THE WAGNER ACT MUST BE IM-

AIMS AND REALITIES OF SOCIALIST UNITY - by Will Herberg. page 3

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AT FIRST GLANCE

_____ by Jay Lovestone ==

A Personal Appeal

DEAR Friend:

Please allow me to begin with my conclusion.

Unless you and several others like you—whom we have every reason to count as devoted friends-immediately send in some money, the Workers Age will fold up, close shop-in plain, painful English-discontinue, at

I am not writing a scare note. I am dispatching no false alarm crying "wolf". By now, the wolf has crossed our threshold.

I wish I could portray how sorry I am to make this sort of an appeal to you and some other friends. To our readers in general, we have frankly told our plight. Not enough of them have responded well enough or quickly enough. That's why we have, literally, had to bury ourselves in crushing debt to be able to avoid skipping a single issue in the Summer weeks to date. Some of these short-term loans are now due and creditors are threatening to make short shrift of . . . You can readily see that this method of making yesterday a bit easier has made today much harderand may make tomorrow altogether impossible.

Honestly, we'd just hate like hell to see the Age suspend-especially during these difficult and decisive days. I am sure you feel the same. I am sure all of us realize that these are the toughest times for all genuinely progressive causes. But I am equally certain that you see eye to eye with us in our conviction that we must carry on with unbendable determination. No worthy cause or great movement has ever been able to pro gress otherwise—above all, in the face of grave difficulties.

Some thousands of working men and working women-particularly active, responsible trade unionists—and steadfast intelligent friends of the labor movement have for years stood loyally by the Workers Age. They can tell you, as they have time and again told me, that our weekly has been an inspirer, a teacher, and an organizer to them. It is these men and women who can dream without dreams becoming their masters and who think without making thoughts, as such, their aims, who have found and made the Workers Age a vital necessity for all labor. It is these thinking workers and working thinkers who have made the Workers Age pos-

I conclude with my very beginning. Rush to us your biggest possible contribution—life-saving donation—as we approach the zero hour.

NEW DEAL "PROSPERITY"

OFFICIAL government findings (Federal Social Security Board) re veal extremely important and interesting facts regarding wages really received by the workers of this country. This Board, reporting on earnings credited to over thirty million pension accounts, discloses that the yearly average wage of the insured male worker (14-45 years of age), is only about \$1,000, and of a female worker, only slightly over half that. Mind you, these are industrial workers wages. Neither domestic help nor agricultural labor is included here. These figures cover 22 million men and 8 million women. Sixty percent were between 20 and 40 years of age and had a wage below the average, about \$800 a year.

It is necessary to point out that the very low wage group constitutes a very high proportion. No less than 25% of the socially-insured received an annual wage of less than \$300. About one-third got between \$300 and \$1,000. No more than 20% earned between about \$1,500 and

To this not-so-dazzling picture of American prosperity must be added a sidelight of sinister substance. With the growing decay of capitalist economy, millions have become dependent on government aid for the mereest sort of existence. Expenditures of this sort have incrased 700% since Roosevelt gave us that world-shaking bank holiday. Besides the three millions getting public aid in sundry shapes and forms. In short, between 20% and 25% of our population are dependent directly on government out-

Obviously, our ruling capitalist class is becoming evermore "incompetent to provide security for its slaves even within the confines of their slavish existence, because it has no option but to let them lapse into a condition in which it has to feed them instead of being fed by them" (Marx).

"INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY" INDEED!

TROM London, a friend of mine writes: "Harry Pollitt, secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wrote a pamphlet on the party

attitude towards conscription, in which he said: "'It is directed against the people of Britain. Chamberlain wants to complete his alliance with fascism abroad by preparing the way for fascism in Britain.'

'Maurice Thorez, secretary of the French Communist Party, objected to the pamphlet and demanded that the Comintern take action. Thorez tutes a separate appropriate barargued that no party had a right to oppose conscription. The C.I. called a Buro meeting in Paris and upheld Thorez and the C.P.G.B. withdrew

Truly strong international solidarity we have here—a la Stalin-Daladier-Franco-Soviet Pact! And now Pollitt and Chamberlain can be more at peace with each other and Pollitt and Churchill can embrace each

other wrapped in the Union Jack. Only the superficial observer would attempt to explain it all by savthing like that". Nowadays, there can be no such thing as strange bedfellows in politics. When working-class parties beach with the ing that politics makes strange bedfellows. No! This isn't "merely somefellows in politics. When working-class parties break with their class interests and shamefacedly turn their backs on their own class, no bedfel-

lows can be strange to them. In this spirit, we advise our readers not to lose any sleep lest the Stalin-Hitler trade negotiations about to be opened produce "strange' results and bedfellow combinations in the world political arena. Nothing ed last week and taken to Brookand nobody that will come out of these or any other negotiations conducted by Stalin with anybody can be considered strange—certainly not Mrs. Walter Liggett, widow of the as strange or even as weird as is the entire course of Stalinism from the slain Minneapolis editor, the \$2,672 viewpoint of international or Soviet working-class interests. We are all she was awarded in a libel suit. very painfully familiar with much evidence of many recent events confirming this conclusion.

Hatch Bill Reflects Clash of Party Cliques

State Machines Strive to Seize Control

(Special to the Workers Age) Washington, D. C.

tion, and now signed by the Presi- other penalties are provided. dent under protest, so to speak, possesses a political significance much NATIONAL PARTIES greater than meets the eye. It is AND STATE MACHINES an episode in the long and bitter behind-the-scenes conflict between the and the new type of political mach-

elections for any branch of the na- acquire enough power to play an in- to whip them into line behind the

tional government. Even primaries preparatory to such elections are in-THE Hatch "take-politics-out-of cluded under the ban. Other "imrelief" bill, passed by both proper" practises of a "corrupt" or Daily Worker by people who have Houses against the prolonged tho "pernicious" character are also out- been slandered in this corrupt Stalfeeble resistance of the Administra- lawed. Dismissal from office and

It is necessary to look a little below the surface and brush aside the traditional American party machine cloak of pious phrases and virtuous and local offices but for national ofremonstrances with which the Hatch fices within their jurisdiction as ine that the New Deal has been try-bill has been covered during the well. These local bosses have been ing to build up for the last five weeks of controversy, in order to ap- the real feudal barons of American preciate its real meaning. Tradition- politics, operating almost independ-In substance, the Hatch bill bars ally, both of the old parties have ently with their vast armies of retainfederal executive officeholders, ex- been little more than loose national ers. The task of great national parcluding only Cabinet officers and a federations of state and local politi- ty organizers, such as Jim Farley, few top-rank policy-making offi- cal machines. Real control has al- has always been to muster the supcials, from taking "any active part ways rested with the state bosses port of these state machines by in political management or in poli- and their underlings; sometimes a means of shrewd and carefully contical campaigns" in connection with municipal or county machine would ceived deals and arrangements, and

Auto Men To Decide On Union

NLRB Orders Elections In Chrysler and Briggs Vote To Be By Plants

Washington, D. C. Collective bargaining elections for about 78,000 employees of the Chrysler Corp., the Briggs Manufacturing Co., and the Briggs Indiana Corp. were ordered last week by the National Labor Relations Board to determine whether the A. F. of L. or C.I.O. union in the automobile field shall represent the workers in relations with the em-

The Board ordered that separate twenty days in each of eleven inducts Co. and eight Briggs plants in was no surprise. Michigan and Indiana. The order was regarded as a victory for the tration measures thus thrown out,

The Board's ruling was by a 2 to vote. Edwin S. Smith, dissenting, held that, failure to lump all the

gaining." the Chrysler plant at Newcastle, Ind., the employees will choose between the rival C.I.O. and A. F. of the resumption of layoffs of W.P.A. L. unions. At Newcastle, they will workers under the 18-month rule. vote to determine whether they de- In the Senate, an amendment to the sire to be represented separately or lending bill had been adopted con-

It was noted in the decision that on January 20 a schism developed in pending action of the House. But the U.A.W. with one group headed by R. J. Thomas following the C.I.O. ing bill, it thereby also killed the and the other, under Mr. Martin's W.P.A. amendment so that the 18leadership, joining the A. F. of L.

"The C.I.O.-U.A.W. contends that all production and maintenance emoloyees of the company or any subsidiary thereof constitute a unit ap- were thereupon resumed. propriate to the purpose of collective bargaining," said the decision.
"The A.F.L.-U.A.W. agrees with the company that each plant constitutes a separate unit.

piants should not be grouped in single bargaining unit. It cannot be said that the past history of collective bargaining in the plants has established such a pattern of bargaining. On the contrary, bargaining practise in the past has recognized the individual status of separate plants.

"Furthermore, peculiar problems arise out of the division of the international union into two groups. For it appears the A.F.L.-U.A.W. may have an overwhelming majority in several plants and the C.I.O.-U.A.W. a similarly large majority in several others. Under the circumstances we conclude that each of the plants gaining unit."

Daily Worker Editor Jailed

New York City Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, chief Stalinist publication in this country was arrestlyn prison because he failed to pay

In May 1938, Mrs. Ligget won \$25,000 judgment in the Brooklyn Supreme Court against Hathaway, the Daily Worker and another member of the paper's staff. Hathaway's part was \$2,672.

Mrs. Liggett charged that Hathaway and the Daily Worker had slandered her and her husband by accusing them of being hostile to labor, and in other ways. Liggett, crusading editor of the Midwest American, was murdered on December 15, 1935, as he was about to go before the Minnesota Legislature to charge certain politicians with corruption.

The Liggett case is only one of a number of libel suits against the inist sheet.

dependent part. Thru these potent political cliques the vast mass of patronage has been distributed; the bosses dominating them have selected the candidates not only for state

Economy Bloc Kills F.D.R. **Lending Bill**

House Refuses To Act On Vital New Deal Plan; Housing Measure Killed

Washington, D. C. By a vote of 193 to 166, the House of Representatives last week killed the President's lending bill and virtually destroyed all hope that the Administration housing bill would come up for a vote this session. The lending bill had been adopted in considerably modified form by the Senate by a vote of 52 to 28.

This stunning blow to the Adminstration, most serious of all the defeats given the President by Conelections should be held within gress in recent months, was delivered by a coalition of Republicans and dividual plants and two plants conservative Democrats, who refused grouped together of the Chrysler even to consider the legislation. In Corp. of Detroit, and that similar view of the fate of the lending bill, elections be held within fifteen days the killing of the housing legislaamong employees of the Motor Pro- tion, which came a few days later,

With both of these key Adminis-A. F. of L. union headed by Homer it was believed that adjournment of Congress might come within a

At a press conference, President Roosevelt declared that the action plants together "makes possible fur- of the House in killing the lending ther frustration of collective bar-bill was bound to hurt the recovery movement and would therefore add In each election, except that of to the relief burden of the country. An indirect result of the killing of the lending bill by the House was together with the rest of the em- siderably modifying this rule, whereupon Work Projects Commissioner Harrington had halted dismissals then the House threw out the lendmonth rule went into full effect again. Dismissals of the 650,000 W.P.A. workers who are to be

"We are of the opinion that all Pushes New Munich Plan

dropped by the end of the month,

London, England Prime Minister Chamberlain suc eeded last week in sending Parliament home until October 3 so as to give himself a free hand in carrying forward the new "appeasement" discussions he is said to be conducting with Germany. The vote on adjournment, which the Prime Minister made a question of confidence, wa 250 to 132. Labor and Liberal speakers in the

House of Commons openly charged that the government wanted to get rid of Parliament in order to avoid interference with the secret negotiations the Foreign Office was said to be carrying on with certain highplaced representatives of the Nazi regime. Attention was called to the sudden trip of Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Germany, to Bayreuth for a long conference with Hitler and von Ribbentrop, Great bitterness was shown at Chamberlain's determination to dismiss Parliament even in Conservative ranks and the government had to crack the whip of a vote of confidence in order to get the adjournment thru. In the House of Lords, Viscount Halifax, Foreign Secretary, discussed Britain's foreign policy, essensational aspect of his speech was his announcement that Great Britain stood ready to "mediate" the Chinese-Japanese war. "Friendlier" relations with Japan were urged. There was nothing new in Mos-

cow negotiations. The press maintained an "optimistic" tone but there were no developments indicating that the consummation of a pact with Russia was any nearer.

national banner-bearers. But the real power has always remained with the state and local machines-at least until the New Deal came on the

A NEW TYPE OF POLITICAL MACHINE

Already in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration, it became clear that the President and his New Deal advisers were planning to build up another kind of national political machine. Utilizing the vast resources of the new emergency relief and recovery agencies with their politicians immediately set to work to establish a centralized apparatus of political control, manned by federal officeholders and operated directly from the White House. Whatever real power such an overhead political machine would acquire would, of course, be at the expense of the state bosses and their organizations. Between the two, therefore, deadly warfare broke out, all the more deadly because it was generally un-(Continued on page 3)

P.S.O.P. Fights Repression

Paris, France.

REPRESSIONS against the
Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P. S. O. P.) were launched by the government last week in an effort to cripple the party's very effective anti-war and anti-militarist work. Party offices were raided and many arrests made. Poulain, an old socialist militant, 86 years old, with sixty years of labor activity behind him, was one of those seized. So was Lucien Weitz, political secretary of the P.S.O.P. youth organization. The "crime" charged against them was their indomitable struggle against the war-mongering Daladier dictatorship.

The P.S.O.P. has initiated a militant campaign of defense. A series of mass meetings have been held in Paris and in other important centers. A special issue of the P.S.O.P. paper, June 26, appeared on the occasion. The party issued a statement reaffirming its fixed determination to continue its revolutionary anti-militarist struggle despite all re-

Strikes on W.P.A. **Continue Strong**

Murray Declares "Work Done Is Less Than 5% Normal" In New York City

the two-thirds majority required under parliamentary law, and so it was defeated. A similar fate met Senator Murray's motion to modify the 18-month rule under which wholesale dismissals of W.P.A. workers place. It received 39 votes represents a very great reduction." as against 31, again short of the required two-thirds.

New York City. Denying local W.P.A. Administrator Somervell's claims that conditions on work-relief projects here were "normal" again, Thomas A. Murray, president of the New York

FATHER.

DEAR FATHER

COMÉ HOME

WITH US.

NOW

SAVE AMERICA FIRST!

Washington, D. C. Building and Construction Trades A last-minute effort to restore Council, representing nearly 150 A. prevailing wage rates on W.P.A. F. of L. unions, declared last week failed in the Senate towards the end | that "the amount of work being perof last week altho a majority of formed is less than 5% normal." He Senators voted in favor of the pro- said that the strike of A. F. of L. posal. Senator Pat McCarran's reso- construction workers on W.P.A. prolution received 40 votes, with 31 jects would continue until union against it. But it failed to receive wage scales on these projects were restored.

> Referring to the sympathetic strike of teamsters, Mr. Murray declared that "the W.P.A. jobs are now not getting a total of 12,250 truckloads of material a week, which

> Mr. Murray also asked Col. Somervell to explain why, if everything was "normal" on W.P.A., he had asked the State Employment Service to supply thousands of skilled non-relief mechanics for his construction projects.

"We know that the work being done is less than 5% normal", the A. F. of L. leader continued. "We know this from daily checks made by our five borough chairmen and from reports made by W.P.A. supervisors on certain typical jobs.'

Meanwhile, efforts were continued n Washington to get a ruling from the Attorney General's office on the legality of restoring prevailing wage rates by Presidential order on construction projects initiated before July 1. The 1940 relief bill, adopted by Congress at the end of June, did away with the payment of prevailing wages on W.P.A., but there is a strong opinion that the President has sufficient power even under this law to restore the old wage rates on projects under way before the law went into effect. So far nothing has been heard from the White House on this question but it is known that the matter is being seriously considered.

The A. F. of L. is also pushing its plan of having government construction projects removed from W.P.A. altogether and transferred to P.W. A., where union wages and condi-

Dismissals of the 650,000 W.P.A. workers who fall under the 18month clause were scheduled to resume last week after a pause (Continued on Page 3)

World Arms **Bill Reaches** 20 Billions

Washington, D. C. The cost of the world's feverish efforts to reinforce armaments may reach a new peak of \$20,000,-000,000 this year, figures from government and other sources indicate. On the eve of the World War, in 1914, the seven largest powers were spending annually only \$2,400,000,-000 for arms.

Mounting defense expenditures by England and France largely account for an indicated \$2,000,000,000 rise in arms outlay this year by the chief participants in the spending

\$20,000,000,000 The boom" exceeds by more than \$2,000,-000,000 the total spent by the United States under War and Navy Department headings in 1918 and 1919, covering the American spending period in the World War.

It is only \$4,000,000,000 short of the total capitalization of United States railroads. The estimated United States national income this year would cover the current world's arms spending pace for only a little more than three years. Much of the world arms cost, however, is being paid for by borrowing-mortgaging future income.

The world arms bill, it was figured, has risen at least fourfold since Nazi Germany started setting a new pace in 1933.

Secretary Morgenthau recently reported to Congress that Great Britain was spending almost 50% of its national budget for arms.

France, he said, was devoting almost 40% to the same purpose, Italy 50%, Germany probably 60%, Japan over 70%. Soviet Russia, he said. had been reported to have authorized a 50% increase in outlays for arms. The record peace-time arms budget of the United States was about 12%

of contemplated expenditures. Mr. Morgenthau's figures were for the twelve months closing June 30. Since then, British and American expenditures have mounted to new high levels and there is reason to believe other governments have

The \$20,000,000,000 bill for all countries in the 1939 calendar year mination of these southern Demo- August if Congress adjourns by that is based on the conclusion of the Foreign Policy Association that in that he stands for. If this opposition ding the Age, even if the editor 1939 the sixty leading governments were limited to his foreign policy would allow me to do so. I will plan expended some \$18,000,000,000, plus (many Garner men are for his for- to send in significant interpretative \$2,000,000,000 on subsequent in-

Lewis Blast at Garner Stirs Washington

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

PINION here among political

away with murder. I have spent more time in the have seldom heard such bitter at- United States." This will not hamtacks on the Administration pro- per the Stalinists. It may make a gram as I have heard during these great deal of trouble for Socialist lays. The most eloquent speeches have been made by Garnerites and radicals without party affiliations. not by Republicans. I heard Senator It is part and parcel of the reac-George speak for about an hour and tionary swing in progress here. a half against the tendency toward "state capitalism or socialism", which, he says, is represented by the auto industry to find out whether New Deal. He was attacking the the C.I.O. or the A. F. of L. should spend-lend program which was so represent the auto workers has the ingloriously pared down in the Senate and defeated in the House. He huge appropriations, the Presidential said he was devoting the remainder of his days to fighting this tendency 2 to 1 with Ed Smith doing his usual toward totalitarianism and collectivism and away from capitalism, and implied he did not care one bit if to which he has been loyal in the my readers that there may be no

| for progressivism but it is directed at the very heart of social reforms and pro-labor laws at home.

The President has signed the strategists as to the effect on Hatch bill against the advice of his Democratic chances in 1940 of the left New Dealers (the Corcoran crowd) and despite protests of the Lewis blast against Garner is about Nation, the New Republic, the Soevenly divided. Whatever it may or cialist and Communist parties and may not do to the possibilities of the American Civil Liberties Union. pecially in the Far East. The most F.D.R. being in the White House This bill, altho theoretically a goodagain after next year, it certainly government measure, in its context sent a hurricane of fresh air thru is a vicious move by Democrats as this hypocritical city. Despite the well as Republicans who are out to unfortunately personal character defeat the New Deal. It is my guess of his remarks, you cannot help that the bill cannot be enforced and admiring John L.'s probing to the that it will have little effect on the source of the reactionary moves future of the New Deal. It may even in Washington today—at least as far stimulate lukewarm New Dealers to as internal policy is concerned. Gar- fight all the more vigorously. Many ner is the culprit and he is getting forget, however, that the part of the bill which may be applied is the House and Senate chambers in the holders who desire to "overthrow past week than ever before and I constitutional government in the

section which strikes out at office-Party members and other genuine The decision of the N.L.R.B. to take a vote plant by plant in the C.I.O. so mad it can scarcely see

straight. It is interesting to note

that the decision of the Board was

daily stint for the C.I.O.

In order that there should be no it meant the split-up of the party misunderstanding, I want to notify followed suit. past. I cannot exaggerate the deter- letters from Washington during crats to defeat the President and all time. I am not interested in padeign policy), it would not be serious news notes if and when I get them. creases.

The Wagner Act Must Be Improved

Experience Shows Law Needs Strengthening

By GEORGE F. MILES

ON July 19, John Green, representing the Industrial Union AN AMENDMENT of Marine and Shipbuilding Work- OF MERIT ers (C.I.O.), appeared before the House committee conducting hearings on proposed Wagner Act amendments and placed himself on record against certain evils which lows: have become apparent under the operation of the Act. Mr. Green had two chief grievances: He scored the unreasonably long delays in securproposed that some steps be taken careful and serious consideration to heavy fines to be levied on those who violate its terms" (National Labor Reporter, July 24, 1939).

AMENDMENTS MAY BE CONSTRUCTIVE

The significance of Mr. Green's testimony is primarily due to the fact that criticism of and proposed changes in the Wagner Act are extremely rare in the testimony of C. I.O. leaders. In fact, they are generally considered as an outright betrayal of labor's cause. The attitude difficulties which may arise. The that any amendment to the Act, no second problem of finally determinmatter how favorable it may be to ing which faction or which party to labor, endangers the entire Act by a secession movement has the supopening the flood-gates of revision port of the majority of the memberfrom the employers direction, is cutirely too simple a formula. There is discussion, and which therefore is to no reason under the sun why labor be the collective-bargaining agency, cannot sponsor some amendments, is also provided for in a simple manfor instance, one making undue delay impossible, while opposing and the year after such difficulties in fighting others, those from the em- the union have arisen, then a poll is ployers side, which may reduce or to be taken immediately prior to the limit labor's rights under the Act. expiration of the contract. If the Besides, in practise, the "no-amend- contract is for a period longer than ment" policy has completely collapsed. Take, for instance, the pro- after the contract has run one year. posal by the employers that they be Whichever faction emerges victorgiven the right to demand a vote ious from such a poll then becomes on bargaining agency when confront- the agency for collective bargained by contending unions, each claim- ing and has full rights and powers ing a majority in the appropriate under the provisions of the Act. bargaining unit. For many months, the chairman of the Board spoke and wrote and argued against it, insisting that such a step was unthinkable and violated the spirit and letter of the act itself. Suddenly Mr. Madden reversed himself, without so much as a warning, and the muchcontested amendment became part rights and powers under the Wag- and Unemployed Workers of Amerof the procedural system of the Board. This despite the fact that the loudest and most numerous voices from the ranks of labor were heard against any changes.

There are too many shortcoming and difficulties under the operation of the Act which cannot be solved simply by blanket opposition to amendments.

In the recent ruling of the Board in the Consumers Power case in Michigan, and in a more recent ruling in the Indianapolis Kingan and Co. case, a legitimate union was The fourth will appear in the next is- largely quantity of toys was tied ruled off the ballot in a run-off election.* In so ruling, the Board was probably acting in accordance with its own rules of procedure, but its own rules of procedure, but in those two cases, the Board's ed for violations of the provided for violations of the prov rules of procedure have proved to be harmful to organized labor-in the former case, to the A. F. of L.; in the latter, to the C.I.O. Some way must be found to change the Board's procedure. If the amendment method is the only way, then it has to be via the amendment

PROBLEM OF SPLIT UNIONS

The present situation in the automobile industry is another example of a condition crying for correction. And if the division in the la- time and a half for overtime. bor movement persists, such examples will tend to multiply. What be- ner discriminating against any emcomes of contracts when a labor organization is split into two contend- filed a complaint or has testified, or ing factions? What happens in such is about to testify, in any proceeda case, where it is not so simple to ings relating to the act. determine which body represents the official, legitimate, organization? provisions. The auto industry shows that the employers take full advantage of quate payroll records. such a situation, in substance if not in form. While continuing to recog- lates any of those provisions may the hours worked, the amount of nize the union in theory, the employ- be fined not more than \$10,000. For pay received and the date of payers refuse to recognize either of the a second offense, he may not only organizations in practise. In the be fined up to \$10,000 but may be records also must show the regular first stage of the split in the auto imprisoned for not more than six rate of pay, the basis upon which industry, the management recogniz- months. In addition, goods produced ed both contending bargaining committees but it soon changed its pol- provisions may be tied up by injuncicy to recognition of neither. To all tion and barred from interstate intents and purposes, the contract commerce. A large quantity of lum- ter any plant or factory subject to with the union was not in operation. ber produced in violation of the law the provisions of the act, inspect Labor had ceased to have an agency for collective bargaining. How are such situations to be met?

True, under Chairman Madden's ruling, the employers can now petition for and secure an election to determine which of the factions has the support of the majority. But there are two important objections to this procedure. It does not eliminate a period of chaos, longer or shorter, as the employers may see fit, during which contractual relations are, in effect, suspended. Also it may be misused by the employers for creating and inspiring division in order to utilize for their own in-

* In both cases, the legitimate union running second by a slight margin in the first poll, was ruled off the ballot in the run-off. The designation, "No union," receiving a handful of votes, remained on the ballot.

terests periods when a blow against unionism as a whole can be struck.

There must be some other way to meet this problem. It seems to me that there is considerable merit in one of the amendments submitted by the A. F. of L. to the House Committee. Section 10 (e) reads as fol-

"Change of membership in or affiliation with or withdrawal from a labor organization shall not impair the rights conferred by this act on such exclusive bargaining agent uning a decision and by implication til either (1) the term of any written contract made by it with any to speed up matters. It was also his employer has expired, or (2) one opinion that "Congress should give year from the date of execution of such a contract (where the contract extends beyond one year) has the possibility of strengthening the elapsed, whichever is first reached. Act in the future by providing for Such labor organization shall have an interest in its own right in said contract for said period.

Stripped of its legal verbiage the meaning of the proposed amendment is clear and simple. The employer must recognize the authority and rights of the organization and its agents which originally became the collective bargaining agency, regardless of any splits or divisions which may have occurred since. This would make it possible for the union to enship in the particular field under ner. If the contract expires within one year, then a vote is provided for Labor, especially in its present di-

vided state, has much to gain from an application of such an amendment to the Wagner Act.

These are but a few examples of instances where labor would be benefited from a clarification of the pro-

sue.--Editor.)

Drastic Penalties

Wage Law

Violators Face Fines and Imprisonment

(This is the third of a series of in- by a Virginia firm was impounded

formative articles on the wage-hour law. under this provision. In Chicago, a

in interstate commerce of any goods called "the self-enforcing clause."

minimum wage, including time and maintained in any court of compe-

may be barred from interstate com- self or themselves and other employ-

scribed minimum wage, including an agent or representative to main-

members.

for overtime.

The Best Protection . . .

For Workers and Their Families

can be offered only by consolidated forces

of the workers.

• HEALTH INSURANCE

WORKMEN'S BENEFIT FUND

714 Seneca Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

organized 1884

LIFE INSURANCE

MEDICAL CARE

HOSPITAL AID

Washington, D. C.

sions of the Fair Labor Standards

Among the prohibited acts are:

The transportation, offering for

transportation, the shipment or sale

popularly known as "hot goods,"

Refusal or failure to pay the pre-

Discharging, or in any other man-

Violating any of the child-labor

Failure or refusal to keep ade-

Any employer who wilfully vio-

in violation of the wage and hour

FOR

RECREATION

Join the

ployee because that employee has

Conference

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich. MEETING in the face of a national crisis in W.P.A., delegates from some twenty locals of Workers of America convened in Lansing last Saturday, July 30, to map plans to combat the vicious legislation passed by Congress. George Verberkimoes, chairman pro-tem of situation and presented a fighting program calling for a concerted drive in the organization and amongst independent unemployed groups all over the country to get behind the strikes called by the A. F. of L. He sharply condemned the Roosevelt Administration for its doublecross of organized labor and the unemployed. He further pointed out that the Workers Alliance by its endorsement of everything that the Administration may do, was in effect a company union. He warned which a strong organization had to be prepared.

It was significant that in the discussion not one voice was raised in defense of President Roosevelt.

Later in the conference, the ques tion of affiliation of the organization came up. Former leaders had created the impression in some districts that the organization was affiliated with the U.A.W.-A.F. of L., while other districts had been informed that it was independent. In spite of pleas that program was more important than affiliation, a small group of Trotskyites and similar elements saw fit to leave the conference when their position of complete independence plus a condemnation of all labor leaders, including Green, Lewis, Martin, etc., failed to pass. A motion of independence with friendly cooperation with the U.A.W. lost because these people voted against it. The conference then voted to affiliate with writer's opinion that the necessity for united action of all unemployed on a national scale makes it desirable that this action be reversed as

The conference wound up with the unanimous election of George Verberkimoes of Grand Haven, Mich., as national chairman, and Irving Burtzloff of Local 20, Lansing, as financial secretary.

It is hoped that now, with the elimination of elements that have split every organization they have cedure and a strengthening of its ever belonged to, the United W.P.A. ica will once more forge ahead.

overtime, faces still another liabil-

sonable attorney's fee. This has been

ees similarly situated, or such em-

ployee or employees may designate

all employees similarly situated."

The law does not specify any par-

SOCIABILITY

WPA Union Packard Local Hits Holds Special U.A.W.-C.I.O. Trickery

Officers Issue Statement Giving Facts

(We publish below a statement signed propagandizing the membership and throwing light on what actually hapfantastic stories that have appeared in president; James McGough, vice-presdent; Carl Spickler, treasurer; Onal M. G. Crossley, financial secretary; J. S. Dangel, guide; John Krulock, sergeant-Maniaci, chief stewards.—Editor.)

Detroit, Mich. U.A.W.A., affiliated with the Amercan Federation of Labor, and a numof coming crises in direct relief, for ber of chief shop stewards and deputy stewards, in a sincere desire to workers into one effective, democratic union, contacted members of of unifying the Packard workers, ing, there was no effort on the and of restoring bargaining with the part of these officers of the C.I.O.

We had but one thought in mind: | ment, and they sought only to aid that was the welfare of the workers and abet Curt Murdock and his crowd n the Packard Motor Car Company. in defeating all democratic princi-After several days of negotiations, ples and denying the rights of the tentative program for solidifying workers to determine their own the workers was worked out and course thru proper union procedure. agreed upon. According to the agree- The excuse given by these reprement between us and the represen- sentatives of Thomas for not carrytatives of the C.I.O.-U.A.W., a de- ing out the agreement was that it mocratic meeting was to be called, was too expensive to hold a demowhere both factions were to be represented with an impartial chair- disgrace to the intelligent Packard man presiding. The notice for this workers and to the labor movement, meeting was to be authorized and but was typical of the C.I.O. meetcret ballot.

This procedure would have permitmembership and to the public.

Sunday, July 23, for the purpose of once and for all that the only hope

and copy the records and question The employer who fails to pay his workers the prescribed minimum wage, including time and a half for ity. Any of his employees may bring in instances in which it is suspectsuit for his unpaid minimum wages, and if successful, he can collect double the amount due, plus a reain the production of which workers On this point, the law says: "Action were not paid at least the prescribed to recover such liability may be a half for overtime. Such goods, tent jurisdiction by any one or more employees for and in behalf of him-

> tain such action for and in behalf of This means that a labor union can bring such a suit on behalf of its ticular form of records that must be kept by employers. Nor has Adminunder the "self-enforcing" clause. istrator Andrews prescribed any particular form. He has ruled, however, that they must show the indiv- little progress, to any extent because idual worker's name, his address,

ment. If overtime is worked, the wages are paid, and the amount paid Duly authorized inspectors of the Wage and Hour Division may en-

All Aboard!

S.S. Clermont

And Outing

to carry out their part of the agree-

cratic election. The meeting was a

sibility which has characterized their

This meeting was finally broken

up after several hours of harangue,

disturbance and disruption. They

wrangled for two and one-half hours

over a resolution which should never

have been permitted to come on the

floor, according to our understand-

ing. Even C.I.O. members could not

swallow it, and the leaders were

forced to call for reinforcements

from the Thomas high command.

Finally, most of the members, utter-

Our experience has proven beyond

warning to all automobile workers

for building a union that will truly

ly disgusted, left the meeting.

lements and that there

activities from the beginning.

by the officers and shop stewards of creating further animosities among Packard Local 190, U.A.W.-A.F. of L., the workers. Despite our agreement for the the United W.P.A. and Unemployed pened in that local and exposing the joint calling of the meeting at Cass Technical High School, the Thomasthe Stalinist and C.I.O. press. The ites resorted to their well-known statement is signed by: E. C. Linder, trickery and subterfuge by sending out a misleading notice to the membership, which had not been agreed the organization, reported on the Hawkins, recording secretary; Joseph upon by us. It was obvious, both from the notice and from the meeting today that the Thomasites were deat-arms; Frank Dodge, Larry Jacks, termined to railroad thru a program Patsy Zombo, trustees; Philip Przybyla, in violation of our agreement and Roy Miller, Ed Erb, Howard Canute, understanding. The Thomasites com-Charles E. Goff, Lawrence Webster, pletely repudiated the whole ar-Joseph Koprowski, Fred Walters, Philip | rangement and, with a very small group of Packard workers, most of them unemployed, infiltrated with

non-union members and non-Pack-A majority of the Executive Board of Packard Local Union 190, ting over propositions and resolutions to their liking, designed to completely destroy all our efforts to solidify the ranks of the Packard workers, under the banner of the solidify the ranks of the Packard C I.O. At the meeting, despite the assurances of high officers both in the the C.I.O.-U.A.W., with the hope of | C.I.O. and the C.I.O.-U.A.W. that democratically solving the problem there would be a democratic meet-

Packard management.

signed by Ed Linder, Carl Spickler, ings generally. It was utterly devoid Curt Murdock, Adam Poplawski and of democracy, and the Thomasites R. J. Thomas. The meeting was resorted to harangues and personalthe U.A.W.A.-A. F. of L. It is this merely to determine a program by ities to put over their schemes. They which local officers were to be electrefused to be governed by parliaed in a democratic election, by sementary laws, and gave a demonstration of outlawry and irrespon-

> ted a democratic determination of the representatives of the workers in the factory, and would have cleared the way for a unification of the ranks of the workers in one union and have permitted the restoration of bargaining with the Packard Motor Car Company. However, the Thomasites have completely repudiated the entire agreement and have demonstrated beyond further question that agreements by them are made merely to be broken. We had seen many examples prior to this of the complete lack of sincerity and honesty on the part of the Thomas group, but now we have had any further doubt that the C.I.O. is ed seriously by the company, since ther doubt in our minds, or further for true, democratic unionism under room for hesitancy on our part in its banner. making the facts known to our

> The first open violation of our everywhere: Do not be misled by agreement came when Curt Mur- false promises and rosy pictures tween members of Local 919 and dock and his crowd called a meeting at Northeastern High School on

serve the workers in the automobile industry lies with the Internationthe employees. Only by talking to al Union, United Automobile Workthe employees may it be possible to ers of America, affiliated with the ascertain whether the law has been American Federation of Labor. complied with. This is especially true ed that the payroll records may be inaccurate or deliberately falsified. Any employee covered by the act vho has reason to suspect that he s not receiving the benefits to which he is entitled would do well to obtain a small pocket notebook in which to set down each day the time he goes to work, the time he quits for lunch, the time he resumes work after lunch, and the time he quits for the day.

Such a record will be of great assistance to the inspector if he has public revealing the reason for his occasion to check up the employer's resignation as chairman of the Colrecords. It will be of great value if the employee wishes to make a complaint of non-compliance against his employer. It also should prove useful in case the employee wishes to bring suit against his employer Unfortunately, enforcement of the wage-hour law has made relatively Administrator Andrews has had only 114 inspectors in the field and 13 lawyers, only 7 of whom are avail-

able for litigation work. The start of a new fiscal year n July brings more funds for enforcement. Accordingly, a network of 14 regional offices will be opened shortly, 16 eventually. This, it is hoped, will speed up enforcement of the law, a subject that will be discussed in the next article.

All-Day Excursion

Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles :

AN AMAZING STORY

A N amazing story of a C.I.O.-dominated company union attempting to use the closed shop for the purpose of destroying a legitimate A. F. of L. union functioning in the same plant, is told in the current issue of the Union Leader, publication of the Amalgamated Association of Street Electrical Railway and Motor Coach Employees.

The ensuing clash between the two organizations was submited to an arbitration board consisting of Dr. P. T. Ellsworth of the

Iniversity of Cincinnati, chairman; O. David Zimring of the Labor Buro of the Middle West, representing the Amalgamated (A. F. of L.); and John B. Easton, representing the C.I.O. Transport Workers Union. We quote from the brief of the

Board of Arbitration: "The Ohio Valley Bus Company has a long history of company unionism, culminating in the formation of the First City Transit Union late in 1937. Division 1171 of the Amalgamated Association was organized at about the same time, and from the beginning encountered the opposition of the company in the form of hostility to and discrimination against its members. Its ability to expand its membership was undoubtedly severely hampered by the company's attitude.

"About a year after the organization of Division 1171, with little preliminary organizing activity and after what appears to have been a rather superficial investigation, a charter was granted by the C.I.O. to Local 919 of the Transport Workers. Immediately after a meeting of the F.C.T.U., which ended in its dissolution, the organization of Local 919 took place, with a prepared list of officers (including at least three who had been officers of or active n the preceding company union) eing elected.

"Local 919 was promptly joined by workers who were known anti-union men. Moreover, members of Local 919 were never, after its organization, subjected to pressure or inimidation by the company.

"Within four months of its organization, and after brief negotiation with the company, a contract was signed establishing Local 919 as a closed-shop organization. The facts do not indicate that pressure was exerted upon the company to grant the best possible terms for the workers. In the opinion of the Board, these and other circumstances surrounding the formation of Local 919, together with its prompt recognition by the company in contrast with the latter's course of opposition to Division 1171, cast serious suspicion upon the degree of its independence.

"One month after the signing of the contract with the company, a strike was called by Local 919 in contravention of its contract. Apparently the strike was not regardpersonal experience with the completely controlled by dictatorial close association was maintained thruout the strike between company officials and members of the local, while members of Local 919, at the We are therefore issuing this request of company officials, transported passengers in private cars. There was no issue in dispute bepainted by C.I.O. propagandists. the company, the sole purpose of tion fee of \$15) being to force members of Division 1171 to join Local 919. To say the least, the strike

was one of very dubious character. "While in no way denying the desirability in general of a closed-shop contract, when such is in force be-

cialist active in the S.T.F.U.—

Editor) can be suspected of opposing

communists because they disagree

with their foreign policy or with

united-front tactics in general. The

fact is that some of us are

frequently embarrassed by the

circumstance that our foreign

policy is in closer agreement with

tween an employer and a bona-fide union, it is the opinion of the Board that to compel members of Division 1171 of the Amalgamated Association, admittedly a bona-fide union, to join Local 919, would, in view of all the circumstances, be unjust to these workers. Therefore, it is the recommendation of this Board that the closed-shop provision of the contract between Local 919 and the Ohio Valley Bus Company should be inapplicable to members of Division 1171, and that the special and regular initiation fees and dues paid by them into escrow be returned to

I.L.G.W.U. Finances

WE beg forgiveness for having overlooked the highly interesting financial statement of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union appearing in its journal, Jus-

tice, of June 1, 1939. The financial position of the I.L. G.W.U. remains strong, despite the critical depression years. The statement shows a balance for the year ending December 31, 1938, of over a million dollars.

The union also shows a healthy state of affairs when we turn to the per-capita column. Close to two hundred thousand (199,956, to be exact) paid dues regularly during the 12 months, a most commendable showing in comparison with most of the large unions, and a slight improvement when compared with its own fine showing during the preceding year of 1937.

An interesting fact is revealed when the per-capita figures are examined by local unions. Almost half of the entire per-capita paying membership (91,879) are to be found in seven large locals, providing the steel framework around which the I.L.G.W.U. is built. The seven locals follow in the order of their strength: Local 89-32,051; Local 22-24,004; Local 117-8,836; Local 48-7,020; 62-6,923; Local 91-6,923; Local Local 10-6,122. All of these seven local unions are located in New York

"Political Unionism"

THE leading editorial in the current issue of the Journal of Electrical Workers is on "Political Unions". There are two types of itains: the "techno logical" kind, which concerns itself strictly with the economic problems of the industry; and the "political" unions, which meddle in politics.

The editorial then continues: "As long as the German trade unions before Hitler followed the This experience has convinced us the strike (and the penalty initia- first line of policy, namely, the technological, the labor movement was powerful. As soon as the republic came and the trade-union leaders were drawn off into political jobs and political leaders interpenetrated the trade unions, Hitler found his opportunity."

The above editorial raises many nore basic issues then would seem at first reading but to these we will return at a later occasion. For the time being, just a few comments. First, the German trade unions always were very closely interrelated, thru a sort of interlocking directorate, with the German Social-Democratic Party, which brought them into existence. The Social-Democratic Party was active, indeed, was a considerable force in politics, long before the coming of the republic. At no time, therefore, were the German trade unions the strictly economic or "technological" bodies which the writer envisages. It appears to us that the writer would ven have a difficult job proving that "political" unionism "has little or no support in countries like England". The interrelationship between the Trades Union Congress and the British Labor Party is easily as close as that between the German unions and the Social-Democratic Party.

In fact, there is serious doubt as to whether the animal called "technological unionism" exists anywhere. Jpon close examination, it will be found that even the A. F. of L., the closest thing to the "technological union", is also not the real McCoy. Despite its formula in relation to politics, it manages thru subtle and devious ways to express its desires on the political field and on occasion has even stepped forward upon the political arena as a direct factor (1924).

Secondly, the writer is not correct as to the ease with which Hitler took the German unions. The facts are quite the reverse. Hitler won over communists and socialists in large numbers but made very slight headway in the unions. At no time were the Nazis a significant factor in the trade unions. In fact, selves and to their loyalties, which this became the topic of many heatcommunist loyalties, not to play the was not until after the Nazis capfascism elsewhere.

Boat Ride to Bear Mt.

Sunday, Aug. 20

Meet 9 a.m. at Battery

Get Your Tickets Now 131 West 33rd Street

A Lesson Well Learned Neither Counts nor Kester (a so-

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

(The paragraphs below are from an editorial article in the Spring 1939 issue of Radical Religion, of which Dr. Neibuhr is editor.—Editor.)

ROFESSOR Hartman's recent communication to the New Reumbia chapter of the Teachers Union, and the experiences of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union with the communist-controlled C.I.O. union of which the S.T.F.U. is a part, clearly reveal the tremendous difficulties of socialists and liberals in working with labor organizations in which communists have virtual control.

The Teachers Union had serious difficulties some years ago when a right-wing socialist group was intent upon throwing the communists out of the union. Many members of the union who were not communists resisted this policy and the result was that the right wing socialists under the leadership of Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkovitz left the union and formed the Teachers Guild. The communists were at that time not in the majority and they may not be now. But it is a fact that due to their military discipline and their religious assiduity in playto outvote them in committee meetprolong arguments and debates un- of every modern nation. til the opposition has grown weary and decimated by the defection of of sleep.

ious about our handiwork.

the communist policy than with the isolationist policy of the Socialist Party. We are embarrassed by the fact because we can not condone the methods and tactics used by the communists to make trade unions the instruments of their party policy. Since they are not always in a majority, they must pursue their ends by broken promises, chicanery and the violation of the ordinary ecencies of social behaviour. Any opposition to such policies is mmediately branded as "Red-baitng" and the critics are accused of making common cause with Dies and Hearst. If the non-communists, who vork with communists on various united-front projects as a matter of principle and who intend to continue

what they are accused of being by reactionaries: tools of communist It can not be denied that the tening union politics, it is not possible dency of local communist parties to become the "black legions" of the ings unless you have the fortitude Russian Foreign Office and to deto remain until midnight at every termine local policies solely in the committee meeting in which policy light of Russian needs, is an unis being made, their tactics being to mitigated evil in the radical cause

to do so in spite of difficulties,

re intimidated by the charge of

'Red-baiting," they will become

Non-communists owe it to themthose who need an ordinary amount transcend and are not identical with ed discussions in Nazi periodicals. It At the time of the union crisis, part of "innocents" in united-front tured political power that they pro-Dr. Counts and the editor of movements. This means that they ceeded to take over the unions and this journal acted as co-chairmen must come out into the open with even then resistance was quite genof the "Save the Union" Commit- their criticism as Dr. Hartman has eral. Participation in politics by the tee. And they succeeded in prevent- done. They must do this even if trade unions was clearly not the ing ouster of the communists. We they seem to aid and abet a com- cause for the rise of Hitler in Gercan not speak for Dr. Counts, but, mon enemy for a moment and the many and non-participation hardly as for ourselves, we are a little dub- they will be charged with this of- the guarantee against the rise of fense in any event.

Aims and Realities of Socialist Unity

First Step Towards Unification Is "Socialist Block"

By WILL HERBERG

THE discussion of socialist unity help build up a great mass labor cialist organizations in this country that has been running in these columns for many months seems to me to be one of the most hopeful signs of the times. For if these letters have made one thing perfectly clear, it is that a profound desire for unity is beginning to animate large sections of socialists inside the various parties and groups as well as outside, a desire that puts to shame the cautious silence of certain leaders and the unworthy cynicism of cialist unity is not a practical posothers. As far as the socialist movement in this country is concerned, it is now a race between unity and catastrophe; he who puts stumblingblocks in the way of the former, inevitably invites the latter, no matter what his intentions may be.

In this article, I want to present in schematic form my own personal views on the question of socialist unity as a contribution to the discussion that has been going on in the Age and that is now beginning in the ranks of the I.L.L.A. in preparation for the Labor Day convention.

ALL-INCLUSIVE SOCIALIST UNITY

Our general objective, it seems to me, should be an all-inclusive socialist unity embracing all those who accept the following basic "minimum program" of democratic socialism:

1. The capitalist system of private property in the means of production and production for profit is thoroly outlived historically. The persistence of this system is at bottom responsible for the crisis of present-day society, including economic chaos and distress, social and cultural decay, imperialistic conflicts and political reaction. The welfare of mankind demands the replacement of capitalism by a socialist sysstem of the collective ownership and democratic administration of the means of production and production

2. The only social group that can effectively and consistently lead in this great social advance towards socialism is the working class in town and country, supported by the great masses of the other sections of the population that are exploited and oppressed by capitalism.

3. While a great deal of preliminary work can be accomplished within the framework of capitalism. the fundamental socialist transformation is possible only after the working class has attained political power and is in a position to use its

this transformation. 4. In the effort to attain political pend primarily upon its independent organization and action grounded in its class consciousness. It must take advantage of every possibility of peaceful, democratic change, as long | direction, that they will inevitably as such possibilities continue to exist. In the long run, it must be ing policy of the People's Front, does prepared to use any means that may achievement of its democratic and socialist goal.

5. Socialism is fundamentally opposed to authoritarian or totalitarian | for the first and most essential of tral to her whole analysis). dictatorship of every sort, whether it be fascist, military or Stalinist in But that is only the beginning, and character. Socialism fights to preserve every vestige of democratic rights and liberties under capitalism, always looking forward to the broader, deeper, and infinitely more adequate democracy under socialism.

A socialist society is inconceivable without democracy. A socialist society implies, at the very least, the collective ownership of the means of production and their operation according to a unified plan, unrestricted political democracy (which excludes the one-party system and the regime of party dictatorship), and

by the producing masses themselves. 7. In its own structure and functioning, the socialist movement must be thoroly democratic, rejecting the concept of "monolithic" organization and all its implications.

8. Socialism strives for peacefor the maintenance of peace, to the degree that this is possible, under capitalism; and for the creation of the foundations of lasting peace in a socialist society. Socialism is fundamentally opposed to militarism, chauvinistic nationalism, imperialism and the imperialistic colonial system.

These principles, expressing the essence of the socialist position, are broad enough, it seems to me, to make possible the inclusion of all socialist elements in this countrythe Independent Labor League of America, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Social-Democratic Federation.

NEW BASIS AND NEW DEPARTURE

Such all-inclusive socialist unity, however, cannot, in my opinion, be merely a reconstitution of the prewar socialist movement, for then it would merely repeat the sterile and fruitless development of that movement. Socialist unity today must aim at creating a basis for a new departure, at building a socialist movement with a new outlook and a new approach, based on the following two fundamental ideas:

American socialism must primarily be rooted in and draw its inspiration from the conditions, possibilities needs and traditions of the American people and not be a mere American reflection of European socialism, whether Russian, German or English.

movement in this country—on the along the following lines: economic field, in the form of a sinthe political field, in the form of a agreement can be reached. nation-wide labor party. In this general mass labor movement, socialism izational independence and freedom must strive to serve as an energiz- of action for the cooperating organng, inspiring, leavening force.

Such, I believe, should be our general objective, but however much we may desire it, such all-inclusive sosibility today from the standpoint of the actual political situation. The primary political obstacles to such all-inclusive unity at the present noment are, it seems to me:

Sharp, deep-going differences on he war question, since a predominant section of the S.D.F. takes a "collective-security" position while ent situation. Should war break out, other socialist elements are following an anti-war policy directed to-The sectarian hostility of the S.W.P. to any form of socialist unity that does not accept the Trotskyist ist movement under the impact and

program as its point of departure. that the Trotskyites have little to | ment or restriction of our anti-war contribute to socialist unity in this struggle under any circumstances, it country at this time.

practical move towards unity at this the basis of the present conditions time seems to me to be the forma- and political relations.

American socialism must strive to | tien of a Socialist Block of all so

1. Collaboration on all issues and gle united trade-union movement; on | in all fields on which a general 2. Complete political and organ-

izations within the limits of fraternal relations.

3. Joint discussion of all important programmatic, political and organizational questions with a view towards reaching a general agreement and thus paving the way to a more complete unity.

In such a Socialist Block, ways will of course have to be found for the cooperation of unattached social-

ists in this country. All this is predicated on the presan entirely new situation would, of course, arise-with new problems wards keeping America out of war. and tasks, all centering around the struggle against war; with new divisions and alignments in the socialstress of war. But, while keeping Of these, the first point is far this perspective in mind and never more serious, for it is my opinion permitting any weakening, curtailseems to me that we must frame our In view of this situation, the most present policy on socialist unity on

Books of the Age

= by Jim Cork =

York. 1938, \$2.75.

ONE FIFTH OF MANKIND, by Books, New York. 1938. \$0.50.

line of the Communist Party. Miss will inevitably disappear! Smedley's book, for the most part, is literary rather than political. Only in its implications and overtones, and that rarely, does it touch the realm of political analysis. The book is skillfully written and its warmth governmental power as the lever in and sympathy for the Chinese soldiers and masses are very evident. The descriptive vignettes make one feel deeply the simplicity, self-sacrifice and deathless heroism of the

Chinese fighters. But that these great potential assets are being diverted in the wrong be frittered away by the self-defeatnot seem to occur to the author at prove necessary and effective in the all. Only once does her critical sense break thru her emotions and come to the surface, when she says:

all necessities-national liberation. of the Chinese armies is not yet fulfilled—that is, the adoption of such democratic social, economic and political measures that the masses of the people really feel that they have

something to fight for." But this proper feeling that the People's Front line prevents the ers.

CHINA FIGHTS BACK, by Agnes | achievement of the very thing which Smedley. Vanguard Press, New the author herself regards as the decisive prerequisite for victory, that in the interests of an illusory na-Anna Louise Strong. Modern Age
Rooks New York 1938 \$0 50 toned down and the oppressed THESE two books by the "grandes masses are prevented from realizing dames" of the Stalinist report- their most cherished desires. Under age complement each other very such conditions, the feeling of the nicely and, together, give a well- masses that "they have something to rounded outline of the all-too-fami- fight for, . . . something to live for", liar tenets of the People's Front will inevitably weaken and morale

Anna Louise Strong, who also writes the introduction to Miss Smedley's book, is "heavily" political thruout. The line is laid out from A to Z-Japan is the only enemy of the Chinese people; friendship for the other imperialist powers is necessary; stop the class struggle against the capitalists and land-lords; no fight for socialism in examples of political naivete and illiteracy of the author (for instance, he close parallel drawn between the Chinese Revolution and the Ameri-"The Chinese armies are fighting | can Revolution of 1776, a point cen-

Two things must be especially mentioned because of their frequeneven the prerequisite for the victory cy and overwhelming crudity—the whitewashing of Chiang Kai-shek may soon be rudely awakened. For shrinks. Then the workers are drivfight for national liberation, to be ruled out, the probable outcome of worse quality. There are facts to successful, must involve the broad- the present talks between Japan and indicate that this second stage of est sections of the working and England will be some sort of com- war-time "prosperity" has already peasant masses, and must therefore mon agreement between the two. In been reached in Germany, Italy and get its drive from the fulfillment either case, fight or "peaceful" Japan without a totalitarian war of their economic and social needs, agreement can only be at the ex- having really started. is soon dissipated and sinks to the pense of the Chinese masses. Emanthe democratic administration of the depths, never to reappear. There is cipation of the Chinese people can DILEMMA OF economic and social affairs of society not the slightest apparent realiza- be achieved only by breaking the tion of the fact that the present stranglehold of all imperialist pow

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Fascist War **Boom Brings Inner Crisis**

By OBSERVER

(Observer is a well-known journalist pecializing in economic problems un der fascism. He will contribute regular v to these columns.—Editor.)

THE economic situation in Ger-I many, Italy and Japan deserves special attention. These countries have experienced some kind of war boom during the last few years, altho the wars were only of the "partial" variety. Yet, these totalitarian countries have already passed the first stage of war-time "prosperity" and are at present entering another and second stage in the development of their economies.

"SOLVING" THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Growing scarcity of labor, raw to swamp these countries. But new largely unproductive since they were for armaments or war purposes; yet unemployment was reduced to insignificant proportions. Many workers who had not had jobs for years got an opportunity to work again; wives and older children increased the family incomes altho wage rates remained low or were even reduced.

An increase of arms production together with militarization of millions of men do create a relative prosperity-on the industrial field and the labor market-during the first stage of a war-time economy. All labor forces are needed. It must be realized that such prosperity will always be exploited by the militarists and those who go along with them in order to make the workers believe that the economic crisis has definitely been overcome. Many workers families, where most members have been unemployed for a long time, can improve their family income during the first stage of a war or rearmament boom. They now again obtain a regular wage, less than the wages they previously received, but often more than they could get during their period of unemployment.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND WAR DANGER

the unemployment and the more it ets has been effected China; "Up the Kuomintang; Three weakens the economic position of the Cheers for Chiang Kai-shek"; the working class, the greater the dan- TOTAL INCOME United States ought to help China ger that a war boom will be launched pecause it is a wonderful place for as the solution for unemployment capitalist exploitation. It is unfor- and economic crisis. A large permaunate that space prevents the re- nent unemployment therefore adviewer from quoting the many rich vances the policy of the war-mongers and handicaps the anti-war struggle, particularly during the first period of a war boom.

But such a war boom, in its very nature, makes the reproduction of the means of production as well as the supply of sufficient consumption goods increasingly difficult. Armaments are obviously unproductive. Economic reserves are exhausted. and the isolation of Japan as the The industrial machine decays and only enemy of China. Miss Strong the supply of consumption goods altho a struggle between Japan on en to work harder and longer for the one side, and England and U. less; they have to work harder while S.A. on the other, can hardly be they get less consumption goods of

BRITISH IMPERIALISM

This does not mean that an internal collapse in these countries is mminent. But this situation intensifies the expansionist drive and the attempt to reach decisive victories and acquire more loot before the decay of the economy completely upsets the militarist machine. The British government is quite apprehensive of the economic-military difficulties of the totalitarian states. It is willing to relieve the economic plight of these states thru loans if it can thereby save its endangered world positions and foreign investments. It calculates in terms of pounds sterling, shillings and pence.

Montagu Norman, head of the Bank of England, is said to have declared a few years ago: "Either we give a loan of fifty million pounds to the National Socialist state nowknowing that this loan is given a fonds perdu (as a dead loss), or we shall have to give a much bigger loan later because a collapse of the fascist regime will cost much more than such a loan". Montagu Norman might now exclaim: "I told you so!" For only recently Robert S. Wilson, Secretary for Overseas Trade, discussed a loan not of fifty million, but of a thousand million pounds for the Nazi government, while new concessions were made at the same time to the Japanese militarists in the Far East. Unfortunately for the British imperialists, the "have-not" powers no longer acknowledge the rules of "fair play" in the business of imperialism. They are willing to accept British loans, but they will not lay down their arms which enable them to continue their struggle for more loot and for imperialist ex-

Workers Income Under New Deal

Labor's Share Shrank in Last Decade

By ROBERT WALTERS

WHAT effect have the seven years of the New Deal had upon the size of the workers share of the national income? What has been the effect of the New Deal upon the income structure of the country? These questions, so vital in any adequate estimate of the New Deal from the point of view of labor, can now be answered with a fair degree of accuracy on the basis of information made available in studies of the Brookings Institution, the Department of Commerce and the National Resources Committee.

LABOR SHARE IN NATIONAL INCOME

In 1929, on the eve of the great materials and foodstuffs compels a depression, "employees compensalimitation of armaments projects tion" accounted for 65.8% of the fully employed laborer to increase and creates a new pressure against "national income paid out". In 1932, the working class for speeding up at the lowest point of the depres- average buying power of the lowest production and reducing wages. Dur- sion, this percentage had fallen to third of the labor scale must have ing the first stage of the armaments 63.7. By 1938, after six years of the declined by at least 25%. race, the state economy in Ger- New Deal, labor's share of the namany, as well as in Italy and Japtional income was only 65.5%, a DISTRIBUTION an, succeeded in "solving" the problem trifle higher than in 1932 but still OF INCOMES lem of unemployment. According to below the 65.8% of 1929. In other tigures on production and employ- words, the New Deal has definitely ment, a genuine prosperity seemed not succeeded in raising or even maintaining, the proportion of naproduction and investments were tional income paid out to workers of all descriptions.

supplemented by relief benefits paid fective income of labor has been con- lowing table: siderably reduced in the last ten years thru increased consumption taxes and similar levies. Since 1929, there has been an increase of abou two billion dollars in the total of customs receipts and "miscellaneous internal revenue"-mainly excises sales levies and pay-roll taxes, bear ing on consumers and largely pair out of labor income. Making adjust ments for these tax increases (but in state and local sales taxes), the to labor, even with relief benefits one point between 1929 and 1938.

sumption, especially in the form of both approximately three times as An important lesson can be drawn relief benefits. Little permanent large as in 1929. from this development: the greater shift of income to the lower brack-

AND BUYING POWER

| ments) will be about 13% or 14% below that of 1929, while the cost ly employed workers is up by about

the same percentage. But, when account is taken of the inemployed and the part-time emdifferent. Since 1929, there has been a 10% increase in employable population, which means a 5% reduction in total labor purchasing power or, what is another way of putting it, in justify the bloody purges of old Bolthe purchasing power of the average sheviks by the Stalin regime. worker, taking both employed and unemployed into account.

A further consequence is the sharpening of economic contrasts Workers Age distributors stood their even within the labor group. For the his buying power by 5% means that

The extent of existing economic disparities in the population is graphically shown by recent studies of the distribution of income among the different brackets. The collapse of 1929-1932 caused a tremendous A number of qualifications have dislocation of economic strata. Six union drive now being conducted in to be made to this conclusion. On million non-farm families — one the state legislatures. In England we the one hand, the income of the em- fourth of the total-were plunged had a similar experience in 1903 ployee group has been considerably from higher brackets to below the when the Taff Vale judgment threat-\$1,000-a-year line, which may sure- ened trade unionism with loss of out by the government. In 1938, ly be taken to represent the mini- practically all accustomed rights. these benefits constituted 7.5% of mum of decent subsistence. That this But far from damaging permanently labor's total compensation, bringing damage does not appear to have been the trade unions, it, more than any ts share of national income up to extensively repaired by the New other single factor, led to the suc-67.3%. On the other hand, the ef- Deal may be inferred from the fol- cess of the British Labor Party.

Non-Farm Income by Classes

٠,	(in minon ramines)			
ıt		1929	1933	1935-
of	Under \$1,000	3.0	9.4	9.3
ıs	\$1,000-2,000	9.5	9.2	9.7
s,	Over \$2,000	10.9	6.2	6.5
r-				
id	Total	23.4	24.8	25.5
t-	I			

not taking into account the growth are available. However, the information at hand suggests that probably proportion of national income going no important change has occurred horror of the press, twenty-nine counted in, probably declined about ber in the higher group (with inwhatever net advance in labor's likely risen to 7.5 million. The In n relative economic standing there has proportion of the population econbeen over the past eight or ten years omically submerged (with incomes has thus been brought about by the under \$1,000 a year) has remained dustrial unionism—so had England essentially emergency expedient of about the same, as has also the acpublic borrowing to finance con- tual number of persons involved- Labor party existed together with

All told, therefore, the record of have the first beginnings of a tradepressive. Within the last ten years, propagandist socialist parties. during seven of which the Roosevelt But the question of relative in- | Washington, labor's share of the nacome is probably of less interest tional income (not counting relief getting the trade unionists to underthan the question of actual wages payments) has declined, total workreceived and the amount of goods ers buying power has fallen, and tives in the legislature to defend they will buy. Total labor income disparities in income have become this year (including relief pay- even greater and more striking.

I suggest you make use of the

Refugee Illusions

(These paragraphs are from the essay by Ignazio Silone serving as introduction to the volume on Mazzini in the Living Thought Library (Longmans, Green and Co.).—Editor.)

SWITZERLAND, France and England were in those days crowded with refugees from the reactionary countries. Such people, as a rule, looked to the French government to bring about the European revolu-

So, shortly after the July Revolution (1830), the liberals in Belgium, Italy and Poland rose as by common accord and in the firm persuasion that help from France would be forthcoming. What a disappointment, therefore, when the armies of Austria and Russia calmly invaded Poland and Italy and brutally suppressed the independence movements, without a protest, let alone armed opposition from France! . . . All the same, for all its sudden scruples about interference in the 'internal' affairs of other countries, the French government, in accord with England, did intervene in Belgium where French interests happened to be involved, and helped that country free itself from the yoke of Holland in order to become a satellite of France. Bitterness and disgust over the French "betrayal" demoralized and paralyzed many Italian and French liberals for a long time to come; but unfortunately, not to the point where the dismal delusion of foreign help has been completely uprooted from their minds.

It is worth while to remember the alibis, the accusations and counter-accusations which have kept alive in the democratic press the polemic on the bloody and grotesque farce of non-intervention. Readers scanning the opinions of the official organs in the recent case in Spain can find these same artifices, the same falsehoods, and the same shamelessness of those times. One can even say that they were perpetrated by the same kind of men. The platitudes, the gestures, the facial expressions, the tones of voice, the dramatic method of playing offended innocence and despised truth by the statesmen of today resemble in every detail the very same methods of other days. From the good king Louis Philippe to Comrade Leon Blum, political morals have not changed much. Unchanged also is the inexhaustible capacity of the exiles for illusion. . . .

The fact is that it is quite childish on anybody's part to use the term "betrayal" in such regards or even to attribute non-intervention policies on the part of democratic governments to insincerity or duplicity. Forces quite apart from the individual consciences of ministers and rulers are in play. For one thing, at critical moments in history, sentiments of class or dynasty readily prevail over affinities of principles, and instinct warns anyone who is in control of a state that one may know how a revolution is to begin but never where or how it is to end, and that in any case revolution is a bad example to set for one's people. Even in extreme cases, when courageous revolutionaries hold seats of power, they perceive that when the vital interests of their country are at stake, the policy of the state, precisely because it is a state and not a party, must be determined by considerations far other than the theoretical preferences of its ministers or commissars of the people. They see that if they are to stay in power, they must become statesmen and follow state, rather than party, policies. The partisan or theoretical principles, therefore, on which they were carried to power gradually drop into the background; and instead of the state's being used to apply the utopian principles of a party, we find the party being used to achieve the traditional purposes of the state.

There is apparently something about exiles that renders them impervious to the great political truth just stated. Exiles today, like the exiles of a century ago, keep looking to intervention from abroad for the freeing of their countries; and whenever what they judge to be a propitious opportunity for an intervention comes and is missed, they feel themselves "betrayed". And betrayed they are-but by their own political

Age Used To Expose Movie Fraud

IN spite of police and Stalinist interference, the Workers Age, featuring Bertram D. Wolfe's splenof living is down 18%. Hence, buy- did indictment of the falsification ing power of aggregate labor will of history in the Soviet film, "Lenin be about 5% more than ten years in 1918", was sold in front of the ago. Per-capita buying power of ful- Cameo Theater, where the movie is being shown.

Shouting slogans of "Read the truth about Lenin in 1918" and "Read how Stalin distorts Soviet ployees, the picture is emphatically history", members of the I.L.L.A. made every effort to expose the deliberate falsehoods in the movie which makes Stalin the hero of the Russian civil war and which tries to

The manager of the theater tried to prevent the sale of the paper and appealed to the police, but the ground and maintained their right to sell the paper. A great deal of attention was attracted and a large number of Ages were disposed of.

A Letter From England

Manchester, England July 4, 1939

Editor, Workers Age: WAS very interested to read in the Workers Age of the anti-

R. W. Postgate in his admirable "Short History of the British Workers" writes: "The Taff Vale decision, by which trade-union funds were made liable for all the damage caused by strikers, impelled the most reactionary trade-union officials to realize the need for legislative action to repeal this piece of judgemade law. The funds of the Labor Representation Committees shot up For 1939, no authoritative data and their support increased rapidly. Then, in 1906, came the general election. . . . To the astonishment and in the lower groups, while the num- seats were captured by the Labor Representation Committee candi-

> In many ways England of 1903 is similar to U.S. A. of today. You have just witnessed the birth of inof 1903. A new, small trade-union propagandist socialist parties, the I.L.P. and the S.D.F. Today, you

Administration has held sway in Taff Vale parellel to help the campaign to form a Labor party by stand they must have representatheir interests.

Hatch Bill Shows Clash of Cliques

(Continued from Page 1)

derground and unofficial. Until 1938. the White House was on the offensive; indeed, it was widely believed that the centralized Roosevelt machine, with its billions of funds to distribute and its far-flung network of agents doing the distributing, was well-nigh invincible. The "purge" initiated by President Roosevelt in that year was supposed to deal a knock-out blow to the state machines and to put them in their place once and for all. Only it didn't. On the contrary, the "purge" turned out to be a fiasco; the President took a bad licking; and the state machines emerged triumphant.

STATE BOSSES ON

THE OFFENSIVE It was then the turn of the state

bosses to take the offensive, especially as it seemed clear that the President was continuing his crusade by more devious methods (such as the "political raids" of the Justice Department in Missouri and Louisiana). The Hatch bill was the answer. To the degree that it is enforced, it will effectually undermine the national Roosevelt political machine to the manifest advantage of the state Democratic organizations. For it will bar federal executive officeholders, precisely the men upon whom the Roosevelt machine entirely depends, from playing any direct part in national politics. The state bosses will be little, if at all, hampered by any provision of the Hatch bill, as it was never intended they should be.

Such is the real underlying meaning of the Hatch bill, to help the state machines reestablish complete and unchallenged control over national politics. The battle is not over by any means. The scene now shifts to the struggle for control of the 1940 Democratic convention, with which the third-term issue is inextricably involved.

Strike on WPA Strong

(Continued from Page 1) brought about the adoption in the Senate of a modification of the 18month rule. The House, however, did not concur and so the layoffs had to begin again, to be completed by the end of the month.

Workers Age

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No. 32

A SINISTER THREAT

L AST week the House of Representatives passed a measure that bodes ill indeed for the future of the first state of the first s bodes ill indeed for the future of democracy in this country. By a vote of 273 to 48, the lower house adopted the Smith "anti-alien" bill, one of the most vicious examples of repressive legislation ever to appear in the United States.

The bill provides, for instance, that an alien who has joined any organization advocating the overthrow of government by violence, if he has been a member "at any time, or how far in the past, irrespective of his termination or of how it may have ceased", shall be subject to deportation. Efforts to add some modifying qualifications proved unavailing. As it now stands, the bill, if approved by the Senate and signed by the President, would require that a non-citizen who joined the Communist Party for one day in 1919 and thereafter had nothing whatever to do with it, be promptly deported. Was a more vindictive, iniquitous proscription ever enacted by either house of Congress in the long history of the republic?

There are other, scarcely less vicious provisions of the bill, such as the one applying not merely to aliens but to every one, forbidding the printing or publishing of books or papers advocating the "violent overthrow" of the government or defending or justifying any such forbidden ideas, or the one attempting to "protect" the armed forces by making it a crime to discuss issues of war, peace or militarism with them. But it is unnecessary to detail these provisions, for the character of the bill is sufficiently obvious from what has already been said.

And yet this barbarous measure was adopted by the House of Representatives by the overwhelming vote of 273 to 48. Where were all the New Dealers when the vote took place? Are there no more than 48 Roosevelt men in the House? Or can it be that the bulk of Administration supporters, who are ready enough to fight tooth and nail to give the President arbitrary power to drag us into another world war, cannot see the necessity of trying to resist the anti-alien and anti-radical frenzy now gripping Congress? What has President Roosevelt to say about the supine cowardice or worse of his followers in Congress?

The Smith bill, like many similar pieces of legislation introduced in the present session of Congress, is a foreshadowing of the fascist-like reaction that is bound to sweep this country once we are plunged into another war. It is the sinister shadow that the coming war casts before it. And as the preparations for the coming war-material preparations of rearmament and moral preparations of jingoism and "patriotic" fury—make increasing headway, so will this dark shadow of reactionary repression swallow up more and more of the democratic liberties that still remain to us. and Strategic Interests of the Unit-

The danger is great, and is growing greater every day. Every ed Kingdom." This survey, made by gies and ideals. Altogether too many thrust of the forces of reaction, without let or hindrance from the no less an authority than the Royal see differences of this sort between New Deal, must be resisted with determination by labor and all Institute of International Affairs, the warring camps—differences viliberty-loving people thruout the country. Above all is it a life- tells us: and-death necessity to strengthen our efforts to keep America out of war. For once war comes it will bring with it dictatorship, reaction and repression all along the line.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ON WAR

THE July 8 issue of the New Leader (New York), official paper of the Social-Democratic Federation, contains the resolution on "peace, war and fascism" adopted by the recent convention of the S.-D.F. in New York City. It is a resolution that presents, to an unusual degree, frankly and without equivocation, the position of the pro-war "collective-security" trend in the socialist movement, and as such it is well worth careful examination.

In the past, "until recent years", in fact—the social-democratic resolution tells us—wars were imperialist wars born out of the teristics of her international regime "economic rivalries of the great capitalist powers, in the struggle upon world relations; her navy kept that there are some differences befor markets, for sources of raw material, for investment opportunities. . . In such wars, the "workers of the world had no reason financial power promoted the de- groups; rather it is that significant jority of their populations—the colto take sides."

But now things are quite different. "With the rise of totalitarian states, the conditions have changed. The present war danger results directly from the antagonism between fascism and democracy". From this it follows that the labor movements of the "democratic" countries must "favor rearmament", back "their respective governments" against the fascist powers and, "if war comes, to cooperate wholeheartedly in carrying it thru to victory. Of course, "the struggle between democracy and dictatorship is not and cannot be confined to the old world". Hence, "our republic should collaborate with the democratic nations of Europe in this world-wide and irrepressible conflict."

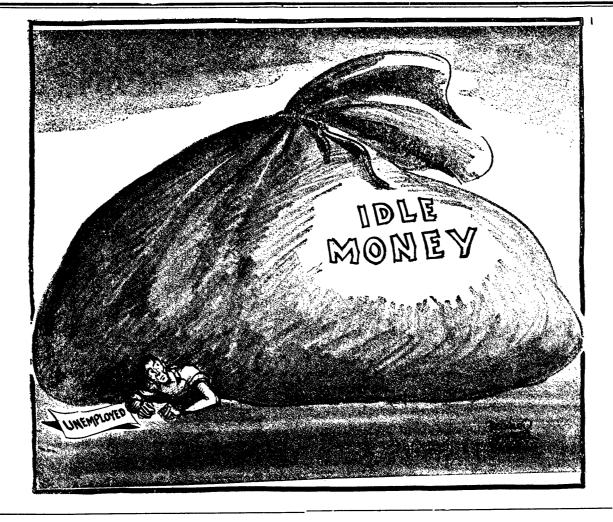
This is the social-democratic thesis, and it certainly goes the whole hog—on the road to war!

It is a thesis that does not deserve and certainly cannot stand serious examination. We are asked to believe that after having raged thruout the world for decades, the imperialist struggle growing out of the "economic rivalries of the great capitalist powers" has suddenly been suspended to give way to a struggle over ideology! We are asked to believe that official Britain and France -that is, the capitalist ruling classes of these countries-are no longer interested in "markets, sources of material and investment opportunities" but are now dominated by a deep concern over the fate of democracy. We are asked to believe, in short, that the imperialist brigands of yesterday have now suddenly been transformed into shining knights combating the powers of darkness on behalf of the great ideals of freedom! Why, even a Daily Worker reader would have difficulty in swallowing such unadulterat-

ed bilge-water. Is it really necessary to refute such "arguments"? Is it really necessary to call attention to the curious fact that "democratic" Britain didn't seem to have the slightest difficulty in getting along with totalitarian Italy until Italy decided to infringe upon British imperialistic interests in Africa and the Mediterranean? Is it necessary again to refer to the notorious part played by "democratic" Britain in financially bolstering fascism in Italy and Germany, just at a time when these regimes were most unstable? Is it necessary again to point to gradual dismantling of democracy precisely in those "great democracies" (France, England) that the New Leader assures us are entering the lists on behalf of freedom? Is it necessary to recall that twenty-two years ago, in 1917, the American people were led under precisely the same slogans of "democracy against autocracy" into a world war that the New Leader now brands as an imperialist conflict?

No, it is not a conflict over ideology or forms of government that is tearing the world apart today. It is a conflict born out of the "economic rivalries of the great capitalist powers", very much as it was in 1914. Even the phraseological covering is not so very different, altho the emotional content of the phrases of today is more potent to the degree that German Nazism of 1939 is more

hateful and vicious than German Kaiserism of 1914. The New Leader is deeply concerned about the menace of fascism to this country. So are we. But we realize that the threat of fascism in America is not the threat of German invasion or of "subversive" propaganda carried on by Fritz Kuhn and his Bundites. The real threat of fascism in the United States is the threat of the military-totalitarian dictatorship that will come with war. Let us once get involved in another world war to "save democracy" and there will not be a remnant of democracy left on these shores. Therefore, KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!



Imperialist Giants in Death Struggle

Preparations for War Bring Growing Dictatorship

By JAY LOVESTONE

(Concluded from Last Issue) BEFORE examining the line-up of the developing world war, it is appropriate to get a composite picture of the prevailing relationships, of the differences and identi-

ties, among the decisive powers. imperialist giants is presented in the recent study of the "Political

"It is indisputable that under modern conditions, a war in almost any part of the world, especially if a great power is involved, must inflict injury upon British financial and the "democratic" capitalist and commercial interests, and that countries. Too often these differ-Great Britain has no ends which ences are exaggerated. Yet, some could be served by the initiation of of them are important. However, dif-

in some degree imposed the charac- cal institutions dynamically. The sigvelopment of industry and comnineteenth century, Germany and Italy achieved national unity and, with Japan, rose to the status of great powers. The conditions that made the Pax Britannica possible ended with the Great War; in particular, the development of aerial warfare permanently modified the talitarian from beginning to endadvantages of maritime predomi- and likely for long after the finish. nance and an insular situation; this Totalitarian wars bring totalitarian part in the creation of a League of merge her own security in a general

reign of peace and the rule of law, totalitarian war, the German bour-Great Britain was undoubtedly promoting her own interests. .

system has compelled Great Britain opponents of Nazi imperialism canto reconsider the methods by which not escape this course in their armed her interests may be served. . .

"These considerations give support to the contention of the British United Kingdom demand that her foreign policy should disregard so far as possible ideological changes."

25 YEARS AGO

AUGUST 6 to 12, 1914

August 6.-Austria-Hungary de clares war on Russia. Serbia declare war on Germany. England has seized 30 German ships to date. Centra Federated Union of New York State with membership of 600,000, protests against war and states that labor has nothing to gain from war. Retail prices of foodstuffs rising thruout

August 7.-Montenegro declares war on Austria-Hungary.

August 8.-Huge anti-war demon stration organized by S.P. in Union (Galicia) after his home is raided on previous day. (He is held until August 19th. Released thru the aid of Adler and Diamond of Austrian

August 8.—Austria-Hungary declares itself neutral.

August 12.-France and Great Britain declare war on Austria-Hungary. Germans and Austrians crowd o escape service.

SOME VANISHING DIFFERENCES

more honest statement from a mouthpiece of British or any other imperialism. If only the pseudo-communists and Stalinated liberals were to see the issues as clearly! Here are the real stakes in the big war A frank estimate of the present in the making. Here is the real back-'balance" or "unbalance" among the ground of the world's suicidal con-

> But too many people throw sand into their own eyes and see the imperialist war as a clash of ideolotal and permanent enough to warrant international labor support of the Anglo-French imperialist block against the fascist imperialist axis.

Of course, there are differences between the fascist capitalist powers ferences in political organization at home—in peace-time—must not be "For a hundred years—from 1815 viewed statically. Particularly in to 1914-Great Britain's combina- the present period of rapid change tion of sea-power and money-power must we view all social and politicist imperialist powers vanish with present international situation is not open the channels of trade, and her tween the opposing imperialist merce. But in the latter half of the time, they tend to disappear as rapidly as war preparations advance and vanish entirely with the outbreak of actual and active warfare. This was largely true even in the last world war.

It is clear to everybody that the impending world conflict will be tocountry therefore took a leading defense and attack. This entails political reorganization along totali-Nations thru which it was hoped to tarian lines; in other words, the eradication of all democratic institutions as the primary and vital pre-"In seeking thus to promote the requisite at home. Anticipating this geoisie have resorted to a rigorous fascist regime some years in ad-"The breakdown of the League vance. The so-called "democratic" defense of their positions and resources. More and more is military preparedness synonymous with the government that the interests of the extension of fascist or totalitarian methods of political life and organization in countries like England, France and the United States. War spells the establishment of full fascist regimes in these countries. Obviously, each land will have its own specific form of fascism.

> DEMOCRACY— DECREED TO DEATH

The fate of the French Republic affords painful confirmation of our contention. Here is a country with glorious democratic traditions. Yet, in the recent months of accelerated war preparations, the French Chamber of Deputies has lost all semblance of vitality. It has been stripped of all control of foreign affairs and fiscal policy. During his years of office, Daladier delivered only one and a half speeches on foreign affairs. Even Hitler has made a pretense at declarations on foreign Square. Lenin arrested in Novy Targ | policy before his totally coordinated Reichstag. But after the Czech events of last March, all Daladier could do before his deputies was to attack the Left and not even mention Czecho-Slovakia. Upon the adjournment of the session, Daladier "corrected" the official record by inserting the name of the now defunct republic in his speech. Nor is it an accident that Bonnet, his Minister of Foreign Affairs, has avoidnaturalization buro in New York ed all debate on his tenure of of-

Daladier himself, elected by a de-DIFFERENCES

No one could expect a generally cisive Left majority, is now the spokesman of the Right. France is governed by decree. By decree-dictatorship, the French worl ers and lower middle classes have been robbed of all their social and economic gains of recent years. In but one day, Daladier recently issued ninety decrees-one of which postponed elections for two years, until 1942. This was an unprecedented move. Even during the last world war, the decision to postpone the French elec tions was not made till 1917-and then it was made by the Chamber itself and not by decree. Rob a parliament of its rights to deal with and decide financial matters and foreign affairs and you have reduced parliamentary democracy to the hollowest of mockeries. Do unto it what Daladier has done and you provide a picture of complete collapse of the efficacy of parliament as even a limited and distorted expression of the will and wishes of the electorate.

UNCHALLENGEABLE AND

But if the peace-time differences between the "democratic" and faswar, the identical features of the nificant and decisive feature of the two robber bands present unbroken continuity thruout peace and war The great French and British "democracies" do not treat the vast mathe way the Japanese and Italian fascist imperialists do in peace-time. I recall what Fenner Brockway told us at the last conference of the International Workers Front Against War, When Ramsay MacDonald became Prime Minister, Wedgewood Benn took over the Ministry of Colonial Affairs and asked Brockway for suggestions on how to handle the problems of his office. The latter strongly urged the immediate release of more than 30,000 prisoners in India. Forthwith, Mr. Benn cabled this recommendation to the Viceroy of India who submitted it to the eleven provincial governors. Ten of them replied that they would rather resign than liberate the Hindus imprisoned for struggling against British imperialist oppression. The Labor Party was on the spot and dared

> Since the last war made the world "safe for democracy", the natives of Cape Colony have been subjected to segregation and disfranchisement. In Kenya, British "democracy" has robbed the natives of the best land. Indelibly and painfully inscribed in my memory are the following reat this international conference: 'Black man in French Empire runs from white man whom he fears to death. We live in misery and die and have given up hope for whites. They treat us worse than animals.

> This is the light and power of capitalist "democratic" civilization in the more distant lands! That is how Africa came to be known as "backward". Now, anyone should be able to see who made Africa "the dark

continent"! (Concluded in the next issue)

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Talking It Over:

On Magic Spells

= by Bertram D. Wolfe ==

THERE are words that we have permitted ourselves to bandy about as if they were pronouncements of the last judgment. When we were able to hurl one of them at someone or something, that someone or something was supposed to shrivel up and vanish in a puff of smoke, or crawl ignobly into a dark hole and pull the hole in after.

Among pre-war Marxists, for instance, it was often sufficient to label an idea "metaphysical" or "revisionist" to regard it as demolished, flesh, blood, skin, bones and hair.

In 1918 and 1919, every idea one didn't like to consider might be labelled with the thunderous, mouth-filling word, "counter-revolutionist." I can remember how, in 1918, when we were beginning to create the Communist Party, there were some who wanted to attend the convention of the Socialist Party, of which we were all members, and try to win it, or its majority and machinery, for communism. Others wanted to split immediately and organize a rival convention. Someone in the latter group hit upon the terrifying word, "counter-revolutionary," and that settled it --and settled it wrongly.

In the following years, other "hard" words fulfilled a similar function. Bob Minor once nearly delivered a knockout blow to common honesty and decency by launching the impressive incantation: "Honesty? Honesty is a bourgeois virtue!" It was with difficulty that the uneasy feeling that he was robbing us of something precious and giving the bourgeoisie credit for something they did not deserve, was made to prevail at all against this fearful pronouncement. But only for a time, for now the very Earl of Pecksniff is revered as general secretary of the quondam Communist

For a few years in the middle twenties, sometimes the word "ultraleftist" and sometimes the words "right" and "opportunist" were sufficient to stop all discussion and all thought on matters requiring sober and realistic tactical analysis. To this very day, "centrism" and "centrist" still play the same mentally paralyzing role for the Trotskyites.

"Bam!" comes the terrible word, and "Poof!" the idea and its sponsor vanish without leaving so much as a grease spot behind. I can still remember how it seemed to us something of a minor revelation when one day in the later twenties some of us discovered that the majority of blunders (terrifyingly called "deviations") were neither "right" nor "left" nor "centrist" but just plain stupid.

MENTAL BIRTH-CONTROL

■N the neo-Stalinist regime with Joseph I as World Pontiff, Earl Pecksniff as American Viceroy and Robert the Minor as Court Jester, the use of epithets as a substitute for thought has been elevated into a closed and universal system. All novices are equipped with a complete set of contraceptive devices warranted to prevent their brains from having any possible offspring. If one of them, in a moment of carelessness or rapture, should show even the slightest sign of wanting to dispense with part of this equipment, or if, as sometimes happens, it should fail to operate, he is promptly evicted from the House of Stalinism, followed by thunderous words of abuse. Of course, in the Soviet Union where the thought-control system has full sway, the favorite method of preventing stray thoughts s to excise the organ that may accidentally engender them.

SHAKING OFF THE SPELL

OUBTLESS, we have carried some of the habits of this way of "thinking" with us into the outer darkness. But for some time we have been engaged in a mental desterilizing, not to say "delousing," process. We have been occupied with the task of reexamining old words and concepts and matters which we too long took unquestioningly for granted. We have done this rather publicly, not thru any Oxford-Groupish desire of selfexhibition or self-abasement, but because we thought that the very publicity of the process might be useful to the class to which we desire to be useful, and might serve as a profitable example and guarantee of cure. And even the concepts which we are deciding in the end not to scrap are being strengthened and clarified by being subjected to this reexamination

Yet, as is inevitable, there are some words and things which we have not yet gotten around to and still use carelessly as modes of short-circuiting thought in place of tested shortcuts to genuine thinking present pre-convention trade-union discussion is even now teaching us, I think, that the words "dual unionism" and "union-splitting" may no longer be used as self-evident, handy shortcuts, in view of the fact that the labor movement is at present divided into two main streams, each having the right to be considered as legitimate. Whether a given union does better now to stay with one or switch to the other or even remain for a while independent, becomes a concrete problem to be analyzed concretely on its

Among the thunderous mouth-fillers and brain-paralyzers I venture to list the two words, "dialectical materialism." Not that I am proposing that they be scrapped without a trial, but surely it is time they were seriously reexamined as to their implications and validity. It is, indeed, a tragic fate for a term which is intended to imply an absence of fixity and rigidity to have itself become a mere frozen cliche.

PACIFISM AND ISOLATION

NI) then there is a special set of "judgment-day" epithets the re-A examination of which has specific importance to the present historical juncture: I refer to such words as "pacifism, "humanitarianism," and "democracy," to which list I should like to add the word "isolationism" used in slovenly fashion as if it were the opposite and anti-word to "internationalism.'

It is from none other than Marx and Engels that we inherit a certain suspicion, not to say contempt, for words like "humanitarian." But this "hardboiled" attitude arose, and properly so, at a time when the scientificsocialist movement in its infancy still had to fight for its very right to existence against the older, more widespread Christian socialist and utopian socialist movements. Then the vaguely "human" was being used to obscure class divisions, class interests and class consciousness. And the not risk a general election on this older "humanitarian" movements were used to substitute pity and charity for a sense of social justice. They ignored the proletariat, denied it any significant role, opposed its independent action, contended that a few pious phrases addressed to the ruling class would effect a change of heart and transform the world directly into the kingdom of heaven.

But today our movement is faced with no such rival creeds. In the face of the rapid decay of a dying social order, in the face of the brutalities and inhumanity of fascism, and the horrors of totalitarian war which uses bombs, poisons and bacteria on old men and women and little children, in the face of the rapid decay of the achievements of bourgeois civilization marks of a French African delegate and its relative cultural freedom and humanitarian codes, it becomes increasingly urgent that we realize and stress another intrinsic side of Marxism, namely, the view that the proletariat is not only the defender of its own interests but, under the conditions of modern life, the representative of the interests of the whole of humanity. Thus, the fundamentally human, or if you will "humane" and "humanitarian," role of the proletariat must be recognized in place of the today out-of-place and dangerous "hardboiled" sneering at the concepts implicit in such words.

Certainly it is high time we ceased using the word "pacifism" as an indiscriminate sneer. Besides the bourgeois pacifism that is a conscious deception-for peace in time of peace and for war in time of war, or proclaiming its peaceful intentions in order the better to build up the country's war morale under hypocritical slogans ("war to end war," to stop the war-makers," etc.)—there is the deep-going mass hatred for war and all it represents, which certainly can be described by no other term than pacifism. It is the elementary stage of genuine opposition to war, and only by recognizing its essential soundness and validity, only by forming an honest and integral part of it, can we hope to carry it, or any considerable sections of its adherents, to the higher stage of opposition to the war-making system that plunges countries into war despite the popular desire to stay out.

Obviously, the same applies to such terms as "isolationism." The elementary form of internationalism is none other than the determination to keep your own country, the one whose fate you are in a position directly to influence, out of war. Any radical who does not know that the main obligation is to keep your own country out of war and fight your own war-makers, is but a clownish phrase-monger who doesn't understand his own phrases, or a knavish war-monger seeking by thunderous abuse to discourage the elementary stages of mass opposition to war. Isolationism as a mass movement is potentially rudimentary internationalism, just as mass pacifism is a rudimentary form of the revolutionary opposition to war and the war-breeding social system. Whether it will ever leave the rudimentary stage depends largely on whether we pooh-pooh it from without, or work lovally with it from within, recognizing and helping to

develop its gigantic implications.