Apart from any special and qualified arrangements in the interests of Poland and Rumania, what is wanted is a blunt, downright alliance for reciprocal security between Britain, France and Russia."

Well, well, well! This is not exactly the traditional calm, polite, diplomatic language of educated British leadership! Nor is this outburst really lady-like—in the eyes of the Lady Astor of yesterday to whom the U.S.S.R. was like an unchangeable, nay, unthinkable as a partner. But, as an old Russian proverb used to run: "Different times, different birds; different birds, different songs." There is just one thing I hasten to add and with a plea not to forget: the Garvins and the Astors are vultures and the songs they propose to sing are only over the carcasses of millions of our brothers to be butchered in as sordidly imperialist a world war as ever there was. This crew is not a flock of angels of peace but a pack of ghoulies. . . .

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

THE German ruling class in its mad drive for domination of the world market has forced upon the workers in the Nazi inferno a ten-hour day and sixty-hour week. In their efforts to thwart Hitler, the ruling classes of the competing capitalist countries are turning to similar schedules of labor.

In not even the "purest democratic" land do the owners think these days, for a split second, of the possibility of reducing hours of labor so as to reduce the army of jobless. Thus, the International Labor Office (League of Nations) has just found it necessary to declare that "the result of the consultation of governments . . . is definitely unfavorable to the shortening of hours." Here is a declaration that should serve as an immediate alarm to all American workers. Says the International Labor Office:

"In this state of political insecurity and economic instability, governments are clearly little inclined to assume an international obligation, even of short duration, to reduce hours of work. . . . It is obvious that they wish to remain free to modify at once and at any time the speed of their production and the system of work in factories and workshops in order to be able to meet any obligation that may be suddenly imposed by the requirement of national military and economic defense."

This is the unvarnished truth. We could not have told it as baldly. The ruling classes of the so-called "democratic" imperialist powers are more and more resorting, in their domestic as well as foreign policies, to the practices of totalitarianism, ostensibly in order to defeat totalitarianism but actually, at the expense of labor in their own lands, only to beat their competitors in the world market.

Fascist methods, fascism in full, and war are all rooted in the same soil—everywhere—in the capitalist system now being weighed down by its aggravated inherent contradictions. Nowhere does labor have any interest to save the decaying order. Everywhere does labor have it as its first duty to join hands with the working classes of other lands in a world front against all imperialist war and all of imperialism.

Unions and Parties Celebrate May Day

5 ILGWU Locals Hold Joint Meeting

New York City.

MAY DAY in New York City was celebrated last week in a number of demonstrations that reflected the divisions and tendencies in the labor movement of the city.

The Communist Party, operating thru a "United May Day Committee," arranged the usual parade, estimated as including about 45,000 people. Unlike the year before, no I.L.G.W.U. local was officially represented, while the A.L.P. had forbidden any of its affiliates to participate. The result was that the whole affair was conducted as a factional demonstration against the I.L.G.W.U. and other sections of the labor movement that refused to follow the Stalinist lead. The Daily Worker of May 2 stresses this attitude in its report on the parade. "A marked feature in the parade," the Stalinist organ declares, "was the large turnout of members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The affiliates of the I.L.G.W.U. were forbidden by President David Dubinsky to participate in the parade officially. . . . The marchers of the I.L.G.W.U. were double the number . . . at the Hippodrome under the official auspices of the locals of the I.L.G.W.U. with Dubinsky, Vice-President Luigi Antonini and other officials as speakers."

"The chief slogan carried as wave after wave of I.L.G.W.U. members swept by the Union Square review-

ing stand was 'Labor Unity' and evident resentment that their union was officially separated this year from labor's main march.

"The turnout of our members shows that they will not permit anybody to interfere with the unity of labor." Dora Zucker, young leader of the Local 22 rank and file declared over the microphone as members of her local marched by.

"Charles Zimmerman, Lovestoneite manager of Local 22, was chairman of the Hippodrome meeting."

The Daily Worker facts and figures are, as usual, utterly fantastic, but the factional venom is obvious.

UNIONS JOIN IN MEETING

An enthusiastic and well-attended May Day meeting was held at the Hippodrome on the afternoon of May Day under the auspices of Locals 22, 60, 62, 89 and 155 of the I.L.G.W.U. President Dubinsky delivered the main address and the managers of the various locals made appropriate speeches. The special program of entertainment was also well received.

The evening before, April 30, the Hippodrome was the scene of another May Day meeting, this time under the auspices of a conference in which the Social-Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle, the I.L.L.A. and other organizations took part. This meeting, reflecting an approach to-

It's All Sales Talk

THE very fact of the discussion among Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia looking toward an alliance throws a good deal of light on the real nature of what is going on in Europe.

"In other words, it isn't a war of ideologies. It isn't a struggle between dictatorships and democracies. It is a struggle over power, in which nations are moved not by ideologies but by cold national interest."

"That fact needs to be pointed out with all possible emphasis, because in the United States we are tempted to consider the issue in terms of saving democracy again. We are in danger of mistaking political catch-words for the real thing. They will tell you it is a fight to make the world safe for democracy, because that is persuasive sales talk."

—Raymond Clapper, in New York World-Telegram, April 24, 1939.

Coal Parley Fails, More Miners Out

Operators Refuse Union Demand of Closed Shop; Hard-Coal Clash Looms

New York City.

Negotiations between the Appalachian soft-coal operators and the United Mine Workers, which have been deadlocked for a month, adjourned last week with the announcement that no agreement could be reached.

The U.M.W. declared it would immediately start calling out its members in the West and Midwest as a result of the failure. All of the approximately 150,000 men in the areas affected are expected to be out within a few days. Union officials estimated that around 340,000 Appalachian miners have been idle since the old contract expired March 31.

The calling out of the western and midwestern miners would mean a virtual shutdown of the entire bituminous industry. A few local mines would continue, as would some Illinois mines organized by the Progressive Miners, now affiliated with the A. F. of L.

There is a possibility that the anthracite mines may shut down very soon. The union's contract expired April 30 and was continued thru last week by mutual agreement as operators started the negotiations with John L. Lewis and other members of his negotiating committee.

After announcing their failure, the Appalachian negotiators revealed that a session of the Joint Appalachian Conference, composed of sixteen miners and sixteen operators, has been called for the next afternoon.

The thirty-two men were to receive the report of the failure from the negotiating subcommittee of eight and attempt to decide on its next step—a final breakdown or a new effort to agree.

The negotiations deadlocked on the union's demand for the closed shop and check-off to be incorporated in the contract or else the elimination of the "penalty" clause on strikes. Efforts at mediation by the U. S. Labor Department have so far proved unavailing.

Other May Day Meetings

Philadelphia, Pa.

Over 400 workers attended the joint May Day meeting arranged in Philadelphia by the Independent Labor League of America, the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party, at which David Felix, member of the N.E.C. of the S.P., presided. The fight against the impending war, the keynote of the meeting, was stressed by the speakers of the three political organizations aforementioned.

Draper of the Socialist Workers Party went into great detail pointing out the imperialist character of the coming world war. M. Shub, chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of the S.P., described the capitalist character of American "democracy," and emphasized the need of fighting against capitalist "democracy" as well as against fascism.

(Continued on Page 2)

Litvinoff Out In Shift of Soviet Line

"Isolationism" Forecast For Russia; England In New "Appeasement"

Maxim M. Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Minister for the last ten years, was suddenly removed from his post last week and his portfolio taken over by V. M. Molotov, Soviet Premier. The official announcement said that Litvinov had "resigned at his own request" but it is generally understood that the veteran diplomat's departure from his post signifies an important shift in foreign policy.

Litvinov's removal, repeatedly predicted in this paper during the last year, undoubtedly came as a consequence of the definite decision of the Stalin government against any real commitment to the Anglo-French imperialist bloc ("collective security," "concerted action of the democracies"). It is now indicated that Russia will gradually veer toward an "isolationist" position and "understanding," open or implied, with Nazi Germany. Hitler's failure to attack Russia in his Reichstag address and his sudden move offering security pacts to the Baltic states were regarded as very significant from this standpoint.

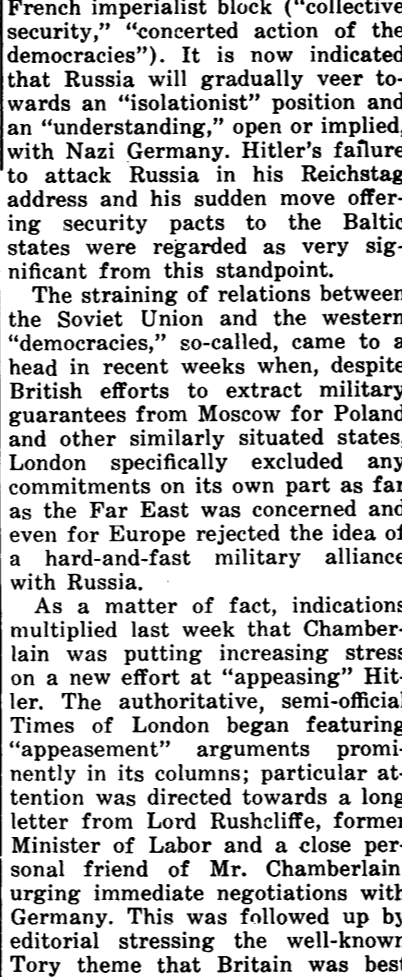
The straining of relations between the Soviet Union and the western "democracies," so-called, came to a head in recent weeks when, despite British efforts to extract military guarantees from Moscow for Poland and other similarly situated states, London specifically excluded any commitments on its own part as far as the Far East was concerned and even for Europe rejected the idea of a hard-and-fast military alliance with Russia.

As a matter of fact, indications multiplied last week that Chamberlain was putting increasing stress on a new effort at "appeasing" Hitler. The authoritative, semi-official Times of London began featuring "appeasement" arguments prominently in its columns; particular attention was directed towards a long letter from Lord Ruskcliffe, former Minister of Labor and a close personal friend of Mr. Chamberlain, urging immediate negotiations with Germany. This was followed up by editorial stressing the well-known Tory theme that Britain was best fitted to act as "mediator" and "honest broker" in "settling Europe's troubles," that is that Britain's proper role was to "appease" the dictators thru concessions at someone else's expense.

Hitler's Reichstag address, delivered as Nazi Germany's "answer" to President Roosevelt's "peace message," introduced little new into the international situation. Aside from a point-by-point reply to Mr. Roosevelt's statements, the most significant thing about Hitler's remarks was the open demand for the return of Danzig and for the right to build a German military road and railroad line across the Polish Corridor, obviously a prelude to its occupation by Germany. The Nazi press immediately took up the cue for a systematic "ideological" offensive.

(Continued on Page 2)

AMERICA'S "DEMOCRATIC FRONT"



—from New York Post

Capitol Weighs Hitler's Address

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

EVERYONE who has seen me this week wants to know what is my impression of the reaction to Hitler's speech answering F.D.R.'s "appeal." Here is the consensus of opinion (as I have gathered it): (1)

British I.L.P. Holds Annual Conference

Attitude to War, Labor Party Tie Debated

London, England.

THE forty-seventh conference of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain opened at Scarborough on Saturday afternoon, April 8. Fraternal greetings were delivered by Mr. Simpson representing the Scarborough Cooperative Society, and others.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

The first report to be considered dealt with industrial activity. These activities have grown over the last two years, the report indicated the large field of work still to be done.

Mrs. Lord, for Tormorden, moved a resolution which regretted the weakness of industrial activity, the lack of clarity and cohesion, and laid down, among other things, a demand for the extension of the Parliamentary Group to include two trade-union members so that industrial demands should find a place in Parliamentary opposition. Ballantine, of Perth, a member of the N.U.R. Executive, recognized that there was still much to be done, but did not think the resolution put practical and constructive points. He welcomed the contacts made within the trade-union movement, but regretted that there were still members in the party who "wouldn't touch trade-union work with a barge-pole."

John Applin, Industrial Officer of the party, agreed that much remained to be done, but demanded

Einstein Points To Real Danger

"I AM convinced that the danger of fascism in America can be eliminated only by effective measures against unemployment and economic insecurity. It is, of course, essential to combat fascist propaganda coming from abroad; yet it is equally important to avoid the fatal error of believing that the fascist danger can be checked by purely political means. That danger may, perhaps, be compared to the danger of tubercular infection. While there should be the most stringent hygienic precautions to guard against entry of the germs, a good general state of health is even more essential, since it increases the natural resistance to infection." — Albert Einstein.

FDR Demands Cut Of a Third in WPA

Special Message Slashes 1940 Relief Budget by Billions to Boost Arms

Washington, D. C.

A slash of W.P.A. funds by about one-third for the 1940 fiscal year was proposed last week by President Roosevelt in a special message to Congress. In this message, he asked Congress to appropriate \$1,723,000,000 for relief activities, \$1,477,000,000 of it to go to the W.P.A. and \$246,000,000 to the National Youth and Farm Security Administrations.

As the President himself pointed out, his W.P.A. recommendation calls for about one-third less than the \$2,250,000,000 appropriated this

year, which is maintaining, on an average, about three million persons on the relief rolls until June 30. The President's slash will therefore mean the dismissal of nearly a million relief workers and the loss by about four million people of their means of subsistence.

Furthermore, the reduced Administration budget for relief as justified by the White House will undoubtedly encourage the "economy" block in Congress to put thru even more drastic slashes, making the outlook for W.P.A. quite uncertain.

Only a few weeks ago, the President was full of righteous indignation at a proposal in Congress to slash W.P.A. expenditures to the point of bringing about the dismissal of 4,000,000 of the three million then on work relief. Now he himself asks for a slash that will mean the dismissal of nearly a million of the 2,800,000 currently holding W.P.A. jobs. And on what grounds? On the ground that "we are justified in expecting an upward trend in the volume of employment!" But President Roosevelt knows, because his own experts have told him so, that this is not true. What we are justified in expecting, if we go by recent signs, is a serious snag in the recovery movement and a definite increase in unemployment.

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

New Slashes Ordered

Washington, D. C.

Works Progress Administrator F. C. Harrington last week ordered a 200,000 cut in federal relief quotas to bring W.P.A. enrollment down to 2,600,000 persons by May 8.

The reduction, which follows a similar cut in April, was made necessary when Congress last month pared \$50,000,000 from the \$150,000,000 deficiency relief bill to carry W.P.A. until June 30, end of the fiscal year.

These two slashes will be followed by an additional 200,000 cut in June to bring total rolls down to 2,400,000 by July 1, beginning of the 1940 fiscal year. Other reductions will follow in accordance with the President's announced plan to reduce W.P.A. expenditures by one-third and to hold the rolls to an average of 2,000,000 in the new fiscal year.

Among the largest reductions were New York, 13,740; New Jersey, 6,150; Pennsylvania, 20,510; and Connecticut, 2,980.

Walsh, Famed Lawyer, Dies

New York City.

Frank P. Walsh, world-famous labor attorney and champion of civil rights, died of heart disease last week at he was walking thru Foley Square on his way to the Federal Building where he was to appear as counsel for Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. He was 74 years old.

Walsh had a long and distinguished record of service to the labor movement and other progressive causes. His best known activity along these lines was his defense of Tom Mooney over a period of twenty years, in which he not only served without compensation but paid his own expenses.

Always keenly interested in progressive politics, Walsh supported Robert M. LaFollette when he ran on a third-party ticket in 1924. Since 1932, he was a strong adherent of the New Deal. In May 1931, he was appointed trustee of the State Power Authority, where he served as chairman until his death.

quired for this new era in American life; that we can never expect the old business stimulators—scarcity and rising prices—to bring our modern mass-production industries to their full output or to create the high living standard possible in the power age. With our vast and infinitely complex industrial system, we cannot expect to reach this goal without national planning." The survey then advocates a set-up similar to that advocated by Ezekiel in his book, "Jobs for All," with more voluntarism than he thinks is possible if the plan is to work.

The statement concludes: "In our modern economic order, which depends on mass production and mass consumption, it is not a question whether we shall or shall not plan

(Continued on Page 3)

A.F.L. ON ECONOMIC PLANNING

The newspapers a few days ago announced that the American Federation of Labor has put itself on record in favor of economic planning and a national economic council. Actually, the release was sent out by the research division of the A. F. of L. under the able direction of Miss Scattergood. If she keeps it up, Hutcheson or Wharton, if not Green, are likely to tone her down or fire her. The Executive Council has not spoken. However, this is a straw in the wind and helps those New Dealers down here who, like Mordecai Ezekiel, want to see the Democratic party come out for "Industrial Expansion Thru Economic Planning" in its 1940 platform.

Here are some quotations from the A. F. of L. statement of April 28: "For nearly ten years, business has been subnormal, and even when business was above normal, we had millions living in poverty. With capacity production, it would be entirely possible to lift every American family above the minimum health and decency standard. Yet neither business nor government has yet been able to achieve this goal. In recent numbers of the survey, we have discussed the coming of the power age and mass production and what it means to American industry and to labor. We have shown that new measures are re-

quired for this new era in American life; that we can never expect the old business stimulators—scarcity and rising prices—to bring our modern mass-production industries to their full output or to create the high living standard possible in the power age. With our vast and infinitely complex industrial system, we cannot expect to reach this goal without national planning." The survey then advocates a set-up similar to that advocated by Ezekiel in his book, "Jobs for All," with more voluntarism than he thinks is possible if the plan is to work.

The statement concludes: "In our modern economic order, which depends on mass production and mass consumption, it is not a question whether we shall or shall not plan

(Continued on Page 3)

Fur Progressives Win Big Support In Elections

Score Big Vote Despite Being Barred from Ballot

New York City. RECENT developments in the New York Furriers Union have shown in a sensational manner what little support and confidence the Stalinist Gold-Potash administration really has among the rank-and-file membership and how thoroughly discredited this leadership now is.

A few weeks ago, the locals of the union held elections for delegates to the biennial convention of the International. The United Progressive Furriers, the opposition group in New York, put up a ticket and planned a vigorous struggle against the administration for the support of the membership. But the Gold-Potash clique saw the handwriting on the wall and determined to keep control at any cost. They therefore not merely denied the opposition group their watchers or any share whatever in the supervision of the elections; they also went ahead and ruled most of their candidates off the ballot altogether, disqualifying them on alleged constitutional grounds! Evidently what the Stalinist clique wanted was a Hitler "election"; that was the only thing that could save them.

Naturally, the masses of progressive furriers were indignant at this outrageous action of the bureaucracy and, as a protest, decided to withdraw from the elections. In this we believe they made a big mistake, as the results of the elections themselves show.

What were the results? Out of the 15,000 fur workers in the union, only about 1,400 voted, less than 10%. And even to get these out the entire paid staff of the union had to work their heads off. The mass of the furriers simply ignored the election, an eloquent way of demonstrating what they thought of their leadership.

Ben Gold, the president of the International, ran as a delegate from his own local, the cutters local. All in all, the "beloved leader" got 252 votes out of a membership of 3,500! What a smashing blow to the prestige and standing of the administration!

The defeat of the Stalinist administration becomes even more striking in the light of how the progressive candidates made out. (Despite the decision to boycott the elections, some progressive candidates remained on the ballot for technical reasons.) Without any campaign at all, in the face of a decision not to participate in the elections, the progressives got about 40% of the vote cast! In the operators local, with about 600 voting, B. Baraz received 194, Joe Farber 143 and Antonov 124. In the finishers local, with about 400 voting, Lena Greenberg got 187. In the nailers local, with about 200 voting, Hoberman got 82 votes. The meaning of these figures is plain on the face of it. The Stalinist administration received a severe rebuke from the furriers and the progressive opposition a real vote of confidence. The United Progressive Furriers are quite justified in declaring in their post-election statement that "if Gold had only a little self-respect, he would immediately resign from office."

What was the reason for this upsurge of discontent among the New York furriers with the Gold-Potash clique? The complete bankruptcy of the administration in managing the

affairs of the union and the rapid worsening of the conditions of the furriers. The statement of the progressives referred to above describes the situation in the following words: "The trade suffers from an inhuman speed-up system. The leadership has done very little to stop it. The bulk of the work is produced by a comparatively small number of workers. The great mass of workers are doomed to starvation. The amount of small firms consisting of two and three partners is greater now than ever before. The amount of floor boys that graduate yearly into newly-baked mechanics is not so small either. The union officers have allowed overtime work when most of the unemployed were actually starving."

"In the last general strike, these same officials compromised on the main demand, 'security on the job.' Instead, they presented us furriers with their great 'victory' of temporary jobs.

"They sacrificed to the bosses the usually high July increases in exchange for lower July raises to be given only to those who have the jobs. In this way, they have split up the fur workers into two categories. The fortunate ones that have the jobs are to get also the small July raises and the unfortunate forced to run around from job to job are not entitled to the increases.

"The inner system in the union is degrading. The more the fur workers pay in money, the bigger are the expenses of the union. The jobholders clique is becoming ever bigger. This officialdom does not take seriously any more the misery, needs and privations of the fur workers.

"They raise their own wages when

unemployment is at a high rate. Before elections, they throw a bone to the unemployed. When elections are over, the unemployed are forgotten.

"They take great pride in announcing to the world that they gave the furriers \$40,000 in relief. The truth of the matter is that they have mortgaged the fur workers to the bosses for a few thousand dollars, which they handed out as charity for Passover.

"This act of borrowing money from the bosses for charity to the workers that have to face the bosses in the shops, is a criminal act which has no parallel in the labor movement.

"This is the tragic record with which the leadership came to the furriers to demand a vote of confidence.

"The fur workers, in their own way, gave an answer to the treacherous role of the administration." The severe setback received by the administration in the elections, the progressives feel, will spur it on to new repressions against the opposition. But the progressive furriers are not to be intimidated. Their statement concludes:

"We have a very important mission in our union. We must do away with party domination; we must inaugurate a system of honest elections; we must reestablish genuine democracy in our union.

"Come what may, we will not abandon our fight. We have the sympathy of the labor movement on our side.

"We must win, we can't lose. Be patient, fur workers. We are sure that, with your aid, we will be successful in riding ourselves of the pest that undermines the foundations of the Furriers Union.

ILGWU Wins Vital Case

New York City. A very important decision was issued by State Supreme Court Judge J. Miller last week which will certainly have its effects on many jurisdictional disputes. This decision was contrary to the decision rendered by State Supreme Court Judge Cotillo in a similar case.

The Lastogs Company, Inc., of New York City, applied for an injunction to restrain the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., from action in striking and picketing the firm. In its application for the restraining order, the Lastogs Company stated, in an affidavit, that it had signed an agreement with Local 169 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and that therefore there was no labor dispute pending and that this was only a jurisdictional dispute between two labor unions.

The attorney for the Knitgoods Workers Union, Elias Lieberman, pointed out that there was a labor dispute pending despite the fact that there was an agreement signed between the Lastogs Company and Local 169, A.C.W.A. The labor dispute was on the following basis: differences in minimum-wage scales, fewer hours work per week, pay for legal holidays without working, and the fact that the employer had misled Local 169, A.C.W.A., by failing to inform it definitely of the

product manufactured by the Lastogs Company. As a matter of fact, 93 out of 35 workers answered the call for a strike issued by the Knitgoods Workers Union.

Mr. Lieberman, in his arguments presented to the State Supreme Court, pointed out that the I.L.G.W.U. was the only organization with jurisdiction over knitted underwear and bathing suits, and that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, if it had known what the Lastogs Company produced, would not have signed such an agreement.

Litvinoff Out, Line Shifts

(Continued from Page 1)

against Poland.

As a result of these moves, German-Polish relations were considerably strained last week. It was believed, however, that Hitler would get Danzig very soon by way of "annexation." In official circles at London and Paris, Danzig was already definitely "written off." It is already evident," P. J. Philip wrote from Paris in the New York Times of May 1, "that the day has not yet come when France and Britain are prepared to oppose Germany's forceful revision of the peace treaty terms on her eastern frontiers with a definite no. For in proportion as Warsaw has stiffened its refusal [to cede Danzig], Paris and London seem to have inclined toward compromise and some new plan for reaching an agreement..." Two days before, the Times headlined another report from Mr. Philip with the words: "FRENCH SEE PERIL IN BOND TO POLES—Fear Call to War for Danzig Which They Do Not Regard as a Good Issue." On May 3, the Times of London maintained editorially that "Danzig is really not worth a war. It is essentially a question of skillful diplomacy."

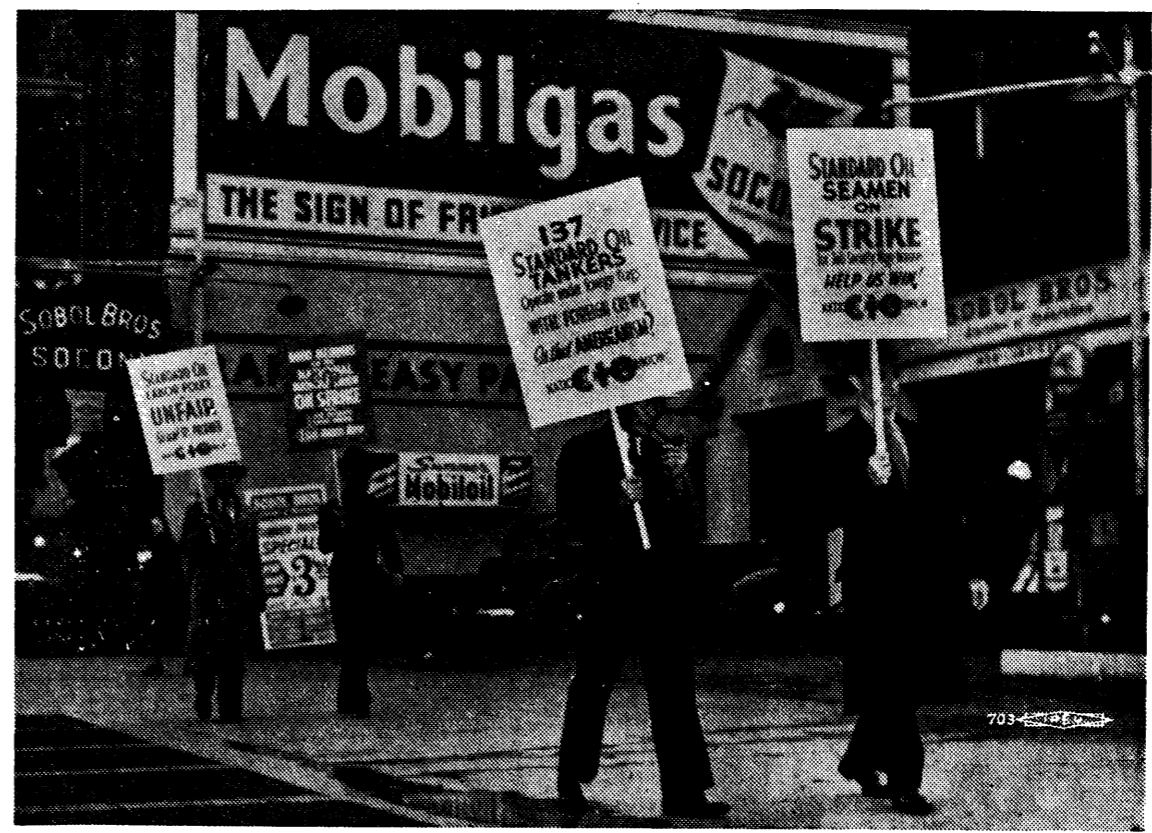
In the capitals of Europe it was rumored that a "settlement" on Danzig might be brought about by "persuading" Poland to cede that city to Germany in exchange for some "concessions" to the Poles made at the expense of Lithuania.

The efforts of the British Foreign Office to build up a "Stop Hitler" movement under the name of a "peace front," slowed up considerably last week, with still no definite results to show. Neither the Polish nor the Rumanian pact was signed, while the Russian shift, of course, proved a very serious set-back. On the other side, Germany was pushing its efforts to build up an economic and diplomatic block around the Berlin-Rome Axis. There were some signs of a strain between Rome and Berlin over the timing and character of the next move on the part of the Axis powers.

Anti-War Meet In Baltimore

Baltimore, Md. The Maryland Keep America Out of War Congress sponsored an anti-war meeting here on April 20, attended by 400 people. In addition to Representative Knutson and Senator Capper, greetings were heard from the International Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Women's International League for Peace. I. Zimmerman, representing the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, spoke vigor-

SEAMEN ON PICKET DUTY



Members of the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.) in New York picket a Socony-Vacuum service station. The boycott is being conducted on a national scale against four oil companies, struck April 17 by 4,200 seamen on 137 oil tankers. Companies involved are Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Standard Oil Co. of New York, Tidewater Oil Co. and C. D. Mallory Oil Transportation Co. The issues are preferential hiring and wage increases.

What Can Be Done In Cloak Situation?

Stalinist 'Centralization' Plan Harmful

By INSIDER

THE Stalinists, it is well known, always have a patent for everything. So in case of the cloak industry, they have come forward with a so-called "centralization" plan. In their press and thru their fraction, they have carried on a long "enlightenment" campaign in favor of this scheme, which provides for one business agent controlling the New York, Brooklyn and out-of-town shops. Practically the entire union leadership, President Dubinsky, former General Manager Nagler, most of the business agents and active members, have argued that the plan would weaken union control rather than strengthen it. They have pointed out that taking the business agents out of the Brooklyn territory, where the constant, watchful eye of the union is always so necessary, would mean the undermining of union conditions of the workers there and of the New York cloakmakers as well; they have stressed that it would strengthen those elements that are to a great extent responsible for the present deplorable situation. All of these leaders have argued that what was necessary first of all was to abolish the two different standards and systems of work that exist at the present time—one for the New York and the other for the Brooklyn and out-of-town shops. As long as there exists this gap whereby a Brooklyn or out-of-town shop works on the section system, on a week-work basis and on wages almost half that of the New York workers, just so long will the slogan "Cloaks for the cloakmakers!" be an empty phrase; even the famous "centralization" plan will not help.

However, in spite of the opinion expressed by President Dubinsky that this "centralization" plan was "a fake and the most destructive, most harmful and most impractical plan ever proposed in the history of the union, more a plan of decentralization," despite all this, on May 3, the Times of London maintained editorially that "Danzig is really not worth a war. It is essentially a question of skillful diplomacy."

In the capitals of Europe it was rumored that a "settlement" on Danzig might be brought about by "persuading" Poland to cede that city to Germany in exchange for some "concessions" to the Poles made at the expense of Lithuania.

The efforts of the British Foreign Office to build up a "Stop Hitler" movement under the name of a "peace front," slowed up considerably last week, with still no definite results to show. Neither the Polish nor the Rumanian pact was signed, while the Russian shift, of course, proved a very serious set-back. On the other side, Germany was pushing its efforts to build up an economic and diplomatic block around the Berlin-Rome Axis. There were some signs of a strain between Rome and Berlin over the timing and character of the next move on the part of the Axis powers.

May Day Celebrations

(Continued from Page 1)

D. Benjamin of the I.L.L.A., after paying tribute to the heroic struggle of the Spanish workers and peasants, and drawing the necessary lessons for the working class from that struggle, analyzed the concrete steps that had to be taken in the fight against the war plans of the Roosevelt Administration, against totalitarian trends in the U.S.A. as well as against fascism abroad, and stressed the necessity of speeding up the movement for labor unity and independent political action in the face of critical domestic and foreign problems facing the working class. In response to a plea for aid to the German and Spanish underground movements, \$37 was contributed by the audience. At various intervals in the meeting the audience joined in singing revolutionary and working-class songs. The spirit of international working-class solidarity and class struggle permeated the entire meeting and aroused a warm response from those attending.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa. A joint May Day meeting under the auspices of three I.L.G.W.U. locals, three locals of the A.C.W.A., the Project and Unemployed Workers Union, the Socialist Party and the Independent Labor League of America, was held in Wilkes-Barre, Sunday afternoon, April 30. M. S. Mautner, representative of the I.L.L.A., was the chief speaker at the meeting. The struggle against the coming imperialist war and the steps that American labor must take to face the reactionary attacks of the employers within the country as well as the plans of the Roosevelt Administration to involve the country in war were the central points of the address.

SUP Renews West Coast Strike Threat

By JACK SODERBERG

May 1, 1939. WHEN the Maritime Commission announced its intention recently to open hiring halls on the West Coast and hire its seamen thru these halls rather than the union halls, the Sailors Union of the Pacific immediately took a strike vote and the result proved almost 100% in favor of striking the coast. Harry Hopkins, Secretary of the Department of Commerce, under whose jurisdiction the Maritime Commission functions, when faced with a threatened strike, wrote the union concerned stating that all men would be hired thru the union halls.

Admiral Land, chairman of the Commission, has since, however, decided to disregard the decision of his boss and has stated that he intends to go thru with the original decision and open a fink hall in Seattle for a start. Upon being informed of this decision, the S.U.P. voted at once to strike the coast when the four ships concerned arrived in Seattle. The ships are now expected any day.

In the meantime, however, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, an affiliate of the C.I.O. and under complete control of Harry Bridges, has decided to strike only the four ships involved and, according to a letter of instructions sent by Bridges to his longshore locals, to disregard any picket lines set up by the S.U.P. The S.U.P., headed by Harry Lundberg and an affiliate of the A. F. of L., has the assurance of the powerful teamsters union of the A. F. of L. that no freight will be trucked to or from any pier where an S.U.P. picket line is established. This will mean that even if Harry Bridges succeeds in forcing his longshoremen thru the S.U.P. picket lines, the cargo will remain on the piers as no teamster will move it.

The attitude of the S.U.P. is that to strike only the four Commission ships would be useless since four ships, involving some sixty men, can always get away with scabs. Hence it becomes necessary to strike the whole coast—including all foreign ships as well. For in any case, all of these ships, with but a very few exceptions, are subsidized by the Commission. Foreign ships must also be tied up or they will be chartered by American shipowners for the duration of the strike. This is readily proven by the present strike of the tanker ships here in the East. These companies don't care a great deal if their ships are tied up for they immediately charter a foreign bottom to carry their oil. Hence it can readily be seen that to strike only American shipping is but a futile gesture. All ships, irrespective of their port of registry must be struck, and it is on this theory that the S.U.P. is ready to tie the coast up completely immediately the attempt is made to reintroduce the hated fink halls again.

The role of Bridges and the rest of the Stalinist stooges out there once more becomes the role of the common strike-breaker. Whether his rank and file will obey his orders to crash the sailors picket lines remains to be seen. Certainly they cannot be so blind as to fail to understand that if these fink halls are now introduced for the sailors, it will be but a matter of time before they are reintroduced for the longshoremen as well.

Greetings from Dressmakers

- | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Hyman Berger | Frank Mactas | B. Rivkin |
| B. Feld | Max Thassler | D. Maness |
| Minnie Markovitz | Minnie Friedman | Wntner |
| Max Hirsh | Clara Lerner | P. Heitman |
| Harry Hirsh | Gertrude Levine | N. Somma |
| Celina Viera | Ethel Atwell | George Blaser |
| Mary Rosano | Adele Bond | Nat Altman |
| Ben | Jennie Tutin | Boris Sonaffer |
| Morry | Rose Weiss | Charles Silverman |
| Sid | Pauline Goldberg | Sam Maron |
| M. | Esther Kopstein | Max Eisenberg |
| Isidor Rosenzweig | Sonia Farber | I. Atlas |
| Teresa | Pearl Halpern | A. Fine |
| Rose | M. Pachnik | J. Simon |
| Joe | Ida Merkin | L. Borin |
| Arnaw | I. Fabisch | Ben Rosen |
| Lena | Hyman Rosenberg | N. Stelmick |
| Louis Cohen | J. Axler | A. Hirsch |
| Murray Schwartz | R. Zand | D. Davidson |
| Julius Friedman | Irving Ibbtsman | I. Adler |
| Irving Klein | Max Feshler | H. Haspel |
| S. Corrales | B. Schneider | A. Perl |
| C. Viera | Jack Barth | M. Lehrer |
| Emma Schapiro | J. Sperber | M. Birnbaum |
| Frances Barbanell | Mania Boober | A. Straussman |
| Sarah Mandel | R. Lapida | Jacobs |
| Sylvia Stroh | Julius Batcher | Benny Borin |
| Jack Kaufman | A. Bear | B. Katz |
| Edelsohn | Louis Goodman | D. Frumkin |
| Mary Braser | Mary Galomlick | Harry Rabinowitz |
| Louis Diamond | Isaac Cohan | M. Krofchick |
| B. Dmocher | Sol Wolfsh | Abe Kreiter |
| Molly Epstein | M. Pollack | Abe Schneider |
| Stris | A. Glickenstein | Irving Green |
| Sheff | Irving Fenster | Sol Ziffer |
| Harry Paul | Sally Fenster | William Rose |
| Sam Demsky | J. Kaplan | Morris Birnbaum |
| Dave Marcus | Julius Stah | J. Engelstein |
| | Dora Spichandler | |

Greetings from Teachers

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Pete Ross | Robert Strong | Claire Green |
| Pete Ross, Jr. | Robert Williams | Paula David |
| Ruth Ellis | Evelyn Lawrence | Ellen Ward |
| Bill Turner | | Sophie Mesnil |

ADDITIONAL GREETINGS WILL APPEAR IN COMING ISSUES

"The best literary magazine in America."

—JOHN DOS PASSOS

PARTISAN REVIEW

A Quarterly of Literature and Marxism

Spring issue, just out—

JAMES T. FARRELL: The Only Son, a short story
 SIDNEY HOOK: The Anatomy of the Popular Front
 DWIGHT MACDONALD: War and the Intellectuals
 W. H. AUDEN: The Public vs. the Late W. B. Yeats
 DELMORE SCHWARTZ: The Poet as Poet
 WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS: Back to the City, a short story
 WALLACE STEVENS: Life on a Battleship, a long poem
 ELISEO VIVAS: The Achievement of John Dewey
 LOUIS MACNEICE: Fragment from 'Autumn Journal'
 "WE RENTED TO THE LENINS"—An intimate glimpse of Lenin
 BOOK REVIEWS . . . PARIS LETTER . . .
 . . . ART CHRONICLE . . .

PARTISAN REVIEW
 Box 30, Station K
 New York, N. Y.
 Enclosed find \$1.25. Please send me one year (four quarterly issues) of Partisan Review. (Add 10 cents for Canada, 25 cents foreign postage. Single copy: 40 cents.)

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____

Wagner Act Amendments Endanger Collective Bargaining

Big-Business Opposition Due to Hostility to New Rights of Labor

By J. ELWOOD

THE latest survey made by the American Institute of Public Opinion reveals that of the voters having an opinion, more than two-thirds now favor the revision of the National Labor Relations Act. A number of amendments to the Wagner Act to alter its essential purpose are now pending before both houses of Congress and have more than an even chance of being adopted at this session.

It is the purpose of this article to discuss some of these amendments and point out their meaning.

AGITATION AGAINST THE ACT

No sooner had the Supreme Court's constitutional blessing of the Wagner Act been pronounced (April, 1937) than agitation was set afoot to amend the act, without even giving it a reasonable period of trial.

The act is "un-American class legislation," it is alleged, because it vests the Board with the combined powers of "judge, jury and prosecutor." The act is "one-sided," it is added, dealing with unfair labor practices by employers only; reciprocal duties should therefore be imposed upon unions on account of unfair labor practices commonly indulged in by them. The important privileges conferred by the act upon unions must be coupled with corresponding "responsibilities." Unions should be required to incorporate; their corporate funds should be assessable in damages for illegal acts committed by their officers or members. This list of proposals for "amending" the act could be extended indefinitely.

In supporting John Lord O'Brien's suggestion that the judicial functions of the N.L.R.B. be separated and vested in a special administrative tribunal, former Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson wrote (New York Times, Nov. 3, 1938):

"In enacting the labor-relations law, Congress was dealing with a subject which more than any other domestic problem is not only delicate and complex, but is full of class feeling, bias and counter-bias; in short, full of emotional dynamite beyond any other domestic governmental problem. . . . In these words, Mr. Stimson gives us a good introduction to the fundamental reason for the drive to amend the act.

Mr. Stimson concedes that the administrative system which combines in a single agency the duties of "judge, jury and prosecutor" is suitable for the laws which the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission administer. Yet he distinguishes these agencies from the N.L.R.B. on the ground that the latter deals with "explosive" and "delicate" issues, and administers "class legislation." Since, says Mr. Stimson, the laws administered by the I.C.C. and the F.T.C. are general regulatory laws, neither aimed at any particular group nor designed to protect any group, the accepted combination of administrative functions is satisfactory. On the other hand, since the N.L.R.A. is "class" legislation, an administrative board cannot be trusted to exercise the powers of both prosecution and defense.

To deny that all laws are the results of class pressures and are shaped by the conflicts and interplay of group against group is to refuse to recognize the realities of the legislative process. And especially to deny that the I.C.C. and F.T.C. were created by class demand for relief against dominant economic groups is to deny the obvious and readily available truth. An examination of the history of the F.T.C. and the I.C.C. will show that at their inception they were administering legislation as pregnant with "delicate" and "explosive" issues, as replete with class conflict and group hostility, as the N.L.R.B.

PRECEDENTS FROM THE PAST

As today the critics of the N.L.R.B. are willing to have a board if only it is shorn of power, so in 1886 opponents of the I.C.C. were desirous of restricting the power of the Commission properly to administer the law. Thus, Charles F. Adams, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, stated (Interstate Commerce Commission Hearings, 1886, p. 1202):

"The Commission would be without power other than an intelligent appeal to reason. . . I have always looked with great dislike upon new powers being conferred."

And as it is argued today that the ordinary administrative system is inapplicable where there is "class legislation," so Charles E. Perkins, in opposing the I.C.C. and F.T.C. powers, stated: "To constitute special courts to adjudicate railroad questions would be class legislation."

Abuses and demands analogous to those which led to the birth of the I.C.C. led to the creation of the F.T.C. The columns of the New York Times, during the struggle over the Federal Trade Commission, would be a revelation to any one who insists that the N.L.R.B. administrators class legislation while the F.T.C. does not. In an editorial on February 27, 1917, for example, this journal criticized the formation of the F.T.C. and characterized the proposed legislation as "revolutionary."

It is, however, true that the N.L.R.

Sidney Hillman Says:

(United States News, April 17, 1939).

THE drive to amend the Wagner Act springs primarily from those reactionary employers who have always been implacable enemies of organized labor and who, since 1933, have bitterly opposed every effort to give and to enforce legislative recognition of the right of workers to unite for the betterment of their economic status and the protection of their civil rights.

The present attack, while disguised as an attempt to amend the Wagner Act, is, in effect, designed to emasculate it.

The open-shoppers have now succeeded in recruiting an oddly assorted group of allies from three divergent quarters: (1) Sincere but misguided people who have themselves had no experience with the operation of the act, are unfamiliar with its achievements, and consequently have been misled by the campaign of misrepresentation which emanates from the reactionaries; (2) a few labor leaders who are ready to sacrifice the interest of their membership for partisan purpose; and (3) politicians who seek to make political capital out of this issue.

Like every human achievement, the Wagner Act is imperfect. Yet, in the short period since the Supreme Court has sustained its constitutionality, the act has made important and lasting contributions to the cause of peaceful labor relations and to the preservation and extension of civil and economic democracy in America.

Its shortcomings cannot be corrected by heated debate in the political arena, sponsored by sources which hope to destroy it entirely. It can be perfected only thru the test of further experience, accompanied by careful and disinterested study from a body sincerely committed to its objectives.

It is for this reason that all true friends of the principle of collective bargaining have and will continue to oppose all partisan efforts like the present to amend the act.

R.A. is different from the earlier legislation in that it deals with the employer-employee relationship while the latter did not. But this is not a distinction in substance.

Even in the field of the employer-employee relationship, the administrative system has not been untried and unaccepted. Thus, after many

Frank Howard Weekly Letter

(Continued from Page 1)

nationally. Plan we must. The question is: Shall it be by democratic methods with a voice for all groups or by dictatorship? There is still time to develop national planning by democratic methods; but if we wait for our planless economy to develop another crisis, emergency needs may give us to un-American methods. Fascist systems in Europe rose as emergency measures in times of great economic distress. America must act before it is too late. National economic planning gives a people power to guide its destiny within the democratic framework and makes it unnecessary to resort to aggressive action for acquisition of territory. Thus it can plan to gear its economy into world economy and build up a commonly helpful world trade."

MAY DAY IN WASHINGTON

The Socialist Party and Social-Democratic Federation and auxiliaries with assorted non-Stalinist radicals joined in a May Day celebration here. About 300 persons were present. Norman Thomas, the venerable Charles Edward Russell and a priest from the British Labor Party spoke. It was a brave but disheartening meeting. In 1914 and 1917, thousands would have gathered at such a meeting and yet such meetings did not stop the war. Today, the largest group celebrating May Day here were gathered at night (in a hall). It was, as you may guess, the so-called "United Labor May Day," with C.P.ers and stooges running it. Lee Pressman was the headliner. I overheard a known (to me) C.P. member say contemptuously of the socialist outdoor rally: "Such a thing is awfully old-fashioned, don't you think?" She was trying to impress a New Dealer with her respectability and un-Redness.

Bertram D. Wolfe's brilliantly written and sound evaluation of the League for Truth in Germany and the play they have sent into the Reich, in last week's Age, sent me scurrying to find out more about their Washington sponsors. Williams and a number of colleagues in the office of Studebaker, Commissioner of Education (Ickes's department); some Labor Board lawyers; a few newspapermen, such as Bruce Catton of the Newspaper Enterprise Association; perhaps one or two and unaccepted. Thus, after many

bitter struggles, the states created commissions to deal with workmen's compensation; thus also, the federal government itself created, under the Harbor and Longshoremen's Act, an agency to administer workmen's compensation; and again the Railway Labor Act is designed to protect rights similar to those which the N.L.R.A. protects.

In each of the above cases, only an administrative combination of "judge, jury and prosecutor" could successfully provide that flexibility of process and coordination or purpose which the type of problem demands and which the outmoded judicial system cannot supply.

"ONE-SIDED OBLIGATIONS"

Another amendment now before Congress, introduced by Senator Burke, states: "Every employee shall have the right to decide of his own free will and without any coercion whether he wants to join a union, and if so, what particular union, and whether he wants to continue at his job. . . ." This proposal, we are usually told, is necessary in order to provide fair and equal treatment for both employers and employees.

It must be said at the outset that the Wagner Act does not purport to be a complete code of labor law. Nevertheless, it is no more "one-sided," for example, than the Workmen's Compensation Acts, than statutes forbidding employers to attempt to influence, by economic coercion, the votes of their employees at public elections or to charge employees at company stores more than others are charged: all of these impose obligations on employers solely and not on employees. The act was aimed to redress an existing imbalance. There was and there is more than enough legal control of the activities of labor unions. The act introduced needed control where none existed. It put a stop to the wanton use of economic coercion by employers to thwart the normal development and functioning of labor organization.

There is an even more important reason why there should not be any provision in the act regarding coercion of employees by other employers or labor organizations. Courts have held a great variety of activities to constitute "coercion": threat to strike, refusal to work on material of non-union manufacture, display of banners, circulation of publications, picketing and even peaceful persuasion. In some courts, closed-shop agreements or strikes for such agreements have been condemned as "coercive." Thus, to include a ban on employees "coercing"

other employees would not simply outlaw "undesirable activities," as it may appear to the layman, but would restore in federal law the injunction against activities of labor organizations which Congress has supposedly laid low in the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Moreover, it is a fundamental misconception that because employers are forbidden to interfere with the organization of employees, labor unions should similarly be forbidden to "interfere" with the organization of employees. No such prohibition is contained in the Railway Labor Act. The reason is obvious. It is the business of labor organizations to get employees to join the unions, but it is not the business of employers to keep them out.

(Concluded in the next issue)

William Green Says:

(United States News, April 17, 1939).

ON compliance with your request, I am submitting to you the following brief summary of the position of the American Federation of Labor with regard to amendment of the National Labor Relations Act:

The American Federation of Labor believes there is urgent necessity for revision of the National Labor Relation Act at this session of Congress.

Immediate action is essential to save the act from being destroyed by the blundering bureaucrats now entrusted with its administration.

There is nothing inherently wrong with the act except its delegation of sweeping discretionary powers to the National Labor Relations Board. Those powers have been grievously abused by the present Board. In order to correct this situation, the American Federation of Labor has proposed a number of amendments which have been introduced in Congress by Senator Walsh and Representative Barden. Substantially, these amendments provide:

1. Abolition of the present Board and creation of a new board of five members.

2. Protection of craft workers against being forced to join a union of their own choosing by Board edict.

3. Safeguarding of contracts between legitimate labor unions and employers.

4. Procedural changes designed to guarantee a fair hearing of each case and insure equitable administration of the law in the public interest.

Other employees would not simply outlaw "undesirable activities," as it may appear to the layman, but would restore in federal law the injunction against activities of labor organizations which Congress has supposedly laid low in the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Moreover, it is a fundamental misconception that because employers are forbidden to interfere with the organization of employees, labor unions should similarly be forbidden to "interfere" with the organization of employees. No such prohibition is contained in the Railway Labor Act. The reason is obvious. It is the business of labor organizations to get employees to join the unions, but it is not the business of employers to keep them out.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Arms Economics No Crisis Cure

Useless Production Lowers Standards

By ROSE M. STEIN

ARMAMENT spending is to ailing economy what certain pain-killing tablets are to ailing body: It relieves the pain but weakens the heart. If large enough, such expenditures will relieve unemployment, put idle machines to work, and create a demand for additional equipment. The latter means, of course, expansion in the capital-goods industry, which, in turn, further increases employment and general business activity.

What is more, such expenditure, also it necessarily comes from government funds, which in turn must be paid for thru taxation or borrowing, rarely meets with opposition from big business. On the contrary, big business is nearly always more than receptive to the idea. In the present instance, armament spending is practically the only phase of the New Deal program that does not meet with serious opposition. True, some of the anti-New Deal Congressmen and Senators are openly opposing the armaments program. This opposition, however, with only a few worthy exceptions, is grandstand play. It is an opportunity to fight the President and to appeal to the popular sentiment against war without running any risk whatsoever of actually crippling the program, since it is apparently assured a safe majority.

Imposing as these benefits may appear, they are of no greater lasting value than the swallowing of a dope tablet. In the long run, they give rise to conditions more serious than those they seek to correct.

CLOAK FOR PROFITTEERING

The world we live in leads every nation to spend a certain amount of its resources for defense. As long, however, as the nature and scope of the defense remains undefined it leads itself to boundless abuse. Under such circumstances, national defense may be used as a cloak for profiteering and as an easy way out of economic ills.

This fact is clearly demonstrated in the fascist countries. Cannon before butter, may sound patriotic but the people much prefer butter, even though they may be afraid to voice such sentiment. There is no unemployment in Germany. Everybody works, including the young and the aged. But, with all the work, the standard of living is low, lower than during the depression years under the Weimar republic. Why? Because too much of the nation's resources go to war expenditures. Any nation that spends too much of its energies and resources for war and the preparation for war is forced to a lower standard of living and to eventual domination by a military clique.

Under a fascist regime, another element enters into the war question. War is proclaimed, by the leaders at any rate, as a virtue in itself and as a means towards establishing fascist and Aryan supremacy. Democracies, presumably, have no such aim. This is especially true of the United States. We are geographically defended beyond any defense instruments that man could devise or money could buy. The two vast oceans guard our boundaries and practically render us immune from attack even in an era of aerial warfare.

In our case, therefore, funds spent for armaments beyond the actual need for coastal defense, can have only two purposes: to relieve depressed economic conditions at home and to seek markets abroad. Both are dangerous expedients.

GUNS ARE NOT WEALTH

The production of armaments adds nothing to a nation's wealth. The products are wasted either thru obsolescence or, what is much worse, thru destruction in time of conflict.

As far as industry is concerned, the destructibility of armament products is regarded as a favorable factor because it means that such goods do not enter into competition in the market for either consumer or capital goods. But how long can a nation stand continuous waste? And is it to help depression. The moment such expenditures stop, prosperity stops. Bad as such waste is, it still might be more safe and sane if ever so often we would gather our battleships, airplanes and all other war paraphernalia, and dump it in the ocean. It would be a cockeyed thing to do, but not nearly as cockeyed as using the same war paraphernalia, and the man-power besides, to protect the sale abroad of goods which our own people could use if they earned sufficient wages to pay for them.

Foreign trade is all right provided it is trade and not dumping, provided we exchange goods we have too much of for those we are deficient in. The minute we begin to dump goods without buying others in return, we get into trouble. In the first place we run up against other nations similarly in quest of a dumping ground, and friction eventually follows. In the second place, we find that undeveloped countries, if they are to become and remain long-term customers, sooner or later must themselves become industrialized and begin to produce wealth. As soon as they become industrialized, they in turn become competitors in the world market and add to the potential friction.

BUILD THE HOME MARKET

Take the case of China. Even if China was not torn by invasion and war, she would still be for the present a poor market and a poor risk. But, as soon as she embarks upon a program of industrialization, she will be able to buy a good deal from industrial nations, including our own. But only for a while. After building up an industrial machine, and with her vast source of cheap labor, China will be able to flood the world with goods. Of what good to us would be the open door to China?

The real solution is to open the door to our markets at home. Given decent purchasing power, our own open door could furnish the greatest market the world has ever known, and we will need no armaments to protect it. If we would set out to build all the homes we need, all the railroad equipment we need, all the educational and recreational facilities we need, our factories would be humming and all idle hands would be put to work. This is a

Saul Minkoff

FRIENDS of Nathaniel M. Minkoff, leader of the A.L.P. delegation in the 1938 session of the New York State Assembly, were deeply shocked last week to learn of the sudden death of Mr. Minkoff's son, Saul, after an attack of peritonitis. Saul Minkoff, 23 years of age, a graduate of Columbia and a post-graduate student at Wisconsin, was particularly interested in social and labor legislation and was already beginning to be active in the labor movement. He was a young man of great promise with a life of useful and distinguished service before him.

Upon learning of this tragic event, the I.L.L.A., sent the following telegram to the bereaved parents: "Deepest condolences on the tragic calamity that has befallen you. May the profound sympathy of all your friends and your devotion to the cause of socialism bear you up in this terrible hour."

POUM Central Committee Denounces Trotskyites

(We publish below the resolution recently adopted by the Enlarged Central Committee of the P.O.U.M., "on the subject of columnistic attacks of the Trotskyites."—Editor.)

THE Lutte Ouvriere of Paris, in its issue of March 24, launches a bitter attack upon the P.O.U.M., and particularly upon our Executive Committee. We are accused of "supporting the Casado-Mijaña junta" and it is charged that "the so-called 'Ex-

ecutive Committee' usurps the right to represent the members of the P.O.U.M."

These attacks are a part of the systematic campaign that the Trotskyist elements have waged against our party for a long time, especially since the outbreak of the Spanish civil war. The Trotskyites share the mentality and methods of the Stalinists.

The Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. is the democratic expression of the party. It was elected by the Central Committee to which it renders account for its responsibility and from which it receives its directives. It therefore does not usurp the right to speak for the party but rather exercises that right with the fullest legitimacy and authority.

We are not prepared to tolerate any longer the attacks and calumnies of the Trotskyites, attacks and calumnies that have nothing in common with the right of criticism that all groups possess towards each other.

Either the Trotskyites will cease these attacks and the manouvers which they cover or we will break all relations of comradeship or even ordinary political cordiality with them.

ENLARGED CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE P.O.U.M.

Chamberlain—U. S. Premier?

"HITHERTO unwritten history of the British fiasco in Spain is that Chamberlain's policy was registered directly with the U. S. State Department. Chamberlain made it all too clear that he did not want the U. S. arms embargo lifted, and the State Department acquiesced.

"This was made known exactly one year ago, when Senator Borah, powerful member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and New York Supreme Court Justice Peocora, a close friend of Roosevelt's, came to see him separately on the Spanish embargo. Both urged immediate action.

"To each, Roosevelt replied that it was too late. The Spanish war would be over, he said, in three to six weeks.

"That was in May 1938. Republican forces did not collapse until nine months later."—Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, in their "Washington Merry-Go-Round" column, April 22, 1938.

basic solution, and it is the only rational alternative to armament economics.

Aside from the higher standard of living which would result from an open door at home policy, labor has yet another stake in promoting such a program. To permit present trends to reach their inevitable ends would undoubtedly mean the loss of all the gains labor has made during a half century or more of organization efforts. The nature of this threat will be discussed in the fourth and final article in this series.

(This is the third in a series of four articles by Rose M. Stein, author of "M-Day." The final article will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

Books

—by Jim Cork

FIGHTING YEARS, Memoirs of a Liberal Editor, by Oswald Garrison Villard, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1939. \$3.75.

THIS is the story of "aristocratic" liberalism in America, much as Lincoln Steffens was a that of "plebeian" liberalism. Oswald Garrison Villard was brought up in the great traditions of the pacifist Abolitionism of his grandfather, William Lloyd Garrison. His youth, untouched by the frontier vitality of this country, never knew insecurity, for his father was for a long period an outstanding railroad financier and later the wealthy owner of the New York Evening Post, which became a family heritage. The young Villard was educated in Europe and America, absorbing the intellectual tradition of the Europe of 1848, and drinking at the fountain of American pragmatism, in the prime of James Royce, et al.

Villard, famous in the post-war period as the editor of the Nation, participated in all the heartbreaking, futile movements of pre-war American liberalism. At no time was he in touch with advanced labor thought. Indeed, the labor and radical movement, hardly figures in these pages; even the radical wing of the agrarian-populist movement was largely unknown to him. His intellectual, political and social sphere appears to be bounded by Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington.

Each period in American development seems to be marked by an outstanding "savior," to whose banners flocked the "common people" and the liberals of the time, and who invariably betrayed his followers outrageously. Villard followed each one with the same fervent devotion, ending up with the same sickening disgust as the "savior" turned out to be just another politician. Nevertheless, in the most important of these experiences—Wilson and the World War—Villard stuck by his own guns and opposed the war, even though he had constantly leaned on Wilson to fight the very measures leading to war that Wilson himself was backing. For the contemporary situation, he is noted with gratitude, Mr. Villard has no similar illusions about Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Despite all of Mr. Villard's distinguished courage and liberalism, what this book lacks is pulsation, which is to say that the author is lacking in this quality. Perhaps time has glossed over defects but the full, meaty vibrance of Lincoln Steffens does not disturb a single page of these memoirs. That, I suppose, is the difference between the "aristocratic" and "plebeian" tradition. For Villard's book ends in large-scale evasion of the contemporary scene, without more of a program than vague hope for a vague goal.

Reviewed by M. S. M.

"Communists held their May Day in London today with banners of flaming red proclaiming: 'Britain and Russia—the hope of the world.'"—from a dispatch in the New York Times, May 2, 1939.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from Boston, Mass. Branch, I.L.L.A.

Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Wednesday by the Workers Age Pub. Ass'n. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$5 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: L.Ackawanna 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

VOL. 8. WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1939. NO. 19.

LABOR AND NEUTRALITY

THE American Federation of Labor deserves widespread recognition for the public stand it took last week in favor of the principle of the present neutrality legislation and in opposition to any scheme of "amending" it so as to open the door to our involvement in foreign war situations and foreign wars. Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Paul Scharrenberg, legislative representative of the A. F. of L., put into the record a letter from William Green, president of the Federation, in which Mr. Green "endorsed the principles upon which the Neutrality Act is based" and urged its continuation for the coming period.

Our readers know that we do not regard the present neutrality law as by any means perfect; we have not hesitated to bare its shortcomings and to urge its improvement. But the concerted offensive against the Neutrality Act, an offensive inspired and directed by the Administration, is aimed not at its weaknesses but at its elements of strength. What the Administration wants is the destruction of all barriers to our involvement in war by giving the President arbitrary power to "name the aggressor" according to his inclination, thereby committing this country to one or another of the big imperialist coalitions that are fighting for domination. The movement to "amend" neutrality is part and parcel of the war preparations to which the Administration is now devoting every ounce of its energy.

In opposing this movement, in insisting on the retention of the principle of the present neutrality legislation, the A. F. of L. is giving voice to the true sentiments of the great masses of American workers, of the great masses of the American people as a whole. The American people don't want war under any pretext and they look with hostile and suspicious eyes upon any maneuver that seems likely to ease the way to embroilment in war. The campaign to "amend" neutrality is just such a maneuver. The strong position taken by the A. F. of L. on neutrality, like the endorsement of the war-referendum amendment by the powerful standard railroad unions recently, will be a source of inspiration and strength to the anti-war movement.

But if we applaud the A. F. of L., we cannot but feel shame at the attitude taken by the C.I.O. on the war question. In December 1937, at the S.W.O.C. convention presided over by Philip Murray, a strong anti-war resolution was adopted, supporting the war-referendum idea, condemning super-armaments agitation, etc. At Pittsburgh, just about a year later, however, the C.I.O. convention, under orders from the top leadership, adopted a resolution of a directly opposite nature, endorsing the "collective-security" swindle, endorsing the Administration policy entire. And now, on the very same day that the legislative representative of the A. F. of L. presented its position before the Senate committee, a spokesman of the C.I.O.'s Joint Maritime Committee appeared before the House Foreign Affairs Committee to denounce "isolationist tendencies" and to urge the scuttling of neutrality!

Why this difference? The masses of workers in the C.I.O. unions are as much opposed to war and everything that makes for war as are the masses in the A. F. of L. organizations. But unfortunately neither Lewis nor anyone else of those who control the destinies of the C.I.O. and speak in its name is much concerned with how the broad rank-and-file membership feel on these questions. They take their inspiration, obviously enough, from other sources: from the Stalinist and near-Stalinist intrigues who infest the higher levels of the C.I.O. The face may be the face of the C.I.O. but the voice is the voice of Stalinism.

Let the voice of the great masses of the membership be heard on this issue that so directly affects their vital interests and their very lives!

CAN AMERICA BE FAR BEHIND?

THE establishment of peace-time conscription in Great Britain is an event of real historical significance, and to no country more so than to our own.

For centuries, England shied away from conscription as a regular system. Indeed, even as a war measure, it was not introduced until the World War, and then only for the emergency. The whole idea was generally regarded as thoroughly alien and repugnant to Anglo-Saxon "free institutions." Only a few months ago, Prime Minister Chamberlain specifically pledged himself against any resort to conscription in peace-time. And now it is here!

How could that happen? It is not here a question of the technical necessity of a large mass army for the kind of fighting England is likely to do in the next world war; on that, there are several schools of opinion and even experts differ. The question is how could Chamberlain have put the thing over so completely in the face of ingrained tradition and wide popular hostility?

The fact of the matter is that we are living through a strange experience these days—a war atmosphere before the war. The endless succession of acute crises, to some extent deliberately manipulated for effect on public opinion, has given rise to a state of "emotional mobilization" that in past accompanied only actual warfare. It was this mood, compounded of fear, near-hysteria and a sort of sullen fatalism, that Chamberlain was able to play upon in order to force through so drastic a break with British tradition and ideas.

It is a process that is taking place everywhere. The same process of "emotional mobilization," the same creation of a war atmosphere before the war, is accompanied by the same abandonment of democratic traditions and procedures, by the same headlong rush towards authoritarian control. France is already an outright dictatorship ruled by decree law, as was Germany just before Hitler. In England, conscription has been instituted, with censorship of the press in the offing. The coming "war for democracy" is indeed casting its dread totalitarian shadow before it!

And if France and England go the way of all "great democracies," can America be far behind?

THE following press statement issued by the American Civil Liberties Union speaks for itself:

"The suggestion that Major General George Van Horn Moseley, retired, be tried for sedition because of a speech made in Boston recently is characterized as 'preposterous' by the American Civil Liberties Union in a letter to Secretary of War Harry H. Woodring.

"Writing to Phil Frankfeld, secretary of the Communist Party of Massachusetts, Roger Baldwin, A.C.L.U. director, declared:

"We are amazed to see the Communist Party call for sedition trials against anybody. Members of the party themselves have been the victims of these un-American statutes, and have consistently protested not only against the prosecutions but against the statutes themselves. To invoke such a law against an opponent is to invite its use against yourselves. We had assumed that the experience of communists with gag legislation had taught the fundamental lesson of civil liberty that, unless rights are assured for all, friends and opponents alike, they are not assured for any."

FRITZ KUHN denies he is "linked with" Hitler! "I am not an agent of Chancellor Hitler nor am I maintained by him," he proclaimed recently. "I am an American citizen and take my obligations and duties as an American citizen very seriously."

Funny, isn't it? Almost as funny as the ludicrous efforts of Earl Browder and his ilk to deny that they are agents of Dictator Stalin, picked, maintained and manipulated by him!



SFTU Head Tells Why Croppers Broke With CIO

Burocratic Rule, No Autonomy Led to Final Clash

By H. L. MITCHELL
(H. L. Mitchell is secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers League. This communication appeared in the Nation of April 22, 1939.—Editor.)

Memphis, Tenn. WHEN the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, in September 1937, entered the C.I.O. it was with an agreement that it would retain its administrative self-government over its entire organization. The status of an autonomous affiliate was accepted by Mr. Henderson in an address before the S.T.F.U. convention and was written into the district constitution. Without this agreement, the membership of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union would never have affiliated with U.C.A.P.A.W.A. (United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America).

S.T.F.U. AUTONOMY GUARANTEED

At the suggestion of the director of the C.I.O., the S.T.F.U. agreed to accept the status of "restricted district" in U.C.A.P.A.W.A., giving up S.T.F.U. locals in Texas in May of 1938. The previous agreement of complete autonomy and self-government was formally recognized by the International Executive Board of U.C.A.P.A.W.A. No sooner had this agreement been made than Mr. Henderson proceeded to make it also a scrap of paper. Circular letters were sent out to S.T.F.U. locals designed to destroy the confidence of the membership of the S.T.F.U. in its own elected leadership.

In December of 1938, the second convention of U.C.A.P.A.W.A. was held 2,500 miles away from the S.T.F.U. district. The Southern Tenant Farmers Union had 146 locals in good-standing and entitled to representation. There were only 325 locals in U.C.A.P.A.W.A. It was possible for only nine delegates to get to the San Francisco convention. Those delegates were seated as representatives of single locals, and 137 other locals were disfranchised. Every single proposal made by the S.T.F.U. delegation was defeated, and the delegates were attacked on the floor of the convention. The constitution was changed over the protests of the nine delegates. All autonomy formerly granted by the U.C.A.P.A.W.A. constitution to district unions was taken away. This meant that the agreement with the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was completely abrogated by official action of the U.C.A.P.A.W.A. convention.

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union's fifth annual convention on January 1, 1939, petitioned the International Executive Board of the original agreement. A resolution stating the minimum requirements of the S.T.F.U. was adopted unanimously and forwarded to Washington. On January 25, a letter was received from Henderson stating that S.T.F.U. locals would have to deal directly with the Washington office. The Executive Council of the S.T.F.U. meeting on February 11, officially notified the International Board that, if reports were made by locals of the S.T.F.U., it would be done in line with the original agreement guaranteeing the autonomy of the S.T.F.U. as an organization affiliated with U.C.A.P.A.W.A., that is, through their own organization.

On February 23, letters were sent out by Henderson to S.T.F.U. organizers offering them jobs as International organizers and announcing that the Southern Tenant Farmers Union would be reorganized and broken up into statewide organizations chartered direct by U.C.A.P.A.W.A. Without previous notification of any charges and in violation of the U.C.A.P.A.W.A. constitution, Henderson on March 1 announced that all the elected officers of the S.T.F.U. were suspended and that state conventions beginning in St. Louis on March 12 would be held to establish unions dual to the S.T.F.U.

Upon receipt of the first of the letters attempting to bribe S.T.F.U. organizers with jobs, the Executive Council of the S.T.F.U. ordered a referendum vote empowering the officers to withdraw from the U.C.

A.P.A.W.A. The S.T.F.U. requested an interview with John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O., for a delegation to be sent to Washington.

Conferences were held in Washington on March 8 at the offices of Mr. Brophy, and there Henderson flatly refused to rescind his suspension order and call off the dual conventions. The S.T.F.U. delegation was told that if they would accept the U.C.A.P.A.W.A. constitution and forget the agreement of 1937, officers would be restored. However, Henderson stated that he was going thru with the division of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union into state organizations.

On March 9, at an interview with S.T.F.U. representatives, Mr. Brophy proposed that the S.T.F.U. agree to a trial period of one year working within U.C.A.P.A.W.A., during which time our autonomy would be guaranteed by the C.I.O. At the end of the period, the C.I.O. board would review the entire situation and make its recommendations. Mr. Brophy said he would see that Henderson accepted this proposal. I agreed to urge the S.T.F.U. council to accept such a guarantee and to continue within U.C.A.P.A.W.A.

On March 10, the actual proposals were received in Memphis. These proposals, made in the name of the C.I.O., meant unconditional surrender to Henderson. The first condition was complete acceptance of the U.C.A.P.A.W.A. constitution, which abrogates all autonomous rights of the S.T.F.U. The second proposal gave lip service to S.T.F.U. autonomy, but it was canceled by the first, since, under the constitution U.C.A.P.A.W.A. districts, of which the S.T.F.U. was one, became mere organizing committees com-

pletely controlled by Henderson and his executive board. The last proposal was the lifting of the suspension of the officers, provided the other conditions were accepted.

The S.T.F.U. council ordered me to ask Mr. Brophy for clarification and authorized me to say that we would accept his proposals if autonomy meant real control of our affairs. Mr. Brophy informed me that we must accept the conditions as stated.

By that time, returns on the referendum vote from 138 locals were in. Only two locals favored remaining in U.C.A.P.A.W.A. Without guarantee of the continuation of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union as an organization, the council ordered immediate withdrawal from U.C.A.P.A.W.A.

We charge, and we are prepared to prove, that Donald Henderson acted not as a trade unionist owing his allegiance to the membership of U.C.A.P.A.W.A., of which we were the most significant and one of the largest sections, but that he acted as an individual concerned with advancing the interests of a political party. No trade unionist in his right mind goes about destroying his own organization.

If the C.I.O. takes no further steps and allows Henderson to use its name to call comic-opera conventions to set up paper organizations dual to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, it is doing a great injustice to its 4,000,000 members who have a stake in its future.

25 YEARS AGO

MAY 3 - 10, 1914

MAY 4.—A.B.C. powers envoys withdraw their invitation to Carranza to mediate.

MAY 4.—Women's Trade Union League celebrates its tenth anniversary at Cooper Union.

MAY 6.—Martial law declared in Syracuse after striking building-trades workers clash with police, injuring 27. Unions are asking for minimum of 32c an hour.

MAY 6.—Women's suffrage bill defeated in House of Lords, 104 to 60.

MAY 6.—77 starving children of Paterson silk workers to be taken care of by New York City families during strike.

MAY 7.—New York Times greets resolution of Merchants Associations to allow employees time for service in National Guard and naval militia with full pay. "This is a time of agitation of widespread disregard of law. The militia is trained not only to assure obedience to law, thus providing proper conditions for the peaceful pursuits of business and industry, but the young men who form it become more valuable to their employers as they submit to its discipline and examples of restraint, respect for authority and physical health."

MAY 8.—3,000 high-school students on hunger strike win right to bring their own lunch instead of buying lunch at the Philadelphia Central High School.

MAY 8.—German ships transport arms to Huerta.

MAY 10.—Mayor Mitchell of New York City orders all public buildings draped in honor of Colorado dead.

RESERVE
THURSDAY, JUNE 1
Important Event at
HOTEL CENTER

Watch for Further Details!

Michigan!

WORKERS AGE REACHES:

Detroit — Flint — Lansing — Pontiac
Ann Arbor — Albion — Grand Blanc
Highland Park — Davison — Muskegon
Mt. Morris—New Hudson—Marenco.

WHAT ABOUT YOU?

Are you missing the inside labor news?
Our drum fire against the Administration war plots?
Our Washington "Walter Winchell"?
Our analysis of world events?

ARE YOU MISSING

Workers Age

AMERICA'S BEST LABOR PAPER?

I wish to subscribe to Workers Age for one year, six months, for which I enclose \$1.50, \$0.85.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

5-10

British I.L.P. Holds Annual Conference

Attitude to War, Labor Party Tie Debated

(Continued from Page 1)

peasants. There was always the danger that this type of movement would develop to the point of being a menace to the workers fight for freedom. The second qualification was on the setting up of a bureau on which were representatives of the party, together with colored workers, and a specifically party bureau would need to be considered in relation to that.

The resolution was carried.

THE WAR DANGER

On Sunday morning, the first business was a resolution moved by Brockway, on behalf of the N.A.C., on "Immediate Policy Against War." He explained that since the resolution had been drafted Hitler had marched into Czechoslovakia and Mussolini into Albania. The fascist powers are practising political imperialism, and the I.L.P. has the right to denounce them because it has always denounced a similar policy when practised by Great Britain. Those who defend British imperialism, he said, have no right to denounce German and Italian imperialism. In the present situation, the working class should not line up with their capitalist governments, but should urge international working-class action by organized refusal of supplies to fascist countries.

We must also give more help to the socialists carrying on the struggle in the fascist countries. If the whole of the working-class movements had given assistance to those socialists in fascist countries which the I.L.P. has been giving, the overthrow of the fascist regimes would have been nearer.

If capitalism does let loose its last calamity of world war, the party would continue to work, so that that war will be the grave of the system which has brought such a calamity.

Arthur Sudbery, Dartford, in moving an amendment which demanded the formulation of policies to meet each situation as it arose, said the N.A.C. resolution was not an immediate policy against war.

He maintained that, while war was the greatest of human tragedies, the party should not be anti-war to the exclusion of everything else. He contended that party policy during the September crisis was muddle-headed and never got down to the job of analyzing the world situation at that time.

Several small amendments sought to add points or to clarify existing points, but the only real criticism of the resolution was the Dartford amendment, which, as Fenner Brockway pointed out in his winding-up speech, suggested only two constructive points and both of them were covered by party policy. If there was an alternative policy, it had not been stated.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUP AND MUNICH

The conference then passed on to the consideration of the section of the report, "The September Crisis," and the action of the Parliamentary Group at that time.

In moving the reference back of that section of the report, ("reference back") is equivalent to rejection.—Editor.) C. A. Smith, City Branch, urged that the debate should be kept on the political plane, and not be allowed to degenerate into personalities. He maintained that the speeches of the I.L.P. M.P.s during the crisis did not adequately re-

present the policy of revolutionary socialism, which is the policy of the I.L.P. He wanted the position made clear as to whether the party was a pacifist or socialist organization, and to prevent a repetition of such speeches.

Smith based his criticism on three points: (1) The speeches revealed an inadequate understanding of the nature of the capitalist state; (2) they had a confusing effect on the minds of the workers; and (3) they were tactically unsound.

The chairman of the I.L.P. (J. Maxton—Editor.) had congratulated the Prime Minister on his action at Munich, but, said Smith, political issues ought not to be narrowed down to the personal action of Chamberlain, who is the most reactionary representative of the British ruling class. The "peace" had been made with no relation to the needs of the workers. We are opposed to capitalism all the time. There is never one moment when it does anything for the workers. Peace at any price is a point of view which can be understood, but it is not the policy of revolutionary socialism.

Joe Southall (Birmingham City), in seconding the reference back, reiterated the appeal for keeping the debate on a political level. He maintained that Munich was not a war crisis so far as Great Britain was concerned. On the showing of the French press, there was no intention from the first to go to war, and the scare was organized to cover up the betrayal of the policy which the government was supposed to hold. He felt that Maxton had made a mistake and, if that could be admitted, much misunderstanding could be cleared up.

On the agenda was a resolution, in the name of Greenwick, repudiating the speeches made by members of the I.L.P. Group in the House of Commons and urging that in future the Group be brought within the discipline of the party. A series of amendments ranged from congratulations by Bradford to a demand for expulsion by Croydon.

Wilson, of Bradford, put his amendment congratulating the M. P.s, and Carradice, of Nelson, supported their speeches, on the grounds that Tory Prime Ministers are not always wrong, and that, as a result of Munich, the workers still have a breathing space.

Rosen, who had the task of putting the expulsion motion, said that the I.L.P. was the only party which came out for workers action against war and based its policy on class struggle before and during a war. Such ground was being gained by this attitude was lost after the speeches of the M. P.s.

McGovern, speaking for himself, asked if the party didn't want a capitalist war or a capitalist peace, what the hell did it want? He genuinely believed Neville Chamberlain had secured peace, and he hoped the workers would profit by the breathing space. Chamberlain might have been bluffing, but he (McGovern) did not intend to gamble with the lives of millions of workers. He had no apology to make, and would do the same again.

He went on to accuse two members of the N.A.C. of acting in a "scurrilous manner," referred to the party secretary as a "double-crosser," and accused the London section of the party of being "fire-side theoreticians" and "middle-class dilettantes" with no contact with the working class.

(To be continued in the next issue)