

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

FOR a wealthy empire like the United States, an increase of a few hundred million dollars in war expenditures is not in itself most important. To grasp the full import of the President's contemplated super-armament program, one must shift consideration from its outer edges to the heart of the problem. Our concern is aroused far more by the time, the cause, the implications and the inexorable consequences of the vast war plans.

It is commonplace to say that we are living in a machine age. But there is too much imbedded in this truth for us to overlook the sinister meaning of the intertwining of the armament drive with the relations between the workers and the employers. The gun is an intricate machine. The ship is a complicated machine. The airplane is a no simpler machine. Now, labor is to be mechanized and coordinated into a war machine. In this light, the conference between the National Defense Power Commission and the private public-utility corporations, in preparation of a huge "defense" power program, is of vital consequence to the labor movement. Here is a bold giant step toward militarizing industry. It is only the first open move and comes in an industry where unionism has yet to win a foothold. What chance does a union organizer stand in a "discussion" with a gold-braided or brass-buttoned "hero"?

What we have to fear most in the newest armament program are:

1. In the name of costly unlimited "national defense," there will be a slashing of even the limited national social-security efforts on grounds of economy.

2. Effective imperialist defense means an American version of Hitler's coordination of labor. Let Mr. Tomlinson, vice-president of Lindbergh's T.W.A., tell us what he admires most about Germany and why he also thinks the Nazis are dominant in the air. At the sessions of the Lilienthal (not quite so Aryan) Aviation Society just concluded at Berlin, Mr. Tomlinson declared: "One of the greatest factors contributing to their superiority is their system of government which eliminates labor troubles. For example, their major factories . . . are private factories subsidized by the government."

Plainer talk could not be had. Here is the first warning to Homer Martin to lay off all plans to unionize the aircraft workers.

"COMRADE" HEYWOOD ON A RAMPAGE

THE sorely pressed fascist capitalists are seeking desperately a firm foothold in what Wall Street considers its economic hinterland—South America. In the Far East, American and occidental imperialist powers have been dealt more than one solar-plexus blow by their Japanese competitors. In Europe proper, American industry will be compelled to bite the dust thruout the central and southern tier of states as a result of Chamberlain's becoming the most-favored candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize. In such a situation, Roosevelt's dynamic powers will only aggravate the menace to the democratic rights of the workers—especially thru preparations "to make the world safe for democracy."

Here we cannot brush aside the recent proud boast of one of America's most articulate militarists when he said: "The history of the United States during the past three-quarters of the century is the

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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But Acquittal Of 2 Serves To Vindicate Party; Big Danger Still Ahead

Despite the fact that the accusations against them were riddled at the trial and the trial itself exposed as nothing but the last stage of a deliberate frame-up conspiracy, five of the seven leaders of the Spanish P.O.U.M. (Workers Party of Marxist Unity), charged with "treason" and "espionage" before a Barcelona court, were convicted and given heavy prison sentences ranging from 11 to 15 years. Two of the P.O.U.M.ists, Escuder and Rebull, were acquitted. The suppression of the P.O.U.M. as an organization was confirmed.

During the trial, the prosecution proved unable to produce one single bit of evidence to substantiate its charges, which were hardly more than a repetition of the slanderous fabrications current in the Stalinist press. The defense, on the other hand, succeeded in refuting every charge in the indictment thru the presentation of facts and documents and thru the testimony of Largo Caballero and other members of the Loyalist cabinet in office during the period when the P.O.U.M. "crimes" were supposed to have been committed. The trial made absolutely clear what had been obvious before, that the whole affair was really a Stalinist frame-up against a political opponent, along the lines of the notorious "Moscow trials."

The very verdict constitutes a refutation of the so-called "charges." For, if the P.O.U.M. was indeed a "pro-fascist" organization engaged in "espionage" and therefore worthy of suppression, why then were Escuder and Rebull, the former the editor of La Batalla and the latter one of the party's outstanding spokesmen, acquitted? And, if they were acquitted, why were the other five P.O.U.M.ists convicted? The outcome of the trial is therefore a veritable vindication of the P.O.U.M.!

That the P.O.U.M.ists escaped the death penalty, which had originally been planned for them, is to be attributed to the energetic intervention on their behalf by outstanding trade-union and labor leaders in England, France, the U. S. A. and other countries. This act of practical solidarity with the best and most devoted anti-fascist fighters in Spain undoubtedly saved their lives.

Even tho the trial is over, the danger is not. More trials are probably coming. The Stalinists have already publicly threatened to murder the P.O.U.M. leaders whatever the verdict, just as they murdered Andres Nin over a year ago. Outstanding P.O.U.M.ists, in prison or out, are still in peril of their lives.

All friends of the anti-fascist cause in Spain should now join in a movement to obtain the release of the P.O.U.M.ists in prison and the legalization of the P.O.U.M. as a party. As long as one section of the anti-fascist front, the most militant and loyal at that, is suppressed and persecuted for partisan reasons, no really united and effective struggle against Franco is possible!

READY FOR THE NEW SLAUGHTER



Armistice Day: 1918-38

Statement of the Keep America Out of War Congress

(The following statement was issued recently by the Governing Committee of the Keep America Out of War Congress in connection with the anniversary of Armistice Day.—Editor.)

TWENTY years after the war in which millions went to their death under the belief that they were fighting a war to end all war, the Governing Committee of the Keep America Out of War Congress finds itself under the necessity of calling an emergency session of the National Committee and a nation-wide series of mass meetings to meet the danger of a second world war. Once more the air resounds with slogans which paint some nations as aggressors and other imperialist powers as pure lovers of peace; with slogans proposing to win peace thru war, to safeguard democracy by military means which inevitably involve military dictatorships in all warring powers. The world is spending at this moment \$17,500,000,000 on war preparations, more than four times the expenditures of 1932, a burden so staggering that all nations are faced with inflation and bankruptcy and all measures for social betterment are perforce curtailed. Here, in our own country, with its military budget of over a billion, Mr. Bernard Baruch, after a recent visit to the White House, advocates a new super-armament program, allegedly for pure "defense" of an American empire in which he includes two continents and their adjoining oceans. He suggests that the burden of taxation for this purpose should be "met by a special tax on poor and rich." This would mean less spent on housing, public works and social welfare and more on waste and war.

A spy scare, a super-preparedness program, an industrial-conscription bill with Administration support, the opposition of the President to the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum proposal, all indicate whither the Administration is driving.

To meet this situation, the Keep America Out of War Congress is contributing its share to the Armistice Day commemoration ceremonies by holding meetings all over the country to discuss the danger of super-armaments, the collapse of "collective-security" illusions, the safeguarding of good-neighbor relations from oil company and State Department pressure, the right of the people in a democracy to decide for themselves the most important question of all, the issues on which they are willing to fight and die. The American people, as the Gallup poll has shown, are over two-thirds (68%) in favor of a war-referendum amendment to the Constitution. This majority the K.A.O.W.C. is determined to organize into an effective force to work out its majority will.

The Congress warns that if this Armistice (Continued on Page 2)

Big Powers Hit Spain

Britain Has Reached Full Agreement With Italy, Says Chamberlain

A virtual agreement between England and Italy as to the fate of Spain was announced in the British House of Commons last week by Prime Minister Chamberlain in connection with the action of the House approving speedy ratification of the Anglo-Italian pact signed last spring. The House supported Chamberlain by a vote of 345 to 138.

In the discussion that followed the Tory motion, the Prime Minister declared that Spain was "no longer a menace to the peace of Europe." This was everywhere interpreted to mean that an arrangement had been reached by the four "Munich powers," the two "great democracies," England and France, and the two fascist powers, Italy and Germany, for the "settlement" of the "Spanish question." According to a radio report, Foreign Secretary Halifax stated in an address before the House of Lords: "We understand that the British-Italian agreement does not hinder Premier Mussolini from doing everything in his power to win a victory for General Franco."

What the provisions of the British-Italian agreement on Spain are, have not yet been made public. Apparently the first step will be to crush the anti-fascist struggle in Spain, primarily thru a tightening of the blockade. Following that, some puppet regime will probably be set up to "restore law and order." There are even indications that the British are planning a restoration of the monarchy.

The only ones to vote against the Chamberlain vote of confidence were the Labor Party members of the House.

AFTER THE WAR TO "END WAR"

1918-1919: Polish-Ukrainian war for Eastern Galicia.

1919: Counter-revolution and Allied intervention in Soviet Russia.

1919-1921: British "Black-and-Tan" war in Ireland.

1919-1922: Spanish war in the Rif (Morocco).

1919-1926: Wars among the Arabian states.

1920: Soviet-Polish war, resulting from a French-inspired attack by Poland on Russia.

1920: Turkish-Armenian war.

1921-1922: Greek-Turkish war.

1925: French war against the Druses in Syria.

1925-1935: Prolonged Bolivian-Paraguayan war over Chaco.

1931-1932: Japanese invasion of Manchuria.

1932: Japanese attack on Shanghai.

1935-36: Italian attack on Ethiopia.

1936-1937: Fascist uprising in Spain.

1937: Japanese invasion of China.

At First Glance

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history of its army and navy." This editor of the Army and Navy Journal is now joined by "Comrade" Heywood Brown to make the history of the next quarter of the century the same and to make the world stay safe for their common spurious brand of "democracy." Browder's Scripps-Howard oracle now bellows for militarizing the C.C.C. He says: "A year or so ago, I imagine that almost every liberal felt that it would be monstrous to introduce military training into C.C.C. camps. Now, I think liberals will be foolish if they do not see the necessity." The Stalin cables have been hot; the "party line" has again been melted and changed, but so has "Comrade" Heywood's "liberalism" thinned into nothingness.

May we suggest that Bill Foster get out a revised edition of his "Misleaders of Labor" and do a little (unorderd) thinking about who's who today among the lieutenants of imperialism in the ranks of labor? This job will not be as difficult for him as his first effort some ten years ago. This time the material for the masterpiece is much closer at hand.

BURDEN OF INDIRECT TAXATION

THAT greatest of dead American "liberals," Chief Justice Marshall, once said: "The power to tax is the power to destroy." It seems to us that this "chief" had something on the ball after all. The hundred years or so that have elapsed since this wisdom was given to the world have borne out its truth rather heavily.

The Northwestern National Life Insurance Company has made a study of the problem of "indirect" taxation—i.e., of the taxes directly felt by those of us who are not citizens-in-brackets, by those of us who do not have enough of an income even to be eligible to fill out a report. This investigation reveals that on the average the consumer in the United States pays 13.5 cents "in traceable indirect taxes in each dollar he spends." To this must be added five or six cents more of very well hidden taxes lurking in the background. Here we have 19 cents lopped off for taxes from every dollar a worker or farmer spends for his existence.

The trend towards boosting "indirect" taxes is marked, quite

Scandal in the NMU

Leading Union Officials Accused Of Grave Crimes

By JACK SODERBERG

November 1, 1938.

OVER the signature of Octave Loones, editor of the Rank and File Pilot, comes a sensational story implicating Jerome King and other officials of the National Maritime Union, in a network of detective agencies, stool-pigeons and ordinary company stoops. Under the headline: "Carlucci, Hennessy, King and Carney Exposed," Loones goes on to state, among other things, that the Mariners Club "thru trickery of King and the influence of a detective agency, became the tool of the shipowners." He tells us that Carlucci is in the employ of the Isthmian Line to whose personnel director, J. A. Jump, he reports regularly. He goes on to give names, dates, moneys paid, how much and to whom, involving King and other officials of the union. In short, Loones pictures a nest of corruption, sell-out and double-crossing like of which we must look way back to find comparison for. In doing this, he involves himself as one of the participants in this dirty mess, claiming that he, personally, received money from the shipowners also!

Are The Charges True?

Now, whether Loones is now kicking thru with a belated "confession" as means of revenge because he had been left out in the cold when the plums were distributed after the recent successful election or whether he confesses because of honest remorse, does not make a vast amount of difference. The question is: Are the accusations true or are they false?

When charges and accusations of this nature concern a member of a union, it is bad enough; but, when we consider that King, national secretary-treasurer, Hennessy, as-

stant editor of the union's official paper, and Walter Carney, head of the Deck Division, are directly accused, then the matter becomes most serious indeed.

We do not say that the failure of these officials to back the militant and honest S.U.P. and M.F. O.W.W. in their effort to close the fink halls, and the recent submission of an open-shop agreement is due to or has any relation to the matter printed by Loones. We do not say this is so because we do not know if these accusations are true or not, and we are not at this time passing judgment on it.

Only One Thing To Do

No! There is but one thing for these people to do if they are innocent—and we don't say they are not—and that is, to do what Harry Lundeberg did when the Stalinist sheet, the Western Worker, came out with something like this—take it to court and sue for criminal libel. The Stalinist sheet

constant, and hurts the working people most in their procurement of the elementary vital necessities. This investigation of traceable indirectly paid, but most directly felt, taxes discloses that "rent conceals the largest proportion of average traceable tax content of 9.5%; and food of 7.8%."

The entire field of taxation merits a most serious examination by labor. We must find the way of shifting this ever-more oppressive burden to the backs of those who can bear it better and best—to

those with huge bank accounts and assets, frozen and liquid.

SOME REAL BUDGET-BALANCING
It is apparent that at least \$300 a year is given away in "indirect" taxes by the average family-man with a monthly income of \$150. Were this charge to be eliminated, the country would go a long way towards a genuine balancing of its budget—the balancing of the budgets of the millions of poorer homes. Here it is. The National Consumers Tax Commission has just prepared a report showing that the average New York family in the lower-income brackets operates on a deficit of \$115.75 a year "and, at the same time, spends \$192.19 in hidden taxes on normal family expenditures." Obviously, the situation is even worse amongst families earning less than the \$1473.25 annually, that is considered by the commission to be an average low-income family.

Mrs. Kenneth C. Frazier, president of this commission, brings the point home with crushing effectiveness when she says: "While it is true that all families pay hidden taxes, the burden strikes hardest at those of small means who spend practically all of their income for living necessities. These families, of course, pay no Federal income tax. Yet the \$192.19 they pay in indirect taxes equals the income tax paid by a man earning \$8,000 a year."

These are items never considered by the budget-balancers, the wage-cutters, the open-shoppers, the efficiency experts, and the so-called "good-government" lobbyists. But these are just the items to which the workers must give instant serious heed, if their conditions are not to deteriorate constantly.

Nov. 2, 1938.

The I.L.L.A. at Work

by D. Benjamin

NEW Frontiers for American Labor.—This is the title of a new pamphlet by Jay Lovestone. It will be available on Monday, November 14. The price is 10 cents a copy; for bundle orders of 10 or more, 8 cents. All branches of the I.L.L.A., all labor organizations, all progressive groups and individuals, are urged to write to the Workers Age, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City, for copies of this pamphlet.

"Where We Stand."—Many branches have already taken advantage of the special reduction in price of this pamphlet to 1 cent. In New York City, the Dressmakers Branch has already placed a first order of 500 copies; the Downtown No. 1 Branch took a first batch of 300; the Teachers Branch, 200; and so on. Outside of New York, Detroit was the first to respond. We are waiting to hear from other branches on this matter. Those who have sold the pamphlet at labor meetings report a ready welcome on the part of the workers.

Flint, Mich., and Lansing, Mich.—The branches in these two auto cities report the establishment of new classes in the principles and problems of the labor movement as well as an expansion of other fields of work.

Philadelphia.—On Sunday, October 30, a membership meeting of

at that time, having bluffed again as always, pulled in its horns and humbly apologized. If Loones cannot back up the charges he is now making, then these men have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, the charges are proven, then we may consider the next step.

Certainly, the rank and file who starved on the picket lines two years ago, who carried the brunt of Ryan's goon squads and all that goes with an outlaw rank-and-file strike, have a right to know. And certainly, if these accusations are false—which they very well might be—every effort should be made by those directly accused to prove that they are false.

Of course, all this is grist to the Stalinist mill and they are making hay while the sun shines. To our sorrow, we know that there isn't a great deal of difference between a right racketeering insofar as the final result to the union is concerned. They differ only in method. To the union as a whole, it spells ruin in both cases.

But what are these men now accused going to do about the charges, the most serious charges that can be levelled in the labor movement? The membership has a right to know; yes, and the whole labor movement has every right to know!

ARMISTICE DAY

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Day anniversary is not used to crystallize the sentiment against war into such an effective force, then Armistice Day will prove to have been a mere armistice indeed between a war which impoverished the world and undermined democracy and a second which will destroy civilization. What more fitting tribute to the dead than to see to it that the frightful tragedy shall not occur again?

NOTICE!

This issue goes to press just before Election Day. A full report and analysis of the results of the elections will be found in the next issue.

the Philadelphia organization took place, with D. Benjamin reporting on "Developments in the Revolutionary Working-Class Movements in Europe." A pledge of \$500 was made for the Fall Drive of the I.L.L.A. and \$40 collected on the spot. The report of the Progressive Labor Institute showed three classes being held regularly, in addition to a forum. An interesting discussion took place on the question of the Pennsylvania elections, after which the membership meeting voted to endorse the proposal to support the Socialist Party in the state elections. A decision was made to publish a leaflet calling upon the workers to support working-class political action in that way.

Toy Makers Form Union Under CIO

New York City. Representatives of fourteen local unions of toy and novelty workers met in New York City last week to form a national organization affiliated with the C.I.O.

Alexander Ravitch, national secretary-treasurer of the new union, estimated that 50,000 workers in the toy industry would benefit from the 25-cent an hour minimum wage fixed in the federal Wages-and-Hours Law. A resolution adopted by the convention asked that these benefits be not reduced thru classification of the industry as seasonal.

Legal abolition of home-work and an embargo on the importation of toys from Japan and Greater Germany were demanded in other resolutions. The delegates pledged their support to the American Labor Party and to Labor's Non-Partisan League, praised John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. and instructed their officers to work for peace in the labor movement, without sacrificing the principles of industrial organization.

The delegates present at the convention represented more than 10,000 organized toy workers in New York, New Jersey, the New England states, exclusive of Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana. After a charter for the new union is formally issued at the forthcoming national convention of the C.I.O. in Pittsburgh, it will seek to enroll all of the 100,000 workers in its field, Mr. Ravitch said.

Allan Haywood, New York regional director of the C.I.O., and Walter Smethurst, executive assistant to John L. Lewis, addressed the conference. The name of the union will be Playthings and Novelty Workers Union of America.

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FOR UNITY AND DEMOCRACY IN THE RANKS OF LABOR

On the Present Situation in the Trade Unions

(The following statement was adopted by the Executive Committee of the I.L.L.A. as a draft resolution for submission to the coming session of the National Council of the I.L.L.A.—Editor.)

THE events of the past two and a half years have fully confirmed our original estimate of the fundamental character of the C.I.O. and its significance for the labor movement, as well as our forecast of the general course of development. Today, it is clear that the rise of the C.I.O. signified the emergence of a new and higher level of class organization of the American workers. Thru the C.I.O., the labor movement has broken the barriers of craft fetishism and has brought organization as well as a new spirit of militancy and collective self-reliance to hundreds of thousands of workers in the great mass-production industries of the country. Whatever the coming period may hold in store, this great achievement is already an historical fact and all future development will have to take it as its point of departure.

Yet it is plain that the C.I.O. finds itself at the present time in the throes of a severe crisis involving the whole future of the industrial-union movement. It is a crisis not so much in organization, altho that too is involved, as in outlook, policy and methods.

The factors making for this crisis are not of sudden origin; they reach back to an earlier period of development. But they began to make themselves felt with special force only after the defeat of the C.I.O. in "little steel" in the summer of 1937. This defeat—itsself largely the result of false estimation of the situation, of unwise tactics and of Stalinist provocation and disruption—broke the spell of invincibility that had gathered around the C.I.O. in previous months and

Three Big Problems Facing the C.I.O.

THERE are three aspects of the present situation in the C.I.O. which are at once sources and manifestations of the crisis in which it finds itself: (1) the unity question, (2) union democracy and autonomy, and (3) Stalinism.

The Question Of Unity

1. The reunification of the trade-union movement is the biggest and most urgent task of organized labor at the present moment. Ultimate responsibility for the state of division in labor's ranks rests with the diehard craft-union chieftains who would not allow the industrial organization of the mass-production workers to take place within the framework of the A.F. of L. But the consequences of the split have been equally disastrous to both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Labor's economic and political power has been gravely impaired; the public opinion dangerously alienated; the unorganized mass confused and demoralized; the rancorous spirit of dual unionism, with the suicidal spite-strategy that always accompanies it, is again beginning to raise its head. The split is widening, dissension is growing more furious—and the forces of big-business reaction are already busy exploiting a situation so favorable to them to its full advantage. Worst of all, the continuance of the civil war in labor's ranks will almost certainly encourage the government to intervene and thus materially promote the dangerous tendencies making for governmental control of unionism.

Events have abundantly shown that the top leadership of the C.I.O. has not been able to deal effectively and realistically with the problem of unity in the labor movement. Altho the C.I.O. stands definitely committed to trade-union unity on a sound basis, inadequate appreciation has been shown of the disastrous consequences of the civil war raging in labor's ranks and an inadequate effort made to bring about peace and unity or even a measure of united action. The strategy of the C.I.O. in the December "peace" negotiations was certainly not such as to emphasize its profound concern for unity or its practical readiness to do everything in its power to bring it about. There is also some indication that the original intention of the C.I.O. never to enter already organized territory may be abandoned, at least to some extent.

Democracy And Autonomy

2. A very grave defect in the C.I.O. from the very beginning has been the inability—and, to a large extent, perhaps, even the

very materially retarded the speed of its advance. The onset of the new depression operated in the same direction, even forcing the C.I.O. into retreat on many fronts, altho some unions managed to hold their own thru a militant program adapted to the needs of the situation.

In this period of recession, the effects of a certain confusion in the organizational approach of the C.I.O. became especially marked. Altho originally created to advance the industrial-union movement and to stimulate the actual organization of the mass-production industries along industrial lines, the C.I.O. allowed its energies to be too much diverted by the sweep of the movement to other directions, particularly to organizing miscellaneous groups of no immediate relation to its fundamental objectives. These extraneous activities not only tended to blur the full force and impact of the original mission of the C.I.O.; they also tended to encourage friction, to waste its resources in money and man-power and to create opportunities for all sorts of undesirable elements to worm their way into the movement.

Under the circumstances of the depression, too, the fatal weakness of the method, widely practised in certain sections of the C.I.O., of attempting to organize industry over the heads of the workers, by relying almost exclusively upon arrangements with the employers, became increasingly obvious, for it is precisely where these methods were practised that the C.I.O. has lost most ground and has suffered the most marked recession organizationally.

lack of desire—to establish genuinely democratic foundations for the new movement. Real control has remained in the hands of one or two leaders at headquarters, in whose name irresponsible elements have found it possible to intrigue for their own partisan ends. Of democratic collective leadership, there has been hardly a sign. There has also been fostered a dangerous tendency towards super-centralism, to the point even of invading the traditional autonomy of affiliated international unions so as to convert them into mere sub-departments of the C.I.O. office. There is some suggestion that the coming C.I.O. convention may give official sanction to this tendency by deciding to set up an organization not of the traditional federated type but one highly centralized and dominated from the top by one leader or a group of leaders. Indeed, trends in this direction are already visible today, for example, in the manner in which C.I.O. headquarters has handled the crisis in the U.A.W.

Yet these tendencies are in direct conflict with the best traditions of the American labor movement and with the original program of the C.I.O. itself. Union democracy and broad autonomy for affiliated unions are absolutely essential for a sound labor movement. Without a full measure of autonomy and democratic control, the trade-union movement cannot possibly achieve a healthy development nor the workers rise to the level of conscious and independent action. Today, when every aspect of democracy is challenged by the rising tide of totalitarianism, it would be suicidal for organized labor to establish an authoritarian regime in its own house. How can labor defend real democracy against the forces of reaction, unless the fullest and freest democracy prevails in its own ranks?

The Menace Of Stalinism

3. The most baneful influence in the C.I.O. today is Stalinism. The very fact that Stalinism has been permitted to gain a preponderant influence in many sections of the movement, is in itself a striking indication of the unhealthy condition of the C.I.O. In its turn, Stalinism has exploited every shortcoming of the C.I.O. and has aggravated every deficiency in order to strengthen its grip and promote its pernicious partisan aims. Whenever it has succeeded in penetrating, Stalinism has brought with it its characteristic features: corruption, mismanagement, totalitarian bureaucracy, factional intrigue, sacrifice of the interests of the workers for the sake of a "party line" im-

posed from the outside. In spite of all this, the top leadership of the C.I.O., for reasons of its own, has allowed Stalinism a relatively free hand in certain fields without regard to consequences. Nay, more; when rank-and-file resentment with Stalinist domination reached the point of open revolt and a determination was shown by certain unions to clean house, the top leadership of the C.I.O. has usually stepped in to protect the Stalinists, directly or indirectly, to the serious detriment of the movement as a whole. Indeed, a number of cases have already arisen of groups of workers alienated from the C.I.O. for this reason.

In a certain sense, the crisis of the C.I.O. is mirrored in the relations between its top leadership to the I.L.G.W.U., on the one hand, and to the U.A.W., on the other. Thru

Some Recent Developments in the A. F. of L.

IN the recent period the A.F. of L. has grown considerably, primarily as a result of the general impetus to organization created by the C.I.O. in its earlier stages but also to some extent because of the advantage it has taken in certain situations of the mistakes and weaknesses of the C.I.O. Furthermore, because it is rooted in fields less hard hit by the crisis and because it is composed of more stable and more experienced organizations, the A.F. of L. has also succeeded in weathering the recent economic depression better than the C.I.O.

At the same time, the A.F. of L. leadership has grown considerably more reactionary, turning its back even upon its own former positions. Its whole policy and all its activities are today dominated by an almost irrational hatred of the C.I.O.; everything is determined by a sort of spite-strategy directed against the C.I.O. The A.F. of L. leadership has gone in for the worst sort of dual unionism, as in the case of the mining industry; it is bitterly hostile to united labor action and it refuses to do anything to restrict the ruinous civil war in labor's ranks. Its reactionary spite-strategy has been carried over even into the field of politics and social legislation.

Yet it must always be remembered that the A.F. of L. as an organization is not to be simply identified with the top leadership of the Executive Council. The A.F. of L. remains as genuine a section of the labor movement as the C.I.O., with all due recognition to the more progressive and effective character of the latter. Trade-

A Program for Trade Union Unity

THE great masses of the workers of this country, in the A.F. of L., in the C.I.O., in independent unions such as the railroad brotherhoods, and those still unorganized, fervently desire the reestablishment of unity in the labor movement. We strongly urge the immediate resumption of unity negotiations between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. and the reunification of the trade-union movement on the basis of the proposals advanced at the December negotiations:

1. the recognition of industrial unionism as the standard form of organization in the mass-production industries;
2. a joint committee to consider the cases of conflicting jurisdiction between A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions—it being understood that there is no such conflict in the case of the twelve "original" C.I.O. unions (including auto, steel, textile and rubber), whose unconditional readmission into the A.F. of L. is unchallenged;
3. when these conflicts have been adjusted, the admission of the entire C.I.O. into the A.F. of L. in a body;
4. in case it proves impossible for the joint committee to settle any particular conflict, the submission of the issue to an arbitrator acceptable to both sides;
5. the holding of a special convention of the A.F. of L. within ninety days after final adjustment, at which all affiliated organizations would be entitled to full rights and privileges; and
6. the guarantee of the autonomy of affiliated international unions and of democracy in the united federation.

These proposals constitute a practicable plan of sound unity, since they guarantee industrial unionism for the mass-production industries and ensure the preservation of

a whole series of unfortunate circumstances, for which the lack of collective leadership in the C.I.O. is largely responsible, the ties between the C.I.O. and I.L.G.W.U. have been greatly weakened and are today at the point of rupture. For the C.I.O. to lose this union, easily the most stable, effective and progressive trade-union organization in this country, would obviously be a calamitous blow. In the U.A.W., the C.I.O. leadership has succeeded thru a number of very questionable maneuvers, in destroying the results of many months of effort to build up a stable, independent and responsible union leadership, and has replaced it by a regime that will function largely as an administrative agency of the Washington office of the C.I.O., thus undermining the vital power and morale of the organization.

union unity is therefore possible today only in the form of the reunification of the C.I.O. with the A.F. of L., with each organization recognizing the legitimate and bona-fide character of the other.

Within the top leadership of the A.F. of L., there are widening rifts, as was dramatically demonstrated at the recent convention at Houston. These differences are primarily over attitude towards social and labor legislation as it has developed in recent years. Under cover of "radical"-sounding protests against governmental interference, the die-hard group of Woll, Frey and Hutcheson are trying to drive the A.F. of L. back to the outworn dogmas of "voluntarism" that dominated the A.F. of L. until the 1929 crisis. This reactionary tendency, especially as expressed in the cross form of the Woll resolution at the Houston convention, meets with strong opposition not only from the rank and file of the A.F. of L. unions but also from the biggest section of the officialdom, who have become accustomed to look to federal legislation. These divisions are naturally closely associated with a growing political realignment in the top circles of the A.F. of L. Only a small part of the top leadership are real Administration men; most of them, altho for the New Deal "in principle," are increasingly hostile to the Administration, which they charge with favoritism towards the C.I.O.; while the die-hard group is composed mainly either of Republicans or openly anti-New Deal and anti-Roosevelt elements.

The real accomplishments of the C.I.O. in the bitter civil war in labor's ranks, with all the devastation it has caused, must not be permitted to continue for another day. While complete reunification may require some time to accomplish, a truce in the civil war and a united labor front are possible without delay. The immediate task is to cultivate every chance of labor unity that presents itself, to delimit and reduce to a minimum every source of conflict, to make the most of every possibility of cooperation on the economic and political fields.

The C.I.O. Convention

In this connection, the C.I.O. convention faces a very grave responsibility. Whatever opinion one may have as to the wisdom of calling a constitutional convention of the C.I.O. at this time, now that the convention has been called, it can contribute to the welfare of the labor movement by taking vigorous action in two directions: (1) practical steps to achieve the reunification of the labor movement in the shortest possible time; and (2) definite repudiation of the authoritarian tendencies in the C.I.O. and the establishment of a genuinely democratic setup with collective leadership and a full guarantee of the autonomy of affiliated unions. It is necessary for all progressive forces in the C.I.O. to take a strong, clear stand on these questions before it is too late.

War And War Preparations

War and war preparations are already beginning to cast their dread shadow upon the economic and political life of this country. A concerted effort is under way to stampede the country into another world

(Continued on Page 5)

TIMELY TALKS

at the

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

Wednesday, Nov. 9, 7:00 p. m.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, on "Heroes and Prophets of Capitalism"—a critical evaluation of Thomas Mann's "The Coming Victory of Democracy."

Thursday, Nov. 10, 6:15 p. m.

JAY LOVESTONE, on "The Organization of Despair." He will discuss "revolutionary" unionism, independent and dual unionism, from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance thru the I.W.W. to the T.U.C.L. This is the second lecture in the series "Towards A New American Labor Movement."

Monday, Nov. 14, 7:00 p. m.

WILL HERBERG, in his fifth lecture on "Democracy, Fascism, Sovietism." He will discuss the decay of modern democracy.

ATTENTION: LEWIS COREY will resume his series of lectures on "Is America Different?" on Tuesday, November 15, 8:45 p. m. He will discuss the specific features of American development which make for the present character of American capitalism.

Single admissions to each lecture . . . 25 cents.

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

Vol. 7. November 12, 1938 No. 46

Socialism—Road to Peace

By V. I. LENIN

THE liberation of mankind from the burdens of militarism and the barbarity of war, is one of the basic tasks of socialism.

These aims will be realized when power is transferred to the hands of the workers in all the big capitalist countries, when all the means of production have been taken out of the hands of the exploiters and made over to the workers for the common good, and when a socialist order of society has created a firm basis of human solidarity.

PANIC OVER AMERICA

THE widespread panic created last week by the radio dramatization of H. G. Wells' "War of the Worlds," is not merely a curiosity of mass psychology; it is a profoundly significant manifestation, with important implications for the anti-war movement in this country.

That thousands of people should be scared out of their wits by a radio broadcast of an old novel, is certainly striking testimony to the tremendous power of the radio. But it is even more striking evidence of the incredibly tense state of the public mind, of the wild panic lying so close to the surface that so apparently trivial an event as a radio broadcast can set it off.

Out of this situation anything may come. It may well be manipulated by the war-mongers for their own iniquitous ends. Out of it, for example, may be created a mood of helpless fatalism, a heavy, hopeless feeling that we are doomed to another world slaughter no matter what we do about it.

On the other hand, this same state of war-jitters may well be transformed into active peace sentiment. The people don't want war, under any slogan or any pretext. They are already beginning to show a vivid realization of what modern war might mean.

The Administration is already at work. A new "argument" has been added to boost the super-armaments program—presumably the danger of a fascist invasion from Mars.

UNDER THE CRUSHING BURDEN



Towards Socialism Or War

History Confronts Mankind With Great Choice

By LYMAN FRASER

IN the midst of all the complex forces and problems of our generation, two facts stand out clearly and challengingly. They are not pleasant facts, but they must be recognized frankly and unafraid, for their recognition is the starting point of creative action to a new and mightier struggle for socialism.

The two facts are simple and complementary:

War is increasingly engulfing the world. Whether open or undeclared or waged by means of a brutal peace, war is becoming a constant, more normal aspect of civilization today. And war is accompanied by fascism or the multiplying threat of fascism.

Socialism is on the defensive and in retreat. Still worse—there is everywhere evident a declining faith in socialism. This is the most disheartening fact in the whole situation, aggravated by institutions, organizations and ideas once dedicated to socialism passing over to policies and activities that tend to destroy and discredit socialism.

Two Fundamental Aspects

These conditions are most acute in Europe. Their most recent and violent expression was the practical dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the transfer of European dominion to Hitler-Mussolini, and the onward sweep of fascism.

The European situation, which affects the whole world, is extraordinarily complex; and the more one analyzes these complexities, the more difficult they seem to become. Yet, at bottom, the whole situation is simple, and it can be reduced to two aspects: the international-economic and the national-economic.

Europe is being tormented by an international economic problem that must be solved. Europe is an economic fragment, split asunder by national frontiers that impose barriers upon economic progress; it is a crazy-quilt economically as well as politically, and one is the expression of the other.

and they made no concessions to a republican Germany—while now they yield up almost everything to a fascist Germany! The situation was made worse by the cyclical crisis of the 1930's.

The problem of Europe as an economic fragment presses for solution. It must be solved in terms of the peaceful, constructive economic cooperation of the nations and the reorganization of European economy on a unified, regional, continental basis.

If the problem is not solved in a progressive fashion, it will be "solved" in a reactionary fashion: by war and conquest and annexation, by the multiplication of oppression and tyranny, by the destruction of the progressive forces making for a new social order. The problem is now being "solved" in that fashion by fascism.

But a progressive solution is possible only thru socialism. The larger regional and continental economic unity of Europe, on a peaceful, constructive basis, is realizable only thru the United States of Europe, which is conceivable only if it is socialist, cooperative and democratic.

The National Economic Problem

The international economic problem of Europe is connected with the national economic problem that must be solved. Everywhere in Europe, there is an increasing economic crisis, an increasing inability to develop production further on a capitalist basis. There is lower economic activity, lower employment, lower standards of living. Capitalism has proven it is unable to solve the crisis.

The national economic problem, which is involved in the international problem, must be solved in a progressive fashion. It must be solved in terms of an increasing economic activity and full employment, of releasing the productive forces now being strangled by the economic crisis, of insuring economic security and progress.

If the national economic problem is not solved in a progressive fashion, it will be "solved" in a reactionary fashion. It will be solved by increasing state-capitalism, by expanding the system of armaments economics that creates the illusion of settling the crisis, by restricting the independence of labor and lowering standards of living, by the violence and destructiveness of fascism.

But a progressive solution is possible. (Continued on Page 6)

Talking It Over:

'Defending Our Shores'

By Bertram D. Wolfe

(With this issue, we begin a new weekly column, "Talking It Over," conducted by Bertram D. Wolfe.—Editor.)

THE problem of the cost of armaments is getting to be serious. Army and navy experts have been ordered to keep their mouths shut for the next two months. This dramatic and normally welcome silence is to act as a build-up for a message which President Roosevelt is planning to address to Congress on January 15, 1939.

MR. Bernard M. Baruch, head of the War Industries Board during the World War, expert on industrial conscription and industrial slavery in wartime, has been visiting the White House. His plan, announced as having the approval of the Administration, includes a reduction of housing and public works in favor of a huge armament program "to make work," and a special general sales-tax thruout the nation to shift the burden of the staggering arms expenditure onto the backs of worker, farmer, middle class and lower-income groups generally.

WHAT Mr. Baruch and President Roosevelt mean by "national defense" was made clear the next day in an inspired story by Arthur Krock, Washington political writer for the New York Times.

"To the average American," wrote Mr. Krock, "national defense" means an effort to repel the invasion by a foreign power of any part of North America or a threat to the Panama Canal and those Atlantic and Pacific Islands which are the outposts of the United States." That's stretching "defense" quite a bit, but, continues Mr. Krock, "this is an incomplete picture as Mr. Baruch, presumably the President and well-informed officials in the War, Navy and State Departments see it. The problem should be set forth in the outlines of their diagram, and this diagram definitely includes all the Americas."

The Navy men have explained the matter even more clearly. (That's why they've been told to keep their mouths shut till January 15!) In an officially approved Navy statement, the purpose of the navy is said to be "to control the sea in defense of the nation and its interests, . . . to provide expeditionary forces in immediate readiness, . . . to protect American lives and property, . . . to support American interests, especially the development of American foreign commerce" and, as the head of the Navy testified to the Senate Commission a few years back, to be "big enough to defeat Japan in Japan's home waters." That, dear reader, is what is meant by "defense" of America!

These same experts have testified, however, that America already has a navy more than ample to "defend our shores" in the narrower sense of that term. Said Admiral Yarnell, in charge of the Pacific Fleet; "The inhabitants of the coast can sleep quietly in their beds until Japan builds a navy twice the strength of that in the United States." And as Paul Y. Anderson put it: "The pillars of the Colosseum will be dust before an Italian (or a German) soldier crosses the Atlantic." The super-armament program is not for warding off attack but for war overseas.

The policy of the government is: Never mention armaments without talking of willingness to disarm (Continued on Page 5)

'Anglo-American Cooperation'

MEETING a State Department friend, John L. Lewis remarked: 'Considering Winston Churchill's speech and the proposed visit of the King and Queen of England, is it possible that we are being cajoled into accepting a Class B membership in the British Empire?'

'Defending Our Nation's Shores'

(Continued from Page 4)

—but arm! And, no matter how big you stretch it, call it "defense"—but keep stretching it!

WE have been saying for some time that the antidote to militarist expenditure is to spend more on housing, jobs, social insurance, the fight against poverty at home. Now Baruch says we were right: "The point can be made," he argues, "that W.P.A. and P.W.A. will be automatically reduced." We will live in battle-ships in place of decent homes, make explosives to blow each other off the face of the earth in place of food and clothing to keep ourselves among the living, steer towards war in place of away from it!

And armament spells reaction in other ways. The President is planning to trot out the industrial conscription bill again, put spies in the industrial plants, establish "regulated" unionism, put over a sales-tax which weighs heaviest on the poor, build up a spy scare, a preparedness fever, and a totalitarian "stand-behind-the-President" psychology. These measures, not the crack-pot and colored-shirt groups in this country, constitute the real menace of fascist and totalitarian reaction.

But the race towards suicide can be stopped. We must tear the mask off the "defense" and "make-work" measures and show up the Administration program for what it is. In the Gallup poll just taken, over 68%, more than two-thirds of the American voters, declared themselves in favor of taking the power to declare war out of the hands of the President, in favor of a war-referendum amendment. The problem is to organize, enlighten, and keep this two-thirds of the American people active and growing in numbers. We have made the Presi-

Red Cap Union Confers

Discusses National Policy In Wage-Hour Situation

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

Washington, D. C. MEETING here recently to discuss and determine a national policy to be followed in relation to the new developments created by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the General Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Red Caps heard full reports of the situation in the various railroad terminals thruout the country.

A specific problem facing the General Executive Board was that of the recent memorandum sent out by all railroads to their Red Cap employees calling for the daily reporting of tips. These sums are to be recorded and used to meet the minimum-wage requirements of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Seeking clarification on this question, a conference was held with Elmer F. Andrews, administrator of the wage-and-hour division, together with his deputy administrator, Paul Sifton, and his general counsel, Calvert Magruder. The International officers and members of the Executive Board were present for the Brotherhood, together with Fred H. Mandel and Leon M. Despres, counsel for the Brotherhood. Administrator Andrews was impressed by the seriousness of the situation and stated that the matter would receive immediate action but that the railroads would have to be given an opportunity to present their side of the situation before anything could be done.

Also included on the General Executive Board's agenda was the question of certification before the National Mediation Board to officially determine the collective-bargaining agency for Red Caps. Conforming with the machinery of the National Mediation Board, elections are to be conducted on a system basis, which, union officials felt, called for a strengthening of system organization. System or-

dent retreat twice before from plans steering towards war thru precisely this pressure. That he himself realizes it, is proved by the same article by Krock from which we have been quoting. "The mood of the new Congress," Mr. Krock concludes, "cannot be foretold. More will be known after the next House vote on the Ludlow resolution . . ." Eleven senators are planning to reintroduce that resolution in January, at about the time the President makes his "defense" proposals. How the two proposals will be received is up to us. Reader—WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

ganization and machinery have been established among the Red Caps of four major railroad systems, namely, the New York Central, with John R. Lee as general chairman; Pennsylvania System, with A. J. McGhee as general chairman; New York, New Haven and Hartford system, with William H. Brown as general chairman; and the Illinois Central system, with Lewis Williams as general chairman.

Since the handing down of the Interstate Commerce Commission decision, the Brotherhood has filed four requests for certification before the Mediation Board. These requests include the Illinois Central system, the Cincinnati Union Terminal, and the Western Indiana and the St. Paul Union Depot Co. Others are to follow immediately, union officers said.

A.F.L. Body Backs News Guild Strike

By FRED

Wilkes-Barre, Penna.

THE Central Labor Union of Wyoming Valley, A.F. of L., formally endorsed the C.I.O. Newspaper Guild's strike against the four local publishers last week as the fourth week of the controversy, which has kept the papers closed during all that time, came to a close. This A.F. of L. body also

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For Labor Unity and Democracy

(Continued from Page 3)

slaughter under the deceptive slogan of "collective security" just as the American people were dragged into the World War under the slogan of "making the world safe for democracy." The gigantic armaments program flowing from this foreign policy mean staggering financial burdens for the masses of the people, in the form of sales taxes and similar levies. It also means inevitable retrenchment in expenditures for relief, social insurance, housing and socially-useful public works generally. The drive for war preparations constitutes the entering wedge in a scheme of industrial and labor "mobilization" that will bring this country very close to military dictatorship. The labor movement must awake to the grave danger before it is too late. It must take a firm stand against war and war preparations in line with the resolution adopted by the December 1937 convention of the S.W.O.C. and the International Executive Board of the U.A.W. and endorsed by an increasing number of other labor organizations.

Trend Against Radicals

In recent months, there has become noticeable thruout the labor movement, especially in certain C.I.O. unions, a definite reaction of the membership against political radicalism in the unions. This sentiment is directed not so much against radicalism as a policy or an ideology as against radical groups in the unions as outside forces making for outside political interference. To a large extent, this hostility has arisen out of a healthy resentment at the unscrupulous machinations of the Stalinites in the unions; yet, if manifested in a blind and indiscriminate manner, it is bound to do much damage to the trade-union movement, in which political radicalism of a sound, responsible character has an indispensable role to perform. In view of this situation, it is necessary for us:

- 1. to make clear to the workers in the unions the fundamental difference between our activities and those of the Stalinites—in the sense that our policies arise out of the needs of the labor movement itself and are designed to help it grow stronger and

more effective, while the efforts of the Stalinites are directed towards capturing the unions for a "party line" imposed from really outside and alien sources;

- 2. to resist every effort to convert the unions into an arena for the radical political groups to fight out ideological or political differences that bear no direct or immediate relation to union needs and problems; and
- 3. to arrange our methods of functioning in such a way as to make it perfectly clear that we do not engage in any outside interference in the internal affairs of the unions.

Against Stalinism

It is necessary to understand clearly that, at the present moment, Stalinism is the biggest menace to the labor movement within its own ranks. A more systematic and vigorous struggle against it must be conducted by us, primarily along the following lines:

- 1. emphasizing the fact that the "party line" which Stalinism seeks to impose on labor organizations is determined by outside influences, utterly alien to the needs or interests of the American working class and completely removed from its control;
- 2. bringing to light the mismanagement,

POST-MORTEM: The World War

(Woodrow Wilson, at St. Louis, Sept. 3, 1919.)

WHY, my fellow citizens, is there any man here or any woman, let me say, is there any child here, who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry? The real reason that the war that we have just finished took place was that Germany was afraid her commercial rivals were going to get the better of her, and the reason why some nations went into the war against Germany was that they thought Germany would get the commercial advantage of them. The seed of the jealousy, the seed of the deep-seated hatred was commercial and industrial rivalry . . . This war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war . . .

went on record condemning the issuance of an A.F. of L. charter to a small group of business-office employees of the three daily papers. The union, which sprang into existence after an A.F. of L. organizer from Philadelphia was called into the field, has a purported membership of about twenty-five. The Guild has over 100 editors, reporters, circulation, advertising and business-office people out on the picket lines.

The Guild strike is backed by the United Mine Workers of America, the strongest union in this locality, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and other C.I.O. unions, and now by the A.F. of L. Central Labor Union. A.F. of L. leaders here, where both labor organizations have lived and worked in harmony all the time, were indignant that any dual movement should be started to attempt to break the Guild's successful strike. This new organization has challenged the Guild's jurisdiction over all the non-mechanical employees, despite the fact that the Guild won that jurisdiction in a successful strike against the Record, a morning paper here, last year.

The publishers are losing thousands of dollars daily in an attempt to break the Guild Scranton, papers are selling between 15,000 and 20,000 copies here daily. The Guild sponsors a nightly newscast over a local radio station to supply the people of the valley with the day's news and has also started publication of a weekly paper.

There is only one thing we would like to ask: Is Mr. Roosevelt, the champion of "democracy" and "international law," the President of the United States or is he not? Is Mr. Cordell Hull, who is always preaching about "international morality" and the "sanctity of treaties," the Secretary of State or is he not?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE

State Dept. At Work

FROM Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen's well-informed column, "Merry-Go-Round," of October 28, we take the following amazing story:

"[Some months ago], the Greek government purchased 27 planes from the Bellanca company. But when an export license was requested of the State Department, Joe Green, sanctimonious head of the State Department Munitions Control Board, turned it down. "In effect he called the Greek government a liar," said that it was not ordering the planes for itself but for Spanish Loyalists, refused to issue a license.

"Shortly after this, the Turkish government ordered 42 Grummond pursuit planes from the Canadian Car and Foundry Co. in Canada. The Canadian government approved the purchase, and 36 of the planes were delivered to Turkey. "Then, suddenly, Mr. Joseph Green of the State Department again stuck out his hand. Regardless of the fact that the planes were being built in Canada, and that the purchase had the official O.K. of both the Canadian and Turkish governments, he decided that these planes might be going to the Spanish Loyalists.

"So he reached out and prevented the shipment of American airplane engines to Canada for use in the Canadian planes. "Meanwhile, Mr. Green continues to O.K. arms shipments to Germany, despite the opinion by various Ned Deal legalists that such shipments are contrary to the Neutrality Act and the 1921 Treaty of Berlin."

This story needs no comment. There is only one thing we would like to ask: Is Mr. Roosevelt, the champion of "democracy" and "international law," the President of the United States or is he not? Is Mr. Cordell Hull, who is always preaching about "international morality" and the "sanctity of treaties," the Secretary of State or is he not?

WHERE WE STAND

PROGRAM AND POLICIES of the I.L.L.A.

Single copies: 5c. Five or more: 4c.

AUTO WORKERS AND 32-HOUR WEEK

By STUART MEFFAN

ONE of the biggest problems to face the labor movement in this country in the near future is the question of shorter hours in industry as a partial solution to the unemployment situation, always providing that another world war does not shortly relegate this problem back to the time that labor had nothing to say about this or other questions. Thus, the recent demand for the 32-hour week raised by the U.A.W. is the first move in the direction of a battle-royal between capital and labor. However, before discussing the necessary strategy which labor must use to win such a battle, certain premises must be agreed upon.

Shorter Hours—But Less Wages

In the first place, with few exceptions, the locals in the U.A.W. raised this demand without asking that the weekly wage be maintained, thereby placing the employed workers in the position of taking a wage-cut, and making them bear the burden of the unemployed, rather than putting that task squarely up to the bosses and the government. Why did the question come up in this manner? Because, in the immediate situation, certain elements, including the Stalinists and their sympathizers, tried to make a short-cut around a long-term objective of the labor movement by backing a popular but unsound immediate demand. What is more natural at the beginning of the production season, than that men getting \$15 a week on W.P.A. or \$16 on unemployment compensation should move heaven and earth to get back to work in the plants and earn \$30? Besides, the two major contracts in the industry (Chrysler and G. M.) state that, after twelve months unemployment, a worker loses his seniority. Thus, thousands of workers faced complete economic insecurity once again. The realization that the condition of being a W.P.A. worker is now a permanent one is dawning on many honest workers, shattering their self-respect. This is reflected in the desperate and reckless demands that sometimes crop up.

Immediately as the demand for the 32-hour week was made, the workers were sharply divided into two camps—those in the shops fighting the demand as a wage-cut; those outside favoring the demand as giving them back their jobs and preserving their seniority. Few if any leaders raised the obvious solution to the seniority question, namely, revision of the twelve-month clauses in the contracts, which this writer is certain could have been obtained without strike action, and is almost certain to be

500,000 Attend Vladeck Funeral

Over half a million people turned out to take part in the funeral of B. Charney Vladeck, socialist leader, last week in one of the most impressive demonstrations of affection and respect ever witnessed in this city. Along with the highest dignitaries in city and state, there were present hundreds of representatives of labor and civic bodies from New York City and nearby centers, as well as scores of thousands of trade unionists with whose organizations Mr. Vladeck had been closely associated during his lifetime.

The services took place in the auditorium of the Forward Building down on East Broadway. Less than a thousand could press into this chamber but well over 50,000 crowded Rutgers Square just opposite the building and heard thru amplifiers the eulogies delivered within.

Whitewashing a Dictator

FROM the New York World-Telegram, October 21:

"He said . . . that democracy was flourishing under Colonel Fulgencio Batista and that President Roosevelt was regarded there as a 'symbol of world democracy'."

The speaker is Blas Roca, secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Stalinism has apparently already reached the point where it is whitewashing and justifying the bloody Batista dictatorship in Cuba! Evidently, even a dictator is all right—provide he is a "Roosevelt dictator."

obtained in any case in G. M. It is, indeed, fortunate that the industry picked up at this time, thereby lessening the immediate importance of this problem, but it is foolish to think that this situation is cleared up. The issue will come up again, and next time even more sharply. It will be criminal if the workers are again led into this fight in the stupid manner of the last few weeks.

Reckless Demagogy

Two demagogues, Leo Lamotte and Walter Reuther, anxious to regain lost prestige, were the leaders in this venture. Lamotte was successful in involving his own local, while Reuther was completely repudiated by the Cadillac workers, who voted not to change the hours and to review the matter again when production became stable. This, despite the combined opposition of Stalinite and Reuther forces. The International Executive Board did not help matters by supporting Lamotte. Plymouth, which had worked 32 hours that week, was closed by the union the following morning, while Briggs, which supplies bodies for Plymouth, was forced down after a half hour's work. Many indignant Briggs workers who had only worked 20 to 24 hours came into the local office and demanded to know what the union was doing. As a result, the Plymouth and the Briggs workers were at odds on the question in the public press. The statement of Emil Mazey, the president of Briggs local, that this was only "sharing the misery" was a very true one, and, while unpopular at the time, is finding increasing support today. It is not out of place to mention here that the average hours of employment for workers in the industry in 1937,

the peak year since 1929 in the auto industry, were 32½ a week. This does not take into account laid-off workers. So that the real average for the auto worker at best is considerably below 32 hours a week. Further, if the large plants work 32 hours, many parts plants which feed them, will be forced to work from 16 to 24 hours, bringing down the average hours in the industry to well below 32.

The Stalinites were loud in their condemnation of the Briggs local, of course, and viciously attacked Mazey in the District Council, while the socialists completely failed to support him. The Socialist Party of Michigan, of course, does not fight anything which sounds "militant," regardless of its consequences to the workers. The Stalinites, however, have a "theory" on this question. They argue that, under capitalism, the bosses have to pay subsistence wages, so why not cut the hours from 40 to 32, since the bosses are bound to see that the workers get food, clothing and shelter regardless of the number of hours worked! This is supposed to be "Marxism!" These master-minds blandly ignore the fact that some workers, even in Detroit, subsist on \$10 a week and less—that an auto worker at 40 hours a week will probably draw around \$37 a week and live considerably above the subsistence level, whereas at 32 hours a week and \$30 his condition is not too good, tho still above the subsistence level. When it is pointed out to these would-be "economists" that what Marx really said was that wages under capitalism tend to be driven down towards the subsistence level but that this tendency is modified and wages kept up by the resistance of the workers, you find that these profound "thinkers" don't know the

Up to Their Old Tricks Again!

THE Daily Worker of November 1 contains a frantic diatribe against Luigi Antonini, state chairman of the American Labor Party, because of the latter's recent statement denouncing the Communist Party and repudiating all connection between the Stalinists and the A.L.P.

"Mr. Antonini's violent statement . . .", declares the author of this article, "represents the importation of the poison of fascism into the ranks of labor . . . so typical of pro-fascist propaganda in America."

The brazen gall of these Stalinists, who only yesterday offered to make a united front with the fascists on the basis of the "original" fascist program, now daring to accuse Luigi Antonini of "pro-fascist propaganda in Amer-

ica!" Luigi Antonini of all people—the man who has fought and is fighting fascism not in the columns of the Daily Worker but where the fight is really a hard and dangerous one, in the Italian colony in New York!

More than that. If Antonini's statement repudiating the Communist Party as an ally and supporter of the A.L.P. is "the importation of the poison of fascism in the ranks of labor," the same must be true about the declaration of Alex Rose, state secretary of the A.L.P., to the same effect. The same must also be true of the attitude of the great majority of the A.L.P. leadership, who make no secret of their hostility to Stalinism and its intrigues. Are they all agents of "pro-fascist propaganda in America?"

difference between Karl Marx and the Marx Brothers. However, when such asinine stupidity is mouthed by a couple of hundred morons professing a special knowledge of economics, it becomes dangerous.

Only One Sound Approach

There can be only one approach to this particular problem. Hours must be cut with no loss in pay. The question immediately arises: How? We have a splendid precedent in American history. The A.F. of L. was built, May Day was established, around the fight for the 8-hour day. Why not a fight by all labor for a 30-hour week? Tho more difficult in the face of a declining capitalism, labor must prepare for a terrific nation-wide fight on this question. This alone will cement the unity of the employed and the unemployed. A

united A.F. of L. and C.I.O. could lead the workers into a huge demonstration of strength massing at the very portals of the profit system. Let no one raise this issue who thinks that the closing down of one factory or even one industry is going to solve this problem. Let no demagogue, attempting to add to his own prestige, rouse the workers on this issue. The way of the Reuthers and the Stalinites will split the unions wide open; the reactionaries are only too ready to take advantage of mistaken tactics. Bitter division of the workers is the road to anti-unionism and thence to fascism.

The issue must be raised in such a way as to elevate the political and socialist consciousness of all American workers. Out of such struggles will be born a socialist revolution in this country.

Towards Socialism or War

(Continued from Page 4)

possible only thru socialism. It is possible only by increasing production regardless of what happens to profit, by the elimination of the profit motive that now enslaves production, by the socialist cooperative organization of economic relations, by moving beyond bourgeois democracy to its larger fulfillment in socialist democracy.

The Reactionary "Solution"

The reactionary "solution" means fascism and war. It is possible only by destroying all the progressive aspects of capitalist civilization, and, especially, the socialist labor forces that strive to use the achievements of capitalist civilization as the basis on which to erect the new and higher civilization of socialism. The reactionary solution evades a real solution of the national and international problems of our generation, in Europe and thruout the world. And, rejecting the progressive, peaceful, constructive solution, capitalism moves increasingly toward war and fascism.

But war solves nothing in this epoch of the decline and decay of capitalism. For reactionary capitalism can solve nothing thru reactionary war. The results of a new world war would be infinitely more disastrous than in 1914-18, including the possible destruction of civilization and a relapse into the barbarism of a new Dark Age.

The alternative is simple and inescapable, for there is only one progressive alternative: socialism. Only socialism can solve the problems of our generation; only socialism can avert disaster. That conclusion is no abstraction spun out of one's inner consciousness: it

arises out of life itself. Everywhere, conditions press, economically, toward socialism. Everywhere, abundance seeks the release that only socialism can bring. And, in our own country, the economic conditions of socialism, expressed in the unusually high development of the productive forces and in the unusually acute character of the economic crisis, are most fully ripe for socialism. An American socialism would arise on high economic and cultural levels, and it would assure the triumph of socialism thruout the world.

The Answer Is Socialism

Yes, the answer is socialism. We must press the answer in relation to all problems and events; we must bring all activities in accord with the necessity of socialism; we must create a socialist crusade awakening enthusiasm, energy and faith. For the faith in socialism must be recreated. The faith may be declining, but that makes its recreation all the more necessary.

Faith in socialism is the answer to the torments of our generation—that faith alone can drive man, the worker, toward creative mastery of the world and the fulfillment of his highest aspirations.

Federal Court Makes Anti-Union Ruling

The District of Columbia Federal Court recently made a ruling of far-reaching significance in the case of the Plasterers Union. According to this ruling, the court can now issue a summons on the officers of an "unincorporated association which is subject to suit under a common name."

In essence, this ruling destroys

BLUEPRINT FOR FASCISM

FROM Hubert Herring's "And So To War":

"On February 8, 1938, the new industrial-mobilization bill was introduced by Congressman May. This bill . . . was the successor of the Sheppard-Hill Bill of 1937. The May bill provides that, in event of war, the President shall be granted wide control of price levels, which automatically carries control of wage levels; the control of all industry; of the radio and of 'public services'; virtual control of the press thru the power to determine priority in shipment of paper and other essentials; the control of labor unions thru proclaiming them 'industrial organizations'; and especially the control of all workers on railroads and other public carriers. The one thing which the bill fails to provide is machinery for taking the profit out of war. . . . The bill was promptly denounced by Congressman Maury Maverick as 'a blueprint for fascism.'"

the status of the trade unions as unincorporated bodies. In the past, a summons could not be served on the officers of an unincorporated union and the union could therefore not be held responsible for any individual acts, nor could individuals be held responsible for the acts of the union as a whole. It is for this very reason that anti-labor forces raised the cry of incorporation of unions and labor so stoutly resisted it.

The federal court ruling now makes unions fully as liable as if they were incorporated.