

# Why the Russian Purge?

by Jay Lovestone

(The following article by Jay Lovestone appeared in the March 18 issue of the British New Leader, official paper of the I.L.P.—The Editor.)

By JAY LOVESTONE

WHAT is going on in the Soviet Union? Why all these trials, shootings and suicides? Why the terror against workers who have contributed so much to make the revolution? And all this more than twenty years after its victory?

The trials of so many of the founders of the Bolshevik party and the Comintern, the "suicides" and firing-squad justice imposed on so many of the leaders of the Soviet government, have quite naturally aroused the gravest concern in the ranks of the workers of all countries for the fate of the first proletarian state.

These apprehensions multiply and become increasingly intense as the roster of Bolshevik luminaries denounced, dragged thru the mud and executed, continues to mount.

How does all this come about? Only the most purblind can fail to see that there must be something rotten in the state of Denmark. Unfortunately, in this instance, it is in the Soviet Union. But why?

The explanations given by the Soviet prosecutor in the trial satisfy no one. Really, not even those in the U.S.S.R. who have to choose between saying "yes" to everything and facing a firing-squad at dawn. The answers given by the Stalin-made leaders of the various sections of the Comintern are just as worthless.

The explanation made by the Socialist International theoreticians is that the whole tragedy is the inevitable inherent logic of the principles of Bolshevism, of the theories of Lenin. And Stalin himself hastens to take the same view as the reformists do by insisting—even to the point of the gun—that he is acting as "the best pupil of Lenin!"

We reject without the slightest reservations all these "explanations."

What is the real situation in the U.S.S.R.?

The savage terror against party members who have never been critical of Stalin, against dissenting or dissatisfied party, government, trade-union, economic foreign-affairs and cultural leaders is the expression of the antagonism between the social-economic advance registered in recent years and the obsolete, historically outlived Stalin regime.

Here is a bureaucratic clique which is trying to perpetuate itself by sheer brute force, barbaric terror, blackest frame-up and wanton blood spilling. The Soviet masses who have lived thru the famine, fought thru the civil war or made great sacrifices insuring heavy industrialization and rural collectivization, now feel that the time has arrived for the expansion of their democratic rights.

They were ready to tighten their belts; they were prepared to submit to the ugly methods of the Stalin leadership and bureaucracy when they thought that it was all necessary for laying a foundation for socialist economy. Now, these same masses feel that there is no longer any need for restricting their democratic rights and that there is today—especially after the social-economic and cultural advances of recent years—every reason for continuous extension of genuine democracy in the U.S.S.R.

It is these wants and desires of

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# Workers Age

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## MEXICO HITS FOREIGN TRUSTS IN OIL CRISIS

Cardenas Takes Over U. S. And British Oil Property For Violations Of Law; Mexican People Appeal For Help Of American Workers

THE following message was sent last week to Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico:

Independent Communist Labor League pledges itself to fight against American oil companies and government's political and economic pressure on Mexican people in oil case and to rally labor movement against imperialist action of government and companies.

for National Committee  
JAY LOVESTONE  
BERTRAM D. WOLFE

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

The conflict between the Anglo-American oil companies and the Mexican oil workers is rapidly moving towards a crisis in the relations between the government of the United States and that of Mexico. After several busy weeks of behind-the-scenes pressure, the Roosevelt Administration has suddenly revealed that the "good neighbor" still carries behind his back the "big stick" made famous by Theodore Roosevelt

Campaign Of The Oil Companies

The pressure began when the oil companies refused to accept the labor-arbitration awards, continued with their threat to suspend operations, became overt when they withdrew their huge deposits from the Mexican banks and attempted to create a financial panic in Mexico. Now the United States government has stepped in with a further attempt to demoralize Mexican economy by cutting the price of silver and cancelling the silver purchase agreement whereby it purchased over 60,000,000 ounces of silver yearly from Mexico at 45 cents an ounce. This is openly declared to be a measure of "retaliation," that is to say, coercion against Mexican government in the interests of Standard Oil, Shell, Sinclair, Pennmex and other companies. This places upon the American labor movement and the American masses the duty of rallying to the defense of the Mexican oil workers and resisting with all our might the use of the American government and treasury department by the oil companies to bulldoze Mexico. The conflict reveals, as in a lightning flash, the true nature of the American government; whether New Deal or Old Deal, it remains an instrument of the American ruling class, one of the most ruthless in the world!

The Daily Worker, which has been busy whitewashing American capitalism and American imperialism for the purpose of tying the American working class to the war machine, makes Roosevelt into a sort of innocent tool of "bad ad-

visers" in the State Department who, like the "bad advisers" of the Little Father Czar, are the whipping-boy for all his misdeeds.

"Behind this whole business," writes the Daily Worker editorially (March 20, 1938), "can be seen the fine fascist hand of the American diplomatic Tory, Sumner Welles, and the reactionary cabal he heads in the U. S. State Department." Poor Roosevelt! Of course, he knows nothing about it. Sumner Welles decides, and Henry Morgenthau wields the silver club, while Franklin D. Roosevelt is at Warm Springs! The same explanation is offered for the government's foul support of the bloody Batista in Cuba, of the no less bloody Trujillo in Santo Domingo, of Vargas in Brazil, of Benavides in Peru, and so forth. The Communist Party may protest friendship to the Mexican people in its loudest headline type—the fact remains that it is whitewashing the Administration and thereby aiding the attack

## Railroads and Wages

by Lyman Fraser

THE drive to cut wages as a means of restoring prosperity is becoming stronger. Labor must organize its resistance. Not only would wage-cuts not restore prosperity but the drive is an expression of the capitalist habit of "solving" their economic problems at the expense of wages and not at the expense of profits.

This drive for wage-cuts is an admission by the capitalists that they cannot "solve" the economic crisis except by reducing the standards of living of the workers and lower-salaried employees.

Now the railroad magnates are demanding wage-cuts. They plead smaller business, smaller earnings and smaller profits. But their pleas are wholly unjustified, for their demand not only does not consider the problem as a whole but it would solve the crisis neither in the railroads nor in the general economy.

Let us consider some facts that the railroad magnates overlook.

Overcapitalization And Profits

The magnates say nothing about cutting capital claims. Yet the railroads are notoriously and heavily overcapitalized. During the 1920's, there was a considerable rise in capitalization, greatly increasing the claims upon earnings of stockholders and bondholders. And much of the new capital investment was not in any sense productive, neither increasing revenues nor reducing operating costs—such as, for example, the expen-

sively showy terminals built in the larger cities.

Capitalization and capital claims, moreover, kept on increasing, while railroad business was declining because of the competition of automobiles and motor trucks.

Nor were capital claims reduced during the depression. The capitalization of all railroads was \$18,860 million in 1929 and \$18,342 million in 1935, hardly any reduction at all. Thruout the depression, despite a large increase in railroad receiverships, interest on funded debt was paid regularly, showing only a small decrease; overcapitalization was maintained.

While capitalization was increasing in the 1920's, the employment of labor was decreasing. The number of railroad employees dropped from around 2,000,000 in 1920 to 1,661,000 in 1929. In other words, labor costs fell while capital costs mounted.

The decrease in employment was largely the result of higher labor productivity and greater operating efficiency. This was generally true of all railroad work, altho the increase in efficiency was much greater in freight service than in passenger service. From 1922 to 1935, efficiency in freight service increased 40%. Stated in another way, the ratio of payroll expense to revenue per ton-mile decreased from 5.93 mills in 1920 to 3.70 mills in 1935, a drop of 45%.

Yet, with labor productivity higher than ever, the railroad magnates want to cut wages! But

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## A "Democracy" In Action

THE present British government is committed to the policy of trying to make peace with the dictators as well as with representative governments.

Even Anthony Eden, as he repeatedly declared in public speeches and private conversation, was against dividing Europe into "fronts." The break between him and Mr. Chamberlain was not on this fundamental point but only on dealing with Italy and Germany, especially with the former.—Arthur Krock in the New York Times, April 2, 1938.

on Mexico. Such is the logic of Stalinist chauvinism.

Background Of Conflict

The conflict in Mexico has grown out of a series of strikes and arbitration proceedings, originally requested by the companies, beginning in 1934. The oil corporations refused to accept the awards made in arbitration, withdrew their funds, tried to shut down the plants and precipitate a panic. The answer of the government has been

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## Nazis Speed Czech Drive

Demand Virtual Partition And Break Of French, Russian Treaties

The German campaign against Czechoslovakia gained impetus last week in three directions: threats from Berlin, diplomatic pressure from London and Paris and intensified disruption on the part of the fascist and semi-fascist parties in the country itself. As presented in semi-official form, Hitler's demands include the following: (1) the cantonization of Czechoslovakia, a thinly disguised transition to partition; (2) economic "coordination" so as to make German influence predominant; (3) the suppression of the German refugee press in Prague; and (4) rupture of the alliances with Soviet Russia and France. Violent agitation along the same lines is being conducted by the Henlein party and allied groups within Czechoslovakia. The British Foreign Office is avowedly strongly in favor of the acceptance of these demands, while France, according to press reports, would "accept the situation and even be relieved." Under such circumstances, the Czech government will hardly be able to hold out very long; indeed, it is said that Prague has already given in on the first three of Hitler's demands and is beginning to yield on the fourth.

In this way, the "peaceful" conquest of Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany is proceeding rapidly with the acquiescence, even the aid, of the "great democracies!"

Along with Czechoslovakia, Spain is falling victim to fascist aggression and "democratic" conniving. Having done everything possible, thru the blockade and otherwise, to hamper the Loyalist government, England and France now declare Franco's victory to be certain and are busily engaged trying to reach a favorable agreement with him.

## Lovestone at Big N.Y. Member Meet

One of the best attended and most spirited meetings in the history of the New York organization of the Independent Communist Labor League took place on Thursday evening, March 31. Jay Lovestone, secretary of the I.C.L.L. and delegate to the recent international conference at Paris, made a magnificent report on the international situation and the results of the Paris Conference. Special interest was lent to the report by Lovestone's graphic picture of the first days of the Nazi invasion of Austria, during which period he was himself in Vienna. His report was part of the pre-convention discussion of the I.C.L.L.

The spirit and enthusiasm of the membership found expression in the sum of \$2,650 contributed at the meeting towards a \$10,000 drive, half for the Workers Age and half for the underground labor movement in Austria. The money collected at the meeting will go directly to Austria.

JAY LOVESTONE Just Returned from Europe

Speaks on "Europe Near the Abyss"

HOTEL CENTER - APRIL 7 - 8:00 P. M.

# Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

## Pennsylvania Primaries

IN five weeks or so, the Democratic party of Pennsylvania will hold primary elections, in which the party will be rent wide open by the struggle between the regular machine and the insurgent forces of labor. Control of the party means not merely a chance for Thomas J. Kennedy to be governor of the state as well as treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America but also a grip over Pennsylvania's seventy-five delegates to the national convention of the Democratic party in 1940, and thereby a great deal of a say as to who shall be presidential candidate.

It is within the limits of these possibilities that the contending forces have operated in the inner-party struggle. The situation has been characterized by the greatest chaos and confusion, signaling not the liberalization or rebirth of a laborized Democratic party but rather the break up of this old party and the birth, painful, slow, and running the danger of immediate death by umbilical strangulation, of a nascent labor party. The powerful miners union, backbone of the C.I.O., and thru John L. Lewis an important factor in national politics, rules the roost; its development and political horizons expressed thru such men as Lewis, Kennedy and Murray, will determine the degree of labor's political independence.

Because of the U.M.W.A.'s close connection with the New Deal and the Administration, the Pennsylvania primaries are, far more than New York, Seattle or Michigan, the crossroads of capitalist and labor politics. Despite a few denials, it is generally understood that President Roosevelt has thrown his influence behind the regulars, the Earle-Lawrence machine, and against the Kennedy ticket of the C.I.O., since he seeks to name his successor without interference. More important, however, than this question of "inner" politics, is that of the actual political independence of Pennsylvania labor, of its desire and ability to cut the navel string binding it to the New Deal machine. The faith, patience and gullibility of labor with Roosevelt's increasingly reactionary policy and behind-the-scenes attempts to double-cross his working-class followers, could not, in a well-ordered and rational world, survive the Pennsylvania maelstrom.

Yet, in actual practise, the C.I.O. is proceeding pragmatically, resulting in an unnecessarily prolonged and largely unrecognized split with the official Democratic party machine. The reality of the situation is that labor has been kicked out of the Democratic party, in a state where the labor vote decides whether the Democratic party is in or out. The Roosevelt-McCloskey machine has indicated, for those who care to read, that the party of the New Deal is not the party for an articulate and independent labor movement—however much it may condescend to befriend labor when it is subservient to employing-class politics.

The Kennedy group is being forced into independence but an independence which has given it such fellow-travellers as Mayor Wilson of Philadelphia, and which is so tangled up with the old political system that already its campaign is involved in the mess of patronage politics. The trade unions of Pennsylvania will shortly be faced with the question of complete independence and must prepare for this necessary step. For, should the C.I.O. ticket lose in the primaries, will it then abide by "party discipline"—of a political machine which fundamentally hates and fears the growing power of labor, even when that strength is used hesitatingly? Will the Democratic politicians like Wilson remain loyal to the Kennedy ticket, because they wish to see a strong labor ticket? These are the factors which weaken and undermine the

# 'We Resign from the C.P.!'

(We publish below a declaration recently issued by a group of members of Section 9 (Harrisburgh, Pa.) of the Communist Party. In its clarity and revolutionary spirit, the document speaks for itself.—The Editor.)

THE attitude of the Communist Party toward the most important problems facing the American working people has, within the past twelve months, been such that, were it not presented in the Daily Worker, it could be interpreted not as Marxist but as statements of reactionaries.

The most important issues facing the American people are: war, democracy and unemployment. What is the position of the Communist Party on the above questions? In the guise of "collective security," the party is attempting to bring the United States into armed conflict with Japan. This is adequately proven by the statement of Earl Browder that Japan does not dare to attack the Soviet Union because of its strength but is aiming at American territory. The American government's race for armaments and the past huge military expenditures are not sufficient for defense. Thus, the party becomes the chief apologist and defender of the Roosevelt armament program.

The C.P. declares that democracies—England, France, United States and the Soviet Union—should unite to halt fascism. Disregarding reality and the course of events in Spain, the Communist Party tells us that a People's Front in England will preserve peace. This is merely wishful thinking. Much more realistic is a people's referendum, such as the Ludlow Amendment to the United States Constitution.

The party's support of Roosevelt's peace policy which includes over a billion dollars for armaments, is inconsistent. With or without Roosevelt, the present army and navy caste remains in control of the war machinery. Does Marx's theory, that capitalism breeds war, no longer hold true?

The failure to support a war referendum is no accident on the part of the party. The party has long prided itself in fighting for democracy, yet within its ranks there is no expression of working-class opinion. Those who question the handed-down bureaucratic decisions are silenced by being called disrupters, doubters, Trotskyites and even assassins. In the Soviet Union, the land of the proletariat, there is one line, one mind, one candidate. The recent session of the

Supreme Soviet, comprising six hundred delegates, the best minds in the Soviet Union, accepted the recommendations submitted, without one question, without one constructive criticism, without one dissenting vote. This gathering of "complete harmony" is true of past gatherings and conferences. But the present trials in the Soviet Union, of leading Soviet figures, do not signify unity, harmony and democracy. Either proletarian dictatorship breeds treachery or those who endured exile and prison under the Czar and later took leading roles in the revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state are being framed.

In America, the lives of millions of people depend on the relief and emergency appropriations of the national Administration. Two years ago, when relief expenditures were at a high of six billion dollars, the Daily Worker stated that President Roosevelt was starving the unemployed and caricatured the President as Death. Today, when the same need exists and funds are reduced to less than a billion dollars, the same Daily Worker pictures the President as happiness and even assassins. In the Soviet Union, the land of the proletariat, there is one line, one mind, one candidate. The recent session of the

We, therefore, make this our official declaration of doubts and disagreement with the Communist Party. We have already examined with thoroughness the party's answers to these and many other problems facing the people and remain convinced that the party's program is wrong and harmful to the working class. We therefore make this our official resignation from the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

We act thus from our own convictions without inspiration, guidance or affiliation with any political or sectarian group. We extend to the Communist Party membership who share our doubts an invitation to join and act with us.

THE MAJORITY GROUP, Section 9, Communist Party of U.S.A. (Harrisburgh, Pa.)

must proceed with caution, for the eyes of all Latin America are focused on its buffer frontier land, Mexico. If the United States intervenes too openly, it weakens its plans to consolidate all Latin America behind it for war. That is Mexico's trump card.

Mexico's chief weakness is the lack of an independent labor movement, which should be supporting the government, at the same time exerting pressure upon it. But the Mexican labor movement is controlled, subsidized, manipulated, by the government and not an element of independent strength and pressure. It can neither act as a brake on betrayal nor a pressure force for stronger action. To offset this is the fact that the reaction is at present very weak in Mexico and even the powerful reactionary papers, also largely government controlled, have swung with surprising unanimity behind Cardenas. As American pressure grows and the economic crisis deepens, the reaction may begin to coalesce pressure forces for betrayal and revolt. However, if American and British labor do their duty in the present emergency and the anti-imperialist forces in Latin America develop greater strength and independence, the oil companies may find that they outmaneuvered themselves in rejecting the award and attempting to shut down the oil wells which were only theirs because they were taken by imperialist coercion in the first place.

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# Federal Reorganization

By I. M. HAMILTON

THE Reorganization Bill, which passed the Senate on March 28 and is now before the House, has become the focal point of a new concentrated attack upon the Roosevelt Administration. The bill is based on the report of a group of professors who are specialists in public administration. This group, known as the President's Committee on Administrative Management, consisted of Luther Gulick, professor at Columbia University and director of the Institute of Public Administration; Charles E. Merriam, professor at the University of Chicago, reform alderman and reform candidate for mayor of Chicago; and Louis Brownlow, chairman, director of the Clearing House of Public Administration, a central agency of research and information, situated in Chicago. As a commissioner of the District of Columbia in 1919, Mr. Brownlow led the fight against the Washington Policemen's Union and was responsible for the destruction of that body and the passage of legislation denying Washington policemen the right to strike or to affiliate with the labor movement.

### Background Of The Bill.

These professors were brought up in the "efficiency and economy" school of public administration. The literature of this school deplored the haphazard growth of the governmental administrative machine, the multiplication of administrative boards, bureaus and agencies with ill-defined and overlapping functions, making for political sinecures, graft and inefficiency. The professors had their students draw charts which turned out to be mazes of squares, rectangles, circles and triangles, solid lines and dotted lines, to indicate various types of governmental agencies and their relation to each other as well as to the Executive and to the Legislature. It was a horrible picture and perhaps an inadequate portrayal of the actual maze of the governmental structure itself. Side by side with this messy confusion, the professors would present nice, clean, simple charts of a small number of "well-organized departments" with "related agencies" arranged in neat bureaus and subdivisions. The old geometrical hodge-podge gave way to a beautifully logical and symmetrical design. The present Reorganization Bill is the product of this professional passion for neat charts.

Seriously, however, there is no question of the fact that the rapid and unplanned growth of governmental functions has resulted in an increasing administrative confusion, making effective administration more and more difficult. As long ago as 1902 and 1903, Theodore Roosevelt appointed a commission to study the problem of federal government. The report was fled away without action or result. Taft repeated the performance some years later. During the following decade, the reorganization movement made marked headway in state and local government. However, every effort to recast the federal administration failed, despite party platform pledges and the recommendations of every president from Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin D. Roosevelt. This failure was owing to the fact that every Congressman or Senator had his pet agency, his pet patronage center, which he refused to allow anyone to attack. Mutual patronage interests, resulting in the give-and-take process known as "log-rolling," brought every Congressman to the support of his colleague's favorite bureau in exchange for support of his own. In the face of this, every effort at govern-

mental reorganization resulted in a stalemate.

### World War Legislation

During the World War, the Overman Act gave the President broad powers during the emergency to shift bureaus by executive order. Some twenty orders were issued under this law but the changes were effective only for the duration of the war and lapsed with the end of the emergency.

Similar powers were granted to President Hoover under the Economy Act of 1932. Either House of Congress, however, could stop the President's order. Congress used this power consistently and struck down practically every change the Executive tried to make. The President then sought and obtained far more sweeping powers for a period of two years, which the ending of his term made it impossible for him to use. His successor, President Roosevelt, however, did use these powers in some twenty-five or thirty cases. The most important change he inaugurated was the abolition of the United States Shipping Board, a body with both administrative and regulatory powers, whose members were appointed for fixed terms. The courts upheld the constitutionality of the act and of the President's use of it in this important instance.

### Provisions Of Present Bill

The present bill, passed by the Senate and now before the House, uses practically the identical lan-

guage of the 1933 act, giving the President power to reduce, coordinate, consolidate and reorganize executive agencies of the government. The bill covers such agencies as the T.V.A. but exempts regulatory commissions from this power and also rejects or modifies a number of the more indefensible proposals made by the President's committee of professors in their passion for neatness and structural logic.

The bill, in granting the President power to reorganize federal bureaus and agencies, requires that his executive order be submitted to Congress, where it must lie on the table for 60 days. Congress may, by resolution, countermand the order but the President may veto the resolution and thus require a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress to override an executive reorganization order.

The bill also sets up a new Department of Public Welfare, with a Secretary in the Cabinet, and a National Resources Planning Board, thus making permanent a body of similar name functioning as a temporary agency under a presidential order. The bill also contains certain non-controversial provisions for enlarging and improving the White House staff.

In addition to the tremendous increase of executive powers at the expense of Congress in the grant of reorganization authority, the bill also diminishes Congressional control over expenditures by abolishing the office of Controller-

# Freedom and Classes

by N. Bukharin

(In the Spring of 1936, N. I. Bukharin, the chief victim of the recent Moscow "trial," was in Paris on an official mission. On April 3, he delivered a lecture on the basic problems of modern culture, in the course of which he had occasion to present in elementary form the relations between democracy, fascism and socialism. From this lecture, probably the last public utterance of Bukharin, we take the following paragraphs. It will be noted how different these remarks are, in their tone and direction, from the Stalinist Popular Frontism of today. —THE EDITOR.)

IN order to appreciate the real significance of any idea or slogan referring to a social phenomenon, it is necessary to grasp it in its historical and social function. That is the only way of avoiding sterile phrases or mere verbal fetishism. This is especially true of the concept of "freedom," for here we come up against a piece of conceptual fetishism that is deeply rooted and has become a veritable "thing-in-itself."

Whenever this concept makes its appearance in a class society, it is necessary to formulate the question precisely in order to know what exactly we are dealing with: Freedom for whom (for which class or group) and against whom? Freedom in what sphere or spheres of social life? What sort of freedom from the standpoint of its social validity, i.e., from the standpoint of social development as a whole.

Modern capitalism in its democratic form offers the working class a formal freedom while simultaneously depriving it of material freedom: thus, a freedom greatly limited. This is the essential and basic element of contemporary social relations. From a formal standpoint, of course, all social classes have the right to property. But, the existence of capitalist private property (the monopoly of a single class, as its mono-

# The Influence of Fascism in Brazil

By ELLEN WARD

WHAT has happened in Brazil as a result of the intense fascist pressure being exerted there? In November of last year, a personal military dictatorship was established by President Getulio Vargas. He announced a new constitution with corporate features. The first official statement issued after the coup was that the new state would make no alliances

with the Italian, German or Japanese combine. "There will be a reinforced and enlarged effort to insure and develop the traditional relations of friendship uniting Brazil and the United States following the good-neighbor policy of President Roosevelt whom Brazil regards as the world's greatest statesman." So much, then, to assure the United States government that as far as its interests were concerned everything was all right in the new move in Brazil. Those who are close to the Brazilian situation declare that the move of Vargas was made to forestall the seizure of power by the fascists, or the Integralistas as they are called in Brazil. This version seems to be borne out by the happenings in Rio de Janeiro on March 19, when Vargas uncovered a plot for his assassination and for the seizure of power by Plinio Calgado and his followers under the fascist banner. It appears that the plot was discovered just in the nick of time and the leaders all arrested. In the general scramble to save their individual skins, they are falling all over each other to tell the government all they know about the other fellow.

The Integralista movement is highly nationalistic and generously financed by those large landowners who are in political opposition to Vargas, by the Church and by the European fascists. Fascists thruout Latin America speak a sort of scrambled dialect of the European fascist movements. The Integralistas of Brazil have established political as well as semi-military organizations for the propagation of their views. This has not been very simple to put over and most difficult to differentiate from already existing terminology since most of the Latin American countries have dictatorships and have had them since the days of their independence from Spain and Portugal. And often all enthusiasms based on extreme feelings of nationalism are handicapped by a very limited vocabulary. The result is that what has seeped down to the masses are many phrases filled with confusion. So-called programs differ from region to region and from group to group. These "programs" in Brazil have much in common with expressions of military dictators in other parts of Latin America. The Latin-American "man on horseback," however, has shown little inclination to impose totalitarian control over social and cultural life—a la Hitler. They prefer a one-man dictatorship with a great many so-called democratic trimmings. This is an institution peculiar to Latin America. Its dictators even grant a measure of tolerance to oppositions provided such oppositions do not seriously challenge their power or interfere with the interests of the clique controlling the dictatorship.

### Concentration Of Executive Power

The whole bill concentrates tremendous powers in the President's hands and diminishes the powers of Congress. Despite the fact that the anti-Roosevelt opposition has been making the bill the focal point of an attack upon the Administration, the bill is really the culmination of a tendency long in process. The principles underlying the measure have been urged by Republicans as well as Democrats for decades. Capitalist government, under present complex conditions, makes for an increase of executive authority at legislative expense. The tendency is inherent in the system. Thus does capitalist political democracy demonstrate the process of its own decay.

Also the powers to reorganize under this bill lapse after two years, there is ample opportunity for the entire structure of government to be revamped. This is not "merely," as the professors insist, a "matter of administration." Governmental agencies represent public functions and what is done to the former has a big share in determining the operations of the latter. The increased powers of the Executive on "matters of administration," therefore, means increased power, with fewer and fewer Congressional restraints, to chart and control the course of public policy itself.

the capitalist-elite, it brings freedom; to the masses, complete enslavement; to the revolutionary vanguard, physical annihilation. The dictatorship of the proletariat openly proclaims freedom for the lower social layers as against freedom for counter-revolution, for, at critical moments in the struggle, the great question is to defeat the class enemy and this determines all behavior. Hence the "despotism of liberty" about which so much was said in the French Revolution. But, at the same time, the proletarian dictatorship is, from the very beginning, proletarian democracy, materially assuring millions of people their full rights and the opportunity of exercising them. The final victory of socialism will make unnecessary even these privileges of the proletariat and will usher in a new phase of socialist democracy.

In the majority of the Latin American countries, the fascist movements lack mass support. In Brazil, however, it is claimed that the Integralistas number anywhere from 200,000 to a million. Here the fascist movement has been recruited from the rich younger generation, from among government employees, clerks and students. Under the pressure of the Integralista movement and the influence of the European fascist example, the Vargas dictatorship has itself taken on elements of a fascist coloring. While it continues the tradition of Latin American military dictatorship, it has tossed overboard many of the traditional "democratic" trimmings in favor of the newer styles.

Getulio Vargas has declared himself  
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IT IS NOT TOO LATE!

LOYALIST Spain finds itself today in the most difficult position since the outbreak of the civil war. The fascist enemy, reinforced with heavy contingents of "volunteers" sent by Mussolini and Hitler, equipped with munitions and supplies coming from the same source, has broken thru the Aragon front, has invaded Catalonia and is threatening Barcelona. The moment is critical in the extreme.

But all is not yet lost! Fighting heroically with its back to the wall, anti-fascist Spain may still turn the tide and beat back the hordes of Franco and his foreign allies. Yes, this "miracle" is still possible but only on one condition—that the Spanish masses and the international labor movement succeed in effecting a speedy reorientation away from the policies that are responsible for the present desperate situation and towards those that will make for victory.

What is really responsible for the present desperate situation? It is not enough to point to the foreign assistance Franco has received in men and armaments. Of course, this is a decisive factor but the real question is: Why has anti-fascist Spain been unable to unleash those vast forces at its command that might have balanced the scales and brought victory? And there is only one answer: the People's Front!

In Spain, the People's Front has meant subordination to the political leadership of the miserable remnants of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, even to the point of curbing and restricting the anti-fascist struggle within the narrow limits of their reactionary class prejudices. The revolutionary fervor of the masses has been choked off and the revolutionary gains of the early months of the civil war undermined and destroyed. Far-reaching economic and social reforms, especially on the agrarian field, have been "postponed" until after victory in spite of the fact that these reforms are necessary precisely in order to achieve victory. The army has been reorganized along conventional bourgeois lines without regard to the far different social character of the war. Flagrant treachery and defeatism in bourgeois circles have been "overlooked" or ignored until too late out of not very savory political considerations. The government has been deliberately removed from the direct influence and control of the great labor organizations that comprise the vast majority of Loyalist Spain's working population. And, in order to put thru this reactionary course, a crusade of repression has been unleashed against the revolutionary sections of the labor movement so that thousands of the most energetic and devoted anti-fascist fighters have been thrown into jail and abandoned to the gruesome tortures of Stalin's Spanish G.P.U.

Is it any wonder, then, that the morale of the masses has been gradually deteriorating, according to the reports of friendly correspondents, that moods of passivity and indifference have been spreading? Is it any wonder the Loyalist government has been unable to arouse the peasant masses in insurgent territory to action behind the lines, the surest way of smashing Franco? The People's Front, with its systematic surrender to the reactionary interests and prejudices of the bourgeoisie, has been proved a thousand times over to be the road to disaster in Spain.

And abroad? Why has Franco been able to get away with the blockade of Spain, violating alike international law and the interests of the people of both countries? Primarily because, thru the People's Front, all independent political action of the masses has been choked off and the government itself virtually freed from any fear of effective popular pressure. Leon Blum is able to carry thru the instructions of his political masters—the French Radicals and the British Foreign Office—without worrying too much about the masses; are not their organizations tied hand and foot by the People's Front? No right-wing regime in France could have mistreated anti-fascist Spain the way Blum and Chautemps have done and gotten away with it; the workers, thru their parties and unions, would have had something to say. But Blum and Chautemps can—because, under the People's Front, the masses may shout their heads off in protest but their organizations continue supporting the government anyway. If

Basic Resolution of the Paris Conference

(We publish below the main political resolution, "The International Working-Class Movement and Our Tasks," adopted by the International Revolutionary-Socialist Conference that met recently at Paris. The resolution was based on a draft proposed by Fenner Brockway of the I.L.P. and Jay Loestone of the I.C.L.L. It was strongly supported by the I.C.O.—The Editor.)

CAPITALISM is in the throes of a severe crisis, shaking it to its very foundations. In the most highly developed countries of capitalism millions are jobless. In an increasing number of countries, the ruling class resort to the open dictatorship of fascism. The most powerful capitalist governments are spending billions in arming themselves to the teeth in preparation for the next war.

2. Mankind finds itself between two world wars. The machinery set up in 1919 by the victorious powers, the satiated imperialist powers, for the perpetuation of the capitalist order, has been rapidly breaking down. The Versailles system has disintegrated. In the ranks of the world bourgeoisie, realignments and alignments for the impending world war are now crystallizing.

3. In this situation, new tasks of grave importance face the ranks of the international working-class movement. The increasing chaos of the capitalist world provides a great opportunity for an advance towards socialism. But, unfortunately, the international working-class movement is not in a position to seize the opportunity.

4. The first responsibility for this deplorable situation lies with the II and III Internationals which have both deserted revolutionary Marxist principles.

5. For decades, the leadership of the II International has been part of the general staff of world capitalism. It is these reformists who helped to drive the masses into the last imperialist war and who lent incalculable aid to the bourgeoisie in defeating the first wave of world revolution which followed the victory of the Russian proletariat in 1917. In recent years, the C.I., thru its adoption of class alliances in the Popular Front and its desertion of revolutionary opposition to imperialist war, has begun systematically to adopt the disastrous policies and practices of the II International which it previously denounced, and has lent new life and authority to reformism and social-patriotism.

6. This situation in the working-class movement cannot be overcome by wavering between or floundering within the II and III Internationals. Only thru the development of an International adopting a revolutionary Marxist program and practise, based on the principles laid down by Marx and developed and applied by Lenin in the Russian revolution, can the working-class movement save itself from its critical condition and advance to the conquest of power.

7. The II International cannot be brought back to the road of the class struggle. The III International has also become a reformist organization, the "international"

in Spain Popular Frontism has gravely undermined the effectiveness of the struggle against the fascist enemy, in France it has facilitated the strangulation of Loyalist Spain by what amounts to a one-sided blockade in favor of Franco!

Guilty—the People's Front! This is the verdict of recent history. If Spain is to be saved from the iron heel of fascism, the masses in Spain and France must throw off the paralyzing straight-jacket of Popular Frontism and strike out along the lines of independent class action. It is not yet too late!

instrument of the Stalinist reactionary bureaucracy, and cannot serve revolutionary principles because: (a) of the Stalinist leadership of the C.P.S.U. and of its puppets in the C.I. and its sections; (b) the counter-revolutionary elements which have crept in or have become such as a result of the People's Front practised by the III International; (c) its repudiation in practise of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; and, (d) the complete absence of inner-party democracy in the C.P.S.U. and the C.I. It is necessary for the revolutionists in both the II and III Internationals to struggle against these policies and aspects of their organizations and face the consequences of their action.

8. The "organic unity" on a reformist basis of the parties of the II and III Internationals, or of the Internationals themselves, can be no solution of the problem before the working class. It can lead only to a strengthening of reformism and to a combination of the social-democratic coalition policy with Stalinist bureaucratic terrorism. The example of the Catalonian P.S.U.C. indicates this.

9. The need of the hour is the gathering together of all forces, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, ready to cooperate in revolutionary struggle against all imperialist forces, against the so-called "democratic" capitalist powers as well as the fascist powers, against imperialist exploitation, war and hunger. Towards the realization of this need, this Conference is a significant step.

10. The basis of collaboration should be the acceptance of the following principles included in the invitation to this conference:

(a) Class action as the basis of the struggle against capitalism, the capitalist state, war, fascism and imperialism.

(b) Rejection of the policy of the People's Front practised by the II and III Internationals as a form of class collaboration. The workers front can make temporary agreements with the petty-bourgeois organizations for specific objectives with the understanding that this does not limit the independent class action of the workers for the aims of the social revolution.

(c) Rejection in war-time as in peace-time of social-patriotism and every form of civil peace with the capitalist class.

(d) Support of the revolutionary struggle for emancipation by the oppressed peoples of all colonial and semi-colonial countries and the linking together of the movement of the colonial peoples for national freedom with the revolutionary struggle of the colonial workers against their exploiting class.

(e) Defense of the social revolution in Spain and of the P.O.U.M. as its leader.

(f) Defense of the Soviet Union, land of the October Revolution, against imperialist aggression, for the purpose of defending the conquests of this revolution by international working-class action on a class basis—and the advocacy of proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union.

(g) Recognition of the necessity (1) to overthrow the apparatus of the capitalist state and (2) to establish, during the transition to socialism, revolutionary working-class power—that is, a proletarian dictatorship which, while destroying the power of the capitalist class, provides the maximum democracy in the working class and does not repeat the errors or the terror of the Stalinist regime.

11. The collaboration of revolutionary-socialist and genuine (anti-Stalinist) communist organizations in this manner does not

(Continued on Page 6)

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY Soviet Purge Decimates Defense and Foreign Affairs Commissariats

London, March 6, 1938.

THE whole world is naturally aghast at the rapid succession of Moscow "trials" in which the best blood of the Russian revolution has been sacrificed at the altar of the Stalin bureaucracy. For that very reason, we tend to overlook the vast sweep of the reactionary purge thruout the country, swallowing up uncounted numbers of soviet and party officials in the silence of the dungeon or the grave. How far has the purge gone? How extensive is the wreckage it has caused?

In the December 1937 issue of the English socialist journal, Controversy, Judex makes a statistical analysis of the sweep of the Stalin crusade for the year 1937—a sort of the diary of the purge, so to speak. During that year—the compiler finds after a painstaking survey of the Soviet press—nearly 3,000 (2,776 is his figure) soviet and party functionaries were removed and jailed—and many of them shot by the G.P.U. with or without a trial. There is every reason to believe, however, that this figure represents only a part of the victims of the Stalinist murder clique for not all cases find their way into the press by any means. Perhaps 5,000 would be nearer the truth.

An instructive sidelight on the political and administrative consequence of the Stalinist purge is cast in an article in the Manchester Guardian Weekly of January 28, 1938. We quote at length:

"Even in the most important People's Commissariats, high treason is alleged to have been widespread. Let us confine ourselves to the Commissariats for Defense and Foreign Affairs. The two People's Commissars, Voroshilov and Litvinov, are still at their posts but almost every one of their closest colleagues of yesterday has fallen. Karakhan, formerly Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs, has been shot and Krestinsky, another Assistant Commissar, arrested and, in recent weeks, the mass arrests among the Soviet diplomats and the higher officials of the Foreign Commissariat have been so frequently mentioned in the press that no more need be said about them. Less generally known is the devastation that has taken place in the Commissariat for Defense. A year ago the Commissariat had, under Commissar Voroshilov, four Assistant Commissars—Tukhachevsky for the Army, Orlov for the Navy, Alksnis for the Air Service, and Gamarnik for the political work in the Army. Tukhachevsky has been executed; Gamarnik committed suicide; Orlov (who represented the Russian Army at the Coronation in place of Tukhachevsky) has been silently got rid of; Alksnis, who, as recently as November 12, was unanimously adopted as candidate for the Supreme Council by the constituency of Moghilev, was replaced a fortnight later by another candidate, in open violation of the electoral law, and was arrested. It is said that he is no longer alive.

"The other Commissariats almost all show the same picture. The Commissars for the Interior (Yagoda), for the Armaments Industry (Rukhimovitch), for Finance (Grinko), for Agriculture (Chernov), for State Farms (Kalmanovitch and, after him, Dimchenko), for Posts (Rykov, and, after him, Khalpevsky), for Light Industry (Lubimov), for Forestry (Lobov and, after him, Ivanov), for Health (Kaminsky), for Internal Trade (Weizer), have been arrested. In the other Commissariats, countless acting commissars have fallen. Two acting presidents of the Council of People's Commissars, Rudzutak and Valerii Mezhlauk (the latter was also president of the State Planning Commission), have been arrested. We are asked to believe that almost the whole of the administration was in the hands of enemies of the country or of their accomplices.

Still more drastic has been the dealing with the heads of States. Under the old Constitution, the Soviet Union had no actual head of state; in place of one, there functioned the seven members of the Supreme Executive Committee, each representing one of the federal republics; Kalinin was only the first among equals. Of these seven, five have since become "enemies" and "spies"—Cherviakov (White Russia), who committed suicide; Faisulla Khodjayev (Uzbekistan); Nedirbai Aitakov (Turkmenistan); Musabekov (Transcaucasian Federation); and Rakhimbayev (Tadjikistan). Only two, Kalinin and

(Continued on Page 5)

Student Anti War Protest

By EDWARD CARROLL

A "stoppage for peace" was held at several schools and colleges in this city, initiated by the Y. C. L.-dominated A. S. U., on Thursday, March 24, at 11 a. m.

Representative Jerry O'Connell of Montana, author of a so-called "peace" bill which matches identically the Stalinist "collective security" policy, was whisked from the City College meeting to Columbia University to Madison Square Park, where Hunter College and City College (downtown) students held a joint meeting. O'Connell was the chief speaker at these schools.

O'Connell called for collective action by the "democratic peace-loving nations" to "outlaw the aggressors." Unless such action is taken promptly, he said, New York and San Francisco may yet become "targets for fascist bombers!" The Representative let the cat out of the bag in the deep concern he expressed over "our foreign trade" in the critical situation. All the other speakers presented the same point of view; obviously, the Y.C.L. was demonstrating for "peace" and "democracy."

Requests by A.S.U. members that other and genuinely anti-war viewpoints be allowed expression were coldly turned down. Members of the City College Anti-war Club, a campus organization, entered Lewisohn Stadium carrying placards with slogans such as "Schools and Housing, Not Battleships," "Support the S.W.O.C. and U.A.W.A. Anti-War Resolutions," "Down With Imperialist War," "Labor and Students—Fight Against War!" etc. Stalinists attacked the procession and tore these placards to shreds!

Undaunted, however, the club and its sympathizers shouted slogans against war and "collective security," calling for the Oxford Pledge, for freedom of the American colonies, for the international collaboration of labor and student forces against war. At every school thru the city, similar demands for militant action against imperialist war preparations were made, despite efforts of the Y.C.C.L. to present a straight pro-Roosevelt student front.

At Madison Square Park, Hunter College Y.C.L.ers led the less astute students into singing adoring lyrics for their honored speaker: "O'Connell is our leader—we shall not be moved" (!). It is even reported that the young Stalinists included among their jingoistic outbursts three rousing cheers for the police! (New York Times, March 25, 1938).

Militant students everywhere are determined not to follow in the footsteps of the classes of '17 and '18. They know that "collective security" agreements must have as their real end, not the liberation of oppressed peoples in fascist lands, but the safeguarding of foreign markets and colonies and therefore continued oppression and exploitation. They have learned to know imperialist secret diplomacy and all its works.

The City College Anti-War Club is representative of student groups which desire to carry on the militant anti-war tradition dropped by the A.S.U. at the last annual convention. It attacks Hearstian "isolationism" and reveals the weaknesses of more sincere and naive forms of this policy. Its positive program is based on the conviction that only mass action against, and not behind, the government, can stave off war. It calls for international labor and student cooperation in giving aid to Spain and China, in boycotting and stopping shipments to the fascist countries, and in refusing "to support imperialist governments in any war they may undertake." It fights against war preparations and demands government expendi-

BOOKS

WORKERS FRONT, by Fenner Brockway. London, 1938.

THERE is surely no more urgent task today than the restoration of the political independence of the working-class movement and its liberation from the demoralizing influence of Popular Frontism. For this, an absolute prerequisite is political clarity, an understanding of how the Popular Frontism of the Stalinites and the right-wing socialists must inevitably lead, as it has already led in more than one country, to defeat and disaster. This book by Fenner Brockway, secretary of the British Independent Labor Party, makes this theme its central purpose and is therefore to be heartily welcomed. Amply documented and closely reasoned, it is a timely and important addition to the arsenal of works dealing with proletarian policy. Some of the secondary points raised in the book may be debatable but, as a whole, the work is thoroughly sound and especially effective in the manner in which it acquires itself on its central task.

A short introduction reminds us that the basic political presuppositions of the People's Front violate at every point the most elementary teachings of revolutionary Marxism, that the new reformism ignores the class structure of capitalist society, ignores the class nature of capitalist democracy, ignores the class character of the capitalist state, ignores the class struggle and the fight for socialism. In short, we have here the crudest reformism tricked out in new, shiny labels. This leads us to the heart of the book, a concrete, critical examination of the People's Front policy as it has actually operated in Spain, France and other countries, to the grave detriment of the interests of the working class.

Brockway reviews the course of the Spanish events from the beginning and proves up to the hilt how the People's Front system not only opened the way for the fascist insurrection but later also destroyed the revolutionary gains made by the workers and peasants in the days of the great upsurge and therefore undermined the effectiveness of the struggle against Franco. Similarly for France—the story of how the powerful and militant French proletariat has been tied to the sole advantage of fascism and reaction.

What the book proves beyond the shadow of a doubt is that a policy which seeks to yoke together working class and bourgeoisie in defense of capitalist democracy, as does the People's Front, must inevitably lead to working-class defeat. And just as clearly does it point the moral that the struggle against fascism is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism, that the defeat of fascism is possible only thru the victory of socialism.

With the debacle of the Communist International, a new international concentration of revolutionary Marxist forces becomes essential. In this connection, Brockway emphasizes the significance of the international conference at Paris, then about to be held. The conference, since completed, has indeed gone a long way towards realizing the hopes held out for it and laying the foundations of a

new revolutionary center without which the first steps in winning the working class for socialism are unthinkable. As against the People's Front, Brockway advances the idea of a united-workers front internationally and in England, for which he makes a strong and effective plea. With this orientation, we heartily agree, of course. Yet it is impossible to regard his suggestion of an all-inclusive federated workers front, to include the 2nd International, the 3rd International, the anarcho-syndicalists, the independent communists and the revolutionary socialists, as at all realistic under existing circumstances. Certainly it is not the way in which international unification seems likely to proceed in the next period of time. On the question of the re-affiliation of the I.L.P. to the Labor Party, Brockway's formulations seem rather uncertain and contradictory. Without going into the old question whether the I.L.P. should ever have disaffiliated, it is my considered opinion that, under present conditions, it would be well for the I.L.P. to direct its efforts towards re-affiliation on a satisfactory political basis—the organizational and

Railroads And Wages

(Continued from Page 1)

they say nothing of cutting capitalization and capital claims. In other words, the magnates want to maintain overcapitalization and capital claims—and, of course, interest and profits—by reducing the wages and standards of living of the employees.

Why not, labor must ask, cut capital claims instead of wages? The demand for wage-cuts is a confession of the capitalist inability to solve the problem of prosperity. They are baffled by the problem. And, when the capitalists are baffled, they resort to cutting wages. But, if wages are generally cut, a decrease in mass purchasing power will follow; that will reduce the effective consumer demand for goods and services, and industry may operate on a still lower level. The wage-cut "cure" will make the disease worse.

The Real Issue

This is really the issue: the railroad magnates and other advocates of wage-cuts want to reduce the earnings and standards of living of workers and lower-salaried employees in order to increase profits. But, since today there is a decreasing demand for new capital investment, the piling up of greater profits means the piling up of idle capital, which constitutes a deduction from consumption; that would mean lower production levels because of lower effective consumer demand. The crisis of profits might be eased but not the crisis of production, employment and purchasing power.

What is needed is this: lower profits and higher wages in order to reduce capital claims and increase mass purchasing power. And, in addition, government action to stimulate economic activity to put to work our unused capacity to produce—especially a large-scale government program of subsidized low-cost housing.

The real problem is unused capacity. Labor is not responsible for that unused capacity and labor must demand action to permit the use of that unused capacity. There must be full employment of equipment, labor and resources. That alone can solve the economic crisis.

Wage-cuts will never solve the problem of unused capacity; they will make the problem worse. It is up to labor to formulate and fight for a program of economic measures, regardless of capital claims and profits, that will permit society to use all its resources to produce goods and services for the people.

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ideological independence of the I.L.P. must, of course, be safeguarded in the Labor Party's federated structure. The obstacles in the way of practical realization of the efforts in this direction are admittedly great but that does not make the task less urgent.

Aside from these points of difference, which are after all secondary considering the character and scope of the work, Brockway's book may fairly be regarded as fixing a high-water mark in British working-class political writing. J. C.

Labor Notes and Facts

A SURVEY of relief conditions in twenty-eight states disclosed "shockingly low standards" of direct relief in many communities, the American Association of Social Workers reported recently.

With unemployment mounting in the face of inadequate local and state funds, welfare practises in many areas have "deteriorated" to pre-depression levels, Walter West, executive secretary of the association, said.

Wholesale reductions in relief grants, evictions, malnutrition, more restrictive eligibility requirements and periodic stoppages of relief were found in a large number of the forty-three representative districts studied.

"State and local governments faced with the problem of providing more and more relief have resorted to various expedients in an attempt to spread resources over growing needs," the report said.

"Relief allowances, already below levels necessary to maintain life and health, have been further pared; relief has been made hard to get and difficult to endure; medical care and clothing allowances have been eliminated; administrative expenses have been slashed arbitrarily; relief offices have been closed periodically; new applicants are being refused."

In some parts of the South, according to the report, federal sur-

The Influence of Fascism in Brazil

(Continued from Page 3)

self "supreme authority of the state." He has assumed the right to: 1. initiate legislation; 2. suspend Congress; 3. legislate by decree; 4. suspend state legislatures; 5. rule thru federal commissions; and 6. to run for re-election as many times as he pleases.

Vargas's main strength lies in the army whose officers he has bribed and pampered and fattened against just such an eventuality. The Brazilian fascists, the Integralistas, are, of course, not very happy over the present situation, because Vargas has grabbed the juiciest of plums just as it was dangling before their watering mouths. For over half a decade, they have worked day and night only to see their prize snatched from them.

These Brazilian Green Shirts were organized in 1933 by Plinio Salgado. He admits financial aid from the German government. The party has a large daily in Rio de Janeiro, its own broadcasting station over which it broadcasts constantly anti-labor and anti-Semitic propaganda. The slogans of the Integralistas are GOD - COUNTRY - FAMILY. Part of their proclamation published at the close of 1937 reads:

"We are against partisans of all denominations. Against them, methods of violence should be employed. They are the only methods worthy of those who love Brazil sincerely. We are not organizing troops for parade purposes alone. Every liberal and every democrat has become evil, a conscienceless person, an irrational animal, who should be treated with energy, just as madmen are treated. This is the significance of our violence."

(Concluded next week)

World Today

(Continued from Page 4)

Petrovsky, remain. "Three of these seven, Khodjayev, Rakhimbayev and Musabekov, were presidents of the Council of People's Commissars—that is to say, prime ministers of their republics. In the four remaining federal republics, at least three of the premiers have fallen—Lubchenko (Ukraine)—committed suicide; Goloded (White Russia)—said to have committed suicide; and Sulinov (R.S.F.S.R., the Russian Republic). Two more, Bondarenk (Lubchenko's successor) and Volkovitch (Goloded's successor), were dismissed after a few weeks in office.

"So it has been thruout the country. The people's commissars and members of the executive committees of the various republics and the leading soviet and party officials in every part of the vast realm, have been arrested and denounced as fascist agents."

## C.P. In Plot For Wolinsky

A major scandal in the trade-union movement came to light last week when the Stalinist forces in the International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union revealed their intention of bringing Ossip Wolinsky, notorious ousted official, back into leadership of the union. Ossip Wolinsky was found guilty a few years ago of conduct unbecoming a labor leader after investigation by an impartial labor committee of charges that, while an officer of the union, he was connected with one of the largest manufacturers in the trade. Shortly after he resigned from the union, he unashamedly and openly took employment as superintendent of the very firm which had been named in the charges, saying "I made the union and I'll break it."

In the leather-goods union, collaboration between the Laderman administration and the Stalinists has prevailed for some time. Two years ago, when Wolinsky made an effort to worm his way back into the union, all elements, including the Stalinists, combined to keep him out. A short time ago, however, the Stalinists began intriguing with this unsavory character in a plot to grab control of the union. Last week, the New York pocketbook local, under Stalinist influence, voted to make Wolinsky an "honorary member" and appoint him "adviser" to the union! Now the campaign is beginning to get under way to boost him for the presidency and to capture the International. In a public statement last week, President Laderman exposed the Stalinist-Wolinsky maneuver and charged the newly formed combination with efforts to pack the coming national convention of the union. There appear to be no limits to the unscrupulous intrigues of the Stalinists in their lust for domination of the trade-union movement.

## Basic Resolution Of Paris Meet

(Continued from Page 4)

mean the formation artificially of a new International. It will, however, serve as a center for the regeneration and reconstruction of the international working-class movement and for the preparation of a revolutionary Marxist International under the appropriate political and organizational conditions as they develop. It will serve to stimulate and organize all the forces in the working-class movement which are preparing the way for a working-class International which shall be truly revolutionary.

12. The Conference appeals for the closest collaboration of all revolutionary Marxists and genuine (anti-Stalinist) communists who, without adopting the position and the sectarian and factional tactics of Trotskyism, stand for the principles of the proletarian class struggle. Such a concentration of revolutionary forces will serve as a starting point for a genuine revolutionary International, embracing the independent revolutionary parties and groups, the revolutionary elements of the II and III Internationals, and those sections of the anarcho-syndicalist movement which complete their progress towards Marxism.

13. This Conference asks the International Buro immediately to consult with the parties and sections which accept and are prepared to apply with discipline the principles stated in Clause 10 with a view to transforming the Buro on the lines outlined in this resolution.

14. To assist this purpose, the Conference endorses the following concrete proposals and the parties represented pledge themselves to cooperate in carrying them out, including the contribution of such

## Trade Union Notes

By Observer

(We devote this week's column to a letter from Jack Soderberg, well-known militant seaman, dealing with the situation in the National Maritime Union.—The Editor.)

March 23, 1938.

RECENTLY a so-called agreement was signed by the negotiating committee of the National Maritime Union, headed by Jack Lawrenson, prominent Communist Party member and formerly the chief stooge for "Mother" Roper in the dog-house at 25 South Street. It is notable that the committee barred from voting all except seamen now actually employed on the tankers. The fact that a seaman may be employed on a tanker today and a freighter tomorrow and a liner next week makes no difference to these people. The fact that the work on all ships is the same also makes no difference to these people.

As a result of this arbitrary ruling, a storm of protest broke loose from all parts of the coast and from the ships. Letter after letter was sent to the Pilot, the official organ of the union. None of these letters were ever published by the people running the Pilot.

The membership had to find a way of expression. Hence a few delegates, who had had enough of this C.P. domination, resigned their position as delegates, although still remaining members of the N. M.U., and, in conjunction with a group of rank and filers, began to issue a paper of their own, called the Rank-and-File Pilot.\*

As can be seen, the gag-rule and utter contempt for inner-union democracy, so prevalent in the old days of the Marine Workers Industrial Union of the T.U.U.L., is still rampant in those new unions where the Stalinists have managed to get hold. Nothing has changed. It's the same old thing. There is only one difference. In the old days, there wasn't a great deal of money to misuse. The new unions today have something in the treasury—or had. A couple of examples in passing. In the month of October 1937, the total income amounted to \$18,423. Disbursement for the month amounted to \$17,791. For the month of December of the same year, the total income amounted to \$29,387.76. Total expenses of that month were \$30,734.68. This is the last financial statement available. According to their own official report, the state of finances is in a far worse shape now and the union is running on a regular monthly deficit. To offset this, the District Committee has decided to recommend to increase the dues from \$1 per month to \$1.50. The murmur preceding the roar of a

\* This is the group that Curran recently denounced as "ship-owners stooges," undercover agents of the A. F. of L. seamen's union and "a bunch of professional pie-cards"! We are glad to present Jack Soderberg's explanation of the character of this group.—THE EDITOR.

financial assistance as is in their power:

(a) The publication of a regular international news service in French, German, English and Spanish.

(b) The publication of an international journal to discuss the problems of revolutionary-socialist policy.

(c) The establishment of an International Fund to assist revolutionary-socialist parties and individuals suffering from persecution.

The Conference instructs the International Buro to prepare immediately actual proposals regarding the above and to circularize them among all the parties and groups.

15. By the line of action laid down in this resolution, the solidarity of all revolutionary socialists and genuine communists will be developed and the way prepared for a revolutionary Marxist International.

storm is already to be heard in the ranks against this proposal.

Of course, New York is the stronghold of the Stalinists in this union. It also so happens that New York is the headquarters of the union and that the District Committee maintains its offices in New York City. The total weekly payroll of the New York office as a whole amounts to \$3,627.50. This takes care of delegates, secretaries, chairmen and stooges in general, but does not cover other overhead expenses. The expense account of the Pilot is most interesting. This weekly sheet employs and pays among others the following: editor-in-chief, business manager, two editorial assistants, two stenographers, one rewriter, three "editorial workers," whatever that is, a mailroom worker and a photographer. The total payroll for this outfit per week is \$343.00!

All I can say of the whole thing is: the old I.S.U., in its most prosperous years and under its most phoney fakers, never at any time had a payroll even approaching this and there was a semblance of democracy within the union. Now there is none. A committee has finally been appointed to figure out ways and means to cut these expenses and put the union on a solvent basis. I predict stormy, very stormy, sailing for this committee.

But more important still than the financial mismanagement of the union is its policy. It is here we detect the hand of Stalinism. For a while, the union took it upon itself to punish its members for "indiscipline," etc. In fact, all the ship-owners had to do was to work the slaves; the union would punish anyone who grumbled at too much work or too unreasonable demands. It was nice going for the shipowners. However, in the end, this raised such a hell among the rank and file that the commissars at headquarters finally had to recommend the abolition of this judas-like system and it is now left to the shipowners to collect fines, etc., whenever a member has been judged as having been a little balky.

At this writing, an attempt is being made by the officialdom to sell Uncle Sam's Naval Reserve to the boys. An official statement by an executive officer of the Naval Reserve has been run in two consecutive issues of the Pilot! The statement sets forth the intent and purpose of the Naval Reserve and is quite frank in stating that any member of the Naval Reserve can and will be called upon to serve in war and in any other national emergency. The danger lies in the last part of the sentence. What constitutes a national emergency? Among other things, a national maritime strike would constitute precisely that! This being the case, the members of the union, having joined the Naval Reserve, at a later date, and then going on strike to better their conditions, can and will be forced to return to the very ships they left and thus scab upon themselves and help break their own strike! And this under far worse conditions than the ordinary scab is accustomed to! The ordinary scab usually is paid well, far better than the man

## Facts About the Recent Elections in the U.A.W.

Detroit, Mich.

SPOKESMEN for the "unity" caucus in the United Automobile Workers have rushed into the columns of the Daily Worker and the New York Post with hair-raising stories of the defeats suffered by the Martin administration in the recent union elections and the sweeping victories for their caucus. These claims are partly gross exaggerations and partly outright falsehoods. Edward Levinson's strange allegation in the New York Post that Chrysler Local 7 was Richard Frankenstein's chief base of support and that its loss represents a major defeat for him may be taken as an accurate index of the level of truthfulness of the reporting of the U.A.W. elections.

It is still impossible to make a thorough and exhaustive study of the election results as a whole because all information is not yet in. But it is interesting that the only single upset of major proportions—the overwhelming progressive victory in the "unity" stronghold of Flint—is not even discussed by Levinson. He was much too busy selecting his misinformation to give weight to such a slight fact as the sweep of a local of some 35,000 workers.

Equally irresponsible is the claim of "unity" victory in "no fewer than ten large locals." The only local that might be considered large, in the list given, is Walter Reuther's West Side local. In this case, the surprising fact is not that Reuther led his opponent by four to one but that, after dominating the local from its very inception, he should have caused the birth of any opposition at all. That a poorly organized and ill-led opposition ticket could secure 20% of the vote with practically no campaign on foot indicates broader dissatisfaction in the local than one would have expected. In addition, it must be pointed out that no one knows better than Reuther himself that the 20% of the total vote cast for the opposition does not represent the maximum opposition strength in his local.

Misleading also is the report on Chrysler Local 7 and Fisher Body in Cleveland. In the former case, while the "unity" caucus elected its candidate for president, the progressives elected a majority of the executive board of the local. In the latter case, the leadership of the local was divided evenly prior to the recent election and the election did not in the least change this relationship.

Interesting is the remark to the effect that the Lansing results have not been announced. The fact of the matter is that the "unity" people know the Lansing results very well. In the primaries held several weeks ago, all progressive

whose job he took. In this case, however, you return to your ship under naval discipline (including being subject to court martial) and naval conditions, i.e., a pay of something like 30% of present scale of wages in the merchant marine I need dwell no more on this. It should be obvious to anyone just where this will take us.

At a recent meeting, Joe Curran moved and was seconded by none other than Jack Lawrenson, that the union take a neutral stand on this question. Need I say any more? A union taking a neutral stand as to whether or not its members are to become potential strike-breakers in the inevitable coming struggle! Imagine, if you please, what would happen were the union to refuse to transport war material to Franco or any future Francos! All the government need to do is to invoke the "emergency clause," force the crew back on the ship, and presto, Franco gets his bombs!

Jack Soderberg

candidates, with the exception of two, received an outright majority of the votes cast and were declared elected. The two in question received pluralities and a final election for them is to be held—not for the entire ticket.

However, "unity" supporters in Lansing have been conducting a campaign for a new election for all officers on the ground that "not enough" workers (about 10%) turned out to vote and that the final results were very close. Administration spokesmen point out that the "unity" people do not challenge the election as such, since they have even failed to ask for a recount. A small total vote has never been regarded anywhere as sufficient grounds for voiding an election, especially as there is no guarantee that new elections would bring out more to vote. Attention is also called to the extremely small total vote in such "unity" strongholds as Walter Reuther's West Side local and to the even lower proportion voting in Nat Ganley's Local 155 and John Anderson's Local 157.

Even more ludicrous is the claim that the closeness of the vote is a reason for voiding the elections. Why should new elections change that? And furthermore, what about the election of the chairman of the Cadillac division of the West Side local where Reuther's man won out by 12 votes, without Reuther making the slightest move to call for new elections. The whole thing is absurd.

The mention of Dodge Local 3 as proof that Richard Frankenstein and Homer Martin "suffered serious defeats in prestige" is unfortunate for the "unity" rooters. Workers Age readers are advised to follow thru on this particular claim since it offers an excellent example of Communist Party methods in the trade unions.

Reports of widespread irregularities in the course of the Dodge election were rumored even before the count ended. The report of a complete "victory" for the "unity" caucus was therefore not unexpected. Under the circumstances, the International office of the U. A.W., upon receipt of these complaints, impounded the ballots and consulted the elections committee. The latter staunchly refused the demand of large numbers of workers for a recount. This refusal strengthened the conviction among progressives that fraud had been resorted to. At a membership meeting of Dodge Local 3 held last Sunday, March 27, the question was reopened and, over the opposition of the "unity" caucus and the elections committee, the members voted to open the boxes and recount the ballots.

In the light of the Dodge developments, the "unity" caucus would do well to choose its "victories" with greater care.

## L.A. Groups Brand Moscow "Purges"

Los Angeles, Cal.

Representatives of six working-class organizations, the Independent Communist Labor League, Libertarians (anarchists), Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young People's Socialist League and Young People's Socialist League (4th Internationalists), have united to sponsor a mass meeting to protest Stalinist terror against the revolutionary working-class forces the world over as exemplified in the latest Moscow trials.

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