

NEXT WEEK:
AMERICA MOVES TO
TOTALITARIANISM

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

"NATIONAL DEFENSE" AND MUNI-
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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

TRUE WORDS

WE do not wonder why the great metropolitan press did not find it necessary to report to any substantial extent the significant speech on American foreign policy made by Senator Borah on March 24. Here is the reason: The Idaho Senator and dean of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said in part:

"What they (the democracies) are contending for is the realization of their imperialistic schemes and not the destruction of Nazism. . . .

"A representative of the British government let Berlin know that it might be well for Europe if Austria passed into stronger hands. . . .

"During the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, no mention was ever made of the teachings and practices of Nazism or of the danger of enlarging its influence in Europe. Altho they were turning over a vast number of people, some of whom, it was too well-known, bore the mortal enemy of their new master, no suggestion was ever made in the settlement of territorial matters in behalf of or as to proper treatment and reasonable protection of these people."

Sad but true—and nothing truer has been uttered in the United States Senate in many a moon.

DANGEROUS CRITERIA

THE Tory Observer wields considerable influence in England. It is owned by Viscount Astor—a flashy hero in the Cliveden Set. This coterie is notorious for its pro-fascist sympathies in British foreign and domestic policy. It is the same pack against which the Daily Worker has—until a fortnight ago—been raving solely because it did not favor a pact with the U.S.S.R. and did vigorously advocate the Chamberlain "appeasement-of-Hitler" game.

For upholding Chamberlain's helping hand to Hitler, any paper, person or outfit ought to be branded. But that cannot be the only yardstick of reaction. In the camp of British imperialism, there have been differences over the methods best suited to defend the Empire. Boosting a "hard" course against Hitler or even a momentary military understanding with the Soviet Union—in the interest of British imperialism—has been the stock-in-trade of the Edens and Winston Churchills. Such devotion and such strategy do not make this pair any less loyal to British imperialism or any more progressive than Chamberlain or Sir John Simon. For one thing, these imperialist leaders may—as Chamberlain is showing signs of doing—at any time change their position in regard to the tactics most effective for British imperialist defense. These people do not differ over objectives but only over means of obtaining their common objectives.

Hence, it is folly to prefer one pack to another in the ranks of British imperialist luminaries. It is likewise fatal to estimate their degree of "progressivism" on the basis of their being in favor of or opposed to one or another policy for the protection of British imperialist hegemony. For instance, recent events have led the same notorious Observer to declare (March 19, 1939): "One thing now certain is that, without prejudice and doubts, England and France should seek a working understanding with Soviet Russia. . . . War or peace in our time depends on the kind of relations which exist between London and Moscow." Here is advocacy with a vengeance of "collective security" as offered by Stalin and his Comintern in the honeymoon days of this futile shibboleth.

According to the Daily Worker of New York and London, this declaration, occasioned by a Hitler's seizure of Prague, transforms this reactionary rag into a champion of progressivism, freedom, democracy and happiness. That such an approach is suicidal, the coming weeks will tell—unfortunately—in costliest fashion.

WHY THIS SILENCE?

EUROPEAN events as well as yarns spun in Patagonia will intensify Washington efforts to penetrate Latin-American economic, political and military life. The twentieth-century edition of the Monroe Doctrine is, of course, sold under the trade name of "good neighborliness." Latin-American governments and ruling cliques being given loans and subsidies in these days will automatically become "genuinely democratic" as a result of this generosity suddenly overflowing their boundaries from the North.

How do we know all of this? What makes us print it? Well, we need but refer our readers to that blatant drummer of American imperialism and its celestial generosity, the Communist Party. In its Daily Worker of March 11, we are asked, advised, and ordered to believe that:

"The move of the government to help Brazil with about \$120,000,000 of credits and other financial aid is constructive and statesmanlike."

"What it does is to make President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy a policy of deeds, backing up the coming together of the anti-Hitler forces of South America at the recent Lima conference."

"The loans and credits will be financed thru the government's Export-Import Bank, something different from the piratical Wall Street banks which have in the past gouged the South American countries."

"In this way, the New Deal loans to Brazil will not only strengthen the fight of democracy in the Western Hemisphere; they will also act as a stimulant to Brazil-United States trade and stimulate production here."

It would be very cruel on our part to remind this saffron sheet that this same Brazilian government is quite fascist and that in its prison and torture chambers are found many working-class fighters against fascism and oppression. It would be mean to refresh the memory of the tenants in Stalin's edifice on New York's East Thirtieth Street that only a few years ago they were waging spirited campaigns to secure the release of such class-war prisoners in Brazil. The latter are still languishing in the Brazilian dictator's dungeons. We can still hear their cries of anguish, their call for freedom. Why have the Communist Party of the United States and its entire daily press from coast to coast suddenly gone silent on this score? We have strong suspicions. We would like to have their own answer.

Dubinsky Warns Against C.P. Tactics in Unions

Scores Stalinists at Nelson Installation

New York City President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, took the occasion of his appearance at the installation of newly-elected officers of Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, last week to launch a vigorous attack upon the machinations of the Stalinists in the labor movement. He characterized them as a "menace."

Two thousand knitgoods workers who jammed Webster Hall for the occasion cheered President Dubinsky's speech with special enthusiasm because their progressive administration, headed by Manager Louis Nelson, had just won an overwhelming victory in a straight fight with the Stalinists. Manager Nelson delivered a comprehensive report on the growth and development of the union as well as on the many-sided activities in which his administration had participated.

President Dubinsky spoke in glowing terms of the administration of the knitgoods union and severely condemned its Stalinist critics who, during the campaign, had resorted

to the most slanderous attacks against the administration. He presented figures on the activities of the union and complimented Manager Nelson on the economy and efficiency with which it was administered.

"These attacks," Mr. Dubinsky continued, "were not based on fact. They were purely political. Nelson was under fire because he opposed the united front with the Stalinist group in his union."

Discussing the attempt at "united-front" actions by the Stalinists, he said: "They are merely maneuvers for sowing division and dissension. Those who oppose these maneuvers are doing a real service to the labor movement."

Mr. Dubinsky denied that the Communist Party had changed its line. "True," he said, "they no longer do the same name-calling. They no longer call me a crook, a traitor, an enemy of the workers, a class-collaborationist. They use other words but the aim is the same. The aim of dominating and controlling remains. That's what makes the

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Union Heavily Hit By Anti-Trust Law

Hosiery Local Assessed \$711,932 In Triple Damages for Sit-Down

Philadelphia, Pa.

Damages totaling \$711,932 were assessed in the United States District Court here last week against Branch 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, and its president, William Leader, who were held responsible for damages during a forty-eight-day sit-in strike at the Apex Hosiery Mill in the Spring of 1937. By a joint stipulation of the plaintiff and defendants, however, the 16,000 individual members of the union were not affected and their property was held exempt from attachment. Three other officers of Branch 1, originally included among the defendants, were absolved of responsibility by the jury.

This verdict, believed to be the first in which a union has been held liable for damages allegedly caused during a sit-in strike, was reached under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, which awards triple compensation for injuries caused by acts in "substantial interference with the free flow of interstate commerce." The jury found, as the plaintiff company maintained, that the union had "actually authorized the seizure and occupation of the plaintiff's plant by the sit-down strikers" and had actually "authorized and ratified injury" to the plant equipment during the strike. The defense maintained that the sit-down strike was not planned in advance or "authorized" or "ratified" by the union but was a spontaneous act.

Observers familiar with the situation stated it as their belief that the verdict, if allowed to stand, would have the effect of destroying Branch 1, one of the most effective sections of the hosiery-workers union. Sylvan H. Hirsch, chief counsel for the company, as well as Apex officials, expressed "great pleasure" over the verdict. On the other hand, M. Herbert Syme, counsel for the union, emphasized that labor "cannot allow this verdict to stand." Mr. Syme declared that he would ask for a "judgment notwithstanding the verdict," that is, he would ask the court to give judgment to the defendants instead of the plaintiffs, on points of law. Should that move be unsuccessful, he added, an appeal would be taken to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals.

UNION LAWYER'S STATEMENT

In a statement made somewhat later, Mr. Syme declared that the verdict "repels the Sherman Anti-Trust Law against everybody but labor."

"By virtue of the Standard Oil case," he said, "the Supreme Court established the rule that, in order that industry may be held for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, it must be shown that there has been substantial interference with the free flow of commerce."

"Here is a case where an employer manufactures 3% of the country's hosiery. A complete paralysis of operations of Apex would have no effect on the flow of commerce, yet it is held by this decision that the union is guilty of a violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It

Stimson Urges War Policy

Washington, D. C.

Hearings on neutrality legislation began last week before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee with the testimony of Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State in the Hoover administration. Mr. Stimson, one of the most ardent champions of the "collective-security" position in this country, urged the adoption of the Thomas amendment to the Neutrality Act, which would give the President power to "name the aggressor" in any foreign conflict and to apply all the restrictions of the neutrality law one-sidedly against that "aggressor." What such revision of the present neutrality legislation would really mean, Mr. Stimson made quite clear when he emphasized that he favored this country "taking the field at once" in support of England and France should the latter, together with Soviet Russia, engage in a war with the "dictators." To Mr. Stimson, amendment of the Neutrality Act along the lines proposed by Senator Thomas and others was desirable because it would ease the way for American participation in war on the side of the "great democracies."

A note of racial jingoism was injected by Mr. Stimson into his testimony in his warning that "our present Caucasian civilization is threatened with the gravest danger with which it has been confronted for four centuries."

seems that the rule of reason is to be applied to industry and the rule of unreason to labor.

"The import of this decision, in so far as labor is concerned, will be that, wherever a picket line is established and some act of violence is committed and there is the slightest interference with commerce a union will be dragged into the federal court, sued under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and whatever damages are recovered will be trebled."

"The act that was designed to prevent monopolies and the growth of trusts by this decision is used to prevent collective bargaining and the growth of organized labor. The last important case under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was the case of the Coronado Coal Company versus United Mine Workers. That case was tried in 1922. The attorney for the union was Charles Evans Hughes, the present Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court."

"In that case the mines were dynamited and thirteen people were shot and killed. The Supreme Court here held that, while the violence was regrettable, there was no violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The case was thrown out."

"As I have repeatedly stated during the trial of this case, we do not advocate the sit-down, we do not

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320,000 Out in Mine Tie-Up

Deadlock in Bituminous Parleys Continues

Failure of negotiations for a new contract between soft-coal operators and the United Mine Workers resulted last week in a shut-down of about three-fourths of the country's bituminous industry.

The old agreement, in effect two years, expired at midnight March 31. The operators demanded downward revision of standards, which the U.M.W. refused to grant. Some operators, indeed, seemed eager to break relations with the union altogether and to try to operate on a non-union basis or thru so-called district agreements. Negotiations began some four weeks ago in New York City but have hitherto remained without result. After an interruption, they resumed last week and will continue, as far as the miners representatives are concerned, indefinitely until a satisfactory result is achieved. If there is any walking out done, U.M.W. spokesmen made clear, it will be the operators who will do it.

Meanwhile, with very few exceptions, no coal was being brought up in the shafts of bituminous mines anywhere in the Appalachian area, which furnishes 70% of the country's soft coal. It was emphasized that the shut-down was neither a lock-out by employers nor a strike by employees—being, rather, a stoppage resulting from the absence of any contractual basis for continued operations. "No contract, no work," has been a standing rule of the U.M.W.

In western Pennsylvania, approximately 125,000 miners were out; in West Virginia, about 110,000. Elsewhere, in central Pennsylvania, northern Kentucky, eastern Ohio and the soft-coal fields of Virginia, the situation was the same. In Alabama, 20,000 were out. Altogether, the shut-down affected nearly 320,000 men. In parts of Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, operations continue, many of the companies having agreed to keep on working on the old mid-west contract scale pending settlement of the eastern negotiations.

(Read the article on the U.M.W. demands on page 2.—Editor.)

Labor Peace Parleys Are Postponed

Peace parleys between A. F. of L. and C.I.O., scheduled to resume last Wednesday, were postponed without definite date last week because both sides were busy with other pressing duties. The postponement was arranged by John L. Lewis and Matthew Woll. Renewal of the negotiations is expected to take place in the near future on a "mutually satisfactory date."

Both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leaders will be taken up with the hearings on the Wagner Act beginning before the Senate Labor Committee this week. In addition, Messrs. Lewis and Murray are busily engaged in difficult negotiations with the soft-coal operators.

Imitating The Dictators

"GENERAL Robert Wood believes it would be a good thing if, in the United States, every youth would give six months or a year of his life to the state. . . . 'It might not be a bad idea to imitate one thing in the totalitarian states,' he told the Young Men's Supper Club of Boston, 'and to force every youth to give six months or a year of his life to the state, either in labor service or military service or both. Of course, the cry of regimentation would be raised but I am convinced it would be a fine thing for our youth. . . .'" Associated Press dispatch, April 11.

Who is this General Wood, who is so enraptured with the labor camps and militarization of totalitarianism? None other than adviser on business relations to Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins, New Dealer No. 1!

Axis Powers Defy Anglo-French Bloc

Italy Acts to Occupy Albania; New German Move Is Expected Soon

Tension between the two rival imperialist camps in Europe—on the one side, the "great democracies," England and France; on the other, the Rome-Berlin axis—increased almost to the breaking point last week as a clash seemed imminent at more than one point on the Continent.

Acting as the spearhead of the fascist alliance, Italy invaded Albania, rushing troops and warships across the Adriatic in accordance with a plan previously formulated at a joint conference of Italian and German chiefs of staff at Innsbruck. The objective of the move seemed to be to convert Albania, already an Italian sphere of influence, into an outright protectorate. At Tirana,

capital of the small kingdom, reports were rife that the government would submit to the Italian invasion, resulting in another victory without fighting for the Axis powers.

The drive to take control of Albania was one of the moves of the Axis powers in connection with the efforts of the British government to build up a "Stop Hitler" movement. The keystone of this structure was a "pledge" given by Prime Minister Chamberlain that England and France would come to the assistance of Poland in defense of its "independence" against any "aggressor." This declaration was later extended to cover other countries menaced by Hitler. The authoritative London Times, however, pointed out that this "pledge" referred to "independence" and not to "integrity" and would, presumably, not apply to a German move against Danzig. As a matter of fact, there were fairly well-founded rumors that the British Foreign Office was advising Poland to yield Danzig and allow Germany to build a military road across the Polish Corridor in order to "reduce Hitler's claims," another form of the old "appeasement" policy.

The "Stop Hitler" movement also included efforts to bolster up financially and diplomatically a number

"Robert Briscoe, Jewish member of the Irish Parliament, told a meeting of the Men's Club of Congregation Mt. Sinai, Brooklyn, last night that he 'would like to see in the last thousand years a single instance of the English government having kept a promise.'"—News item.

of countries already in the orbit of the Axis powers or being rapidly drawn into it. Rumania and even Albania came into consideration here.

In Germany, government-inspired publicity took a form that seemed to point to some sensational development at any moment. The agitation about Danzig, with its threats and atrocity stories, continued and to it was added the loud cry of "encirclement." As things stood, it appeared certain that, while Hitler would allow Mussolini to come to the fore this time in Albania, another German move of aggression would be initiated very soon thereafter or perhaps even simultaneously.

In this whole situation, Russia continued aloof, holding off. Soviet spokesmen were openly dubious of the value of Chamberlain's pledges and warned that the entire "Stop Hitler" movement might end in further concessions to Germany and Italy, in a "miniature Munich," as it was put. The Russian news agency Tass issued an official denial of the reports that Moscow had obligated itself or would obligate itself to supply war material to Poland in case of war and to close its raw-material market to Germany. The Journal de Moscou, Soviet Foreign Office organ, also emphasized that to bank on Poland, especially on the Poland of Colonel Beck, was to "invite disillusionment and disaster." In fact, there was a distinct undertone of suspicion in Soviet circles that the net result, and perhaps even the essential purpose, of the Anglo-French diplomatic maneuvers might be an attempt to divert Hitler towards the East again.

NOT A BAD IDEA



Stalinists Control CIO's UAW Board

New Outbreak of Faction War Seen

(Special to the Workers Age)

Cleveland, Ohio

The Communist Party and its allies in the convention of the C.I.O. faction of the United Automobile Workers of America struck back in the waning hours of the convention by taking a better than two-to-one grip on the incoming International Executive Board of the union.

The voting for board members came after ten days of haggling during which all others questions were submerged in the all-pervading struggle for power and control of the union. It was generally conceded here that, left alone, the candidate of the Communist Party for the presidency of the union, whether Richard Frankenstein or George Addes, could easily have been elected. This was more than proved in the election of board members. It was the direct intervention of the C.I.O., fearing a violent reaction in the membership in the event a communist or fellow-traveler was elected, that assured the election of Richard J. Thomas to the presidency.

The election of George Addes to the office of secretary-treasurer was most welcome to the Communist Party for it gave it the power to check Thomas in running the union if he should prove intractable.

With the adoption of the Thomas-Addes slate for officers, the scene shifted to a long-drawn-out controversy over the number of vice-presidents. The C.P. held out for five in order to assure the reelection of Richard Frankenstein, Wyndham Mortimer and Ed Hall, the leaders of its forces in the union, and simultaneously to assure itself a majority of the governing body of the union. When this proposal was finally rejected upon the direct intervention of John L. Lewis who spoke up against any vice-presidents, the Stalinists then desperately sought the election of three board members at large to assure places for Frankenstein, Mortimer and Hall. But this proposal also failed and the leading Stalinists, forced to stand for reelection on their merits, were miserably defeated. "Whiskey Ed" Hall, as he is popularly known in the ranks of the auto workers,

discreetly obliterated himself and left his Stalinist mate, William Cody, to carry the ball. This he did and none too well either for he nosed out former board member F. J. Michel by a mere six votes, the tally being 100 for Cody as against 94 for Michel. More surprising was the failure of Mortimer to secure a place on the board from his own Ohio region. It is said that neither Reisinger nor Miley cared to move over to make place for him. The talk now is that, in order to keep Mortimer in the swim, he will be appointed regional director for the East, since this region will not elect its board member for three months. Best of three C.P. stalwarts in the showing he made was Frankenstein.

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British Royalty May Call Off U. S. Visit

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. If you have heard rumors that the King and Queen of Great Britain will not come to this country on a visit in June, you can believe the news. In any case, the State Department is passing out this information thru usually reliable informants. The reason for the cancellation of the visit is that the outlook for war in Europe by Summer is good or bad, depending on where you stand; war seems inevitable. Another factor, however, is the increasing awareness of the British Crown who have been arranging for the visit that the King and Queen are not so popular here. New Dealers, whether pro-war or anti-war, are against this visit. They consider Their Majesties to be even more potent reminders of British imperialism, rather than democracy, than Chamberlain himself. Consequently, they have been suggesting all kinds of things. Some favor egging on

the Irish-Americans to cut up a bit. Others had Winchell propose in his column an umbrella picket-line at the dock when the Queen Mary comes in. These suggestions from high-up places—as high-up as the heads of major departments and cabinet members—excited the Secret Service no end and deeply pained the British Ambassador. London heard about it and is probably thanking its lucky stars that a bona-fide excuse can be given soon for postponing the visit.

The most exciting guessing game in Washington today is: Who has the greatest passion for anonymity? If you can answer this one, you may be able to predict who will be appointed to the six posts open to presidential assistants at \$10,000 per year. The much-emasculated Reorganization Bill provided for these assistants and everyone realizes that the appointees political complexion will be indicative of the present mood of F.D.R. Ben Cohen is on

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CIO and AFL in the New England Area

Federation Makes Gains on Many Fronts

By S. D. R.

IT is becoming increasingly apparent in Massachusetts that the strength of the A. F. of L. is increasing and, with each such gain, the corresponding loss of strength and prestige in the C.I.O. becomes manifest. We might divide the activities of both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. into three categories:

LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

1. Legislative, or activities in behalf of labor legislation.
2. Organizational, or activities to organize unorganized workers.
3. Consolidation of present strength.

Under the first (legislative activities), the C.I.O. is but a poor tail to the A. F. of L. kite. The legislative agent for the A. F. of L. is one Kenneth Taylor, whose voice commands respect at committee meetings and assemblies in the State House. He is following directly in the footsteps of his predecessor, Bob Watt, who made such an excellent name for himself in fighting for labor legislation in Massachusetts. The initiative for all labor legislation emanates from the State Federation of Labor, and Ken Taylor is the voice of the Federation. He appears before committees, speaks over the radio, has an excellent office and research staff, and capably presents labor's case before legislative bodies. The legislative agent for the C.I.O. is Daniel Boyle. Politically, he is a well-meaning individual, who combines his job of legislative agent for the C.I.O. with the position of financial secretary of the State C.I.O. Industrial Council. Although he makes a good financial secretary and is a Democratic wheel-horse, he lacks the knowledge needed for pressing the passage of bills because the C.I.O. does not have adequate research and secretarial staffs necessary to supply the legislative agent with sources and material. He rarely, if ever, is ready to present a good case in behalf of labor legislation. The Stalinist stooge in the C.I.O. legislative agent's office is David Boynick. Boynick gets his orders from the Communist Party, and apparently those orders are "Back the A. F. of L. in every legislative endeavor"—which, considering the type of legislation sponsored by the A. F. of L., is not at all bad advice. The fly in the ointment is that, in appearances before the legislative committees, Boynick is no credit to the C.I.O. Compared to the stature of a Bobb Watt or a Ken Taylor, Boynick appears the sly opportunist politician, always currying favor. This does not enhance the prestige of the C.I.O. It is very significant that, whereas two years ago, and even one year ago, sensible trade unionists in either camp were outspokenly for unity in the labor movement, such desire among A. F. of L. trade unionists is no longer apparent.

IN ORGANIZATIONAL FIELD

In the organizational field, the initiative is all on the part of the A. F. of L. The C.I.O. unions are falling apart, as, for instance, the case of the textile workers, the rubber workers, and others. On the other hand, the A. F. of L. has initiated a tremendous organizational drive in New England. Organizers are being sent into every region, creating the possibility of organizational growth. The C.I.O. in Massachusetts has done nothing. There is but one organizer on its staff. There is no coordination whatsoever of organizational activities within the C.I.O. movement.

On the other hand, the A. F. of L. has coordinated its organizational drive very well, so that every city central labor union, every New England state federation and national organization, is actively participating. On all labor fronts, it is evident that the C.I.O. is now on the defensive.

It is true that, during the formative stages of the C.I.O. and its amazing growth in the early period, the A. F. of L. also gained added strength and numbers. But, whereas the A. F. of L. has solidified its strength and its organizational structure, the C.I.O. has permitted unions to disintegrate because of factionalism inspired by the C.P., and the ineffectuality of the leadership in the C.I.O. office. The C.I.O. needs unity within the labor movement to save the labor organizations within the C.I.O.

Frank J. Manning, formerly New

England regional director for the T.W.O.C. has been appointed New England director for Labor's Non-Partisan League. A convention of the League has been called for Sunday, April 16, in Boston, Mass. It promises to be an interesting convention, for then it will be decided whether the League will fulfill its promise of an independent labor party or become an instrument to promote the policies, both foreign and domestic, of the Democratic New Deal. I venture to make a prediction—the convention will be pro-Democratic along C.P. "democratic-front" lines. It will adopt "collective-security" resolutions. It will follow Lewis's lead into the Democratic primaries in an effort to "capture" the Democratic party for the New Deal. It will prove utterly ineffective and futile.

UAW Meets to Map Demands on Operators

Improved Working Conditions in Fore

THE deadlock of the joint conference of the Appalachian mine operators and the United Mine Workers of America has centered attention once again on the demands put forth by the U.M.W.A. in this conference as well as on the pending negotiations with the anthracite operators.

The chief demands of the U.M.W.A. in the soft-coal fields are: 6-hour day, 5-day week as against the 7-hour day in the existing contract; increase of 50 cents a day for all inside and outside workers, others to receive an increase of 15 cents per ton; guarantee of 200 days pay per year; tonnage men to be paid \$6.50 per day for every day less than 200 worked, others at regular daily rate; two weeks vacation with regular pay; lay-offs be carried out on basis of length of service and reemployment to follow same rule; elimination of all differentials within or between districts; clarification of union-recognition clauses and the provision for a standard check-off system.

The tri-district convention of Districts 1, 7 and 9 of the U.M.W.A. (anthracite field) met in New York City on March 23 and formulated a 26-point program to be incorporated in the contract which the union hopes to secure from the hard-coal operators of Pennsylvania.

Big Send-Off For I.L.L.A. Delegation

MORE than 350 members and friends of the Independent Labor League of America filled River Hall to overflowing at the send-off party for the international delegation of that organization. The affair took place Saturday evening, April 1.

An enthusiastic reception was given the various speakers who represented European working-class parties and who expressed their solidarity with the aims of the international delegation. Among those heard were spokesmen of the P.O.U.M., the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists), the Jewish Bund of Poland, the "Wege und Ziele" group of Austria, and others.

The representative of the Italian socialists, a veteran revolutionary and participant in the Zimmerwald conference, urged international solidarity in support of the European working class oppressed by the brutality of fascism. Especially necessary, the speaker said, was the recreation of revolutionary faith in the ideals.

Straight from the front lines of the Spanish civil war were Miguel Pons and Meri Pardo of the P.O.U.M. who stressed the agreement of their party with the need for international revolutionary socialist collaboration.

Among the American speakers were Benjamin Stolberg, Lewis Corey, Bertram D. Wolfe and Jay Lovestone.

Lovestone greeted the international delegation and pledged the full support of the I.L.L.A. to effecting its aims.

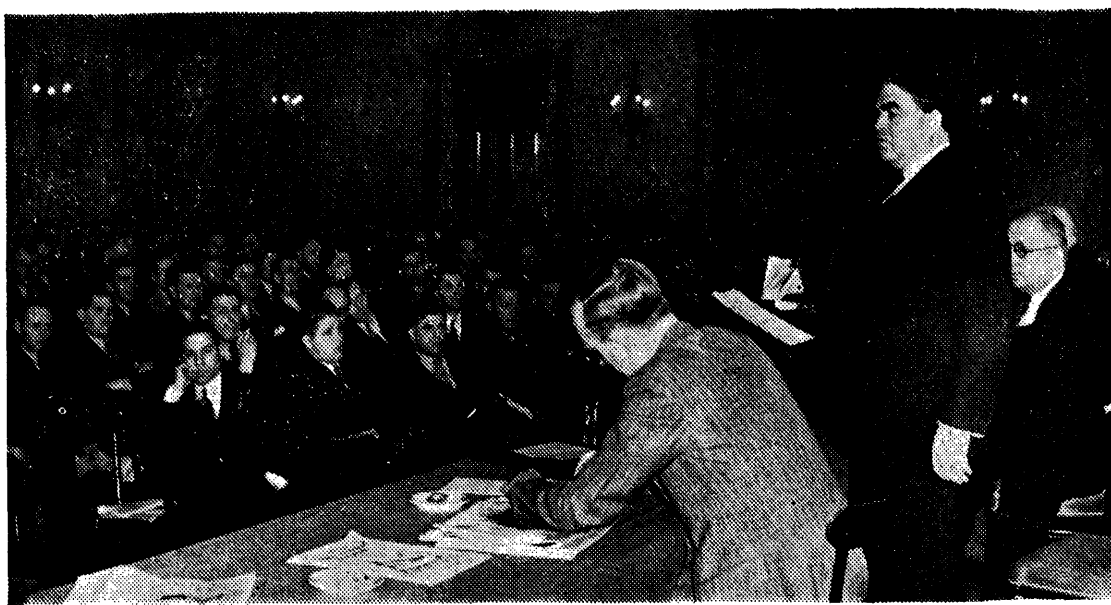
The speeches were followed by an hour of brilliant entertainment, hugely enjoyed by the audience.

favor of D. E. Loewe and Co., of Danbury, Conn.

The litigation began in 1902 when the notorious Anti-Boycott Society of America supported Loewe & Co. and the American Federation of Labor lent its backing to the haters union.

Loewe & Co. brought suit against 240 members of the United Hatters, alleging that conspiracy existed to injure the business of the plaintiffs, soft-hat manufacturers, because they refused to unionize their factory. During several trials, evidence was offered that certain labor unions had instituted a boycott against the plaintiffs' business. A verdict of a

HARD-COAL MINERS MEET IN NEW YORK



John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, addressing the Tri-District Anthracite Convention, held recently in New York City. This convention included delegates from Districts 1, 7 and 9. It formulated demands to be presented to the operators.

The following are the major demands formulated: 6-hour day, 5-day week at existing rates plus nominal increases; equal division of work; all lay-offs and rehiring to be determined by seniority or length of service; abolition of contract system; minimum rate of no less than \$4.62 for 6-hour day; time and a half for overtime and double time for Sunday work; no replacement of regular men by monthly men or foremen during idle time; supplies to be union made and charged at no more than wholesale prices; abolition of physical examinations on hiring or rehiring; two weeks vacation with pay.

New Revolt In CIO Office Union in N.Y.

REVOLT in the Stalinist-dominated C.I.O. office-workers union in New York flared up again last week, this time in Local 30 of industrial-insurance agents. Two weeks before, 500 members of Local 16 had voted to sever their affiliation with the C.I.O. and to join the A. F. of L. organization of office workers.

In recent months, rebellion against the intolerant behavior of the C.I.O. union's International officers grew rapidly among the membership and officers of Local 30. Finally, Louis Merrill, Stalinist International president, feeling he could not hold down the lid any longer, decided to execute a coup d'état. In a letter sent out on March 31, he "suspended" all seventeen members of Local 30's executive board! He also declared the local to be in a "state of emergency" (martial law) and announced that it would be "taken over" by an "administrative committee," headed by Allan Haywood, C.I.O. regional director in New York.

Eight of the seventeen "suspended" board members, thru their attorney, Joseph G. Glass, announced that they would fight the "suspensions" in court if necessary. They assailed Merrill's action as "dictatorial" and "autocratic." "We charge that under your term in office," they declared in a reply to Merrill, "the membership of our union has been drastically reduced. What was once a powerful local union is now but a shell of its former self. In your mad endeavor to gain control of our local union, you have foisted upon us so-called organizers who were incompetent, arrogant, lacking in experience and who know only of one loyalty, subservience to the Communist Party. We charge that you have driven from our ranks more than 3,000 members."

From all indications, Mr. Merrill is likely to find that his Hitler-like stroke, far from crushing the rising rebellion of the rank and file of the organized industrial-insurance agents of Local 30, will only intensify their determination to be rid of the entire Stalinist crew that is ruining the C.I.O. office-workers union.

little more than \$84,000 damages, tripled mandatorily under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, was finally upheld by the Supreme Court in 1915.

Many members of the haters union faced the loss of their homes when the government foreclosed on them to satisfy the judgment. Loewe & Co. previously had attached union members' savings accounts totaling \$70,000. The A. F. of L. finally came to the rescue with \$165,000, raised from union members and sympathizers thruout the country. A settlement was reached and Loewe & Co. signed a release on the homes.

In the Coronado case in 1922, to which Mr. Syme referred in his statement quoted above, the Supreme Court held the acts alleged against the U.M.W. had not interfered with interstate commerce and so the Sherman Anti-Trust Act could not be invoked.

Dubinsky Blasts C.P. Tactics

(Continued from Page 1)

Stalinists a menace wherever they are active, be it among the automobile workers, the office workers, the seamen or the agricultural workers."

"The Cleveland convention of the United Automobile Workers," Mr. Dubinsky continued, "is living proof of this attempt to control and dominate the labor movement. This convention represents a complete vindication of President Martin's fight to rid the union of these disrupters." He recalled that, when Martin suspended five officers of his union almost a year ago for Stalinist intrigue to take over the union, the Stalinists and the C.I.O. could find no language strong enough to abuse him. Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray of the C.I.O., he continued, finally forced their reinstatement. "But, at Cleveland, Mr. Hillman and Mr. Murray had to fight these very elements as communists. They abolished the offices they formerly held. Three of them are completely out of the leadership; one has been demoted and only one has retained his post."

Mr. Dubinsky expressed himself as opposed to barring from membership anyone working in the industry for his political opinions. But that is no reason, he stressed, why the destinies of the union should be entrusted to people who seek control and domination. He agreed, he said, that in some cases rules might be necessary to prevent such elements from holding office.

Discussing united-front activities generally, President Dubinsky said he was in favor of such united-front actions as "advanced the cause of labor" but he was unalterably opposed to united fronts with Stalinist forces because of their mania for control and domination.

"What I say about the communists," Mr. Dubinsky concluded, "would apply also to Socialists, Lovestones, Democrats, or Republicans if their aims and purposes were the same as those of the communists. Fortunately, their purposes and aims are not the same. Only the Communist Party has this objective and there is therefore only that one problem." Mr. Dubinsky also scored the Coughlinites and Nazis as a growing menace in the unions.

Congratulatory speeches were made by Manager Charles Zimmerman of Local 22 and Manager Max Cohen of Local 60. A large knighthood-workers chorus made its first appearance under the direction of Lazar Weiner and was very well received. Hundreds of telegrams and dozens of floral presentations were received from local unions and shops in the industry.

"Justice" On the W.P.A.

To the Editor of New York Post:

I am a W.P.A. electrical worker and have been working on the W.P.A. for four and a half years. During these years, I have deprived myself and family of necessities of life to save some money for a rainy day and the amount was \$200.

I was put out without an investigation and was told to use the money up before applying for home relief not W.P.A. work. I have used the money in paying unpaid bills and clothing for my family. Now they tell me I should not have used the money and I will have to live without any aid for three months.

Is that justice? Why don't they put the politicians, that have soft jobs and generous incomes, out instead of a man who is trying hard to get along on \$84 a month?

A DISGUSTED CITIZEN

Read — Spread
WORKERS AGE

New National Union of Jobless Launched

Plans Militant Campaign Thruout Land

A NEW national union for unemployed and W.P.A. workers was organized at the recent convention of the United Automobile Workers of America in this city. The new organization, which has already enrolled 15,000 dues-paying members, is known as the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America.

Although originally the U.A.W. organized the unemployed into an auxiliary, the new union is autonomous, with jurisdiction and coverage extending to all types of unemployed and W.P.A. workers. The locals are self-financing. National organizers are already in the field working under a National Organizing Committee, of which William B. Taylor is the chairman.

It is intended that the new organization shall have the closest possible connections with the organized trade-union movement, and steps to that end have already been taken. A provisional constitution has been adopted which will serve until the organizing convention, scheduled for December 1, 1939, takes place.

The main purpose of the unemployed union is to establish an organization which will really defend the interests of the workers, without regard to the political dictates of any outside group. In the foreground to the program of the organization, strong opposition is expressed to the bureaucratic domination of the Workers Alliance which, as is well known, is a Stalinist agency operating to prevent the unemployed from pressing for their rights so as not to "embarrass" the New Deal.

Stalinists Take Control of CIO's UAW Board

(Continued from Page 1)

He ran second to Walter Reuther in the Detroit region vote for four board members.

STALINISTS TAKE EXECUTIVE BOARD
Smarting under the defeat administered their slate for the two leading offices and the vice-presidents, the Stalinists determined to strike back and assure their influence and control of the organization thru taking a majority on the board. In fact, the more conservative forces in the convention and even the "middle-of-the-roads" were aghast at the display of strength on the part of the C.P. and its reflection in terms of board majority.

The following is the International Executive Board elected: Eastern region, to elect within three months. Southern region, L. Smith, succeeding the conservative Fred Pieper. Ohio regions reelected R. Reisinger, P. Miley and E. Kramer. Detroit region elected Walter Reuther, Richard Frankenstein, Leo LaMotte and Richard Leonard. Reuther and LaMotte were on the previous board, Frankenstein having been a vice-president. Defeated for reelection from Detroit were Morris Field, former educational director of the union; Tracy Doll, from the Hudson local; and Loren Houser, from Motor Products. From eastern Michigan, three board members were elected—Arthur Case, William McCauley and Reuben Peters. Charles Madden, former board member, failed of reelection. R. Merrill was defeated, Indiana electing Leroy Roberts. Wisconsin defeated former board member F. J. Michel and elected William Cody. Missouri returned Delmond Garst; California elected L. H. Michener; and Canada turned down Charles Millard for reelection and sent George Burt to the board.

The presence of so large a number of Stalinists on the board will undoubtedly be the basis for new faction struggles in the organization. This is especially probable because of the defeat of so many of the non-Stalinist forces. Already there is talk in Stalinist ranks of a "purge" of anti-Stalinist elements in the organizing staff. The Stalinist majority of the board assumes even greater significance in the light

Issues and Problems In Knitgoods Vote

Significance of Recent Local 155 Elections

By LOUIS NELSON

(Louis Nelson is manager of Knitgoods Workers Union Local 155, I.L.G.W.U.—Editor.)

ELECTIONS in the Knitgoods Workers Union are over. The jury has rendered its verdict and this verdict will have to be accepted by all. But it is important to point out the big issues in this hot campaign, although, of course, not all knitgoods workers recognized the issues as they were.

THREE VITAL ISSUES

There were three vital problems involved in the campaign: (1) the question of political domination over trade unions; (2) the question of so-called "united fronts" within the

trade unions; and (3) the issue of war and fascism.

Although the Communist Party has denied time and again that it wants to dominate the unions, it has shown in every union where it has had anything to say that not only does it want to dominate but that, in the event it cannot achieve its ends, it is ready to wreck and destroy the union in question. It is rule or ruin! Realizing this, we were determined not to allow the C.P. to get a grip over our organization.

This election showed that, although the Communist Party can make a great deal of noise and create the impression upon the outside world that it has the workers with them, when it comes to a showdown the healthy instinct of the workers prevails and the C.P. can get only a handful to follow it. And even of this small number not all by any means agree with them. In every labor union where you have to deal with thousands of workers, it naturally happens that not all the time can a business agent or a complaint clerk adjust all matters to the satisfaction of each and every individual. There will, therefore, always be a number of discontented and dissatisfied workers and the Communist Party is always there to fish in troubled waters and to exploit all grievances for its own ends.

The tactics of "united front" rather than a united union has some significance. As long as a trade-union leader "works with" the Communist Party, accepts the party line and participates in all of the party's "appendix" organizations, such as the League for Peace and Democracy, the I.L.D. and the rest, then even if he is thoroughly reactionary, even if he has actually and literally betrayed the workers, as has Ossip Wolinsky in the pocketbook-workers union, yet he is declared "kosher" by the C.P. and taken into their "united front." This is the real meaning of the "united front" as it appears in many local unions of the I.L.G.W.U. as well as in the labor movement generally.

The progressive administration of our union refused to bargain on principles or policies, refused to engage in horse-trading with the Communist Party. We have never barred C.P. members from activity in our union but we have refused and we still refuse to recognize them as a constructive force within the labor movement or in our own union. We judge them by their policies and their actions.

ON WAR AND FASCISM

On the issue of war and fascism, we also made our position clear. We are opposed to "collective-security" and faith in the so-called "democracies" because this is a policy leading to war, which would bring fascism to this country. We are for participating actively in every movement directed towards keeping America out of war and fighting the menace of fascism.

We are for unity in the labor movement, for one united A. F. of L. We are for industrial unionism and we believe that, if the labor movement were united, we could achieve industrial unionism within the framework of the A. F. of L. On all of these issues, which we stressed in our campaign along with the industrial issues affecting the knitgoods workers, we were overwhelmingly sustained by the membership.

I do want to warn the progressives in our union that they should not get dizzy with success and forget their duties and the hard work ahead of them. Thousands of knitgoods workers are still unorganized. Conditions in the shops will have to be maintained by hard day-to-day fighting. The propaganda that the Roosevelt Administration has been promising is still around the corner and the problem of many millions of unemployed still confronts us.

The progressives in our union realize that we are not an isolated force. The progressive movement in the trade unions has an historical mission, the mission of bringing the message of clarity, consciousness and militancy to the workers in the unions.

The incoming progressive administration of the Knitgoods Workers Union will fulfill its duties and obligations to the knitgoods workers. It will live up to its pledge to continue the work for a powerful, progressive, militant union playing its proper part in the general labor movement.

made against the so-called leaders who have sold themselves to the Communist Party. You can be sure that whatever comes out of Cleveland, the Communist Party will have its pound of flesh."

Mr. Martin made this statement before the Cleveland convention elected its International Executive Board. He also made an appeal to all local unions and to the membership, regardless of its opinions on the present controversy, to get together on the basis of autonomy and democracy for the automobile workers.

"This is the moment for the United States to be unneutral . . . Sooner or later, we would be involved in any war, and it is better to show our hand now," the Pennsylvania director of the League of Nations Association is quoted in the press as having declared recently. The League of Nations—a "force for peace!"

MARTIN FORECASTS RESULTS

Commenting on the course of the Cleveland convention, President Homer Martin declared in a radio broadcast last week: "The Cleveland caucus has, in many respects, been a remarkable demonstration of the truth of every accusation we have

"National Defense" and Munitions Industry

Government Aids Arms Dealers In Foreign Sales

By ROSE M. STEIN

SELLING airplanes or other instruments of warfare to foreign nations is an old American custom. It dates back to before the World War. It is a custom, moreover, engaged in by American manufacturers under both Republican and Democratic administrations, and one which has been claimed to be in the interest of national defense. The line of reasoning follows somewhat along these lines:

A nation must be ready at all times to defend itself by means of war; industry is an indispensable instrument of war; therefore, industry is part of the national defense. If industry is to provide adequate national defense, and is to be in constant readiness for large-scale production such as a war emergency demands, it must be kept in practice and therefore in operation between wars. Industry would, of course, profit from being kept thus in practice even when there is no immediate need for its products, but that would be purely coincidental. The primary aim is national defense.

the others, promoted sales of American war materials in Europe, Latin America, and the Far East. The Bureau of Aeronautics cooperated with American private firms in the selection of military pilots to organize training schools abroad. American companies sold airplanes and airplane engines to Germany even before Hitler openly defied the Versailles treaty, and Pratt and Whitney, a United Aircraft subsidiary, back in 1933 licensed the Bavarian Motor Works of Munich to build cooled aircraft engines similar to those used by the U. S. army. American naval missions advised Latin-American countries what naval equipment to buy, and even State Department representatives have often been called upon to say a good word for the munitions produced by their countrymen. Latest devices in aircraft, chemical warfare and military propellants are constantly being disclosed by our government as an aid to private producers.

When the Senate Munitions Committee made these facts known, government officials could not figure out what the shooting was all about. That is precisely our policy, they pointed out. It is all part of the national defense.

If those contentions are true, then the sale of airplanes to France is a patriotic deed. If, however, such a sale is a misdeed, then American manufacturers have been engaged in such misdeeds since the World War, and have done so, in the main, with the aid and blessing of governmental departments.

In the final analysis, it comes down to the question: What do we mean by national defense? What and whom are we defending? Was the problem ever been made clear to the people? Does labor understand its role in this program? These are some of the questions that will be discussed in the subsequent three articles in this series.

(This is the first of a series of four articles by Rose M. Stein, author of "M-Day." These articles first appeared in Kenosha Labor.—Editor.)

And the Billions Pile Up

(U. S. War Budget, 1933-1940)

Fiscal Year	War Department	Navy Department	Total
Hoover's last budget 1933	\$293,344,496	\$349,561,924	\$642,906,420
Roosevelt's budgets 1934	205,305,921 38,023,229e	274,388,386 22,640,904e	540,358,440
1935	212,186,712 61,298,999e	321,410,530 115,037,329e	709,933,570
1936	373,014,977 9,639,105e	391,424,149 137,607,516e	911,685,747
1937	349,757,734 19,204,505e	489,000,511 59,800,730e	917,763,480
1938	421,985,682 9,579,207p	588,828,854 7,449,446p	1,027,843,189
1939	482,902,400 (est.) 12,000,000p	616,635,250 20,000,000p	1,131,537,650
1940	472,059,100 (est.) 8,000,000p	676,498,800 20,000,000p	1,176,557,900
plus \$215,000,000 proposed in special defense message, January, 1939.....			
1,391,557,900			

(e)—emergency funds.
(p)—public-works funds.
(est.)—estimates.

Issues Behind Fight Over Neutrality

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from last week)

THESE are the proposals that aim at undermining and destroying the neutrality legislation; but there is also a movement to improve and strengthen the existing law. Senator Nye's bill is one of them. It is a bill to prohibit the export of arms, and munitions in time of peace as well as in time of war. There is also the proposal not yet introduced in Congress (albeit it is included as a detail in the Pittman amendment), to exclude civil wars from the scope of the Neutrality Act, where they never belonged anyway, having been included not in order to keep America out of war but in order to help Chamberlain implement his treacherous policy of "non-intervention" against Loyalist Spain. Another plan widely urged in Washington is to extend the definition of arms and implements of war, trade in which is absolutely forbidden with belligerents, to materials such as oil, quite essential for war but not hitherto regarded as armaments. Then there is the demand that the Neutrality Act be so amended as to make it much more mandatory than it now is in the sense of requiring that it be invoked automatically upon the outbreak of armed conflict abroad, whereas today the President may invoke it or not as he wishes, depending on whether or not he "finds" that a "state of war" exists. (This seems to be the intent of the Nye-Clark-Bone bill just introduced in the Senate, according to which either the President or Congress would be empowered to proclaim the existence of a "state of war.")

PURPOSES OF NEUTRALITY LAWS

Fundamentally, the purpose of neutrality and related legislation is double: (1) to restrict and hedge in as much as possible the arbitrary power of the President in foreign affairs and thereby reduce the danger of involvement in war behind the back of the people; and (2) to prevent the rise of an arms economy in this country geared to the military needs of any belligerent or group of belligerents, a development that would serve as a noose to drag the United States into the war on the side of the powers to which it is bound by the economic ties of war finance and arms production. These are purposes with which all those really opposed to war must necessarily sympathize and which they must support. And these are the touchstones by which we must, at this juncture of affairs, test all proposals to amend or modify our neutrality legislation.

Altho strictly speaking it has little to do with "neutrality," the proposed constitutional amendment to forbid Congress to declare a foreign war unless authorized by a popular referendum belongs in this discussion because its whole object is to extend and strengthen popular control over foreign policy. In its present form as in past versions, it has many grave defects, which are pretty obvious at first glance. For one thing, it gives its approval, by implication, to the doctrine of "continental defense," which is the mask under which American imperialism operated in Latin America. Yet this shortcoming and others like it are of little consequence by and large. The main thing is that the war-referendum idea is an anti-war idea, the vehicle by which the deep hostility to war of the American masses can come to effective expression. And therefore it must get our full and active support.

The campaign against neutrality legislation is now under way, guided and inspired from the White House and the State Department. But even those leading the onslaught recognize that the matter is a very delicate one, that great "caution" has to be used. "Some members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," reports the New York Times of March 24, "expressed the fear in talks that the present [neutrality] law had become so fixed in the popular mind as a means of keeping clear of war that any tinkering with it might alarm the country and make many citizens believe that the nation was about to be plunged into a general conflict." They will therefore try to accomplish their ends by indirection, by roundabout schemes to "improve" neutrality and "bring it up to date" rather than declare outright that they want to destroy it. But we need not be deceived if we keep our wits about us and hold tight to the fundamentals outlined in the above paragraphs.

- We are in favor of any measure:
1. that restricts and limits the power of the Executive in foreign affairs and extends popular control over this field.
 2. that "isolates" this country from any entanglements, financial, economic or diplomatic, with foreign imperialist powers, whether "democratic" or fascist.
 3. that aligns the United States diplomatically, directly or indirectly, with any imperialist power or coalition of powers, "democratic" or fascist.

We Arm the Dictators

By HENRY LEE

(These paragraphs are from an article, "We Arm the Dictators," appearing in the New York World-Telegram of March 28, 1939.—Editor.)

THE steel scrap industry most solicitous of the growing pains of the Axis. From about \$2,000,000 export business in 1932, it spiraled to \$79,000,000 in 1937. Last year it slid off, but still was the second highest year on record, and for the first three quarters was 1.5% of the value of our total exports.

In 1936-38, the years of imperialism, it supplied the three fascist powers with 5,771,652 tons of scrap and received \$96,515,000. This was more than the total foreign dollar sales of American munitions in 1938.

The world was ransacked dry for scrap. Brazil studying a plan to reclaim a million tons of rotting hulks and junk, Nicaragua scooping thirty-year-old wrecks out of the sand for Japan. The Axis, nonetheless, has had to come back to us.

Last year, thru November, Italy took 68% of all her scrap imports from us. More than 63% in 1937. On the basis of Nazi admissions that a million tons had to be imported last year, Germany relied on us for a fourth of her imports. Japan's purchases, of course, are notorious, her dependence on us pathetic.

Of our three-million-ton exports last year, the Axis took more than two-thirds.

And here are the figures for the last three noisy years to bear it out:

COUNTRY	1936	1937	1938
Germany	1,058,000	1,912,000	1,380,000
Japan	285,000	381,000	432,000
Italy	122,000	1,610,000	2,945,000
Germany	14,177,000	39,386,000	22,035,000
Italy	3,564,000	6,640,000	6,036,000

British Royalty May Call Off Visit to America

(Continued from Page 1)

everybody's list. He really does have this passion we have been talking about. If Tommy the Cork gets one of the jobs, however, the description of the post will have to be changed. Corcoran, or "Gardiner," has developed a knack for publicizing himself. He is still one of the most influential men in Washington, whether he becomes officially an assistant or whether he remains the actual chief assistant of the President.

LABOR PEACE PROSPECTS

The peace negotiations (A.F. of L. and C.I.O.) may not be progressing so well now but the majority of Washington experts continue to believe that unity of some kind will be achieved. Hillman and Tobin are leading the way as F.D.R.'s messengers within the joint committee. Lewis is privately (and not too privately at that) expressing bitterness toward the President and his program and his attempt to bring peace at a time when the C.I.O. is not able to play its best hand. Lewis does not speak the language of the Stalinists in his attacks on Roosevelt and it will be interesting to watch how long they can stomach these attacks. They have many interests to conserve in this connection, of course, but their basic political line will in the end triumph over their trade-union interests. When they break with Lewis or he breaks with them, you can be sure that there will be some juicy scrapping.

Adding to my report of last week on the prospects for the New Deal in 1940, I can simply say that matters are moving from bad to worse. So puzzling is it to some Rooseveltians as to why the Chief has not spoken out against Garner and Farley that they begin to wonder if the President may not have conceived himself that Farley and Conway alone can salvage whatever can be salvaged at this time and therefore that

French Labor Divides On the War Issue

Reflects Views of Capitalist Groups

By CHARLES VINCENT

Paris, France

THE French bourgeoisie is divided by the contradiction between its imperialist interests, which lead it to oppose Italy and Germany, and its class interests which induce it to encourage fascism as the militant vanguard of world reaction. The tendency now prevailing, which is represented by the majority of conservative politicians and the Radical ministers, Daladier and Bonnet, considers that "collective security" is dead and gone and is ready to recognize Germany's "right" of expansion in eastern Europe: France should limit itself to the Anglo-French alliance and the defense of her empire, reach a compromise with Mussolini and Hitler and intervene only when her "vital" interests are at stake. Another tendency, whose point of view has been best expressed by de Kerillis, wants to form a coalition of all the states menaced by Germany and strengthen or renew the alliances with Poland, U.S.S.R. and the Little Entente.

However deep the cleavage between the two groups may be, they will always be reconciled in case of emergency. The "peace" party was ready to hand over the Sudeten districts to Hitler provided Czechoslovakia could be "neutralized" and allowed to retain her army. But when Hitler put forth new claims—immediate military occupation of Bohemia, control of Czech foreign policy and seizure of the Skoda factories, owned by a big French armament firm—the "pacifists" became just as hysterical as the "warmongers."

The same is happening today with Spain. Some are waiting anxiously

for the final victory of Franco and hope to be able to reach a compromise with Mussolini. Others fear that the permanent occupation of the Balearic Islands by Italy will endanger France's communications with her African empire. But "pacifists" and "belligerents" alike are united when Mussolini threatens to annex Tunisia.

Both parties will always join hands in their hatred of labor and popular freedom. Daladier's "peace" is based upon the strength of the army and navy, on the one hand, and upon the repression of the colonial and working-class movements, on the other. He speaks of "uniting the nation" against foreign aggression, but he persecutes thousands of strikers who wanted the rich to pay the heavy armament expenses. And his government is responsible for the suppression of Tunisian trade unions and the shooting of Arab demonstrators demanding political freedom.

The tragedy is that the French working-class organizations have no policy of their own; they are divided into two tendencies which merely reflect the point of view of the two capitalist groups. The communists invoked the danger of foreign aggression to prevent the strikes of June 1936 from developing into a revolutionary movement. They agreed with the reformist trade-union leaders to sacrifice the 40-hour week to rearmament, the class struggle to "national unity." They used the builders strike as a means of pressure upon Daladier at the time of the Munich crisis but, when mobilization was proclaimed, they called off the strike and urged the strikers to "do their duty on the battlefields for justice and democracy."

Again, last November, they used the general strike against the government attack on the standard of living and trade-union rights merely as a weapon against Daladier's foreign policy at the time of Chamberlain's visit. The strike was delayed and insufficiently prepared, workshops were not occupied and the workers were defeated.

After pinning their hopes on Daladier or Reynaud from whom they expected a firm attitude in the Czechoslovakian affair, they are reduced to applaud frantically de Kerillis when he declares: "An officer, the son and grandson of officers, I have been brought up with my eyes fixed on the Rhine line. I have been taught to beware of the Germany that has been menacing our frontiers for the last thousand years." De Kerillis, who never concealed his hatred for the Soviet regime and, not so long ago, advocated an alliance with Franco as a means of supplanting Germany in Spain! But, in spite of their display of chauvinism, the communists are accused by most of the sections of the bourgeoisie of sabotaging national defense while they are doing their best to involve France in a war.

As for Blum, when he was prime minister, he abandoned Spain to its fate in order to strengthen "national unity" and the alliance with the British Conservatives. This was supposed to preserve peace. Blum called himself a disciple of Jaures. But the mere rumor of the landing of German troops in Spanish Morocco was sufficient to make him forget his pacifism and send an ultimatum to Germany which brought France to the brink of war. The crisis of September 1938 brought him nearer still to the communist point of view. At the last conference of the Socialist Party, his opinion prevailed against that of his old friend Paul Faure; they both agree, of course, on rearmament and the defense of French imperialism, but the latter approves the Munich agreement while Blum stands for mutual-assistance pacts against Germany. Most significant was Blum's declaration that it was no longer possible to fight war by socialist means and by concerted action of the international proletariat. In the recent debate on Spain in the French Chamber, he said that an "awakening of national energies" was necessary, and har-

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

AMERICAN LABOR, by Herbert Harris. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1939.

THIS is a distinctly inferior work. It has few merits and innumerable faults. In fact, it is difficult to see why it was ever written; it certainly adds nothing but confusion to an already confused problem.

Mr. Harris's queer notion of the forces and tendencies at work in the American labor movement in the nineteenth century, to a general review of which he devotes his first two chapters, can be seen from his conclusion that the triumph of the A. F. of L. over the Knights of Labor was "a triumph of leadership over logic," the logic of history apparently being with the Knights. Now, of course, exactly the opposite is true. The A. F. of L. was able to supersede the Knights not only because of effective leadership but above all because, despite all its faults, it did represent realism and modern unionism as against the utopianism, panacea-mongering and multi-class "inclusiveness" (which the author mistakes for industrial unionism) of the latter. Naturally, a profound mistake of this sort vitiates practically everything Mr. Harris has to say about the earlier history of American labor.

The body of the book is made up of seven chapters treating the United Mine Workers, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the American Newspaper Guild, the I.L.G.W.U., the railroad unions, the U.A.W. and unionism in textiles, respectively. There is not a really good one in the lot, not even the one on the I.L.G.W.U., which is easily the best. In general, these chapters are superficial, distorted in emphasis and judgment, often biased, not infrequently downright ignorant. Some examples:

To Mr. Harris, the policy of entering into trade agreements with employers is the very antithesis of class-struggle unionism. He must have read some old I.W.W. tracts and never got over it.

"Certainly," Mr. Harris tells us, "the rise and decline of sit-down popularity resembled that of Mah Jong and Tom Thumb golf." This we may take as an example of profound social analysis.

From Mr. Harris's account, one must conclude that the building-trades unions are little more than racketeering outfits run by a group

many should reign between parties—but a harmony excluding all spirit of repression or retaliation and attacks on the advantages and rights which have further increased the love of the workers for their country." So he is humbly begging the bourgeoisie to moderate its attacks so that the workers should be readier to fight for French imperialism.

As a reaction against Blum and the communists, some of the reformist trade-union leaders have hailed Daladier and Chamberlain as the saviors of the world. For them, peace must be purchased at any price, even if it means accepting capitalist servitude and abandoning to their fate those who fight fascism in other countries. This is merely an older form of nationalism and class collaboration and encourages Daladier and Chamberlain as the saviors of the world. For them, peace must be purchased at any price, even if it means accepting capitalist servitude and abandoning to their fate those who fight fascism in other countries. This is merely an older form of nationalism and class collaboration and encourages Daladier and Chamberlain as the saviors of the world. For them, peace must be purchased at any price, even if it means accepting capitalist servitude and abandoning to their fate those who fight fascism in other countries. 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THE APEX DECISION

THE verdict of the federal district court in the Apex case, assessing nearly three quarters of a million dollars in damages against a branch of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers for injuries to company property said to have been inflicted during a sit-in strike in 1937, is obviously part of the concerted drive against organized labor that the employing class has unleashed on many fronts. It is closely related to the campaign to "amend" the Wagner Act out of existence and to the movement to force incorporation or governmental regulation upon the trade unions. It is a direct expression of an increasingly hostile "public opinion." It is a significant sign of the times.

The effect of the Apex verdict, if it is allowed to stand, would be not only to destroy the union directly involved but to throw a pall of terror over the labor movement as a whole. On the basis of this decision, any time any injuries are alleged in connection with any strike or labor struggle in which a union is involved, that union and its officers—and members, too, who they were exempted by stipulation in the Apex case—may be dragged into court under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and made liable for triple damages. Subject to such harassment and persecution, a union engaged in a labor struggle is necessarily hamstrung and handicapped from the very beginning. Indeed, such a precedent is virtually an invitation to all sorts of provocations to "injuriously" acts so that the unions can be brought into federal court under the Sherman law with its triple damages. Just as the Danbury haters case did in 1902 and the Coronado miners case in 1922, so does the Apex case today directly and immediately affect the vital interests of the entire labor movement. It is up to the labor movement, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike, to take up the challenge unflinchingly and with closed ranks.

First of all, it is necessary to support the hosiery union in its legal fight to overturn the Apex verdict, a fight that will probably reach the Supreme Court. But, in addition, labor must press for effective legislative relief—and none of the trickery of the Clayton Act either. The Apex decision must not be allowed to stand and become a precedent.

SUICIDAL "SPITE" POLITICS

WHAT happened in the House of Representatives recently on the agricultural-appropriations bill is certainly something that deserves close attention and comment. A cut of \$250,000,000 was voted in the funds for agriculture, including various forms of agricultural relief. The cut was put thru on the initiative of the reactionary Republican-Democratic "economy" block but a great many of the votes that made the slash possible came from Congressmen from the urban centers who resented the part played by representatives from the farming communities in helping to slash W.P.A. appropriations. Among those who engaged in this bit of shabby politics were many ardent New Dealers, even Congressman Marcantonio, whose soul is split between the A.L.P. and the Republicans.

It is not difficult to understand the state of mind of many of these New Deal Congressmen from urban centers where thousands are threatened with acute distress because of the slash in W.P.A. appropriations. If these fellows from the farm states won't vote relief funds for people in the cities, they say, why should we vote relief for their constituents? But such "spite" strategy is not only short-sighted and self-defeating; it is an attitude that is full of grave danger for both farmers and workers under present conditions in the United States.

If there is one principle that the producing classes must absorb in their very flesh and blood if they are ever going to make any headway, it is that the interests of the industrial workers and the great masses of the farmers are substantially the same and that the welfare of one group is largely dependent on the welfare of the other. To deprive the farmers of much-needed relief because their misrepresentatives in Congress are callous to the needs of the jobless in the cities, is essentially cutting off one's nose to spite one's face. Even worse, such tactics can only have the effect of alienating the farming masses from the urban workers, of easing the way for reactionary demagogues who thrive on hostility and bad feeling between these two great sections of the producers. It is out of such a soil that fascism grows.

As Labor, the paper of the standard railroad unions, so well points out, the "spite" action of many liberal Congressmen "will cause great rejoicing among those who hope to herd the farmers and industrial workers into hostile camps in order that the privileged few may continue to exploit the unprivileged many." That a Congressman supposed to represent the American Labor Party should take part in such a discreditable maneuver is a disgrace to the labor-party movement as a whole.

Organized labor everywhere must be aroused to the danger of hostility between the farmer and the industrial worker. Close cooperation and solidarity between the two are necessary for the salvation of both.

"PARALLEL ACTION"

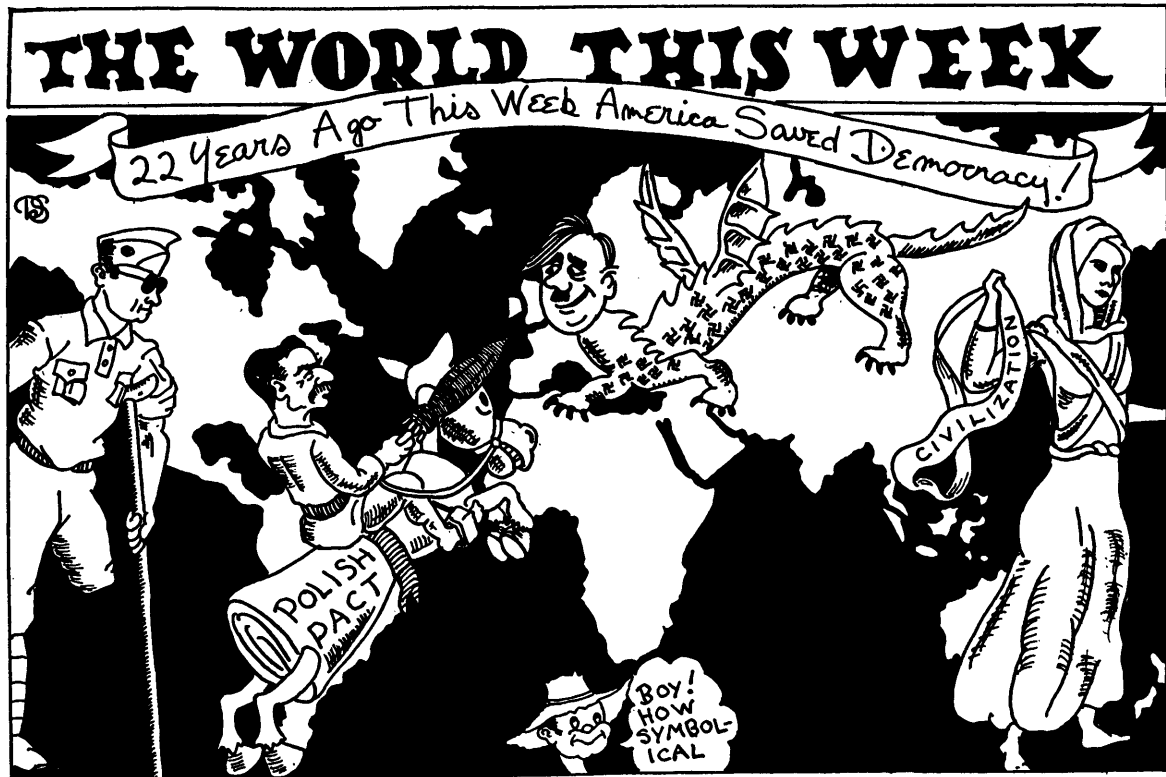
LESS than a week after the Daily Worker had assured the world that the "United States would never recognize Franco," the State Department at Washington went ahead and did just that very thing. In between Secretary Hull's orations on "international morality," official recognition was extended, ambassadors exchanged, and "normal" relations set up—oh yes, and the arms embargo against Spain finally lifted!

This rather precipitate action evokes more than one interesting question. For years, the United States has refused to recognize the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo on the high moral ground that it was set up by violence, aggression and treaty-breaking. But, in that case, how about Franco? Has not his state been set up by violence, aggression and treaty-breaking on the part of Italy and Germany? Why, then, the rush to recognize the insurgent regime in Spain?

Perhaps we may be permitted to look for the explanation beyond Secretary Hull's sanctimonious platitudes or President Roosevelt's ringing phrases. Perhaps we may find the explanation in the rather curious connection between American foreign policy and the strategy of British imperialist diplomacy. In the Far East, the policy of "non-recognition" works in well with closely related imperialist interests of England and the United States against Japan—and so "non-recognition" it is. In Spain, however, the British Foreign Office long ago decided on a policy of undermining the Loyalist defense and helping the fascists in every "seemly way—and our own State Department was right there "doing its duty," as Quincy Howe would say. It clamped down the embargo on Loyalist Spain in order to implement the bloody farce of "non-intervention" concocted in Downing Street. And now it rushes headlong to recognize Franco so that American policy may be "aligned" with British.

That is what is called "parallel action." The logic is plain.

HERE'S a bright idea going the rounds everywhere these days: "We shall not be able to enjoy ourselves until Franco's widow tells Stalin on his deathbed that Hitler has been assassinated at Mussolini's funeral."



America Is Drifting On The Road To War

Dr. Beard Exposes False Slogans of War-Mongers

By CHARLES A. BEARD

(These paragraphs are from an article by Charles A. Beard, entitled "We're Blundering Into War," appearing in the April 1939 issue of the American Mercury.—Editor.)

JUDGING by all the weeping, wailing and hand-wringing in the United States, the poor, little peace-loving countries of Europe are threatened by two monster powers, Germany and Italy, and could not, if they would, defend themselves against these frightful Leviathans.

The truth of the matter is far different. The countries threatened by Germany and Italy outnumber them in population by at least three to one. For every soldier that Germany and Italy can put into the field, they can put three or more. These menaced nations far outstrip the two foes in wealth, natural resources, metals and war materials of every kind. They have command of the seas and can impose an iron blockade on Germany and Italy. . . . Even if Japan should throw herself on the side of Germany and Italy in a new world war, the overbalance of power for war would still be on the side of the opposing nations immediately affected. . . .

FICTION OF DEMOCRACY vs. FASCISM

What are the secret wishes, hopes and manœuvres of Great Britain and France, so immediately concerned with the doings of Germany and Italy? . . . For the government of the United States to operate on the ostensible fiction that a mere test of despotism and democracy is at hand would be nothing short of childish.

Some obvious facts run counter to the fiction. As to some real or pretended issues, the objectives are clear. The quarrel between France and Italy is plainly over the spoils of empire in Africa. Italy demands more loot. The Italians were denied their "share" of the German spoils at Paris by the Treaty of Versailles. . . . Now Italy demands her share of the loot. I do not say that France should surrender it, but I do say that the present quarrel between Italy and France is openly, without palaver and hypocrisy, a quarrel over imperialist spoils.

Should the United States pour out blood and treasure to help France hold Tunisia or Djibouti, or even Corsica? . . . And what has the Tory government of Great Britain really been doing in the past few years? I do not pretend to know, but I suspect that its primary aim is to let Hitler liquidate Soviet Russia. Should the

United States pour out blood and treasure in support of the British Tory policy?

If the countries of Europe that are directly and immediately involved in preventing German and Italian domination are primarily or even fundamentally interested in that operation, they can call the bluff and stop the peril within forty-eight hours. . . . They have the men, the materials, the money and the power. But they do not. . . . And my guess is that they do not for the reason that other hopes, fears and ambitions enter into their designs.

Convinced that this is the truth of the business, I come to the conclusion that the intentions and enterprises which the United States is asked to underwrite with blood and treasure are only incidentally related to the fear of German and Italian domination. The business is far more complex than any such simple hypothesis. The internal conditions of the countries affected, as well as their external relations, are involved in their manœuvres.

In saying this, I do not mean to condone in any way the recent conduct of the German, Italian and Japanese governments. It has been, in most respects, barbaric, indecent, cruel and inhuman. What I do say is that the underlying issues accompanying their conduct cannot be reduced to a single issue: democracy against despotism, humanity against inhumanity. . . .

WHAT ROOSEVELT MIGHT HAVE DONE

If the Roosevelt Administration had really wished to put the screws on Germany, at a cost far below that of any war, it could have stopped the sale of war materials to Germany long ago by applying pre-existing law and without resorting to any hostile acts under the laws of war. . . . But it has refused to take advantage of this power, while clamping the embargo on Loyalist Spain in clear violation of treaty obligations and the established rules of international law.

A still more important power belongs to the Administration under our own tariff acts, which have been on the books for years. . . . Germany has flaunted her defiance of [the drastic anti-dumping provisions of these measures] by dumping goods into the United States and the Administration has winked at it. Only by violating anti-dumping rules can Germany buy necessary raw materials in the United States. By applying these rules the government can stop this life-stream that flows into Germany, without committing any acts of hostility. . . .

U. S. A. MUST KEEP OUT OF WAR

Now as to policy: in my opinion, the United States should and can stay out of the next war in Europe and the wars that follow the next war. . . . Legally and economically, abstention is possible. Will passions permit it? Is the prospect of a temporary escape from the impasse in American economic and political life too great for politicians to endure?

To any Administration in power at Washington, Republican or Democratic, a foreign adventure in war would be a temporary godsend—after the deluge. All the politicians, as well as business men and the rest of the people, are bewildered, befuddled and baffled by the economic crisis that has continued practically unabated since 1929. They talk bravely about lowering trade barriers and other political thimblery but they know that they have no answer to the problem of business stagnation and unemployment that has stared them in the face for nearly ten years and still stands there before them, stark and brutal in its reality.

Are there any politicians in America as courageous as Lincoln in 1861? The government of the United

* A step in this direction was taken recently by the federal government in placing "penalty duties" as high as 25% on German goods manufactured under government export subsidies or bounties.

States was then in a frightful jam. It confronted a major domestic crisis. The slick and sinuous William H. Seward saw a way out for his crowd in a war with Great Britain. Lincoln would not have it. He insisted on facing his domestic crisis. The analogy is suggestive and readers can make their own applications and deductions. . . .

AND THE CONSEQUENCES?

Immediately and at a distance, what would be the consequences of a war in which the United States would be associated with Great Britain and France against Germany, Italy and Japan? Practise under the Wilson Administration makes it as certain as death and taxes that civil liberty would perish in the United States as soon as war is declared. We are not yet rid of the persecution mania let loose by the last world war and the prospects of another emotional rage are alarming to contemplate. Nor are the almost certain effects of a war upon our domestic economy, now deranged and debt-ridden, to be contemplated with any less anxiety. . . .

And what of the consequences in Europe and Asia? (Revolutions would break out in Germany, Italy and Japan should the latter be defeated.) But would the revolutions follow the defeat of these powers be to the liking of the United States and its associates. (Remember the Allied and American intervention in Soviet Russia!) Could the revolutions be confined to the introduction of Sunday School methods and the moderation of the New England town meeting? If not, what will the associates do after the war has nominally closed? . . .

What guarantee is there that so-called "democratic purposes," if actually espoused by the United States, would prevail in any coalition with which this country may be associated? No guarantee. . . . No, the United States could not hold the war to any alleged democratic purpose, and a rational adjustment of the consequences would be beyond the power of any government, in Washington or anywhere else.

In these circumstances, underwriting Great Britain and France in advance, allowing them to count upon the aid of the United States in whatever hidden schemes they may be pursuing, seems to me to be the policy of reckless gambling, not of reason or idealism. No better illustration of the follies inherent in such underwriting can be found than the action of the United States government in imposing an embargo on the republican government of Spain—presumably to aid the beautiful "non-intervention" policy of England and France. . . .

Hold Big N.Y. Peace Rally

New York City

THE New York Keep America Out Of War Congress held a very successful rally on April 6, honoring the Congressmen who had voted against war in 1917. Over 2,000 packed Manhattan Center to hear Bertram D. Wolfe; Norman Thomas; Quincy Howe; Jeannette Rankin, woman Representative in 1917; and Representative Knutson, the last of the anti-war Congressmen still in the House.

Bertram D. Wolfe, speaking for the Independent Labor League, exposed the war drive of the Administration and paid tribute to those who voted against the last war. He placed special emphasis on the opposition to war of the revolutionary socialist leaders, Debs and Ruthenberg. It was their vision and understanding of the capitalist roots of war, Wolfe said, that we must attempt to emulate today.

(Bertram D. Wolfe's address will be printed in a coming issue of Workers Age.—Editor.)

Talking It Over:

Plans and Purges

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THE first and second Soviet five-year plans were primarily examples of economic planning. They were carefully worked out in advance, after much consultation and calculation and discussion, then revised on the basis of subsequent developments and experiences. Gradually, the discussion was somewhat distorted and poisoned at its source, when matters requiring practical consideration and dispassionate weighing and estimation were perverted to faction matters. Any attempt at discussion or difference with even chance guesses of the one infallible leader became class treason.

Then the plans themselves had to be warped and twisted by adaptation of the whole economic structure to the growing war danger, danger increased by the destruction of the Comintern.

Next, the tempo of collectivization of agriculture became a football of factional controversy with results that meant the death by starvation of several million peasants of the rich lands of central and southern Russia, the slaughtering of millions of cattle, and the alienation of great sections of the Ukrainian and other peasant masses. Still, in the large tho at frightful cost in proletarian democracy, in human life and in mass welfare, the first two Soviet five-year plans were on the whole successful and set a vogue in planning talk everywhere, calling the whole anarchistic, planless capitalist system into question.

THE THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN

AS to the Third Five-Year Plan—there was none. The evil seeds referred to above as sown in the first two plans sprouted and grew apace, equalling and surpassing any analogous phenomena in capitalist lands or in the whole sweep of recorded history, till the plan itself was converted into a planned destruction of the very planners. The authors and executors of the first two plans—not some of them, but virtually all of them—were themselves executed. A planned economy, with all planning heads decapitated, became impossible. So, instead of planning economy in advance of economic events, the "plan" was announced three years after the third five-year period was over! That the chaos was not even greater is a tribute to the solidity of the work of the already executed planners, the fragments of their great plan edifice being sufficient to guide the work after the period of real planning was over. Naturally, capitalist lands ceased to envy or pay tribute to Soviet planning.

PLANNED PURGES

THE new "planners" are N.V.K.D. or G.P.U. agents, carrying on a planned war against all thinking and planning and all planners and thinkers. Walter Duranty, famed for writing as Stalin pleases, has called to the New York Times the following summary of the plan report at the party congress:

"Premier Molotov gave the key to what Joseph Stalin meant, and Larenti Beria (head of the N.V.K.D.) added. He is nobody's fool, this Molotov. (Thus Duranty answers Lenin who dubbed Molotov the "incumbent dumbbell"—"durak" to Duranty.—B.D.W.) . . . Mr. Molotov said . . . Russia has emerged from the period of socialist construction and is now entering the period of a movement toward communism. . . . Mr. Beria took a slightly different angle—that the second five-year plan had created Soviet unity and gotten rid of the country's foes. . . . Both Mr. Beria and Mr. Molotov, like Mr. Stalin, did some fast skating over some what thin ice when it came to talking of the purge." (And so be it said in passing, does Mr. Duranty.) At any rate, all of them are agreed that the purge and the third "plan" are inseparable.

PURGING THE PURGERS

WHEN in Kiev, 57%, continues Duranty, "in White Russia 60%, in Archangel 63%, in Kursk province 70%, in Yaroslavl 72%, of all communists expelled from the party during the purge have later been reinstated on the grounds that their expulsion was wrong—then an unbiased foreigner can venture to guess that the purge went a trifle too far." So the "unbiased" foreigner, who is putting it mildly!

But what if the same percentage of injustice or higher prevailed in the cases of the thousands and thousands of summary shootings? What if seven out of ten of those shot in Kursk and Yaroslavl (we are taking their figures not ours!) were also guilty? Can we any longer wonder at the psychiatric breakdown of those instructed to carry out the frame-ups and executions, on which Zhdanov reported, while the Communist Party congress, according to Duranty, "received this line with shouts of laughter."

DOSTOYEVSKY'S FORMULA

THE "confessions," which the G.P.U. itself now admits in many instances were forced by tortures and threats to the family of the prisoners (see Denny's New York Times dispatches of January 2 and 3, 1939, and those of January 15, February 28 and March 1, 1939, and see the testimony of the doctors in the trial of Yagoda)—these confessions Duranty once "explained" by referring to Dostoyevsky. I must publicly acknowledge my debt to Duranty, at least for compelling me to reread the works of Dostoyevsky and for finding therein the following explanation of how Stalin holds what is left of the Communist Party together after purging the majority of the central committee, the majority of the party secretaries of the provinces, the majority of the provincial district committees, the majority of the premiers, the majority of the army and navy and G.P.U. staff, the majority of the party editors, party leaders, youth leaders, the majority of the diplomatic corps, of the planning commission, of the heads of economic departments, and the majority of the founders, builders, leaders and older members of the party.

"All that business of titles and sentimentalism," Dostoyevsky has one of his characters in "The Possessed" say to another, "all that business of titles and sentimentalism is a very good cement, but there is something better. Persuade four members of the circle to do for the fifth on the pretense that he is a traitor, and you'll tie them all together with the blood they've shed as tho it were a knot. They'll be your slaves, they won't dare to rebel or call you to account."

STALIN AS NOVELIST

BUT there is one piece of obscene cruelty that has come out in the "purging of the purgers" (a purge which has not, of course, included the Number 1 purger), that defies even the imagination of a Dostoyevsky.

In the city of Leninsk-Kuznetsk, the former head of the N.V.K.D. (G.P.U.), Lunakov, admitted that he had framed and extorted confessions from an unnamed number of little children. He did it (which gives some idea of Stalinist gangsterism), he says, in order to gain a reputation for "vigilance against enemies."

The arrested children were thrown into jails, tortured by ceaseless questioning day and night, denied a chance to communicate with their parents, forced to sleep without bedding—when they slept—until they confessed and answered "yes" to questions the very words of which were meaningless to them.

Here is Denny's summary of a Soviet press version of one episode: "The case of one boy 10 years old, Volodya . . . was told in detail. It was after midnight in Winter time and Volodya was very sleepy but he was called for questioning before four men (the Stalinist system breeds monsters in gangs and not just singly as exceptional cases.—B.D.W.) These men . . . asked him questions again and again. This went on for several days until Volodya was ready to give the desired answers.

"Were you a member of a counter-revolutionary, fascist, terrorist organization?" Belousov asked him.

"Volodya squared himself, perhaps with juvenile bragadocio (a sort of Soviet Tom Swyer), and answered:

"Yes, I admit my guilt. I was a member of a counter-revolutionary fascist organization?"

The questioning continued. It appeared that he had joined the "fascist organization" when he was a wee youngster, and in 1935, at the mature and hardened age of seven, he was already recruiting other youngsters for sabotage, wrecking, disclosure of military secrets and espionage. The account almost suggests the receipt of prenatal intruterine instructions from Leon Trotsky!

From all of which it appears that Joseph Stalin is a greater novelist than Dostoyevsky and a greater terrorist than that Ivan who was surnamed "the Terrible." Therefore, we can have no confidence in the purging of some of the purgers by others of the same purgers till the party purges itself of purgers, purging system and No. 1 purger! Compared with him, Yagoda and Yeshov are small potatoes, even as Dostoyevsky and Ivan the Terrible.