SPECIAL ISSUE ON REARMAMENT

# Workers A

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

RMAMENTS ECONOMICS MEAN A SOCIAL SUICIDE by Lyman Fraser . . . . page 3 THE C.I.O. AND THE AUTO UNION by George F. Miles . . . page 2

Reform Policy

Annual Message Devoted To Foreign Po-

licy, Armaments Pro-

gram Of White House

A sum of nearly nine billion dol-lars — \$8,995,663,200 — to cover the

federal budget for the fiscal year

1940, was asked by President Roose-

velt in a special budget message to

This gigantic sum represents a

slight decrease as against the 1939

budget, which was \$9,492,329,000.

Recovery-relief spending is slash-

ed. The sum requested is \$2,266,-165,000, about a billion lower than

But national defense expenditures

are to reach a new peace-time high

-two billion dollars, double the pre-

vious year, itself a peace-time high.

the President wants \$442,000,0000 in

new levies, primarily for armaments.

The campaign to put America on

war footing-psychologically, eco-

nomically and militarily—was offi-

cially launched last week when Pres-

ident Roosevelt delivered his annual

message to the new session of Con-

The greater part of the message

was devoted to war preparations and

foreign affairs. In the Roosevelt tra-

dition, it was designed rather as an

appeal to the public than as a report

to the Congress. However, it in-

cluded, in popular form, the essential points of the Administration pro-

gram for the coming period.

"IDEALISTIC" CAMOUFLAGE

As "idealistic" camouflage of the

war drive, Roosevelt raised the slo-

gan in his message: "Defense of

religion, democracy and international

good-faith," following very closely

the old Wilsonian formula, "To make

"Adequate defense," the President

emphasized, consists of three main

parts: (1) the building up of the

"armed forces and defenses" of the

country; (2) the "organization and

location of key [economic] facili-

ties"; and (3) the consolidation of

the "underlying strength of citizen-

ship," which, he explained, means

"national unity." A special message

dealing with the first two points, the

President said, would be forthcom-

In the field of foreign policy, the

ing in a few days.

the world safe for democracy,"

Taxes are to go up a little higher;

Part of War

**Planning** 

Congress last week.

the year before.

Vol. 8, No. 2.

NEW YORK, N. Y. SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1939

5 CENTS

## AT FIRST GLANCE

= **by Jay Lovestone** =

#### SIMPLE TRUTHS

SOME truths are so simple, so old, and so firm that too many people tend to forget about them. That's why we have been repeating with such persistence certain features of the present world situation.

It is our conviction that unless labor prevents it, the United States will plunge into the impending world war sooner and with fuller force than most imagine—and certainly sooner and more decisively than in the 1914-1918 war to "make the world safe for democracy." All indications point to a line-up similar to that of the preceding holocaust. But let no one be fooled as to the why and wherefore of the coming slaughter of tens of millions. Hitler's hypocrisy, Stalin's demagogy, Chamberlain's morality, and Roosevelt's humanity are just that much dirt hiding a painful truth. Let the New York Times correspondent, Augur, in his December 30 London dispatch, do some focusing:

"It is remarkable how the cleavage between Britain and Germanythe source of which is a clash of purely economic interests—tends all the time to transform itself into a conflict of two moralities. Imperceptibly, the fight for world markets becomes a struggle of rival civilizations."

Those who sneer at Marxian materialism, at historical materialism, can do well to ponder the above. And in viewing the complicated conditions of the moment, all of us will be helped considerably if we employ as our methodology the following essence of Marx's philosophic approach: "Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?"

#### CHAMBERLAIN AT WORK

A ND as Chamberlain is preparing to flirt with the Vatican and to woo Catholicism as a moral force against brute force, we are further reminded of Marx: "What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." In this light one can easily see thru what Augur means when he says:

"Europe these days is constantly falling into two camps. The division between these rival camps is determined not so much by political or racial as by moral considerations. . . . The British visit to the Pope is equally noticeable because it comes soon after the Holy Father has publicly expressed profound disagreement with the mental attitude of the dictators towards the essential problems of human relations."

Yes, it is clear that Chamberlain is preparing to put over something particularly dirty-some momentous concession to Mussolini or some handsome gift to Hitler-in the very near future. That's the real reason for his going so heavily into the "morality" and "sanctity" game. The Vatican as the fortress of extreme reaction is soon going to be heralded as a force of mighty progressivism by Chamberlain as well as by Stalin's blotter,

Browder. Of the same suicidal brand is the present Stalin strategy of sycophancy before the so-called "democratic" powers. In essence, Stalin diplomacy thus pleads on bended knee to Lombard Street imperialism: "You think you can save your vast empire, your prized India, your precious possessions in Africa, by playing with Nazi Germany. May we humbly say to you that you are wrong? If you really want to save your tottering

empire, then play with Stalin." Lots of dirty water has flowed under the bridges of time since Stalin succeeded Lenin and displaced Leninism. It may appear old-fashioned but we still believe that not until the British Empire is broken up can the talk of world revolution transcend the realm of rhetoric. At the risk of being called cynical and hyper-suspicious, we cling to our contention that the German proletariat, in its struggle to overthrow the Nazi regime, cannot count in the least on Britsh, American, or French imperialism. Hence, "collective security"—1939 edition is as unacceptable to us as was its 1914 edition. Ditto for British imperial anti-Hitlerism of 1939 alongside of Czarist anti-Kaiserism and Wilson-Palmer "democracy" of more than two

## **DECLINE AND DECAY**

VORLD production of steel ingots and castings was well over one hundred million gross tons in 1938. This represented a loss of about 20% from the preceding year.

These drab figures tell far more than a surface glance at them would reveal. Despite consumption of huge supplies for armaments, despite a vastly increased supply of iron devoured by the armament industry, world steel production registered a drastic drop. No other facts or figures could be marshalled to indicate as forcefully the gravity of the economic crisis gripping the world. Not even the terrific stimulus of armaments could prevent a sharp decline in the production of the steel sinews of capitalist

The role of armaments as a force for reviving industry is too often viewed falsely and too many economists see only the positive side, the momentary stimulating phase, of armaments. Very few give any consideration to the negative, to the more permanent depressive phase of war preparations. These preparations breed an enervating lack of confidence in social, political and economic relations. The resulting depressive effects on economy may appear intangible to the superficial observer but they are very serious in their undermining influence.

Greater Germany and the United States afford striking confirmation of our conclusions. With the annexation of Austria, Germany displaced the United States as the world's premier per-capita steel consumer. This was occasioned entirely by Hitler's mad armament pace. No one can question the essentially unsound, acutely critical condition of German economy. Not even its big spurt in the production of steel for death-dealing machines can hide, let alone overcome, this decadence in its economic life. And the United States, the strongest capitalist economic machine, had of confidence that weakens the underpinnings of the entire system.

## Zimmerman Calls For **United Labor Front**

## **New Congress Threatens Past Gains**

gains thru social legislation, Charles S. Zimmerman, head of the Dressmakers Union Local 22, International Ladies Garment Workers Union, last week sent a telegram to national trade-union leaders urging them to call a conference to form a united labor front to press the fight for social legislation. The telegram, which was sent to William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; John L. Lewis, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; and George Harrison, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, reads as fol-

"Conservative forces in Congress, are organizing to prevent enactment of new social legislation and to revise existing social legislation and to worsen the unemployment situation by cutting down W.P.A. appropriations. This dangerous ten- tempts to wipe out labor's gains."

Declaring that the present situa- | dency can be checked only by united tion in Congress is a threat to labor labor action. To prepare that united action, regardless of labor's organizational differences, I suggest calling a national conference of representatives of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O., and the railway brotherhoods. Only the unity of labor can defeat reaction.'

Amplifying his telegram in an address over Station WEVD the following evening, Zimmerman said: "The President's refusal in his

message to propose new social legislation will undoubtedly be taken as an admission of weakness in the progressive ranks by reactionaries in Congress. If they are given a free hand, the benefits that social legislation has brought to labor will disappear. This situation makes it mandatory to bring about immediate united labor action. Such united action would serve notice that labor will not tolerate reactionary at-

# Mooney Free!

**Famous Labor Prisoner Pardoned** 

Tom Mooney, for twenty-two | California, Culbert L. Olson. The



TOM MOONEY Formerly No. 31921

where, more than two decades ago, he had been an active trade-union and socialist leader.

The same courage and vitality that enabled Mooney to direct his own fight for liberty from his prison cell remains with him now that he is ready to reenter actively the labor movement, which has so long fought for his freedom. "The social order is decaying," Mooney declared in his speech of thanks, "and a new social order must be built up."

Rejoicing at the freedom of Tom Mooney has spread throut the international labor movement, where his cause had become a battle-cry. Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, has already invited Mooney to visit England as guest of the I.L.P.

Mooney declared that his immediate attention would be turned to the freeing of Warren K. Billings, framed with him, but still in jail.

## 'CIO Receivership Must End'-Martin

## **UAW President Demands Restoration** Of Autonomy to Auto Union

tional Executive Board of the U.A.W. demanding the return of our union has been called for Tuesday, January | to its members, thru the restoration 10. Officially, the meeting is called of the authority and control to the for the purpose of hearing a report | hands of its democratically-elected but, according to the Daily Worker, provisions of our constitution. This which seems to have inside inform- can be accomplished by abolishing ation, an effort will be made to re- the so-called Coordinating Commitmove Homer Martin from the pres- tee and the termination of the speidency of the union.

nnected with the action Plymouth local of the U.A.W. in Detroit a few days before. At that "CLOAK OF IMMUNITY" meeting, attended by between 3,500 and 4,000 members, it was decided a dozen voting against, to recall the asked to appoint two administrators.

## (Special to the Workers Age)

Detroit, Mich. Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, in a radio address delivered here on Tuesday, January 3, over Station WJR, charged that the C.I.O. Coordinating Committee, composed of C.I.O. chiefs Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray in addition to U.A.W. leaders R. J. Thomas and Martin himself, had not only failed to end factionalism in the U.A.W. but that factionalism had increased and that dissolution of the so-called 'peace" committee was imperative.

## RESTORE AUTONOMY

"We are determined," Martin said,

A special meeting of the Interna- our membership to join with me in recent negotiations with Ford leadership, who are subject to the cial agreement now in existence be-This sudden move was apparently tween the Executive Board of the

"Certain individuals and groups almost unanimously, less than half within the union," Martin charged "have used the special agreement officers of the local, all of them with the C.I.O. as a cloak of immuanti-Martin, and to have new elec- | nity, under cover of which they have tions in ten days. For the interven- even intensified their destructive ing period, President Martin was factional activities and propaganda. These activities, if permitted to continue, will inevitably split and disrupt our International Union and may even destroy it. This, I am determined as President of the U.A.W. to prevent. If our great International Union is to resume its progressive and constructive program and go forward toward the achievement of new gains, we must be in a position to determine, without outside interference, our program, policies and leadership.

"It goes without saying," Martin added, "and there should be no disputing the fact that the United Automobile Workers of American belongs only to its membership, to the men and women who, by paying violation of our constitution and and members of the U.A.W. and add that at no time has the memany one the authority to deliver over cratic processes and principles." 'that 1939 shall see the complete the direction and control of the afrestoration of our autonomy as an fairs of the union to any outside above are portions of a letter which ment made to the press in which h International Union, and I call upon body. In fact, to do so is an open Martin has addressed to all officers

# F.D.R. Asks 2 Billion Tom Mooney, for twenty-two years deprived of liberty by the employing class and its agents, was unconditionally pardoned last week by the newly elected governor of where two decades ago.

"HEAVY, HEAVY OVER THY HEAD"



-From The Baltimore Sun

## Onward, Soldiers of the Dollar

We are commind the Bible in our hands, We are carrying the gospel to the lost in foreign lands; We are marching on to glory, we are going forth to save With the zeal of ancient priest, with the prayer of modern knave; We are robbing Christian churches in our missionary zeal, And we carry Christ's own message in our shells and bloody steel. By the light of burning roof-trees they may read the Word of Life, In the mangled forms of children they may see the Christian strife. We are healing with the gatling, we are blessing with the sword; For the Honor of the Nation and the Glory of the Lord.

Then march on, Christian soldiers! with sword and torch in hand, And carry free salvation to each benighted land! Go, preach God's Love and Justice with steel and shot and shell! Go, preach a future Heaven and prove the present Hell! Baptize with blood and fire, with every gun's last breath, Teach them to love the Father, and make them free in Death Proclaim the newer gospel; the cannon giveth peace, Christ rides upon the warship his army to increase. So bless them with the rifle and heal them with the sword For the Honor of the Nation and the Glory of the Lord! WILLIAM C. EGGLESTON

their dues, support it. And we might | places our union in a receivership | which he read verbatim in the course which can only retard its growth of his address. bership of the U.A.W. granted to and progress and defeat its demo-

Martin said he was reading the full text of his letter for the pur-The quotations of the speech cited pose of explaining a recent state (Continued on Page 3)

#### message implied that the Adminis-"Wall Street liked President Roosevelt's speech today and expressed its feelings by buying stocks in sufficient volume to lift price fractions to around 3 points at one time. . . . Pound sterling gained more than a cent."-New York World-Telegram, Jan. 4, 1938.

tration would soon move to amend the Neutrality Act so as to give the President greater "discretion," that is, the power to "name the aggressor" and thus involve the country in any foreign war on the side he may happen to favor. There was also a strong indication that resort to economic measures against "aggressors" in the form of sanctions might be sponsored by the Administration. Of course, it is to be expected that the White House and the State Department will strongly oppose any war-referendum legislation or any other proposal designed to keep America out of war.

As far as domestic affairs are concerned, the President made it clear that the period of New Deal social reform was over. The reforms played a big role in preparing the country for war but such measures were no longer necessary. Aside from government reorganization and railroad legislation, Mr. Roosevelt said, "the past three Congresses have met in part or in whole the pressing needs of the new order of things. internal conflict in the launching of our program of social reform." It is on the basis of abandoning any effort at further reform that the Administration expects to cement its "national-unity" front with the conservative elements in the Democratic party and with the Republicans as

No "drastic curtailment" of govrnment spending could be expected, the President said, until the national (Continued on Page 2)

# And the United States, the strongest capitalist economic machine, had the largest loss in steel output (43.5%). Roosevelt's rearmament program cannot alter trends basically. The very war preparations engender a lack Joint Anti-War Appeal

## Call on Trade Unionists to Fight Administration Drive to War

(The appeal below was recently issued in leaflet form jointly by the New | at their will. York Dressmakers Branche of the I.L.L.A. and the Socialist Party.—Editor.)

GREAT danger threatens the American people. Under all kinds of deceptive slogans, a concerted move is under way to stampede this country into a vast super-armaments program. It is not enough that last year more millions were spent on the army and navy than ever before in the history of this country while at peace. More and still more must be spent! More and still more must be thrown into the bottomless pit of war preparations!

For the bankers, industrialists and munition makers, all this means the protection of their "interests" (investments and business) and the increase of their profits at home and abroad.

For labor, for the mass of the people, the super-armaments program means war; it means that this country will be swallowed up in another world slaughter, bringing fascism in its wake.

It means lower living standards for the masses. It means that billions of dollars will be taken away from unemployment relief, housing and other really useful social expenditures to be burnt up on armaments and munitions. It means drastic cuts in W.P.A., social security and public works to swell the profits of the "merchants of death." It means a military fascist dictatorship for the United States, which will outlaw strikes, conscript labor, curtail of public works. collective bargaining, place the lives of the workers and their organizations in the hands of the war-mongers to be disposed of

They tell you that rearmament will bring prosperity and cut down unemployment. This is a deliberate fraud. Armaments economics is false economics. As President Roosevelt himself emphasized in his address at Buenos Aires two years ago, on December 1st, 1936: "Employment thru rearmament is false em- of earlier years, he pointed out, had ployment . . . We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy, like a house of cards, will fall apart."

The poison of jingoism, of whooping it up for war and armaments, is spreading, even in the labor movement. In the ranks of labor, it is being peddled most brazenly by the Stalinites. Throwing overboard all the principles and traditions of the class-con- We have now passed the period of scious working-class movement, the Communist Party has come out for the big armaments program, side by side with the American Legion and other patrioteering, chauvinistic organizations Workers!! Trade Unionists!!

Beware of the poisonous propaganda of the war-mongers and

maments boosters in whatever guise it may come. Remember: Bigger armaments mean slashes in relief, cuts in W.P.A., retrenchment of low-rent public housing, abandonment

Against war! Against armaments! Against fascism! For jobs - for peace - for freedom!

## C.I.O. Control Big Issue In U.A.W. Faction War

## Martin Strength Grows; Union Demands Autonomy

By GEORGE F. MILES

66 WHAT does Martin say?" This is the question most often Martin.

to throw in the face of President the union.

Nor are heard among auto workers for since the capitulation of some of his supspoken up.\*

#### MARTIN AND THE PACT

Perhaps it was a feeling of futility and disgust with the grasping careerism of some, which, in comparison, make a weather-vane a symbol of stability; perhaps his fear that a continued struggle against the C.I.O. pact would not be understood by the membership, which might be made to believe that he was fighting to hold his own position as President. Whatever the exact reason, President Martin did go along with the pact, never professing to believe in it but rather taking the point of view that it was a decision of the union, and, like all other decisions, would have to be tested in life. Nor did he speak up during the last several months when a bitterly biased International Board majority worked overtime to undermine his prestige and standing with the membership, to break up his support in the ranks and to eliminate his friends and supporters in the union.

But even his silence was not received graciously. It was interpreted by his opponents as a method of eloquent protest against their deeds and misdeeds. He was stirring up the membership even with his silence! More recently, the Stalinists have charged that Martin is not as silent as first impression would indicate. They point to a series of mimeographed leaflets under the signature of E. Greene, which are being sent thru the mails to members of the U.A.W.; they charge, tho not officially, that these are is sued by some one close to Martin. Nor do the Stalinists deny that he has been bucking many of their proposals in the International Board.

That anonymous leaflets, sharply condemning the International Board for scheming to abolish the union paper, for voting back-pay to the expelled officers, for playing the Stalinist game, for curtailing the autonomy and democracy of the union, could receive such widespread support in the ranks, is in itself an indication of the slight hold which the International Board has over the membership as well as of the widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks with conditions in the union.

#### "REVOLT" OF THE VICE-PRESIDENTS

It was under these circumstances that a panicky group of officers received the news of their appointments to various union departments by President Martin. For months the officers, especially those who had been expelled and later reinstated, conducted an energetic campaign to the effect that President Martin was assigning them no functions for factional reasons of his own. When the assignments finally did come, they merely changed the version slightly and now shouted that the appointments were made for factional reasons. Vice-Presidents Mortimer, Frankensteen and Hall announced their determination not to take over their new functions-Hall was assigned to General Motors Department, Frankensteen to West Coast aircraft and Mortimer to East Coast aircraft-and said they would appeal to the C.I.O. Coordinating Committee (Progressive workers in the U.A.W. call it the "Subordinating Committee.")

ordinating Committee is not known. But it is known that the Coordinating Committee refused to take up the appeal of the disgruntled officers. Some insist that the groundswell of dissatisfaction in the U.A.W. with the leadership the C.I.O. is known to back, had something to do with it. Others state that the officers were advised to solve the problem in their own International Board where they could easily override Martin's appointments by majority action of the Board.

## BITTER FACTIONALISM

Whatever the fact may be, certain it is that the controversy over appointments brought to a head the latent division in the union. Having picked the wrong issue for a showdown, the International Board majority is now anxiously looking about for some way of regaining its lost ground. Their hatred of and opposition to President Martin, which unites them today, was brought to the surface by recent events. Where they whispered before, they now talk quite audibly of President Martin's removal from office even before the convention of the union in August. Martin's leading role in a number of very satisfactory settlements with the employers they look upon as personal affronts and his conference some time ago with Henry Ford actually became the cause of violent panic. So factional is their outlook that any achievements of the union in which President Martin participates, are derided and prayers are regular-

\* This article was written before President Martin's recent address demanding the abolition of the C.I.O. Coordinating Committee.

ly offered for some crushing defeat | for the return of full autonomy to

porters on the International Board, of the membership are responding in has given its blessing to the very giving the C.I.O. "peace" pact a their own way by a profound con- people who served as the spearhead majority, President Martin has not tempt for the majority of the Board. for Stalinist penetration. Also such to sell the assessment to his mem- conviction-rightly or wronglytional Executive Board and that no stamp for the C.I.O. leadership. man could do. On the refusal of some of the officers to take their ap- | WHAT NOW? pointed posts, most of the former 'unity" locals turned against them and ordered them to obey President happen. The International Board is Martin's instructions. At other local meetings, Board members sweat fected membership looks to Martin blood trying to explain why the Board voted back-pay for the rein- ident Martin's position has become stated officers and then immediately stronger they concede. And they are called for an assessment to refill the fearful lest continued delay will plundered treasury. Or why the Board must continue to meet in point where any resistance on their Washington, at great expense to part will be futile. The danger now the union, unless it be that C.I.O. leaders want to keep the union un- may give rise to some adventurist ler their thumb.

> tional Board majority headed by the unity of the organization. Frankensteen and Mortimer is widespread, this opposition does not ex- to the effect that the coming meet-E. Greene leaflets have served to many questions and have at no time presented a well-rounded program. union controversy. The issue of auof C.I.O. receivers. The type of con-Pittsburgh has helped to aggravate will have proved entirely without what the International Board is do-

Nor are the ranks convinced that

To this cynical approach to basic the danger of Stalinist domination union problems the broad sections has passed just because the C.I.O. And this attitude is not confined to decisions as on the assessment, back progressive workers-it crosses all wages, abolition of the paper, partiformer faction lines. At one meeting cipation in the war-makers Congress where Board members tried to sell for Peace and Democracy, all have the assessment, a former "unity" created centers of disaffection and caucus leader said he might be able all have given rise to the growing bership but, in order to do that, he that the majority of this Internawould also have to sell the Interna-tional Board is merely the rubber

In a situation so tense and volatile, it is difficult to say what will jittery and panicky. That the disaffor leadership they know; that Presstrengthen President Martin to a exists that this feeling of despair and irresponsible move on the part Altho opposition to the Interna- of the Board, which might endanger

At this very moment, there is talk press itself in terms of a well-de-ling of the International Board in fined program. To some extent, the February will call for an emergency convention for the purpose of removunify and give form to this deep ing Martin from the presidency. ferment in the ranks but the leaflets | That Martin does not intend to take themselves are lacking in clarity on things lying down is clear from a statement issued by him in St. Louis, in which he declares that he will But a number of issues are taking place before the coming Board meetshape in the ranks and are bound to | ing the proposal to liquidate the make themselves felt in any future | Coordinating Committee because the operation of that committee has trol, with the vast majority of the tonomy is uppermost, the union tended to violate the autonomy of membership lined up behind Presnever having accepted the idea of the organization. If either of these ident Martin. placing its autonomy in the custody two moves develops, then all the stitution which the C.I.O. adopted in Lewis has brought to the U.A.W. the ranks? Does the C.I.O. know matters and to intensify the desire substance. The organization will ing in its name?

NEW YORK TAXI MEN IN GENERAL STRIKE



# Will Negro Be Jew of America?

## Labor Best Defender of Negro Rights

By EMIL MAZEY

(These paragraphs are from an article by Emil Mazey, president of Briggs Local 212, U.A.W., appearing in the SIMILAR CONDITIONS December 24, 1938 issue of the United Automobile Worker.—Editor.)

Detroit, Mich.

THE entire world has raised its ■ voice in protest over the recent presecution of the Jewish people in Germany by the Nazis. The leaders of American industrial and political life have also issued many statements condemning Hitler and have publicly proclaimed their resentment toward the persecution of the Jewish people. Many of them have raised

again be locked in battle for con-

What will the C.I.O. do? Does the perorations about the "peace" that C.I.O. know what is happening in

the slogan: "It is good to live in democracy like America."

### NEGRO FACES

The Negro worker in America to day is facing many of the conditions recently imposed upon the Jewish people in Germany. In the "land of the brave and the home of the free, the Negro workers face discrimination and persecution by their white masters. In many sections of the nation, Negro workers are not alowed to walk on the same side of the street with white people; in many public eating places, they are not allowed to eat with white people; they are not allowed to mingle with the white people in meeting halls in many sections of the country. The Negroes have been refused the rights to sit on juries in a number of states in the southern section of this country. They generally live in slum sec tions and their homes are the poorest that can be found in America. Due to their limited income, because they are forced to work at the dirtiest and most menial tasks, the social life of the Negro worker is further limited and curtailed.

The entire working class should vigorously protest the persecution of the Jewish people in Germany . . But what about eliminating persecution and discrimination in America! Public officials haven't the courage to protest against recognized persecution of the Negroes in America UNCONSTITUTIONAL because it is part and parcel of a social system and exploitation which fills the money bags of the industrial and financial barons who control and own America.

Why have the public officials ig-

Jewish people today principally to the attention of the American workdivert the attention of the German ing class from solving their probworking class from the solution of lems to fighting a minority, perhaps their economic and social problems. the Negro, in America. Only by The German working class has been eternal vigilance on the part of the duped into fighting their brothers working class in America can we and sisters, who are equally exploited avoid the conditions imposed on the by a vicious profit system, instead | German working class. of fighting their masters—the owners of Germany industry and finance. The Jewish people in Germany have ticipating actively in the labor move been singled out principally because they are a minority and because many members of their race are leaders in labor as well as financial ination, persecution and inequality

## SAME FASCIST TRICK

fables. Organized workers in America have often seen the bosses atand other issues. The bosses have tion of the South which should help ing the Negro and white worker fight each other.

American capitalism, which includes our educational system, newspapers, radios, movies, etc., has done a successful job in splitting the ranks of The future of the Negro worker delabor in order to increase the profits pends on a well-educated working Houses. As the President delivered of the capitalist class.

tion to divert the attention of the social and economic emancipation.

## **Trade Union Notes**

by George F. Miles =

MAKING HAY

CONSOLIDATED Edison of New York is on the job cashing in on the Supreme Court decision validating its contract with the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. To guarantee against the second part of the Supreme Court's ruling, which limits the I.B.E.W. to bargain only for its own members and leaves the field open for a test of strength thru an election at some later time, the company is providing facilities for the I.B.E.W. drive for the check-off and for new mem

A bulletin, on company stationery, prominently displayed on the bulletin boards, brings the following message "To Our Employees":

"The membership of Local Union B-830 of the I.B.E.W. has asked that the management accept written authorization from individual employees for the payroll deduction of the amounts of their union dues.

"The local union stated that 'it intends, if such request is granted, to distribute cards to our members who, upon voluntarily signing same, will authorize the management to take their union dues out of their

"The following is the form of deduction authorization which the management will honor, from such employees as sign it." (Then follows the printed blank of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.)

But here again the firm seems to have gone a little farther than intended for, in some departments, the above announcements were ordered removed by the personnel department of the firm.

The C.I.O. utility union issued a leaflet warning against the company's effort to "cheat" the workers "out of their (your) Supreme Court victory." The leaflet states that I.B.E.W. dues payments have been negligible in the past and the checkoff is now resorted to in an effort to force workers into line.

Least convincing, in the leaflet, is the attack on the check-off as such Don't the union leaders know that the check-off is in operation in the coal fields and in various sections of the textile industry? We have more then a suspicion that the C.I.O. union would not reject the check-off were it to receive such an offer from

Meanwhile, even the I.B.E.W. continues operation without a contract the original document having expired last June. The company gave the I.B.E.W. a temporary extension until the verdict of the Supreme Court is rendered but nothing has been done to renew the contract.

convention on what would happen to

nored the Negro problem? Can it be German workers from fighting their are waiting to play the Negro in a the Republican and Democratic parmany are using the Jewish people social problems of America lays the basis for American fascism to build The Nazis are persecuting the its ranks by attempting to divert

The American Negro can avoid

the fate of the Jewish people by parment, in the struggle to build a society that will not only solve our social problems but will add discrimto the relics of the feudal past. The Negro worker can himself eliminate discrimination in America today by The trick employed by the fascists actively participating in the program in Germany is as old as Aesop's of the C.I.O. in its effort to organize all of the mass-production workers in America. The C.I.O., at the tempting to divide and split our last convention in Pittsburgh, outranks on racial, political, religious lined a campaign for the organizabeen particularly successful in hav- to eliminate discrimination and persecution of Negroes in America. The Negro workers in the automobile The idea-fixing machinery of industry can help build a better America by joining and actively par- | der the New Deal. The Republicans ticipating in the affairs of the United Automobile Workers of America. publican-conservative Democratic class that will use its economic and Hitler is using the Jewish ques- political power in the struggle for

promoted to the secretaryship? Would he be bounced out of the C.I.O. office altogether, since he had drawn fire from many directions as a stooge for the Communist Party?

Apparently, even Stalin's stalwarts were uncertain, for two delegations were organized and pressure was brought to bear upon Lewis to place Brophy in the secretaryship. The ways of the Communist Party being both strange and devious, it operated thru a "left" delegation as well as a "conservative" one. The first included such "lefts" as Bridges, Curran, Rathborne, Pritchett, Merrill, and the second of lesser known, tho no less loyal boys, headed by Richard Frankensteen of the U.A.W.

When Carey was made secretary, leaving Brophy "out in the cold," non-Stalinist trade unionists cheered themselves hoarse. At last, the C.I.O. had shown where it stands on such things, it had put the C.P. in its place, it had told them where to get off, etc.

But, within the C.I.O., an altogether different story goes the round. Brophy was not made secretary because the leadership would become too top-heavy with miners three out of four. To prove this point, there is the fact that there is still no office of the secretary of the C.I.O. and John Brophy is still director of the C.I.O. altho, look as hard as you will, you won't find that post provided for in the newly adopted constitution.

#### **MERRY CHRISTMAS!**

66 WE have no fundamental quarrel with industry. On the contrary, we believe that labor and employers should work together for the promotion of better business, for the reduction of unemployment and for the creation of wider domestic markets by the increase of the purchasing power of our people.

"The American Federation of Labor is committed to the principle of private enterprise. We also believe, and very firmly, in fair treatment of workers." — From William Green's Christmas Message. Now isn't that nice-especially the last sentence!

WE see that Dick Frankensteen, U.A.W. vice-president, is one coming Congress for Peace and Democracy. Whether Mr. Frankensteen accepted the task in grateful part that the industrialists in America real enemy. The inability of both payment for his reinstatement to office in the U.A.W. or out of symsimilar role as the fascists in Ger- ties to solve the unemployment and pathy with the aims of this pronounced jingo outfit, was a subject for considerable speculation.

However, the U.A.W., we are happy to say, is not among the select group of union sponsors. This group includes the chemists and technicians, maritime, wood workers, telegraphers, municipal workers, agricultural, and fur workers-all closely associated with the numerous "innocent" groups sponsored by the Communist Party.

## F.D.R. Asks Two Billion

(Continued from Page 1)

income reached eighty billion dollars. The burden of expenditures in the coming period, however, is to be in the direction of armaments, and retrenchment is expected in W.P.A., public housing and other sociallyuseful federal projects. The 76th Congress to which Mr.

Roosevelt delivered this message, is quite different in composition and temper from any previous one unare in a strong position and a Recoalition would dominate both his message, there was quite a hostile demonstration from this quarter when he spoke disparagingly of a balanced budget. The Administration evidently hopes to reach a working agreement with this conservative block on the basis of a gigantic rearmament program and a 'strong" foreign policy, with the domestic reform program of the New Deal sacrificed in the bargain.

REACTIONARY "REVISION"

The anti-New Deal forces in Congress are preparing to launch a campaign of "revision" and "amendment" against such central New Deal achievements as the Wagner Act, the W.P.A. and perhaps even the wage-hour act. A certain amount of compliance on the part of the Administration with these plans is expected.

A sharp conflict is expected in Congress over both armaments and foreign affairs. Thruout the country, especially in the midwestern sections, there is tremendous peace sentiment which has made itself felt in recent months in powerful pressure on Washington.

(Read the editorials on page 4, and the column, "Talking It Over," by Bertram D. Wolfe on the same page.

## Just what happened at the Cordinating Committee is not known. Paterson Progressives In Fight to Save Union

## Imposed Stalinist Leaders Without Knowledge of Industry

By SILK WORKER (Concluded from last issue)

THE following week letters were I received by three workers who had been at the meeting. Meyer Chawere ordered to appear before the Meyer Chanatzky, the president of ure was being applied on the nathe union, was suspended for presiding at the meeting at which the other two had committed their "treasonable" conduct, namely, criticizing the leadership of the

Immediately, a storm of indignation and protest broke. Meyer Laks, a silk worker who had been active in the silk unions of Paterson for the last thirty years, was found guilty of "treason" in the union! Meyer Laks, a worker well known not only in the union but also in other sections of the labor movement, was not only been found "guilty" but was also condemned to lose his means of

earning a living in the only industry tional office of the T.W.O.C. for he has ever worked! Resentment among the membership to this expulsion policy rose to a high pitch.

The Executive Board decision was made on the basis of a section in natsky, Meyer Laks and Joseph Puro the local by-laws which read that any member found guilty of saying Executive Board to answer to anything or doing anything to the charges of "treasonable conduct" to- detriment of the union is liable to a wards the union. At the meeting of fine or suspension." When the specithe Executive Board, they appealed fication of "suspension" was called for a postponement for a week to to the attention of Abramson, he prepare a defense for the specific first had the minutes of the Execucharges and to arrange for wit- tive Board changed. However, a letnesses. In the case of Meyer Chanat- ter had already been sent to the emzky, this was granted but the other ployer informing him of the "expultwo were tried immediately. Joseph sion" and, when faced with this, Puro was fined \$50 and Meyer Laks | Abramson made a lame explanation was expelled from the union! The that there was no difference between organizer was instructed that Laks the two words. In the meantime, the be immediately removed from his storm of protest had been voiced by job in the shop! Two weeks later, the New York Forward and press-

A Limited Number of Copies

**BOUND VOLUME** WORKERS AGE: 1938

will be available shortly Please order yours in advance at \$1.75 per volume

WORKERS AGE 131 West 33rd Street New York City

some action on the entire situation In Paterson, tremendous support was rallied behind the victims of this policy of "expulsion for criticism."so much so that Abramson and his C.P. supporters were in a very small minority at the next membership

Abramson brought to this meeting

ecommendations to concur in the

ight of the Executive Board to take such action and to change the deciion to suspension for six months with the right to work in the case of Meyer Laks. During the discussion on the recommendations, an amendment was made that Laks be einstated immediately and unconlitionally. The chairman of the meetng, a Stalinist, refused to accept the amendment and only after great protest agreed to take vote on whether the amendment should be voted upon or not. This vote carried by a majority of at least 80%. When the result of the vote was seen, Abramson from the platform tried to stop the proceedings by saying it was not parliamentary law. His stooges, all gathered together in the front of the hall, started a row and, with this as an excuse, the chairman adjourned the meeting for

This is no new tactic in Paterson. as the Stalinists have used it many time before and all silk workers recognized it but were only more de-(Continued on Page 3)

## DON'T MISS THIS!

#### NORMAN THOMAS "AMERICAN SOCIALISM TODAY"

Friday, January 20, 8 p. m.

ANGELICA BALABANOFF "AMERICA AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT"

Friday, January 27, 8 p. m. Opening Lectures in a Friday evening course on

667THE STATE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" in which the following will participate:

BEN STOLBERG (Labor); JAMES RORTY (Radio); HORACE COON (The Foundations); LEWIS COREY (American Economy); NATHANIEL MINKOFF (Labor Politics); DWIGHT MACDONALD (The Film); ROGER BALDWIN (Civil Liberty); WILL HERBERG (Governmental Structure); BERT WOLFE (Whither America?)

A course no thinking man or woman can afford to miss. Send for free descriptive catalog listing this and other interesting courses. Register today!

THE INDEPENDENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd St. 7th Floor LAckawanna 4-5282

## Anti-War Youth **Meet Plans Big Drive**

By EDWARD CARROLL

7

Columbus, Ohio.

DLIZZARDS and freezing cold D failed to stop delegates, visitors and observers, representing large masses of young people, from attending the National Youth Anti-War Congress held here for four days, beginning December 27, 1938. They traveled from every part of the country, totaling 28 states, to take part in this congress.

It was a convention distinguished by its lack of blatant showmanship -serious, realistic, yet cheerful. Sixteen hard-working commissions labored to produce reports on problems of program and organization which laid the basis for a more militant and politically advanced campaign WHY FASCISTS TURN of the Youth Committee Against War, still less than a year old.

#### INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

This widening and strengthening of political orientation was the most important of the convention achievements. In answer to continued charges of "isolationism," the Commission on Aid to Anti-War and Anti-Imperialist Movements in Other Countries declared: "The Commission heard reports of the existence of organizations similar to ours in France and England, grouped around the Trade Union Center for Action Against War and the British Socialist Anti-War Front. It reimmediate steps to establish contact nent collaboration and joint demonstrative international action." Like aid and cooperation was proposed for illegal anti-fascist and anti-imperialist movements abroad. The report was unanimously accepted.

guarding Wall Street hegemony in in additional goods and services that cial eight-point program, which re- economic resources and labor had ferred to the now moribund "collec- been used-an economic loss equal tive-security" myth, was modern- to more than seven times the total ized into a condemnation of the "in- wages and salaries earned in 1937 ternational police-force" concept of the "Fourth New Deal." "The military forces of the United States the New Deal activities have been defend any genuine democracy," the 40% of our capacity to produce program reads. "If they are involved goods and services is still unused against fascist nations it will be and 10,000,000 employable workers only in the interest of imperialistic are still unemployed. gains in foreign countries which can- It is a simple matter to solve the not be those of the American peo- economic crisis in a progressive ple. . . . We reject all governmental fashion. All it requires is putting to alliances which might involve the work all our economic resources and use of the government war machine." our labor regardless of profit.

In like manner, the efforts of the PROFIT THE Administration to "revise" the pres- | STUMBLING BLOCK ent Neutrality Act in the direction of greater "discretion" for the President were condemned, altho the defects of the act itself were stressed.

## ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE

One cannot here describe in detail the thorogoing reports and plans for future activities which came out of this convention of farm and labor, church and student youth. The realism of their deliberations is best brought out by the congress's clear recognition of the central importance of organized labor in the struggle against war. Extensive plans were laid down whereby young workers could be brought into the Youth Committee Against War thru touring speakers, mass meetings and efforts to build an individual tradeunion membership.

In the course of the convention the delegates heard a luncheon ad dress by Homer P. Rainey, director of the National Youth Commission. Mr. Rainey described the plight of youth as a result of the depression, declaring that "what we need is a society based on human needs."

Tucker P. Smith, secretary of La- the autonomy of our organization. bor Anti-War Council, and Rose Pesotta, international vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U. also addressed a mass | discussing their proposed plan to meeting open to the public. Both oust him from the presidency of the emphasized the essential role of la- | U.A.W. when the International Exbor in the international struggle ecutive Board convenes early in Febagainst imperialist war.

The final session of the congress heard and approved or amended, the numerous reports, and elected the new National Council,

completely stripped of all anti-war counts in favor of Martin is the pretensions, the lines separating the pro-war from the genuine anti-war forces among the vouth become clearer. American youth do not support the Stalinist A.S.U. program They want jobs and they hate war: and that is the essence of the appeal of the Youth Committee Against War.

#### YOUTH FACES THE WARMAKERS

Reports on the A.S.U. & Y.C.A.W.

Conventions JANUARY 11th at 8 P. M. at the

RIVERA HALL 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Admission Free

Auspices: I.L.L.A. Youth Section

# **Armament Leads to Social Suicide**

By LYMAN FRASER

T/ES, nations and peoples may commit social suicide. They may do so when they come to a reason or another, pressing economic and political problems are not solved in a progressive fashion.

The capitalist world is now in that stage. Many nations and peoples are being driven toward social suicide by desperate totalitarian dictatorships. They were unable to solve their problems in a progressive fashion; now fascism is destroying all progressive forces and erecting reaction into a monstrous system of oppression and destruction.

That suicidal tendency manifests tself most clearly in the increasing resort to the system of armament economics-that is, a system which makes production of armaments the primary purpose of economic activ

## TO ARMS

Fascist governments adopt the system of armament economics for two reasons: they imagine it solves the problem of increasing the utilization of economic resources and ending unemployment by an increasing production of armaments, and they hope thru war, conquest and annexation to solve their economic prob-

lems at the expense of other peoples. And now, with definite adoption of an American system of armament economics, there are forces developing which drive our own country and our own people toward social suicide.

All sorts of ideological and political reasons are being used to justify an American system of armacommends that the Y.C.A.W. take nificant. But the underlying reason, ment economics, and they are all sigwith their youth sections for permain a progressive fashion

The American economic crisis has become permanent. It is now nearly ten years since the breakdown of prosperity in 1929, a breakdown inerrupted only by the incomplete and In this connection, the Congress short-lived "prosperity" of 1936-37. branded the recent Pan-American During the nine years 1930-38, there Conference as a means of safe- was an economic loss of \$300 billion Latin America. Point 4 of the offi- might have been produced if all our government will never be used to unable to solve the crisis: more than

But that phrase "regardless of profit" is the stumbling block. Capitalism insists there can be no production without profit. But capitalist industry is becoming increasingly unprofitable: in the effort to save profits capitalism permits unused capacity to mount which in turn cuts down on profits. It is a vicious circle-and the only way to break thru the circle is to insist that work the production of useful goods and services, is never "unprofitable" if it serves the community regardless of what happens to the money profits of the capitalist owners of industry. In the desperate effort to save

profits, capitalism resorts to the desperation of armament economics. It is desperation. For the system

## End C.I.O. Receivership

(Continued from Page 1) stated: "I shall ask the Interna tional Executive Board, at its next regular meeting, to dissolve the Coordinating Committee and restore

Executive Board members in opposition to Homer Martin are freely ruary. But Martin's support among the rank-and-file membership continues to grow. Since the issue of autonomy is basic and cuts across all previous faction lines, Martin is receiving support from hitherto hos-With the American Student Union tile elements. Another factor which anger aroused by the dangerous ten-

## Amazing Value!

A limited number of Modern Age Books can now he purchased for

## 10c per copy

While they last order: Labor Spy Racket Men Who Lead Labor They Shall Inherit the Earth From Spanish Trenches WPA Almanac

and others Send in your orders and get

further information from WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 West 33rd Street

New York City

## Germany Shows Our Future If We Submit to Arms Economics

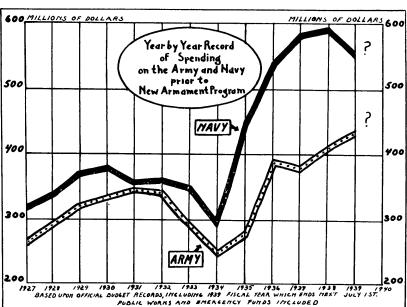
stage in history where, for one of armament economics is a confesprofitable to build more battleships. automobiles with which to enjoy life, but it is profitable to produce more tanks with which to destroy life. It is unprofitable to produce more useful goods and services for the constructive purposes of peace, but it goods and services for the destrucive purposes of war.

That is an insanity, arising out of stifling of progress.

unemployment.

Yes, look at Germany! The totalsion of capitalist breakdown. It is itarian state has crushed all deunprofitable to build more houses for mocracy and civil rights. It has desthe masses of the people, but it is troyed the labor unions, transforming workers into slaves of the state. It is unprofitable to produce more It has trampled upon life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It has uprooted progressive forces and ideals and erected a new tower of barbarism from which reaction is let loose upon the world.

Yes, look at Germany! The totalis profitable to produce more useless itarian state has reduced unemployment by constantly increasing the production of munitions (but unemployment has also been "reduced" by capitalist decline and decay, which other reactionary means, such as drives toward social suicide and the driving women from their jobs and placing young workers in the ser-The reactionary defenders of an vitude of labor camps). It has de-American system of armament eco- creased Germany's capacity to pronomics say: Look at Germany; it duce useful goods and services by has at least solved the problem of increasing the capacity to produce munitions for the destructive pur-



66TN 1934, the Army and Navy together managed to spend about a half billion dollars on military activities. Now they are spending about twice that figure. The latest news in Washington is that new world conditions make all previous estimates of defense needs obsolete. There is no doubt that the coming years will see much larger slices of government revenue going into rearmament."-United States News.

## **Save These Militants!**

## **Anti-Fascist Veterans Held in Loyalist Jail**

By ALBERT

Paris, France Barcelona that Karl Braeun-Spring of 1937 in Barcelona. The Spain investigated the cases and orrests were unwarranted and hence again when they asked for permission to leave Spain. Their lives are now in danger because both men are seriously ill as a result of their imprisonment and it is very doubtful whether they will survive another Winter in jail.

Who are these men?

Karl Braeuning, 53 years old, is thoroly devoted socialist and champion of freedom. A metal worker, he has been a member of the German Metal Workers Union for 35 years and active in the workyears. Before the World War, he belonged to the social-democracy. Because of his determined opposition

dencies toward autocratic control of the C.I.O. unions from above, as exemplified by John L. Lewis's arbitrary imposition upon Labor's Non-Partisan League of a political course without even consultation with the organizations affiliated to this body.

More purges and drastic supervision over all International employees are expected to result from the forthcoming decisions of the Board. Martin supporters say that the future of the U.A.W. will in great part be determined by whether the C.I.O. comes to realize its responsibility in the situation or not.

Continuing factional strife, intensified by the decisions and actions of the C.I.O. Coordinating Committee, has hit very hard the efforts to organize the Ford plants and the competitive plants.

Martin's supporters point out that recommendations by C.I.O. "investigating committees" concerning U.A. W. locals have generally been protested by the locals in question. They further say that invariably administrators have been recommended for pro-Martin locals, and that just as invariably weak and poorly managed locals, non-Martin, have escaped any recommendations of C.I.O. supervision. They further contend that the "peace" pact has turned the U.A.W. Executive Board into a body incapable of action, unable to think for itself, and forever "leaning" on the C.I.O. for support. Moreover, the immunity granted certain officers of the board has led them to refuse to carry on any constructive union work and to spend their days devising embarrassments for Homer Martin.

The next Board meeting, all signs indicate, will unleash a showdown fight of proportions hitherto unknown even in this powderkeg of

(Read the article by George F. Miles on page 2.—Editor.)

to imperialist war, he joined the Independent Socialist Party when it was formed and became a leader in WE have just received word from the fight for the overthrow of the Barcelona that Karl Braeunmonarchy and the establishment of the order of socialism—if humanity ing and Waldemar Bolze, courageous a republic in Thuringia. He was inveterans of the German socialist strumental in uniting the was in movement, are in danger of their his district in the United Communication. his district into the United Commulives. Both were arrested in the nist Party. He has been a leading functionary of the German Commu-Republican government of Loyalist nist Opposition since its inception. worker by trade, he has served more His particular field of activity was than 30 years in both the tradedered them released since the ar- his own union. In his capacity as a union and political organizations of grown much stronger during the member of the factory council of the Germany. Before the war, during past year. This movement has now illegal. But they were both arrested world-famous Zeiss Works of Jena, the war, and in the eventful posthe organized the general strike in war days, right up to the fascist Thuringia against the reactionary counter-revolution, Waldemar Bolze Kapp putsch in 1920. Karl Braeun- was heart and soul in the fight for ing was also active in cultural or- socialism. A leading functionary of ganizations, being president of the the Communist Party of Germany, Nature Friends of Central Germany he was active for a time in the Orand an executive board member of ganization Department of the Comthe Proletarian Freethinkers. Fol- munist International. More recently, lowing Hitler's seizure of power, he he was the leader of the German remained in Germany continuing Communist Opposition in Berlin behis work in the underground move- fore he was forced to go into exile.

> ish working class. Karl Braeuning has been and will and devoted comrade and champion of socialism. His life is now in

ment. For two years, he doggedly Like Karl Braeuning he, too, enworked to build an underground listed in the Loyalist forces in trade-union movement until he was Spain. Now, his life is also in daners political movement for over 30 forced to emigrate because of the ger. brutal persecution of his family. civil war, Karl Braeuning, then 50 for service in the cause of the Span-

nomic activity in general while decreasing the output of useful goods and services, thus lowering the standards of living of the masses of the German people.

Yes, look at Germany! Only the tough-minded and tough-hearted reactionary can look at Germany and ask us to imitate its barbarism. The progressive looks at Germany and resolves uncompromisingly to avoid its reactionary "solution" of the economic crisis.

An American system of armament economics must produce the same poisonous fruit upon which the German people are compelled to feed. Armament economics is like the use of drugs, which requires increas-

ing doses to produce their stimulus The armament program now being proposed for this country will produce a stimulus, which will ther wear off and can be regained only by still larger production of muni

The reactionary interests accept armament economics because profits are protected. But, since an increasing proportion of resources and labor are used to produce useless goods in the form of armaments, the profits can be maintained only by lowering wages and mass standards of living.

And those lower standards of living are accompanied by increasing reaction, because the system of armament economics has within itself the seeds of totalitarianism. Industry and labor must be mobilized for war; democracy and civil rights must be limited to permit reaction to secure its profits without progressive opposition; labor unions must be increasingly "coordinated" into the armament program and deprived of their independence.

#### PROGRESSIVE ALTERNATIVES

What are the alternatives to program that drives toward social

The immediate alternative is to insist upon government using our resources for purposes of peace. There must be a larger and transformed W.P.A., with a planned program of social-economic betterment which provides work at prevailing wages. There must be increasing appropriations for low-cost housing. There must be constructive work on the innumerable projects (including agricultural) which are useful and which would stimulate renewal of

economic activity and employment. The final alternative is socialism. For the resort to armament economics is a confession that capitalism has reached the end of its rope.

the Berlin labor movement. A wood-

These two socialist militants, va-With the outbreak of the Spanish liant anti-fascist fighters, are rotting in a Barcelona jail tho they are years old, immediately volunteered completely innocent of any crime whatsoever. The Stalinist G.P.U. in Spain has marked them out for its victims because they adhere to a rev always remain an unselfish, generous | olutionary working-class position Only the intervention of the international labor movement and of all sincere friends of the Spanish anti-Waldemar Bolze, also 53 years of | fascist cause can save them as it has age, has been closely connected with so far saved the P.O.U.M. leaders!

# Spilling the Beans

In England, there was recently published a book called "Propaganda in the Next War." Its author is Sidney Rogerson, publicity director of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., the gigantic British dye and explosives trust. Before taking his present post, Mr. Rogerson was counsel and adviser to the Federation of British Industries, a vast employing-class alliance embracing nearly 90% of British manufacturers.

Mr. Rogerson has a great deal to say about the United States in the next war. He speaks with a frankness unusual among English publicists. What he has to say deserves the closest attention of every American. We quote some of his remarks:

66 T will need a definite threat to America, a threat, moreover, which will have to be brought home to every citizen before the Republic will again take arms in an external quarrel. This position will naturally be considered eased if Japan were involved . . . At any rate, it would be a natural and obvious object of our propagandists to achieve this, just as during the great war they succeeded in embroiling the United States with Germany. . . .

"Fortunately-in America our propaganda is on firm ground. We can be entirely sincere as our main plank will be the old democratic one. We must clearly enunciate our belief in the democratic form of government. . . . Our minor propaganda will aim at attaching the support of important sections, such as the Jews, probably by the declaration of a clear-cut policy on Palestine.

"These should not be difficult to pursue, nor to put over to the American public. We shall, as before, send over our leading literary

lights and other men with names well known in the United States . . 'American newspapermen in London are of approved mettle and tho impervious to any obvious propaganda, nevertheless should represent a valuable propaganda force. We shall see that they are given every facility for observing and reporting and that their messages are censored sympathetically. Similarly with their newsreel men. They should be the first to be allowed to 'shoot' pictures of air raids, that a proper volume of pictorial 'horror' will be available in one of the few great countries where 'atrocity' propaganda will still be

# What Wagner Act Revision Means

## **Anti-Union Amendments Sought**

By M. PETERS

WITH the convening of Congress in a new session, the danger amendments into it. to the Wagner Act from the combined forces of the employers and would alter its essential purpose so the development of trade unionism, have a prominent place in the legislative programs of a number of siderable influence in Washington. amendments to the Wagner Act at this session of Congress but these amendments would strengthen the act by extending it to employers doing government work and are there fore of a totally different kind from

#### SPECIAL DANGER TODAY Most of the reactionary amend-

ments are not of recent origin. Some f them were heard and discussed in Congress in 1935, before the Wagner Act was passed. If they are of special danger today, it is because the movement behind them has been joined by President Roosevelt who, after sending a delegation to study labor relations in Sweden and England ostensibly without any idea of the Wagner Act in mind, has definitely committed himself in favor of amendment. Even the National Labor Relations Board itself has already agreed to certain changes along the lines demanded by hostile critics, changes not in the act but in its administration. Henceforward, employers will be permitted to request elections in their plants to settle disputes between competing unions. That this power of the employers may be used to against the Wagner Act and the force elections upon the workers be- N.L.R.B. is that the act is "onefore the unions are ready and thus sided" since it is designed to help forestall unionism, is a very serious labor organize. It is therefore asdanger, and the concession which serted that the act has to be "equalthe Board has made on this ques-

tion is making it very much easier for the opponents of the Wagner Act as a whole to write emasculating

In spite of the fact that its membership has grown during the life the die-hards of the A. F. of L. is and operation of the Wagner Act, again a very serious one. Amend- the A. F. of L. has permitted its ments to the Wagner Act which hostility to the C.I.O. to go to such extremes that it has undertaken a that it could no longer serve to aid campaign against the Wagner Act and the National Labor Relations Board hardly distinguishable from that of the National Association of Congressmen and Senators of con- Manufacturers. A. F. of L. leaders are demanding that the Board be The C.I.O. too has urged certain deprived of vital powers in guaranteeing the workers a free choice in selecting their agents for collective bargaining without the interference of the employers.

#### COURT DECISION IN THE EDISON CASE

Another recent development which has strengthened the opponents of the Wagner Act is the decision of the Supreme Court in the Consolidated Edison case by which the Board's invalidation of a contract between the utility concern and the A. F. of L. was reversed. This contract was arrived at thru employer coercion and its invalidation seemed to be the only way the Board could remedy the damage done and create conditions in which the workers would be able to express their real choice freely. The defeat of the Board in the Supreme Court on this question, the first defeat in the thirteen cases that have come before it, foreshadows changes for which both the A. F. of L. and the employers have been clamoring for some time.

#### CHARGE OF "ONE-SIDEDNESS"

The most frequently heard charge (Continued on Page 4)

## **Paterson Progressives** Fight to Save Union

(Continued from Page 2) termined to carry the amendment at the time lost from the job was on the next meeting. In the intervening the basis that that this would be a week, many stories were told of at- | "slap in the face to the union adtempts by the organizers to intimi- ministration." However, even with a date the workers in the shops. But | packed meeting, he could only defeat the Paterson workers were not to be the motion by promising that, if frightened by this kind of terror.

it proved most effective. The meeting of the silk workers was called Laks and lifting of the expulsion. for 10 A. M. At 9 A. M., of the same boys and girls just recently organ- changed to a six-months suspension. ized. They were instructed not to leave until they were told to and to PROGRESSIVES vote when Abramson raised his MARCHING FORWARD hand. The Stalinists and the paid organizers manned the doors and at burocratic actions of the Stalinistten o'clock the meeting of the silk dominated leadership of the Paterworkers was opened. The vote on the son silk workers and because of the amendment of the previous meeting revolt of the rank and file of the was disregarded. When members membership, the Progressives in the from the floor wished to discuss the union are stronger today than ever son, the young throwsters shouted place in the Plaingoods Local, the they wanted to go home and it should | Progressives have put forward a be taken to an immediate vote. The full slate under the slogan: "For chairman ruled to take a vote and democracy in the union-against the recommendation was passed. As expulsions!" soon as the vote was taken, more than half of the meeting left, some organization today. The Paterson being the throwsters who felt their silk workers with rich, militant, projob was done and the others silk gressive and democratic union tradiworkers disgusted with the method tions, find themselves bound hand used to control the meeting. The and foot by a one-man rule and a meeting then passed a number of totalitarian-Stalinist regime. The new rules to gag any further critic- entire history of the Paterson work-

ism of the leadership.

and reimbursement by the union for Laks appeared before the Executive A new tactic had to be used and Board, he, Abramson, would personally recommend reimbursement to

Laks, after appealing to the Exday a meeting was called in the ecutive Board, was reinstated to his same hall of the Throwsters Local job with \$50 compensation by the of the T.W.O.C., a group of young union, his expulsion remanded and

As a result of these dictatorial. recommendations made by Abram- before. In the election now taking

This is the picture of the Paterson ers proves that they will never sub-Abramson's appeal to the mem- mit to such a regime and that their bership to defeat the motion for un- struggle for a strong and democratic conditional reinstatement of Laks union will triumph in the end.

Here is my contribution to assure the new Workers Age.	continued success of t
Name	
Address	
City	State

Make Sure the New

**WORKERS AGE** 

Is Here To Stay

Contribute Now to the

Special Press Fund Drive

of \$3,500

## Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Pub. Ass'n. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year. Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282.

WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

NO. 2.

VOL. 8. SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1939.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

THE annual message delivered by President Roosevelt to the new Congress last week is bound to become one of the most significant documents of the time. Not because, let us hasten to add, of any constructive, statesmanlike quality; in this respect, it is far inferior to Presidential pronouncements of the past for it seems to have been deliberately keyed to a very low and demagogic pitch. It is significant because it proclaims in the plainest possible terms that we have entered upon a period of active war preparations and that the Administration is determined to reorganize the entire life of this country in line with this fundamental

It is a war message from beginning to end. Everything is there: the slogans under which the war is going to be fought ("defense of religion, democracy and international good-faith") the foreign policy of which it will be the outcome, the program of military preparations it requires, the implications it bears for labor and social reform. It could not be more of a war message had it been followed by an actual declaration of war, as it in all likelihood will be, sooner or later, unless the masses of the American people sit up and take notice.

For years, the Roosevelt Administration has been operating on two distinct planes—on the open plane of social reform and on the hidden plane of the war to come. Now the plane of war is no longer hidden. Now President Roosevelt boasts in his message that the great liberal achievements of the New Deal were, at least in certain of their aspects, also part of the preparedness program. War preparations in the name of social reform: here the New Deal is following the path already laid out by Lloyd George Liberalism and the Wilsonian "New Freedom" just over a quarter of a century ago. Both ended up, it will be recalled, in the dreadful blood-bath of the World War.

What is this war for which we are now being "prepared" so energetically by the Administration? Let us not be deceived by all the camouflage of "defense of democracy," "collective security," "continental solidarity" and the like. The war we are now being groomed to fight is not a war with Germany over the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Nor is it a war with Italy over the Ethiopians. It is a war with Japan over the right to exploit China, its millions of people and its vast resources, a war that would profound analysis by a veteran in all probability, soon become world-wide. This is the kind of war Marxist, one, moreover, who has that gives meaning to the unavowed Anglo-American alliance that has been at the bottom of American foreign policy for some years past. It is a war as grossly imperialistic in its aims and objectives Hitler's accession to power. It is not as any fought in modern times. No amount of repeating such emotionalized phrases as "religion," "democracy" or "international good-faith" can change that, any more than Woodrow Wilson's rhetoric could convert the World War into a crusade for freedom.

This is the war for which we are being mobilized today. This is the war for which Mr. Roosevelt now asks a first installment of two billion dollars in the 1940 budget. This is the war for which the President proposes his three-fold program of "national defense" that would bring this country to the verge of an authoritarian regime in the name of "national unity."

This is the war for the sake of which the Administration is prepared to abandon whatever was liberal and progressive in the New Deal. The work of "social reform" with its "internal conflict" is over, the President tells us in his message; what we need now is "national unity" for war.

The meaning of the President's message is plain and there is no excuse for misunderstanding it. Wall Street hails it with a rise in stocks. The reactionary press is jubilant. Chamberlain lauds it to the skies. They understand its import.

It is for the anti-war movement to show that it understands as well. The critical hour has struck.

## WHO DETERMINES FOREIGN POLICY?

66TN the formulation and application of governmental policies, those relating to foreign affairs differ materially from those relating to domestic affairs, in that the personal element is far more important in the former than in the latter. Most of the internal policies of the United States are determined by Congressional legislation after they have been investigated and debated. . . . Foreign policies, on the contrary, depend on the initiative, the discretion and the independent action of the Executive. To such policies, Congressional action is incidental and generally non-essential. . .

These words, the written some years ago by Robert Lansing, war-time Secretary of State, in the foreword to his war memoirs, are of special and hesitant way in which he significance today. For they point out a vital political fact every American should know: whereas some sort of popular influence may be exerted over the domestic activities of the federal government. foreign policy is almost completely removed from the control of the people and rests entirely in the hands of the President and his advisors. And yet foreign policy is, if anything, of even more direct concern to the people, for in foreign policy are contained all the far-reaching issues of war and peace.

The session of Congress that is opening this week will probably witness an attempt on the part of the Administration so to "amend" the Neutrality Act so as to give the President even greater discretionary power than he already has, to give him the power, in fact, to "name the aggressor" and thus involve the country in any war that may break out on the side he may happen to favor. On the other hand, the Administration is certain to throw its resources into the effort to block the war-referendum amendment that Senator LaFollette and Representative Ludlow are planning to introduce. More "discretion" in foreign affairs for the President, less control by the people: this is obviously the central idea in Adminis

Democracy is a farce, a snare and a delusion, if it does not allow the people a direct voice in deciding on wars which they are expected to go out and fight. Secret diplomacy and Executive "discretion" where the lives of millions are involved smell altogether too much of the authoritarianism that our President is always denouncing.

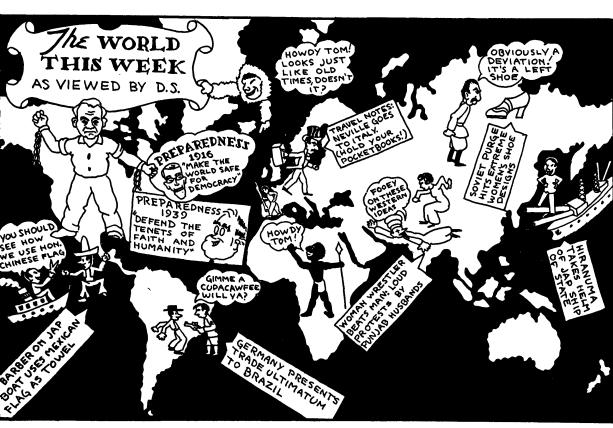
MILITARY experts are puzzled and bewildered at the Administration rearmament plans. They say they can't understand such things as uneasy unity by a keen appreciation 13,000 new planes, 20,000 new pilots, etc., in strictly military terms. That's because the Roosevelt program is at least as much economic and their common horror at the specter political as military. Rearmament is expected to serve as a short-cut to of the proletarian revolution. For, as recovery where everything else has failed, and to help in the campaign Reimann makes decisively clear in to whip up a war frenzy in this country.

THE crude revivalistic spirit to be noted in the President's message to Congress characterizes the new course of the Administration as much way out. There is no possible as its fantastic arms program. The two go together. From a statesman of return to the "middle ground" social reform in the front rank among Presidents, Roosevelt is being of bourgeois democracy in a country transformed by the compulsion of American imperialism into a blatant demagogue, spouting the old-line hokum about "religion," "democracy," "international good-faith," etc. Reaction has its own logic.

CIGNS OF THE TIMES: Every high official in the W.P.A, machinery at Washington is now an army officer. Colonel F. C. Harrington is the new W.P.A. Administrator. Major B. M. Harlee will fill the post of As sistant Administrator of W.P.A. Captain G. E. Textor was recently named Executive Assistant to Major Harlee. Figure it out for yourself!

WE are still waiting for the American Labor Party's reply to Mayor LaGuardia's blast at the A.L.P. as "grasping" and "mercenary"

when it comes to patronage. Silence in the face of so blunt an attack from so prominent a party member can be misconstrued. Would the A.L.P. hesitate as long and say as little were such broadside to be fired at it from within the labor



## Structure and Dynamics Of German Fascism

### A Review of Two Recent Books on Hitlerism

THE SPIRIT AND STRUCTURE! OF GERMAN FASCISM, by Robert A. Brady, Viking Press, New York, 1937.

ERMANY: WORLD EMPIRE OR WORLD REVOLUTION, by Guenther Reimann. Secker and Warburg, London. 1938.

THE deficiencies of Brady's book L which received such a good press review when it appeared, are glaringly apparent when it is compared with Reimann's. The latter is a lived and fought thru the events described, not only before but after a mere description of externals followed by moral denunciation which makes up so much of anti-Nazi stuff. It is a fundamental and really penetrating piece of work. By comparison, Brady's book, for

all its wealth of detail, much of it very valuable, impresses one as the work of an amateur, industrious and talented, but an amateur, nevertheless. It is a strictly descriptive and static picture that it presents. As dynamic analysis, it cannot be mentioned in the same breath with Reimann's book.

Brady's very first page opens with Gemuetlichkeit for rich and poor alike," of relative prosperity and tions in the factories and created a large amount of unemployment."

Somewhere, sometime, somehow the demoralizing political influence of Stalinism. It shows itself in his account of Hitler's accession to Popular Front phrases and formulas. It shows itself, finally, in the vague presents his notion of how a successful fight against the fascist menace may be waged, a sort of shamefaced approach to socialism.

Reimann's book is a work of an-

other kind, indeed. The present reviewer knows of no other book in the English language which makes so clear the not-so-simple relation existing between the Nazi party, the state and the army, which lays bare so effectively the role of finance capitalism in the fascist set-up. There are plenty of serious and deep-lying antagonisms in the system, Reimann stresses. The army maintains its independence and does not see eye to eye with Hitler on all matters of foreign policy and military affairs. The capitalists grumble at the excessive taxation necessary to support the tremendous burocracy, at the control over the industrial monopolies, at the diminishing return on investments. But, in spite of stresses and strains, all three are kept in ar of their common class interests and a very interesting and original discussion on the "Decay of Democracy" (Chapter 10), there is no third where the institution of fascist control was necessary to keep the cap-

italist economy going. Reimann registers the fundamental weaknesses inherent in the Nazi regime. He is convinced that Hitler is much less capable of conducting a prolonged war than was the Kaiser in 1914. Germany has today, he says, less material reserves, fewer trained soldiers and a weaker morale than in 1914. Further, in 1914, "the trade unions, whose influence over the workers was decisive, stood for the defense of the Fatherland when war came, and their leaders became obedient non-commissioned officers of the army staff. This element of war.

present. . .

How explain, then, the fact that Hitler has been able to pursue with success such a brazen and provocative foreign policy?

fear of the "great democracies" not "of an attack by Germany on the western powers . . . but of what damental way at present time. might follow the downfall of the Nazi regime."

In spite of its internal weaknesses, Reimann does not deceive himself as to the inability of the Nazi regime to maintain itself today. It is a delusion to imagine that the underground movement in Germany is at present capable of open mass resistance to the regime. Reimann's discussion of this aspect of the situation is sober and realistic. Without questioning for a moment the

national strength is no longer|heroism of the underground illegal workers or the importance of their work in maintaining the skeleton of an organization for future resistance when conditions will be more favorable, he nevertheless warns against Reimann finds the answer in the overestimation of the strength of the underground movement or its ability to endanger the regime in any fun-

He does not, and correctly so, expect much from the opposition of the middle class in spite of its grumbling, or from the church opposition in spite of its real antagonisms to the regime. Reimann's book, it may be repeat-

ed, is all in all incomparably the finest single volume on contemporary Germany known to this re

JIM CORK

## What Revision of the Wagner Act Means

(Continued from Page 3) ized." Of course, those who want to ing at from the very beginning with an account of the Germany of 1925- "equalize" the act do not mean that

1930 that is fantastically false. This the rough treatment and wholesale union movement hamstrung and 1930 that is fantastically false. This the rough treatment and wholesale period he characterizes as "one of arrests meted out to workers on the paralyzed. picket-line should be applied to the employers when they engage in uncultural renascence. Reimann is far fair labor practises. What is meant more to the point in emphasizing by "equalizing" is the inclusion of that it was "in fact a period of ra- provisions in the law which would tionalization which worsened condi- forbid "coercion of the workers from any source." Now, at first glance, this seems reasonable enough. But when it is recalled that any imag-Brady must have been subjected to inable act of real coercion by a worker or union organizer is already covered in ordinary law, it becomes obvious that what the adpower, where not a word is said of vocates of amendments of this kind the "third-period" madness of the want is to outlaw, on the pretext Communist International that literal- of "corecion," certain labor pracly opened the way for the Nazis. It tises today perfectly legal. On varishows itself in his proneness to ous occasions, courts have held everything from the threat to strike to the very silence of a single picket, to be "coercion." Forbid that kind of "coercion" and you have

## 25 Years Ago

JANUARY 7-14, 1914

January 7, 1914.—Joseph Chamberlain, member of House of Commons since 1876, to retire. His son Neville may succeed him.

Jan. 9-Juliet Stuart Poyntz starts series of lectures on "Modern European History" at Rand School.

Jan. 10.—U. S. strike report hits mine-owners. Lays blame of lawlessness in copper region to strikebreakers imported from New York.

porter of Carranza in struggle against Huerto regime. Jan. 10.-Vincent Astor sees "no value" in socialism. In answer to open letter of Upton Sinclair, he

ed by General "Pancho" Villa, sup-

eradicated without "overturning" the American government. opens at Labor Temple, in New

York City.

driven from Ford plants on freezing day with icy streams of water from

Jan. 14. - General strike of railway workers called in Portugal.

Jan. 14.—United Mine Workers of America convention passes resolu-

| what the employers have been aim-

Just as these "coercion-from-any source" amendments have their roots in the alarm of the employers at the growth of the labor movement and the extension of trade unionism to the mass-production industries, so do the amendments of the A. F. of L. have their roots in the bitter hostility of the Federation to the C.I.O. The main issue here is the power of the N.L.R.B. to make decisions as bargaining." It is, of course, impossible for the Board to make any decision as to whether the craft or industrial unit is the "proper unit' in any particular case without offending either the C.I.O. or the A. F. of L. It would be a mistake, however, to think that this has been the sole source of irritation between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. By June 1938, there had already been 112 cases where the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. opposed each other in plant elections. In 54 of these cases, there was substantial agreement between the two unions as to what the proper unit should be; and where there was substantial disagreement, the N.L.R.B. favored the A. F. of L. more often than the C.I.O. Perhaps a greater source of irritation on the part of the A. F. of L. has been the strict adherence of the Board to the employers to express a preference as to which union workers should join.

A.F.L. AMENDMENTS

To cover the defeats which it has suffered in plant elections, the A. F. of L. is introducing amendments which would deprive the Board of its power to determine the proper unit for collective bargaining and to invalidate contracts with the to do with the courts. One of these be no labor-relations act at all. A. F. of L. no matter how much Jan. 10.—Ojinaga, Mexico, capturcoercion was exercised by the employers in arriving at that contract. It is certainly true that in the hands workers. But the present Board has acted in accordance with the law enough for labor to limit itself to a states that evils of capitalism will be proved itself faithful to the purposes of the act and eminently fair in deciding disputed questions between Jan. 11. — First convention of labor. Furthermore, depriving the agency especially equipped by train-Young Peoples Socialist League Board of the power to invalidate ing and inclination to handle labor must be overcome by positive amendcontracts would deprive the Board also of the power to take remedial Jan. 12. — 12,000 unemployed have been committed by the em- addition, these amendments would gress made and the acceptance of ployers. Without this power, the emcoercive action against the workers such action after the particular act itself had ceased or was stopped.

Talking It Over:

## The Enemy Within

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

THE real meaning of the fine words in the President's message to Congress on the state of the nation was revealed the very next day in supplementary budgetary message proposing the expenditure on rmaments of \$1,609,588,000 for the coming fiscal year. This fantastic igure, the greatest in nineteen years, the greatest in all history of all lands in times of peace, is incomplete. If we add expenditures on merchant marine, harbors and coasts, the military budget comes closer to two billions, and if the C.C.C. is militarized, and commercial and postal aviation, railroads and power are subsidized and developed on concealed military lines as the President plans, the expenditure on waste, destruction and fresh mass misery runs higher still.

The President himself forecasts a deficit of \$3,326,000,000 for 1940. Even if there are no deficiency appropriations (as was the case this year), that would bring the national debt up to forty-four and one-half billions of dollars (\$44,500,000,000), a burden of \$1,875 per family of five for every man, woman and child in this land. To this we must add staggering state and local indebtedness. These things must bring backbreaking burdens of taxation upon the worker and farmer and small-income earner. The message itself proposes the continuance of all existing direct taxes and import duties plus "moderate tax increases" to finance new armament and soil conservation (how neatly they are tied together!) Thus bankruptcy or inflation comes ever closer, and, unless it is repudiated, our children and generations yet unborn will have reason to curse our generation for saddling them with this staggering debt.

THE President will make further revelation of his new super-armament program in a supplementary message to Congress next week. It is rumored that he will ask for 10,000, perhaps even 13,000 new planes. tho the rate of change in military plane construction is so rapid that most of these will be delivered only in time to go directly to the scrapheap, and tho military experts declare that, thanks to the two oceans that line our shores, we have an ample number of planes already. Thus, in October 1938, that is less than three months ago, Major General Henry H. Arnold, new chief of the Army Air Corps, declared that the country did not need many more planes but needed faster ones to replace those that were obsolete when they were delivered to the army. And, under the program then contemplated, the army was to have only 2,320 craft by 1940! General Arnold called this "a very good figure as things now stand." Of course, General Arnold has since been silenced and doubtless Earl Browder will soon comment on the resemblance of his name to that of "the Leon Trotsky of 1776."

Other experts, too, hard-boiled military men all of them (Major General Moseley, Major Eliot, Major General Rivers, whose mouths are unsealed by the fact that they have retired), have been even more explicit. 'Fear and hysteria," General Moseley declared a few weeks ago, "are being engendered in support of heavy expenditures for national defense."

LMOST a year and a half ago, when President Roosevelt made his A Chicago "collective-security" speech, this paper warned that the New Deal program, like the "New Freedom" of President Wilson, might soon be converted from an uncertain good into a certain evil, might be used in fact as bait to harness labor and the liberals to the war chariot of the American ruling class headed for fresh imperialist adventures in the far corners of the earth. To some, the warning may have seemed unduly suspicious. Now the President himself declares: "Our nation's program of social and economic reform is therefore a part of defense as basic as armaments themselves. . . . Never have there been six years of such far-flung internal preparedness in our history."

Bear in mind that the six years of the New Deal have not solved the problems of the depression—nor could they because they are predicated on loyalty to private profit as the first consideration, so that unless they yield a profit to the handful of their owners, the wheels of industry and the muscles of men will not be permitted to move. Bear in mind, too, that the six years of the New Deal have not put the 10,000,000-in permanent round numbers-of the unemployed to work. Now the President would distract attention from these failures, would steal a leaf from the book of fascist dictatorship. "However we abhor their methods," he declares, "we are compelled to admit that they have obtained substantial utilization of all their material and human resources. Like it or not, they have solved for a time the problem of idle men and idle capital." Their method, the method which, surrounded by a haze of glittering phrases, the President's message now proposes to imitate, is the method of gearing their economy to armament economics and war preparations. There are no fitter words to characterize his new proposals than those he used himself two short years ago: "Employment thru rearmament is false employment; it builds no permanent structure and creates no consumers goods for the maintenance of a lasting prosperity. We know that nations guilty of these follies inevitably face the day either when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy, like a house of cards, will fall apart."

ONE more thing the dictatorships have "accomplished" which the President envies: they have put labor under the control of government, established virtual conscription and compelled "national unity," that is, support to plans for an industrial conscription in wartime (the May Bill), to the "proper unit for collective class. With this in view, the President has long debated in secret schemes "to end employer-employee disputes" (from his message), given open support to plans for a industrial conscription in wartime (the May Bill), and for suspending the class struggle for the sake of "national unity."

In the light of these aims must we judge all the phrases concerning democracy, the bill of rights, and the New Deal, just as we had to estimate the similar phrases of Woodrow Wilson in 1916. The real attack, then as now, upon our pitiful fragments of freedom and the miserable standards of welfare of the masses, comes not from without, from neither Germany, nor Japan, nor Mars, but from within. The main enemy, then as now, is at home. That enemy is the depression and the system that produces it. That enemy is the profit system and the ruling class that lives by profit at the expense of the rest of us, the system and class to which the President once more pledges allegiance in his message. That enemy is the misery that springs from a system which makes profit a condition without which the wheels will not turn and the rest of us may not live. That enemy is militarism—the super-armament program—which under whatever fair words is bound to breed reaction at home and lead to war abroad. That enemy is the "industrial-conscription" bill which the President sponsors and which, by itself alone, is sufficient to test the fair words about the "defense of democracy." That enemy is imperialism—the attempt to police North and South America, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans and the China seas. That enemy is class collaboration, the preachment that the masses of workers, farmers and middle class (the "entire nation"), should get purposes of the act in forbidding behind the imperialist and armament program and war plans of the government and the ruling class. "The general welfare of the American people," as the President's message itself declares, "is the first line of defense." But the fantastic arms program that the message proposes is the severest attack upon that welfare that we have ever known in time of peace. Thus, the main line of battle is drawn within the land, and we must take up the defense of the welfare of the mass of our people, there where it is most threatened. Else freedom and welfare alike will be but words on the lips of men who seek to rally the nation for war.

amendments would separate the administrative from the judicial functions of the Board, thus destroying It is clear that the concerted camit as a quasi-judicial agency. The but also whether its judgment of the of both of these would be to transfer problems to the courts which have make inevitable such delays in getdecisions as to render the whole act tion for general strike in case of and their danger should be clear to practises on the part of the em- there is ample room for improveevery worker who ever had anything | ployer, then there might just as well | ment.

LABOR MUST ACT

paign to destroy the effectiveness of of a Board made up of people of other would give the courts power the Wagner Act by amending it is a a different attitude, the powers the to review the Board's finding of grave menace to the labor movement Board now possesses could easily facts, that is, power to determine and labor must take prompt action be used against the interests of the not only whether the Board had in its own defense. But it is not defense of the law as it exists toevidence had been proper. The effect | day. The three-year experience with the act has brought to light the two contending federations of the real power of decision from the certain weaknesses in it from labor's standpoint and these weaknesses ments. The amendments sponsored been notoriously unsympathetic to by the C.I.O. cover only part of the action when unfair labor practises the aims of labor organization. In deficiency. In spite of all the procollective bargaining by a large ployer would be able to take any ting action and results from Board number of employers in the basic industries, recalcitrant employers are and continue to get the benefit of virtually inoperative. If the delay of still able to evade their duty to barjustice means anything anywhere, it gain collectively. The Wagner Act is in the field of labor relations that in itself contains no penalties for There are two more amendments it means most. If a worker must violations and the whole process of now widely advocated that seem to wait years for relief after he has hearing cases is much too slow and be very technical. Yet, their meaning been victimized by unfair labor laborious for effective action. Here