## **Eden Resigns** From Cabinet

#### Quits In Protest Against Chamberlain's Extreme **Pro-Fascist Policy**

After a British cabinet crisis lasting several weeks, Anthony Eden resigned as Foreign Secre tary last Sunday. With him resigned also Lord Cranborne, his associate in the Foreign Office.

Eden's resignation came as the conclusion of a sharp conflict over the attitude of the British government towards the fascist powers Prime Minister Chamberlain, with a majority of the cabinet, advocated a policy of immediate "conciliation" towards Italy and Germany, coupled with a readiness to make substantial "concessions" to them. Among these would be the recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia and the granting of belligerent rights to the Franco regime in Spain. What would be offered to Germany was not made clear but it was understood to include a free hand in Czechoslovakia and Austria and a more receptive attitude on the colonial question. While not differing as to fundamental objective or even substantially as to the concessions to be made to the fascist powers, Foreign Secretary Eden urged a more circumspect course, measuring how far Britain should go by the "reasonableness" of Germany and Italy.

#### WAR BRINGS **FASCISM**

F America becomes embroiled in war, it is safe to prophesy that the slogan will be to fight fascism. It is far superior to the democracy slogan of the last war. . . . While advocating this slogan, whatever administration happens to be in power at the time, it will be bound to put into operation the War Department's Industrial Mobilization Plan, which will set up one of the most colossal and audacious fascist plans yet tried."— Rose M. Stein: M-Day.

He also opposed the virtual scrapping of the League of Nations, implicit in Chamberlain's policy. With Eden were two other members of the cabinet.

Eden's resignation means that the Chamberlain policy will now be pushed with ever greater energy. It is believed that Lord Halifax who recently acted as unofficial emissary to Hitler, will step into the Foreign Office.

The first fruits of the Chamber lain policy—which is but the traditional British foreign policy of the last few years, publicly avowed and vigorously executed—was the abandonment of Austria to Nazi Germany. Last week's sweeping changes in the Austrian cabinet,

## LAFOLLETTE, MARTIN AT MARCH 6 MEETING

#### "Keep America Out Of War" Movement Grows

navy.

laration of war.

Over two hundred outstanding | tee calls upon all to attend the leaders in labor, political, civic, religious and cultural fields were announced last week as sponsors of the rapidly growing "Keep America Out of War" movement. Thru the cooperation of many organizations and prominent individuals, a nation-wide series of antiwar meetings are to be held March 6th. The New York meeting takes place at the Hippodrome, 6th Avenue and 43rd Street at 2:30 P. M. General admission is free, with reserved section tickets selling at 25c, 50c and \$1.

An impressive and representative series of speakers will address the mass rally on March 6th, with Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers and Senator Robert M. LaFollette leading off. Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party, Bertram D. Wolfe of the Independent Communist Labor League, John T. Flynn, noted economist, Major-General Rivers, Oswald Garrison Villard and Ernest Meyers, are also scheduled to speak.

The appeal of the joint commit-

whereby Nazis took over the key posts of police, justice and foreign affairs and Hitler became the virtual overlord of that country, were made possible only by British compliance, as the London newspapers frankly declared. Now Czechoslovakia is next on the list. The British press has already announced that Czechoslovakia has been "advised" to "yield" to Hitler's demands.

Thus, Tory Britain stands forth clearly as what it has been ever ince the rise of fascism—the chief financial and diplomatic bulwark of fascist dictatorship in Europe! Great Britain, the "great democracy" upon which we are urged to "collective security" against fascist aggression!

impossible those evils whose existence in past wars is well known. It is also conceivable that the outcome of a war so conducted might be defeat. In all plans for preparedness and policies to be pursued in event of war, it must never be overlooked that, while efficiency in war is desirable, effectiveness is mandatory.'

The above-mentioned "justice" is incorporated in the Sheppard-Hill Bill, which, with the blessings of the War Department, provides a 95% tax on war profits. Certainly, business won't like such a tax even tho it means only the nuisance of some fraudulent bookkeeping. And, if business doesn't like it, it can demonstrate its discontent, as Du Pont and Bethlehem Steel did in 1917, by boycotting the army and navy until their terms were met. So the magic word "effectiveness" is conjured with; the military men get what they want-munitionsand business gets what it wantsbloated profits.

But, if the generals can't boss business, there is labor! What are the techniques for that?

#### The Technique Of "Deferment"

Probably the simplest one was that used by France, Germany and England in the World War.

(Continued on Page 3)

**Unofficially Bared** mass-meeting and urges the following minimum program "Keep America Out Of War":

A plan for a military and naval alliance between the United States of America and all Latin-American states is being considered by the State Department, unofficial reports from Washington indicated last week. Formally, the proposal is supposed to have originated with certain Latin-American governments, whose identity is unknown; in actual fact, however, its source is understood to be the American State Department itself. In what form the project will be officially raised, whether as coming for Washington or elsewhere, is not yet clear.

## All-American **Pact Planned**

1. The immediate removal of

American ships and Marines from

Chinese territory and evacuation of

American nationals who, if they

2. No increase in the army and

3. The amendment of the Con-

stitution, along the lines of the original Ludlow Amendment, so as

to give to American citizens the

democratic right to vote on a dec-

plans for industrial mobilization

and defeat of new plans for uni-

versal conscription, thus warning

our militarists that the American

people will not tolerate war ab-

road and war dictatorship at home

ternational peace—but no alliance

with any nation or group of nations

for war, declared or undeclared

against injustice, unemployment

bad housing and poverty at home,

and a determination to seek our

prosperity thru that struggle rather than in war trade.

6. Concentration on the struggle

under any name or any pretext.

5. American cooperation for in

4. Abandonment of all existing

stay, stay at their own risk.

## U.S. Military Treaty With Latin-American States

#### An "inter-American" military and naval alliance is an important part of American imperialist war strategy. It is aimed, in the first place, at meeting the challenge of 'foreign" influences in certain Latin-American countries, such as Brazil, constituting a potential threat to American hegemony. In the second place, such a pact will serve to keep the "home front" protected, so to speak, while American imperialism extends its war-like operations in the Far East under (Continued on Page 6)

## "Home Front" In War

= by D. S. =

"Will there be another war?" and has substituted the question "When will the next war come?" -sometimes almost hopefully as tho anxious to end the hell of waiting and fearing.

The task of fighting against war is of prime importance. But, close on its heels, treads another vital problem: when war comes, what will happen to labor and what must the organized workers do about it? It is from this angle that labor should study the various plans of the war and navy departments and the implementing bills introduced from time to time in Congress.

#### The Industrial Mobilization Plan

Basic to all war plans for the "home front," is the Industrial Mobilization Plan, a joint product of army and navy, revised from time to time but remaining in essentials the same. A good deal of this Plan has been incorporated in the Sheppard-Hill Bill, generally and erroneously called the "warprofits bill," a hardy Congressional perennial.

By and large, it is not vitally important whether these and similar bills are passed or defeated in coming sessions of Congress since we can be very certain that, with a declaration of war, all the significant features of the army-navy scheme will be either railroaded thru a patriotic legislature or quietly palmed off by executive order. Military men had, in fact, kept the Industrial Mobilization Plan under wraps until the Nve munitions investigation disclosed it. They much prefer not to have it discussed until a war hysteria makes all intelligent discussion im-

It is rather over-simplification to administrative efficiency as to make

THE world has ceased asking tag the label "fascist" on the Industrial Plan. Any outline for the economy of a nation at war is necessarily a composite of theoretical efficiency and practical exigencies, of lessons learned from past wars and other nations, of the nature, the technique and the duration of the conflict. (It is interesting, for example, to remember that, during the World War, the industries of America were utilized under an imitation of the German mobilization plan rather than any Allied scheme.) And it is apparent that a naval war (fought, say, on the "purely defensive" line down the middle of the Pacific as suggested by Earl Browder) would present very different problems on the home front than a land war with its vastly greater combatant mobilization.

> What interests labor is the picture of what sort of a country the Fat Boys of the army and navy are going to create to wage their war. Being only demi-gods, they cannot make it quite in their own image—the slip being that they have to get along with a minimum of friction with capital and, much farther down the line, with labor. The ghastly business of the military man requires the things that business produces-shells and guns, ships and tanks, food and clothing and, finally, coffins and crosses. They get them by the simplest method of capitulation to the demands of business. This philosophy is succintly expressed in the foreword to the 1936 edition of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, thus: "The objective of any warring nation is victory, immediate and complete. It is conceivable that a war might be conducted with such great regard for individual justice and

## Another Stalin Turn?

= by Will Herberg =

in the typical Stalinist manner by indirection in a letter to some obscure youth-that the "final victory of socialism in the sense of complete guarantee against the restoration of bourgeois relations, is possible only on an international scale, that an attack of bourgeois states on the Soviet Union is "inevitable' and that "the serious aid of the international proletariat is the force without which the problem of socialism in one country cannot be solved." Not that there is any thing particularly original in these ideas to anyone who is at all familiar with the fundamentals of Marxism, the old discussions in the C.P.S.U. on the question of socialism or the realities of the present situation. But for Stalin to make such statements in the face of the pronouncement of the seventh congress of the Comintern less than three years ago that "the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is final and irrevocable" for Stalin to make such statements after years of preaching the gospel of the People's Front and the glorious progressive mission of the "democratic" imperialist powersthis is sensation enough.

#### The Root Of The Problem

What does it all mean? Stalin does not make statements without good cause nor does he say anything that is not spoken excathedra, in his capacity as the "Great Leader of the Peoples." To anyone who has carefully followed the turns and twists of the Stalinist course in the last few years and has acquired an understanding of its inner mechanism, it can mean only one thing: Stalin is mak-

THERE is widespread specula- ing the political preparations for tion as to the meaning of a sharp change of Soviet foreign Stalin's sudden declaration—made policy, to be followed inevitably by a similar shift in the line of the Comintern!

> In the last period of time, the international position of the Soviet Union has grown worse and worse. In its foreign policy, the U.S.S.R. transformed itself, some years ago, into a mere auxiliary of the "great democracies" — and the Comintern sections, thru the People's Front line, into mere auxiliaries of bourgeois democracy at home. But the "great democracies" didn't seem to appreciate the beauties of "ideological" alignments; they preferred to conduct their diplomacy along the old familiar lines of imperialist powerpolitics. Thus, the much-heralded Franco-Soviet pact was never imdead letter. Thus, the whole strategy of the British Foreign Office (Continued on Page 2)

#### Bertram D. Wolfe

will speak on

"THE SOVIET **PURGE**"

Friday, Feb. 25

8:30 P. M.

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL 131 West 33rd St. 7th Floor

Admission 25c

By Politicus

### Old Deal Ways for New Deal Wars

LIOW does a progressive, democratic administration, pledged to a New Deal for the American people, avowedly fighting to raise their living standards and aid the labor movement, championing peace and trumpeting its hatred of war, prepare to wage a reactionary war in the interests of its real master. finance-capital? It does so thru the preparation of oppressive legislation, designed to cripple the free and independent organizations of labor, to obliterate all traces of civil liberties and

democratic rights, to prevent wages from keeping pace with the cus- turn for which the administration tentively and skilfully taking adtomary companion of war, inflated eagerly prepares such bills as the vantage of every 'fissure,' however prices, to impose unbearable tax Sheppard-Hill and Connally meas- small, in the ranks of our enemies, burdens upon the lower-income ures. That labor has spoken forth of every antagonism of interests sections of the population in order in vigorous condemnation of these among the bourgeoisie of the varto help finance the war. It prepares bills is all to the good. But full ious countries; by taking advantthe ground for this military-fas- comprehension of the trail-blazers age of every possibility, however cist regime under the slogan: for fascism, and real action small, of gaining an ally among the "Take the profits out of war"!

Two bills, sponsored by the Roofore Congress, the Sheppard-Hill ministration; that it must recog- Little Lenin Library). bill and the Connally bill, contrived nize the intimate tie-up between above. They are, be it noted, Bertram D. Wolfe's series appearing elsewhere in this paper. It really matters little to our warmongering government whether these bills are passed now as legislation "approved by the duly elected representatives of the people," except for the significant formal victory it gives to the jingo-imperialgained by Presidential decree under the Industrial Mobilization Plan, in the hysteria accompanying the of this "democratic" preparation for fascism and war, the utter unploying class and its government ignore the desire for peace on the

part of the masses of the people.

The Sheppard-Hill bill, gives powers to the President to fix discredited. prices and wages, to "control" industrial organizations (i.e., fascisize the unions) and to decide what is a "reasonable profit," already determined to be much higher than peace-time rates. This bill has been endorsed by the American Legion, among others, and is based upon the extensive testimony of detailed system of taxation for in the C.I." "taking the profits out of war." At run from \$1,000 per single person \$500 for each dependent. But in son, \$1,600 for married persons, which should give a pretty fair policy is direct and immediate. of the war and out of whose hide is impossible to say at the present

It is indeed impossible to sepa- reorientation." But there was a Between Stalin and communism, rate profiteering from war. That is change in the international situ- there is a vast chasm filled to the cialism" after the "Great Leader" actually, it is our enemies, the one of the reasons why the em- ation and things did not go the brim with the blood of the victims ploying-class of this country wants expected way. Perhaps, the same of his purges. And I say this not a war: to bolster its profits; to get | thing will happen now as well; per- | in a spirit of moral indignation, a temporary reprieve from the haps, Stalin's present declaration thoroly justified as that would be. severity of continued and intensi- will also be a flash in the pan, fol- I mean it in its most sober polified depressions; to regain, thru lowed by no immediate consequ- tical sense. Stalin now glibly action brought about by the at- New Deal "liberalism." the reactionary dictatorship to be ences. But one thing is clear: A repeats some characteristically tempt to perpetuate an outworn imposed in war-time, that ground far-reaching shift in Soviet foreign Bukharinist phrases on the signifi- and historically obsolete regime in which it has lost to a free trade- policy is distinctly in the offing. cance of "external contradictions" the face of the demands of soviet ly acting on instructions of the union movement.

tion is the instrument thru which far behind? for these reactionary ends, in re- tion of the Comintern to political have perished in the purge as "Buk- works.

# Viewed from the Left Lenin and "Compromises"

ers Age, I carefully read the Age's criticisms of the Daily Worker in reference to Roosevelt's policies. However, I have just been reading Lenin's "Left-Wing Communism" and I would like to quote one section in particular: "It is possible to conquer this most powerful enemy (capitalism) only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by necessarily, thoroly, carefully, atupon that realization, means that masses, even tho this ally be temlabor must array its forces against porary, vacillating, unstable, unrelisevelt administration, are now be- the war-mongering Roosevelt ad- able and conditional" (Page 32,

In my mind, I have been trying to carry out the plans outlined the profit-system and war and, con- to apply this statement to the sequently, must premise its anti- American scene and have wondered separate and apart from the In- war struggle, its struggle for labor whether or not this would justify dustrial Mobilization Plan of the freedom, on the necessity of so- the official Communist Party at-War Department, discussed in cialism, the end of the profit-sys- titude toward Roosevelt. If it will not be taking up too much of your

## Another Stalin Turn?

(Continued from Page 1) has been to bolster up the fascist | cialist line? By no means! Nothing regimes as a bulwark against revo- could be more dangerous than such lution, while, at the same time, a thoroly unwarranted notion. For, striving to prevent their expansion even should the Comintern course in directions unwelcome to Empire interests. Today, both Britain and what to the left, Stalinism would France are busily engaged in rig- remain just as false and poliimportant, perhaps, is the openness ging up a four-power pact to embrace the two "great democracies" together with Italy and Germany, main a reactionary obstacle to soconcern with which the ruling em- excluding the U.S.S.R. and therefore hostile to it. As the net result of its new diplomatic course, the Soviet Union now stands virtually biggest hindrance to the broad exisolated, its foreign policy utterly

> dated December 20, 1937, and published in the Workers Age of January 8, 1938, our European cor- an international movement into a respondent, Lambda, stated:

"Soviet diplomacy, based as it 'democratic' nations, is completely bankrupt. It is by no means unlikely that another turn will be made if War Industries Board from 1917 to the situation continues which, in 1919. The Connally bill outlines a turn, will entail a change of policy

If it means anything at all of present, income-tax exemptions real significance, Stalin's "internationalist" declaration represents a to \$2,500 for married people, with forecast of such a shift in foreign policy and Comintern line. It may war-time, it is planned that exemplalso, perhaps, be in the nature of tions shall be \$800 per single per- a warning or a threat to the "great democracies" that, if they are gowith \$250 for each dependent. Tax | ing to leave him in the lurch, he rates are 6% for incomes up to will unleash the "dogs" of revolu-\$2,000; 9% up to \$3,000; 12% up tion" against them. But; in any to \$4,000; 15% up to \$6,000— case, its relation to Soviet foreign primarily as by-products of shifts

moment. Last March, Stalin made These bills make clear that the a somewhat similar pronouncement, administration is preparing to altho by no means so "extreme." wage a reactionary war by re- Then, too, it was motivated by and hopeless as that regime has purge, there is no pause. Why, in increasingly reactionary policies of actionary means; that it has no considerations of foreign policy and itself become. An organization that intentions running counter to the then, too, there were suggestions in can be manipulated in such a manneeds of the capitalist class, namethe press—including semi-official ner and by such a political master, ly, to make war as profitable as hints by Walter Duranty—that the can bring nothing but disaster to U.S.S.R. was in for a "diplomatic | the international working class.

now swerve for the moment sometically vicious as it is today. In the Soviet Union, it would still recialist progress, and its frantic efforts at burocratic self-preservation would still constitute the pansion of soviet democracy, which s so vital for the U.S.S.R. today. In the Comintern, it would still remain a paralyzing and deadening force, converting what should be mere instrument of its domestic

and foreign policy. For all of these shifts—yesterday's shift from left to right, today's shift from right to left and tomorrow's shift from left to right again—are merely on the surface; the underlying mechanism, which is the essence of the Stalinist Comintern, remains the same. The Comintern ceased being an international organization even before it ceased being a revolutionary one. It is today no more than the "international" extension or instrument of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union and whatever life it has lies only in its function as such. As long as changes of Comintern policy come To what will it all lead? That policy, there is no real change at has been for some years—a reflection of the Stalinist regime and therefore as thoroly reactionary

WE have received the following time, I would appreciate an ansirestoration wer, as I must confess I am not. These to

Every quotation from Lenin, or from any other great Marxist united labor front of workingin its context, concretely in terms of time, place and circumstance. This applies also, of course, to the quotation brought forward by our correspondent. What did Lenin advantage of every 'fissure' in the ranks of our enemies?" Let us turn to the pamphlet, "Left Communism," and see.

Lenin is here arguing against the German Lefts who want "to reject decisively all compromise with other parties, all policy of manouvering and compromise.' The other parties they are refer-Social-Democratic Party and the ty of Germany. As against the Left sectarians. Lenin points out that "the whole history of Bolsheyism, both before and after the there are two basic principles to October revolution, is full of instances of manouvering, temporizing and compromising with other parties, bourgeois parties in-

Which other parties? The Mensheviks, the S.R.'s, sections of the retain its own program and basic bourgeois liberals. Insofar as Lenin aims intact, engaging only in such here refers to working-class par-ties he is urging the policy of the united labor front. Insofar as he refers to revolutionary petty-bourgeois or peasant parties, he is advance both program and aims. In other words, the manouvering should result in the masses rallyties, he is urging the policy of the is advocating a class alliance of ing behind the revolutionary soproletariat and peasantry thru a cialists and not in the socialists block of their parties—compare the trailing behind bourgeois or petty-Bolshevik-Left S.R. regime im- bourgeois liberalism. mediately after the October re-Tugan-Baranovsky, etc.), a left-

extremely hostile to Czarism.

Lenin then proceeds to the quotation given by our correspondent. Even "after the first socialist revolution of the proletariat," he inseparable from socialism. points out, "the proletariat of that country for a long time remains by Lenin upon more than one ocweaker than the bourgeoisie. . . . It is possible to conquer this most Party attitude towards Roosevelt powerful enemy only by . . . " and then? In supporting the Roosehere the whole quotation follows. What does Lenin have in mind here? He is referring to the policy legislation, the C.P. supports not of the Soviet state in playing off an oppositional section of the bourone group of imperialist powers geoisie against the ruling section against another in order to save -as Lenin collaborated with, but itself—compare Trotsky's propos- did not support, an oppositional als to the Allied representatives in December 1917, the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, etc. He is re- is supporting the ruling section ferring also the efforts of the of the bourgeoisie against the best Bolsheviks to win the support of interests of the masses. In supmasses of the peasantry, even the porting the Roosevelt administrakulaks, against intervention and tion as such, the C.P. is not winin Soviet domestic or foreign the danger of a landlord-capitalist ning masses of the people for its

all: the Comintern remains what it harinites"? Will that be any safeguard for those who are going to gotten, even by itself. By such supmeet the same fate tomorrow on port, it is actually falling in line the same "grounds"?-for, in the behind the thoroly bourgeois and his latest letter, Stalin virtually the administration, particularly in pronounces sentence of death upon foreign policy and rearmament. In those miserable Stalinites unfor- other words, it is not the C.P. tunate enough to be caught repeat- which is "skilfully taking advanting his own phrases about the age of every 'fissure,' however "final, irrevocable victory of so- small, in the ranks of our enemies": happened to change his own mind bourgeoisie, who are "skilfully on the subject! If Stalin's mass taking advantage" of the big "fisslaughter is not a mere act sure" in our ranks created by the of madness, as it obviously is not, C.P. abandoning the class struggle it is an act of outright political re- and coming out for the program of And, once such a shift does take for the Soviet Union. But will that progress. Stalin's blood-purge is an Stalin clique, which, in turn, is And the New Deal administra- place, can the Comintern remain put Bukharin's head back on his act of irrevocable political charac- simply extending and translating shoulders or recall to life the hund- ter; it has placed an indelible poli- some of its own suicidal foreign capital is quite content to operate But will this mean the restora- reds of devoted Bolsheviks that tical brand on Stalinism and all its policy. But, objectively, the net

wer, as I must confess I am not

These tactics, Lenin says, ap-P.S. I liked the Age's article on and after the conquest of political power by the proletariat." What does that mean?

It means, in the first place, a

"authority," can be understood only class organizations of differing political tendencies on the basis of a common program against certain definite aspects of capitalist exploitation and oppression. It means an alliance between the working mean when he spoke of "taking class, on the one hand, and the elements, on the other, against big business and the governmental recommittee of big business. It means that, if the capitalist class is divided, on such a question as social legislation, for example, it is the business of the working class to take advantage of this "fissure' ring to are the right-wing German by intervening, actively and independently, in favor of social legiscentrist Independent Socialist Par- lation and thus, indirectly, perhaps, "aiding" one section of the hour geoisie against the other.

> which every proletarian party must hold tight if it is not to go lost:

1. The proletarian party must remain organizationally and politically independent, that is, it must

2. Every alliance or block must volution. Insofar as he refers to be against capitalism in some one bourgeois elements, he has in mind of its aspects, no matter how limthe early collaboration between the Russian social-democrats and the ited, and, directly or by implication, against the governmental reso-called "legal Marxists" (Struve, gime of capitalism. It may be a demand upon the government or wing bourgeois liberal tendency, a protest against the government, bourgeois government and still repromising class struggle that is

These are principles reiterated

casion. How about the Communist velt administration as such, and not merely some particular piece of against the Czarist autocracy; it own socialist program; its own so cialist program is ignored and for-Of course, the C.P. has its own

calculation in the affair: it is simp-

## Labor's Strategy In "Mixed" Wars

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

lems in the Struggle Against War" or progressive or revolutionary or delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe at the proletarian. recent plenary session of the National Council of the I.C.L.L. Another article will appear in the next issue.-

▼ TURN now to the "mixed war" the question of "mixed" wars is the United States is carrying out not nearly as complicated as it the other side. That is to say, sounds. Further, that it is not a Stalinism in Spain, both thru the burning question for us. It is a agency of the G.P.U. and the burning question in France, be- agency of the Spanish Communist cause there happens to be an al- Party, is actually attempting to liance at present between the live up to the conception that a ruling class and the Soviet Union. proletarian government entering Yet, it has some implications for an alliance with imperialist powers us. besides merely theoretical ones. must engage in counter-revolution-

The United States and Japan are activity. Whereas the other rival imperialist powers. They have side, the logic of the French C.P. deep-going antagonisms. Between is that, once a proletarian governthe Soviet Union and Japan, there ment enters into an alliance with is a deeper antagonism. Therefore, we are asked to believe that the the working class of that country United States is no longer an imperialist power. That is the Brow- that ruling class. derian logic. What it forgets is that the antagonisms between the United States and the Soviet Union are far deeper in the long run than those between the United tion of the LaFollette-Ludlow States and Japan, and that the United States would gladly join Ludlow amendment has serious with the Japanese ruling class to crush a proletarian revolution in point out the weaknesses and short-Japan or in the U.S.A. or in China or to crush, if possible, the Soviet

Union itself. Nevertheless, for the moment, the international situation is such that the United States has three naval officers in Vladivostok conferring there with naval officers of the Soviet Union and the United States has secretly ordered a good part of its fleet to Honolulu and other sections to Australia and Singapore. So there are certain implications for us which make it necessary to examine, however briefly, the question of "mixed"

Even France is likely to renounce its alliance with the Soviet Union long before war comes or Baruch who says: "The draft of at the moment that war is declared. If you have any doubts, look at how the French People's Front government renounced its alliance with the People's Front government of Spain the moment that Spain got into difficulties with Italy and Germany. Moreover, the Franco-Soviet Pact is strained to the breaking point today. Yet, suppose it does not actually break before war begins. Then we can say with absolute certitude that France | technique—at least not in peace will surely betray that alliance during the war. It, too, as the war if the World War had lasted longer develops, would gladly join the is most probable; that it will be

The confusion on this question, I think, comes largely from the tions to be considered"—and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered"—and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered"—and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula, the tions to be considered and I supuse of an old time formula. I think, comes largely from the use of an old time formula, the pose, settled—such as "measures to formula of revolutionary defeatism. The word defeatism is too prevent grievances of employers or But not much. . . . simple a slogan for a "mixed" war. employees, whether actual or ima-Rather than stress the defeat of its ginary, from interfering with war own bourgeoisie in the war, the production" and again of the proletariat in such a hypothetical situation should stress the overthrow of its own bourgeoisie for the purpose of developing a trustworthy alliance with the Russian proletariat for the victory of the proletarian revolution in France and for the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany. I think if we stop using the word "defeatism" in this connection, the confusion will be dissipated.

I think that the question of "mixed" wars can be made theore- this a very logical step forward by tically simple in the following providing that, "in the event of

perialist politics in war as in peace. I into the military service such mem-

2. When an imperialist powe joins a proletarian power, it does not thereby become non-imperialist

3. Any more than a proletarian perialist or counter-revolutionary

4. The action of the Stalin gov ernment on Spain is actually carry-TURN now to the "mixed war" ing out the one side of the error question. I want to say that of which the Communist Party in

### Amendment

The third question is the ques amendment. Now, the LaFolletteweaknesses and it is our duty to comings of any measure of capitalist democracy. Hence we must

(Continued from Page 1)

Elegantly called "deferment,"

neant that every worker was sub-

ect to active service and made the

front-line trenches a punishment

cell-and often an execution cham-

per-for malcontents who agitated

for a decent living at home. This

idea is much thought of by Bernard

men for industrial employment is

not only impossible. It is wholly

unnecessary. The work or fight

method is a better way. It is com-

patible with our institutions and

far more effective than any chain-

gang or impressment that could be

Military men are not noted for

tact but even they have not the

brazen nerve to propose such a

time. That it would have been used

"necessity for the modification of

the statutory work-day" and again

of the "maintenance of maximum

production in all war work and the

suspension for the period of the

actual emergency and a reasonable

adjustment thereafter of restrictive

regulations . . . which unreason-

ably limit production." Also pro-

posed are the abolition of restric-

labor.

tions on women's and children's

in such an alliance. ernment to the capitalists. He prevented the Party in Euzkady (the Basque region) from reacting and,

politically, he prevented the organthe ruling class of a country, then must enter into an alliance with

> point out the following: 1. That it won't be adopted. The

### SCAPEGOATS IN **SPAIN**

The Communist Party of Spain recently expelled one of its lead-By HOMER MARTIN ing members. Astigarrabias from the party on the following grounds: "He endorsed the reactionary and defeatist policy of Aguirre in address delivered by Homer Martin, the Basque government. The big president of the United Automobile companies continue to be exploited Workers of America, at the Economics by the capitalists. He failed to oppose the open support of the gov-1938.—The Editor.)

ization of the stiff defense of Bilbao and the Basque region." Need we recall that, before the fall of Bilbao, the policy and activities of the Basque government were enthusiastically applauded by the Stalinist press of the world and that Astigarrabias was hailed as a hero while he was committing those crimes for which he s now expelled? Need we recall that those who, at that time, while it was yet not too late, raised their voice against the conduct of the Basque government as "reactionary and defeatist," were branded by the Stalinites in Spain and elseof Franco" and were jailed or shot example, I do not think that build- litical implications of armaments if the Stalinites could lay their hands on them? After every disaster, a scapegoat is found but the real criminal remains—Stalin-

ability of the bourgeoisie to sabot-(Continued on Page 6)

## Rearmament Is No **Way Out of Crisis**

(We publish below in somewhat abridged form, the second part of the Club of New York on February 2,

■ HAVE spoken about the necessity for private industry to find battleships ad infinitum, which some channel to activate itself and must be junked almost immediateinvest new capital. This does not ly upon completion, we are merely mean that anything in which money pouring money and wealth into a is invested is productive of social value or is a sound measure of bringing back a revival of business. The standard of living is raised international war, we are again thru the production of commodities which have a use value and which ic system. Let us not forget the satisfy certain social needs. There twenty-three billion dollars deficit are some who believe that, as long of the United States, arising out as our capital-goods industries are of the last "war to end wars." producing, it does not matter much what they are producing. They be- armaments are produced, even the lieve that mere activity of business for its own sake will keep the create jobs or business, we cannot country prosperous. I do not sub- no matter how much we would like scribe to this point of view. For to, divorce ourselves from the poing battleships and unheard-of ex- If we must stimulate business by penditures for military purposes construction, let us build homes are sound methods of financing a for that vast group, comprising business recovery.

IN LINE TO PROFIT FROM IN-CREASED WARSHIP EXPENDI TURES." To encourage the building of battleships purely for the sake of profit and business activity can lead this country only to economic, political and social bankruptcy. Whether the result is international war or not, if we do not have a war but go on building

bottomless pit. On the other hand, if we produce these battleships for the purpose of inviting ruin for our whole econom When battleships and excessive more than one-third of our popula tion, which is ill-housed. If we The Naval Program And Business insist on producing something which has no social value in its own right, it is better to build

I noticed an article in Barron's Financial Weekly for January 24, with the following headline: "NAVAL PROGRAM PROMISES

THE "HOME FRONT" IN WAR = Labor After M-Day ==

> twenty-one and thirty-one as he labor and I cannot conceive of you may deem necessary." That is: taking the key men, the men that work, fight or get court-martialled. are needed to supply the army in You don't think that such

measures can be foisted on democratic America? Ah, but wait till the drums beat, the flags fly and the boys march down Fifth Avenue, while the Daily Worker denounces anti-war Congressmen as "Love stoneite agents of Japanese fas-

#### Labor Mobilization And Fascism

Labor mobilization for war is, in a certain sense, beyond fascism; in other respects, short of it. Control stressed far more than heretofore. handful of industrialists and finover labor and punishments for It may well be that there is time anciers. Nor do I believe that they militant workers are more stringent before war comes to inculcate in have the power deliberately to than in any dictatorial state. But the millions in the C.I.O. (and in create business recessions such as the control is primarily a military the added millions who see in it this one. . . . one and the military men are more their hope) the grim militancy that German ruling class against the used in the next war is very pos- intent on winning a war than on was the glory of the Wobblies. If German revolution or against the sible. But the Industrial Mobiliza- guaranteeing profits from sweated the workers cannot always stop tion Plan dishes out a good deal labor altho, of course, they have war, they can at least battle fiercemore soft soap with its regimenta- no objection to that either. Bluntly, ly, fight for every inch of ground tion of new wealth and new entertion. It speaks vaguely of "ques- the chains of a military dictator- as government and employers seek prise. When wealth and power is

The gravest danger, of course, is will be worth the costs—and they a burden on society. It ceases to the continuance of this thralldom will not be small—if the war's end, devote itself to the fulfillment of in the post-war period-note that defeat or victory, finds America's great objectives and becomes inthe Industrial Mobilization Plan workers hardened and sinewy, volved solely in perpetuating itself speaks of "and a reasonable ad- clear-eyed and tight-lipped in their as wealth. justment thereafter"—a continu- determination not to submit to ance into a very genuinely fascist dictatorship without a struggle. scheme.

has not had the publicity it de- sound nice: "Fight fascism!", "Free it was this same Midas touch which serves, offered one solution. In the slaves of the dictators!" Thou- brought death to King Midas. I essence, he said that he was against sands upon thousands are going to wonder whether business has not war but that, if there were a war, desert to the flesh-pots of patriot- lost its creative touch, its capacity obviously labor mobilization would that, "... if labor Those who stay will be fighting a not the Midas touch any longer,

1. Imperialist powers follow im- the President is authorized to draft TO WORKERS AGE

bers of the unorganized militial is to give the best service, then (that means you and you and you you cannot do the thing that is and you) between the ages of going to destroy the morale of the field, away from their positions of responsibility and service." Mr. Green is horse-trading—you can, he says, have anybody you want but leave, oh leave me, my duespaying craft unionists.

## The Fight Against Military

against war. But it is a specific relatively advancing civilization part, a part that needs to be Whatever may be the outcome, it radio, it becomes a parasite and

upon defeat. But if they fight, even growing service to humanity. There providing that, "in the event of war or of national emergency . . . SUBSCRIBE NOW when they feel their backs against give doesn't seem to be any Midas the wall, theirs will be the victory touch any more, except when some-

omic royalists" have come to the able to achieve that expansion in our standard of living, which has come with the making of money in the past, they have abandoned their way of life and their value to the community. I do not find it a happy thought that business must be subsidized by government deficit and that there are no new industries opening up for the C.I.O. to organize, but I do not believe that the failure of business men to open up those industries is the result of a conspiracy and is done The fight against the military with malice. I do not believe that dictatorship that comes with war the development of industry and is an essential part of the fight business and the creation of our

> Capitalism Now Parasitical The chief excuse for the existence

depends upon the genius of a mere

dams in the wilderness than bat-

tleships. Dams in the wilderness

I know that business men are

n business to make money. I know

that the making of money has in

the past, up to about eight years

ago, brought with it a more or less

and increased possibilities for well-

do not involve us in wars.

In all the success magazines, the

implication is that it has been the This is not easy. War comes. The Midas touch which has kept the What can labor do? Mr. William | floodgates of propaganda and country going, but those of you Green, in a disgraceful speech that patriotism open wide. The slogans who remember the fable know that rear-guard action, will suffer defeat either with or without the usual

February 26, 1938

#### **AGAIN SECRET DIPLOMACY**

THERE is nothing so brazen on the face of the L earth as an imperialist government preparing for war and engaged in the mass deception of the people that such preparations imply. We know the shocking story of secret diplomacy in the World War but the recent activities of the administration bid fair to surpass even that sinister record of diplo-

For months now, liberals in Senate and House have been trying to get the administration to make a definite and official statement of its foreign policy. To date, they have failed in their efforts; the administration has either refused to say anything or has issued vague and meaningless pronouncements to add to the confusion. A fine "democracy," indeed, where the "representatives of the people" simply can't find out what the Executive is up to in a field where the slightest step in a certain direction may cost the country hundreds of thousands of lives and

There is the gravest suspicion that the United States has reached a definite understanding, amounting to a naval agreement, with Great Britain for concerted action on behalf of their imperialist interests, primarily against Japan. Anthony Eden virtually avowed it in the House of Commons, some weeks ago. Arthur Krock, authoritative Washington correspondent of the New York Times, declares that he has been "expertly" informed of it. The Navy Department admits that its representatives have conferred with the British Admiralty. American warvessels have been sent to the South Pacific, to Australia and Singapore, on one flimsy pretext or another. America's naval-building program is hailed in London as a "great British victory." But Secretary of State Hull, in his letter to Senator Pittman, denies everything-and, if you don't like it, you can go whistle. . . .

The administration is rushing full speed ahead with its rearmament program. What for? With what end in view? The country would like to know, and so would a large number of Congressmen. Therefore, Mr. Vinson, sponsor of the naval-expansion measure, adds a Section 10 to his bill, to the effect that the navy is not to be used "for aggression." Very reassuring, indeed! Was there ever a war in the history of mankind in which each participant did not fervently deny that it was the "aggressor"? But Section 10 goes further. It declares it to be the "fundamental naval policy of the United States" to "protect our commerce and citizens abroad" and to "support our national policies." Mr. Hull obligingly amplifies in his letter to Representative Ludlow: "Our interests and our nationals must be given fair

We are not out for "aggression" but we are going to use our navy to "protect our commerce abroad," to obtain "fair treatment" for "our interests" and to "support our national policies." Under the very convenient and deliberately undefined phrase, "national policies," the administration presumably includes the "open door," the formula under which American big-business imperialism operates in the Far East. Under the phrase, "protection of our interests," the administration obviously means the protection of the investments and commercial prospects of American business and financial groups in the Far East, for what "interests" have the masses of American working people there or anywhere else that require protection? And this brazen policy of the armed promotion of predatory imperialism is palmed off on us as scrupulously excluding all ideas of "aggression"!

The administration is asked what it wants its big navy for and it answers: "to support our national policies"-in other words, a blank check, for anything that the administration will decide to do will obviously become a "national policy."

Was there ever a more cynical expression of contemptuous disregard for popular sentiment? Behind the scenes, diplomatic and military preparations are under way for a new world slaughter. The masses of the people in this country feel it and are profoundly disturbed at the prospect. They call upon "their" government for a clear statement of its aims and policies in this explosive situation and all they get | dying. . . .

## BRITISH POLICY IN THE FAR EAST

By JIM CORK

F all the criminal frauds generated by the People's Front line of dependence upon the cap- in recent years. Only in French italist "democracies," perhaps the Indo-China is British capital inall is the appeal to England to help cause of the strict monopoly of emancipate the oppressed Chinese French capital. But even here nasses. England, whose far-flung empire constitutes the central core China's foreign trade. of world oppression; England, the exploiter of more millions than are to be found in all the other empires put together, with its bloody heel alarmingly in recent years. especion 350 millions in India and ally in textiles. But, by quota and myriads more in Africa and the tariff restrictions, England, in con-Near and Far East; England, junction with Holland, has recentlustrated by the massacres of in Malaya and the Dutch East Amritsar and Meerut; in short, Indies, the two regions previously England, the supreme parasite of odern imperialism—this England is to be one of the emancipators of

Aim Of British Foreign Policy

In spite of all seeming vacillaions, the post-war foreign policy of England has been fundamentally consistent. Its aim has been the naintenance of the stability of the British Empire, the defense of its pre-war and post-war booty. Tovards this end, England is ready to play with anybody against any-

ody and everybody else. The Achilles heel of the British maintain the economic and political comes, therefore, a life-and-death class. Let that equilibrium be once destroyed and the British Empire begins its slide down to perdition. Hence, England's continuous and strenuous efforts to maintain its economic, political and military influence in all quarters of the Far desired equilibrium. A glance at the point clear.

Leaving aside India and South China, for the moment, Southlaya, French Indo-China, Siam, Dutch East Indies and the Philippine Islands. All of them, with the exception of Siam, are colonial possessions of Western powers. Siam's independence is, of course, merely nominal. British Malaya, off the tip of the right foot of the Indian ninsula, and British Borneo right upper corner of Dutch East Indies) are the only British possessions in the region. Britain, however, has direct economic interests

There is, for instance, about half ed in Malaya, most of it, of course, British capital. Malaya produces nearly one-half of the world supply of rubber and about one-third of the world output of tin—a juicy little plum indeed. In addition, financial interests are re presented to the tune of \$150. 000,000 in the Dutch East Indies, most of it centering around oil Even in the Philippines, the British ruling class has invested about \$25,000,000. Siam, the nominally independent, is both economically and politically under the hegemony of England—its industries developed almost exclusively by English capital: its loans for debts, floated

are a few routine evasions, garnished with the pious phrases at which our sanctimonious Secretary of State is so adept. A fine "demo-

entirely in London; its export and import trade still dominated by the British Empire, tho Japan has made some uncomfortable inroads grimmest and ghastliest joker of vestment relatively negligible be-British shipping leads in Indo-

Thruout all South-Eastern Asia, Japanese competition has increased whose tender consideration for the ly hit out hard, thus slowing down welfare of its colonials was well il- Japanese penetration considerably mostly affected.

> On the first rung, therefore, England has her considerable capital investment and trade interests to defend against Japan. And this is not to mention her almost two-hillion investment in China itself.

#### Imperial Communications And Defense

At least as important as the de fense of her economic investments in the various parts of South-Eastern Asia, loom the questions of ditioned upon the maintenance of and the country. Empire lies in the Far East. To the political status-quo in this region. The road to India, most sea, England has prepared well. Singapore, Hongkong and British Borneo, form a huge oceanio triangle, dominating the approach to all vital spots in this region for East, so necessary to assure the England. Singapore, the powerful "floating" fortress at the tip of the the record and the map will make Malaya peninsula, controls the entrance to the narrow Strait of Malacca which commands the approach from the Pacific Ocean to Eastern Asia includes British Ma- India. Hongkong, greatest southern seaport dominating South China and British Borneo, practically cellent jumping-off place for Aus-China and the Dutch East Indies. England has already definitely inbillion of foreign capital invest- modify French imperialist control

> "Fear was expressed lest a more independent Indo-China would be France thinks fit to surrender it be reserved in advance'.'

While fear of possible anti-im-French People's Front government if the latter are attacked.

(Continued on Page 5)

By Lambda

## **WORLD TODAY**

Special Correspondent Describes Irish Labor Party's Position

(We devote this week's column to an interesting report on the situation in Ireland by our Irish correspondent, T. Farrel. Another article dealing with Ireand will appear in the next issue.—THE EDITOR.)

Dublin, January 15, 1938.

**D**URING and after the World War of 1914-18, the struggle for Irish national liberation proved a severe hindrance to the aims and plans of British imperialism. If British imperialism is to have any chance of success in any forthcoming war, it must be sure that it has the guarantee of peace in Ireland at least.

The announcement made on Thursday, January 13, that de Valera is to visit London and "talk things over" in order to settle the state of "Eire" is one of the final moves in the plan designed to bring in the whole of Ireland behind the war plans of the British National government.

De Valera has carefully prepared the road. For some time now, he has been openly acting in the interests of the British Foreign Office. Cases in point are his outburst at the League of Nations on the question of the Spanish civil war and "non-intervention" and the de-facto recognition of Italy's conimperial communication and de- quest of Abyssinia by his government, despite the fense, which, for England, are con- Labor Party's strong opposition in both the Dail

As the last general election not only did not give valuable part of the empire, must de Valera a majority but saw the emergence of the be protected by land and by sea. Irish Labor Party as a strong and growing political question for the British ruling Hence, the importance of South force, backed by the trade unions—so that de Va-China, the most direct land route lera's majority depends on Labor Party support in to India from the West. On the the long run—the manouver is now to precipitate an early general election, either in February or March, behind the slogan of "national unity" in opposition to the demands of the Labor Party and the trade unions. The Labor Party has already characterized the next election as a "war election" and is calling for strong opposition to this attack upon the "liberties of the people on the part of the national phrasemongers, national unity drum-beaters and dodgers of the problem of internal decay-men who refuse to meet squarely the social problem, men who would establish all the old evils under a new name."

> The Labor Party opposed the new constitution, touches the Philippines and an ex- which was only carried by a few hundred votes in the recent referendum. It is opposing all attempts tralia. And, as to French Indo- to bring it unconditionally behind the "make-believe constitution." In an article in its official organ, Labor dicated to both France and Hol- News, it categorically rejects the attempts being land that her imperial interests are made to get its support for a "non-political" presidirectly concerned with the condent. It declared (January 8, 1938): "In the Presitinued stability of both of these dential Elections Bill, Mr. de Valera provided for colonies. Recently, for instance, election by popular vote; now his party has dis-Augur, reporting on the fear in covered the virtue of electing a president 'above British imperialist circles that the politics,' without contest or vote. Labor, which made "left" government of France might its position regarding the president clear in the constitutional debate, cannot now easily accept responsibility for nominating, with Fianna Fail and other parties, a president whose powers it was not permitted in their inception to affect. Labor may and it was declared that, 'if and well find itself in the position of having to chalwhen a government of the Left in lenge the actions of the first president because they rights in Asia, British preferential abused. It is surely too much for Fianna Fail to rights on the Indo-China post must expect that, by some such manouver as is proposed, they could bind the labor movement hand and foot. We want freedom of speech, and action. The Conperialist politics on the part of the stitution does not promise much that way."

The Communist Party plays a very small role in was rather unwarranted, the note struck by Augur for the defense of British imperialist intersts by People's Frontism. On the other hand, there are is quite apparent. Britain also has those within the labor movement who are intela secret agreement with Holland ligently discussing the attitude of labor and the whereby she will come to the de- role to be taken in the next imperialist war. Labour fense of British imperialist interests News of November 13th carried the account of a discussion on this subject and reported Seuman As for China itself, England's O'Brien, the husband of John Connolly's daughter, as record of treachery here ought to saying: "It should be the duty of the working class matic war-makers operate, in effect, with almost the same contempt for public opinion and with almost the same freedom from popular control as in many a dictatorship!

Today's accord dictatorship! Today's secret diplomacy will imperialists for the economic and working class preparing, arming, training itself so bear its fruit on tomorrow's battle- political division and spoliation of it will be sure that the fight will be against fascism fields, laden with the dead and China. Within the limits of defense and not merely a supposed fight against fascism under the guise of a fight for democracy."

#### U. S. A., by John Dos Passos. Harcourt Brace, New York, 1938.

THE three novels which form the trilogy, "U. S. A.," have already made their individual marks: "42nd Parallel," "1919" and "The Big Money." While each successive publication has made it clearer that his is a first-rate talent, this separation of what is essentially one work has served t lessen the public's awareness of Dos Passos's concept and of his ability to execute it. For it is only by reading "U. S. A.," or rather being driven from page to page and from book to book, by the compulsion of its structure and intensity, that full comprehension of this amazingly intricate novel engulfs the reader. What is the story that Dos Pas-

sos tells? It is the tale of a Wobbly linotyper with the itch of the frontier burning his heels, who takes it the easy way, down in Mexico City; of a damned good mechanic who, after 1919, stumbles into the Big Money and is swept along by it to his death; of a boy who wrote promising poetry at Harvard, acquired the title of Captain, and became a first-class copywriter and dipsomaniac; of a normally uninteresting man, uninsterested in anything save the Big Money, who gets it; of the career of a well-to-do girl drifting from one nothingness to another and, finally, to the nothingness of suicide; of her friend who studies Art, and so becomes a successful interior decorator and with those in the Big Money, which was what she wanted; of a social worker who gets into the labor movement thru the steel strike and ends up denouncing the expelled "exceptionalists" of a cheap, dumb babe, who becomes a movie queen; of a labor faker; of many who, in the America of the times, are minor and insignificant, such as some anti-war

socialists. It is a tale of the molding of people by inexorable social forces which they aren't even interested in and of which few have so much as heard. The great and devastating horror of the novel lies in that its leading protagonists, experiencing the same events, increasing ly react in the same way. Their lives criss-cross one another, some with more, some with less permanence, and, while all began with different environments. different hopes. different outlooks, their paths are marked out—all leading towards persistent persecution and oppression that begins with the drives against the I.W.W., reaches its hysterical climax in the suppression of those who fight the imperialist war, not debited to him. continues even within the ranks of the Communist Party, which splits while it conducts its hopeless dualist strike among the miners.

moral and spiritual disintegration; sary for Dos Passos's theme and must have since it is a great "demfor the development of American manner of narration that the News- ocratic" power:

the road of the Big Money. contents into old forms, of creating of course Camera-Eye, a kind of development. . . ." death-throes. The novel is essential- but this, too, is integral, especial- Sir Samuel Hoare, containing the ocratic" imperialist powers for the ly the art-form which expresses the individuality and individualism biting with the maturity both of the individual second indindividual second individual second individual second individual s of bourgeois, capitalist society. Yet the commentator and history. tomorrow impelling his creative- America of which tells.

Youth Committee Fights Military Preparations

By JOE ELWOOD

ARGE sections of the youth movement are beginning to realize that some proper action must be taken against the new fraud of 'collective security." A few weeks before the recently held American Student Union convention, when it became apparent that the A.S.U. would be the next sacrifice on the altar of "collective security," a Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge was set up, composed to a large extent of young socialists, liberals and pacifists. Recently the Youth Section of the I.C.L.L decided to endorse and extend aid to the committee in its struggle against war. The Oxford Pledge Committee is not confined to students only but will include young workers as well. It will carry on propaganda within the A.S.U. for its position and will attempt to organize local anti-war clubs thruout the country.

The Youth Committee for the Oxford Pledge proposes to launch a vigorous and comprehensive fight for peace based on the attitude em- tion of America" and demanding mill operate." bodied in the Oxford Pledge, to Irastic reduction of the huge arma-"refuse to support the government of the United States in any war it may undertake": 1. opposition to abandonment of the Sheppard-Hill "collective security" as inviting bill and the passage of a war- tion, especially during the depreswar and increased war prepara- referendum amendment. Material sion. The two major firms manutions; 2. opposition to the war budget of the United States govern- Committee, 242 E. 4 St. N. Y. C. United Machine Company and the ment, to the R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C. to army control of the C.C.C. and to the "M-Day" plans of the War Department and the Sheppard-Hill "industrial-mobilization bill"; 3. transference of war funds to sosense, of individualism and in-

dividuality, altho he still uses the concept and the fetters of literary been willing to grant Japan any- connection, Mr. Ruttenberg points heritage result, on the one hand, in thing, the more so if the latter out, is that in spite of the tremendhis various experiments such as would guarantee her interests in ous reduction of the labor cost in Camera-Eye, News-Reel and inter- return. The record is a number of the production of strip steel and jected biographies of men of the years running and includes repeat- strip-steel products, the price reage, and on the other in the im- ed offers, visits, missions, etc. pression, held by many, that he is unable really to create characters. Frederick Leith-Ross, the British and sincerity there is in the cry As I have pointed out, however, Far-Eastern specialist, headed a of the Girdlers that labor's dethis latter "failing" is actually part mission to Tokyo. He made two of the warp and woof of the book. proposals: (1) for a joint internawhich opposes the individual to the division of Chinese markets, Japan mass, that it develops individuals to take the small-commodities Door. so similar that they run into one another. It is quite true that, on industries market. The attempt brazen joker. What the offer imony on the advisability of this thinking back, I am not quite sure came to naught because Japan whether something happened to countered with a demand for closing the door in everybody else's unions covering the laundry and Charley Anderson or to Dick Savage, mechanic and Harvard poet respectively. Eventually their lives became indistinguishable; in the days of the Big Money, successful chose to buck the tide, there is the young executives drank the same gut-rotting gin, patronized the same high-class brothels. The gray monotone which pervades "U. S A.," like an underground rumbling, must be credited to Dos Passos and

technique become, when one sees! capitalist society has been along Reel, building the atmosphere of a Dos Passos, like all other serious in which his characters live and going to be one of the biggest and is preparing behind the scenes for writers who, in this period, cast breathe, be written; or that the best markets for our manufactures their lot with the oppressed rather biographies, which contain some of and we must be prepared to nurse than the ruling class, faces the the best modern heroic poetry, apstupendous task of writing new pear. The weakest in the group is (emphasis mine.—J.C.), pending its a viewpoint obviously still in its running impressionistic comment, Even more significant is the rebirth-throes and embodying it in which sometimes doesn't click be- cent uncovering of a comprehena form obviously already in its cause of its extreme subjectivity; sive plan, reliably attributed to line of dependence upon the "dem-out withdrawing recognition.

cially useful purposes (as are, e.g., embodied in the American Youth Act); 4. an appeal to workers and young people to refuse, in the pre sent Far-Eastern crisis, to ship war materials to Japan; 5. refusal to support the United States gov ernment in a war against Japan 7. emphasis on the bond between stage of the operation on the face of it. States and young people in every always employed at wages ranging country in a common fight against from \$12 to \$20 a day. For that world imperialism; 8. reaffirmation very reason, these "aristocrats of of the belief that the basic divi- labor," now that they are being

WORKERS AGE

The first campaign that this a steel firm who explains how it Youth Committee has launched is works: "A hand mill worker is used the building of a Committee of Ten to producing ten tons in eight Thousand for the Oxford Pledge. In line with this, the Youth Com- ing 1,000 tons produced on a stripmittee has also started to circulate mill in the same time. We have petitions addressed to President to break in new men on the strip Roosevelt to "stop the militarizament program, removal of Amer- | hand-mills by the new strip-mills is ican armed forces from China. may be gotten from the Youth facturing this new equipment, the

sions and dislocation of world eco- displaced, are not being reabsorbed

nomy can never be removed with- into other operations, even when

out fundamental and far-reaching such jobs are available. Mr. Rut-

tenberg quotes a vice-president of

hours and he can't get used to see-

mills who have never seen a hand

The process of replacement of

not yet complete, tho great head-

way has been made in this direc-

United Engineering and Foundry

Company, are working at capacity

to fill their orders. It is expected

that 80% of the hand-mills will be

about 25,000 men, will continue

with the hand-tong method to fill

What is most interesting in this

small orders and specialty jobs.

mains the same, \$117.70 a ton, as

mands are "excessive," thereby

abide by the principle of the Open

## Britain in The Far East equipped with the hot-strip machinery. The other 20% employing

(Continued from Page 4)

novel form. The clash between his of her own interests, England has it was in 1929. How little truth

Toward the end of 1935, Sir market and England the heavy-British recognition of Japanese face and partitioning China be- hotel industries protested against supremacy in China as well as of tween themselves. There has been the low rates established, since they freedom for Japan to trade freely no denial in the British press or expected a \$20 a week minimum and with all British possessions in the Parliament that such proposals opposed the differential, claiming Far East as well as India. This, were made by Sir Samuel Hoare. that it would result in runaway England obviously could not grant and Leith-Ross departed to Nan- of the European tangle around munities. Further hearings will be king in order to build up England's Spain, it thought it could get held in Buffalo and Albany. private fences against Japan.

A little while later, in 1936, Leith-Ross, now in England, made steam ahead, England's previous atmission to the Far East. The fol-

"In conclusion, I am definitely

Dos Passos, writing from the point The triumph of "U. S. A." is and Japan; 2. Japan to promise not in the history of the struggle of employee-representation plans in of view of the impermanence of primarily that it is a novel, not a to encroach upon British rights the world's exploited. The destruction of "labor organization" of the impermanence of primarily that it is a novel, not a to encroach upon British rights the world's exploited. The destruction of "labor organization" of the impermanence of primarily that it is a novel, not a to encroach upon British rights the world's exploited. present-day society and with the textbook on political economy; that and interests in China; 3. Britain to tion of the British Empire is a tions" entitled to be certified as vision of the collective society of it is as huge and fertile as the recognize Manchukuo and Japan's central condition for any real ad- bargaining agents. These are the vested interests and rights in North vance on the road to colonial eman- laws of Utah, Pennsylvania and M. S. M. | China; 4. Japan to recognize the cipation.

Labor Notes and Facts

#### 85,000 Victims of Progress

THE displacement of 85,000 skilled steel workers from the 1 industry is described by Harold J. Ruttenberg in the February 16 issue of the New Republic. These steel workers have been employed in the strip mills, operating the hand-tongs as steel passes thru various processes. Today, they are being and a plea to Japanese youth to thrown out by the introduction of completely new methods, by refuse to support the military ma- which a 6,500-pound slab of steel out of a furnace is sent thru chine of Japan; 6. a demand for the different operations automatically, without a single pair of the freedom of all colonial peoples; hand-tongs touching it in any emphasis on the bond between stage of the operation. The workcausing price increases, is obvious

MINIMUM WEEKLY WAGES The New York State Laundry Wage Board recommended guaranteed weekly wage" instead of a minimum hourly rate. This is the first recommendation of its kind ever to be made by a minimumwage board in the United States. The Laundry Wage Board funcenacted in April 1937, following the favorable Supreme Court decision on the Washington law.

Under the regulation of the Board, every woman who is called to work at all during any given week, will receive a minimum of \$14 in New York City, Westchester and Nassau Counties. In Suffolk County and in cities of less than 18.000 inhabitants, the guaranteed minimum weekly wage will be \$12.80. This differential is to be abolished by December 31, 1939, with the higher rate prevailing.

For laundry workers in rural areas, the Board recommends no guaranteed weekly minimum but a flat rate of 30c an hour with time and a half for work over 45 hours in any week.

It is expected that this regulation, if approved by Industrial Commissioner Elmer F. Andrews, will cover 20,000 workers in 888 power laundries in the state and 2.000 more in hand-laundries in the New York City area.

Practically all power laundries in the New York City area are now paying a union wage-scale of 35c r \$15.75 for a 45-hour week and time-and-a-half for overtime. This agreement was negotiated by the United Laundry Workers, of the It is the irony of capitalist society, tional loan to China; and (2) for a territorial integrity of China and Amalgamated Clothing Workers

The last item is, of course, a York City called to receive testamounts to is England and Japan course, the representatives of the Japan refused because, in view laundries to the smaller com-

more without any commitments in advance. With Japan's going full-Two cases involving the powers a speech at the annual China As- tempt at an alliance with Japan, of the National Labor Relations The experimental aspects of his sociation dinner dealing with his implicitly against the United Board may be decided by the

States, is now turning toward an the work as a whole, not mere ap- lowing extract illustrates Britain's understanding with American im- One case involves the Pennsylvania It is the story of the degrada- pendages but part and parcel of curiously tender solicitude for the perialism. Dickering and manouver- Greyhound Lines, Inc., and the tion of human beings, of their utter the central structure. It is neces- Chinese masses which it obviously ing, stalling for time while it is Greyhound Management Corporafeverishly rushing the completion of the greatest armament program the Pacific Greyhound Lines, Inc. in history, British imperialism, to- In both instances, the N.L.R.B. had whole period, the very atmosphere optimistic about China . . . China is gether with its American partner, ordered the employers to withdraw any future eventuality. A terrific clash is in the offing in the next few years.

The Greatest Hoax In History

emancipation of the oppressed colonial masses is the greatest

CASES BEFORE THE N.L.R.B

Supreme Court in the near future. tion, and the other case involves recognition from their employee representation plans (that is, company unions). In both cases, a circuit court of appeals thereupon refused to enforce this part of the order, holding that it was sufficient In face of this situation, in face that the employer should cease doof the record, the People's Front mination of the organization with-

COMPANY UNIONS OK'D

There are three State labor-relaitary cooperation between England hoax and betrayal ever perpetrated tions acts which expressly permit

## **Trade Union Notes**

= By Observer =

SOME time ago, it was pointed out in the columns of this paper that the split in the labor movement is significant not only in its division on the fundamental question of organizational strategy (industrial unionism) but also in the growing divergence between C.I.O. and A. F. of L. in general policy and attitude to current problems. Since that fateful convention at Atlantic City in 1935, the C.I.O. has gone forward, the A. F. of L. backward; the C.I.O. has advanced to new, more progressive

positions, while the A. F. of L. has been retreating from positions it has itself reached in recent years.

How far this has gone can be judged from President William Green's address in Chicago two weeks ago. Mr. Green took up cudgels for business against "gov ernment interference," attacked the N.L R.B. in grand style, and, in general, carried further the attitude that led the Executive Council recently to demand the repeal or modification of the capital-gains and undistributed-profits taxes. In fact, you wouldn't have known it was a labor leader speaking if you hadn't noticed the name; it sounded so very much like one of those ferocious "little business men" at their Washington jamboree.

Naturally, Mr. Green's remarks were hailed by Chicago anti-labor "business leaders" as a "new labor attitude," a "welcome departure, an "expression of sound thoughts, an "example of outstanding lead ership" and so on and so on.

What does it mean? It means that control of the Executive Council, not merely organizational but political as well, has fallen into the hands of the ultra-reactionary wing composed of the die-hard craft-union chiefs of the stripe of Hutcheson and Frey, for whom even the New Deal is apparently too much. The advances in social outlook and policy, made by the A. F. of L. in the three or four years before 1935, are being gradually wiped out under a regime where Hutcheson calls the tune and Green dances at his command.

#### SOME GOOD SENSE

Two weeks ago we commented on the mistake that, in our opinion was made by the United Mine Workers convention in constitution ally barring from the organization "members of the Communist Paralong with Ku Klux Klanners and others. We are glad to note that Justice, official paper of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, shares our viewpoint. An editorial in the February 15 issue is devoted to the question, "Who May and Who May Not Belong," and, in the course of this editorial, President Dubinsky is quoted to the following effect:

'A union cannot distinguish be tween the political philosophies of the workers employed in its trade Communists, as workers, are entitled to membership in a union, as well as people of any other political persuasion. . . . But communists must not be permitted to impose their 'party line' on the unions. . . . It is only . . . when they become destructive, that my quarrel with them begins."

There is sound trade-union sense on a very difficult question!

#### PRES. DUBINSKY ON THE C.I.O

Speaking of the I.L.G.W.U., we are glad to call special attention to the following remarks made by President David Dubinsky of the I.L.G.W.U. at a banquet in honor of Vice-President Katovsky Cleveland on February 5:

#### ATTENTION!

The entire first printing of "CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN" by Bertram D. Wolfe has been sold out. Will all individuals or groups having extra copies return them at once to the New Workers School Bookshop, 131 West 33rd Street?

"Many people have misinterpreted my recent public statements in connection with the fratricidal struggle in labor's ranks. Many believe that I have attacked the C.IO. and there are rumors that we are leaving the C.I.O. I want to make cur position clear with the greatest emphasis. We will not leave the C.I.O. because we believe that it is today the only road to organization."

#### BROUN THE HORNY-HANDED

In his column in the New Republic of February 2, Heywood Broun takes another swipe at Ben Stolberg by describing the latter's recent articles in the Scripps-Howard press as an attempt to 'capitalize on the white-collar resentment of C.I.O. success." To say the least, this is a very queer indictment to make against a man who is one of the most effective journalistic champions of the C.I.O. who, in those very articles which Broun dislikes so much, describes the C.I.O. as "the most successful organizing movement of American labor, . . . changing American labor from primitive craft separatism to modern industrial unionism, possessing a program that is "simple, progressive, historically inev-

But the charge of "capitalizing white-collar resentment" sounds even queerer when it comes from such a horny-handed son of toil as Heywood Broun. Perhaps the hilarious Frankensteen-Thomas-Munger letter hit the nail right on the head in describing Broun's "mental makeup" as "more or less in keeping with (his) personal appearance." Figure it out for your-

### **Arming Not Way Out of Crisis**

(Continued from Page 3) body "touches" the government for more money.

Labor Must Speak Up

Labor has not been articulate up until the present. Labor has had no voice in the affairs of the national economy. There was a time labor did not know and did not care much about how industry was run. But things have changed. Today organized labor is beginning to learn more about national affairs. It is beginning to inquire into why business cannot run itself, except by running itself into the ground periodically. Labor today asks for representation at the council tables in the interests of millions of those who toil and those who depend on them. There are some who do not welcome the advice and the presence of organized labor. There are some who would do all they can to repress it and drive it under ground. These are the people who are seeking in this depression to strike a blow at labor and undermine its organizations and its standards. We believe this is unwise and self-defeating. Industry must recognize and deal with labor as a conscious factor which cannot be left out of its plans and computations. Labor is seeking to make life more livable for itself and for society and will cooperate to this end if an intelligent program can be clearly outlined.

## How New Republic Lives Up to Its Liberal Creed

sent the following letter to the New Republic:

In his attack upon Professor John Dewey in the columns of the New Republic (1 - 12 - 38), Heywood Broun not only exceeded the limits of Narrenfreiheit but was guilty of irresponsible misstatement of Prof. Dewey's position. Anyone who has examined the context of Professor Dewey's remarks in the Washington Post-which Broun admittedly has not donewill see that they bore upon the implications of the Trotsky Commission Report for America. They were illustrated by a direct reference to the use which the Communist Party and press were making of the Corcoran case in Minneapolis. Professor Dewey did not say that Communist Party members should be barred from the C.I.O. or any other labor union because of their views. He warned against factionalism and against the familiar Moscow tactics of frame-up and slander as deadly to the unity of the labor movement.

In asserting that the Stalinists are striving wholeheartedly for the unity of labor, Heywood Broun shows that it is he who is behind in his homework, not Professor Dewey. Part of the public oath which all members of the Communist Party are required to take "to drive the Lovestoneites out of the labor movement" and drive the Trotskyites out of the labor movement." Since in effect anybody who opposes the Communist Party on important measures is labelled a Trotskyite, this means that every independent-thinking union member or leader is slated for railroading as soon as the Stalinists feel strong enough to get away with it. It requires considerable cheek for Heywood Broun to ask whether Professor Dewey 'seriously means to contend that certain workers should be barred from union membership because of their political or economic views.' This is precisely the view of the Communist Party as the above cited slogans prove.

Before Heywood Broun undertakes to whitewash the role of the Stalinists in the labor movement, let him explain the following:

- 1. The attempt of the Daily Worker to smear Minneapolis trade unionists of Drivers Local 544 by practically charging them with complicity in the assassination of Patrick Corcoran, on the ground of their alleged Trotskyist sympathies.
- 2. The use of phony affidavits by West Coast Stalinists in the C. I.O. to prove that Meyer Lewis, A. F. of L. representative, had hired R. J. Bell to kill Bridges despite the wire sent them by George Cole, regional director of the C.I.O., warning that Bell was "unreliable and no good."
- 3. The resolution of the Sailors Union of the Pacific condemning the Western Worker and the Communist Party for libelous assertions of gangsterism against its leaders and authorizing legal action against the Western Worker.
- 4. The resolution of the Centra! Labor Council of San Francisco condemning the Stalinists for attempted frame-up tactics.
- 5. The Communist Party campaign against Homer Martin and the "Lovestoneites" in the Auto Workers Union.

These are only some of the more outstanding incidents. I, for one, am in favor of Broun's suggestion that a neutral group of investigators be called together to consider how the Communist Party works for unity in the labor movement. Things have come to such a pass that it is impossible to expose the nefarious tactics of the Communist

N January 12, Sidney Hook Party without Broun, its unofficial trouble-shooter, crying "Red-baiting." If the Stalinists are Red, then Roosevelt is a Trotskyist. If Heywood Broun sees fit to join the hueand-cry of the Communist Party against Homer Martin, a C.I.O. leader, why is it forbidden to criticize on the basis of authentic evidence the machinations of those Stalinists in the C.I.O. whose first loyalty is to the Communist Party and not to labor?

Sidney Hook

In its issue of February 16, the New Republic printed the first two paragraphs of this letter but omitted the rest, allegedly for reasons of space and relevance. The reader may judge for himself how sound these reasons are.

In the same issue of the New Republic, there is the following note in the section, "From the New Republic Mail Bag":

"Richard T. Frankensteen, assistant president, and R. J. Thomas, vice-president of the United Automobile Workers, with William L. Munger, managing editor of the United Automobile Worker, send us a letter addressed to Heywood Broun. They criticize Mr. Broun's comments about Homer Martin, especially those in his January 26 column in the New Republic, which they regard as 'unprincipled at-tacks on a tellow trade unionist'." tional saving grace of liberalism— tolerance and freedom of expres-Just this and nothing more! The sion of opinion.

### All-American **Pact Planned**

(Continued from Page 1) the mask of "collective security" in one form or another.

The unofficial announcement that such a naval and military alliance is being contemplated is to be closely connected with the "goodwill" flight of six huge U.S. Army bombers, veritable flying fortresses, to South America to take part in the inauguration ceremonies of President Ortiz of Argentina. Such a demonstration of American military power is obviously intended to impress Latin America and the world that United States imperialism is still paramount in the New World.

In essence, an "inter-American" pact would be the military implementing of the Monroe Doctrine under modern conditions.

New Republic, which finds plenty of space editorially and in Broun's column to slander and abuse Homer Martin in the most indecent manner, cannot find space enough to print a letter of reply from the leading officers of the U.A.W.!

The New Republic deserves full credit for its courageous stand on the war question. But, in the way it has handled the letters of Sidney Hook and the U.A.W. leaders, it betrays more than a trace of Stalinized "liberalism": traditional liberal futility without the tradi-

## Labor and "Mixed" War

(Continued from Page 3) age proposed amendments to the Constitution is limitless.

2. Even if it were adopted, it would never be carried out. The ruling class has no respect for its own democratic rules when they hinder its essential objectives.

3. That it implies a referendum and that the usual element of fraud in every election is present there.

Modern wars are not declared they are started. They are first started, then sometimes declared, and then it is much too late for a referendum on whether we should declare war or not.

But, despite these negative criticisms of the weakness of the LaFollette - Ludlow Amendment there is a more important aspect to the idea than these.

First, the movement for the La Follette-Ludlow Amendment is essentially an anti-war movement and we have to treat it as such.

Secondly, the movement for the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment is a movement for the extension of democracy and we have to treat it as such. We are in favor, in my opinion, of a fight for the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment because it will help to rally the enemies of war, because today it is becoming a sort of dividing line between those opposed to war and those who are for war and who are denouncing it, beginning with Stimson and Landon and ending with Earl Browder. We are in favor of the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment because the fight for it will help to crystallize the anti-war movement. It will help to precipitate a discussion of the war danger. A good fight for it will

### VANGUARD **GROUP FORUM**

James Rorty, WHAT PRICE MACCHIAVELLIANISM?, a discussion of the policies of Stalinist-liberal journalism. Sunday, Feb. 27, 8:30 P.M. Vanguard Hall, 22 W. 17 St. Admission: 15c

leave us with a basis for agitation on the immediate eve of a war. We are in favor of any amendment which gives the workers more say in the government, altho we have no illusions about the total say of the workers in the government. Only those who are merciless critics of the shams of capitalist democracy, can honestly criticize the weaknesses in the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment. All other criticism, whether from Browder, Landon, Roosevelt or Stimson, is mere war-mongering and hostility to democracy in any form.

For that reason, I think it is more important to support the La Follette-Ludlow Amendment than to criticize it. If it were really carried, we would have to develop our criticism further. We ought to state our criticisms even now. But that should not be our central activity on the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment. We must immediately carry a campaign for it into every trade union in this country and use it to expose the war-mongers, the opponents of popular rule, the treason of the Stalinites to the working class, to expose the Stalinist "democracy" which is hostile to the extension of democracy.

And, for once, we have an advantage over the war-mongers with something that is simple and clear and acceptable to the masses in the trade unions. Generally, in recent months, the Stalinites and other war-mongers have built on backwardness and lack of class consciousness. Their recklessly demagogic slogans have had the advantage of sounding plausible to backward workers. This time, we have the inside track, basing ourselves on the sound instincts of the masses. Let the war-mongers fight us on this in the trade unions. Let them oppose the right of those who have to fight the war to decide whether the war should be declared or not. Let them oppose the extension of American democracy. Let them propose the giving of absolute dictatorial power over the lives and fate of the masses to the President. Let them make that fight in the unions and see how far they will get.