

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

THERE is not the slightest element of surprise in the swift march of reaction in France. Nor can anyone, unless he casts all his senses to the winds, wonder at the strikebreaking role of the French army.

The tragedy in France is rapidly nearing completion—the total logic of the policy of working-class betrayal pursued by the Blums and Thorezes. Parading as a People's Front, their parties gave themselves over to defending capitalism as a social system and to the French government as its protector at home and abroad—in the colonies, in the factories, on the farmland. It was none other than the Communist Party which promised the French working class freedom and democratic rights, if Daladier were in power. The arch-criminal and yellow-livered statesman who fled at the first stir of the fascists in February 1934 is in power. The Stalin outfit in France got its man into office, and in quickest turn, he is smashing labor's ranks—doing his duty to his class, its interests, its ideals, its system.

But let no one make the mistake of thinking that the French proletariat is synonymous with Blum, Thorez and Company. The fight in France is still far from over, tho the People's Front policy has brought labor into desperate straits. And, let no one think that the French "democratic" government is out of the woods or that French capitalism has solved its crisis thru the aid of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, which enabled the Bank of France to smash the general strike. Nothing could be further from the truth.

French capitalism is in the throes of an insoluble crisis. Unlike United States capitalism, it suffers from lack of productive capacity, from inadequate productivity. French economy is weighed down by terrific armament burdens and cost of government services without which things could not be kept going even as poorly as they are today. The annual national income of France is 250 billion francs. Of this sum, the state and other public agencies spend 137 billion francs in cash and 55 billions thru borrowing. No more straight and direct road to government bankruptcy could be charted than this course provides.

Big business and its Radical-Socialist party leaders are hell-bent on keeping the system going and profits to themselves flowing. Hence, the drive to make labor pay thru longer hours, less rights and more suffering. This is the fruit of the labor movement's collaboration with the boss class. This is the result of the theory of labor partnership with reactionary pro-capitalist forces at home in order to defeat their German and Italian fascist competitors abroad.

A quick abandonment of the People's Front and the reestablishment of a united front of labor with careful preparation for militant struggle can still save France from the monster of fascism.

AND THE "SOCIALISTS"?

THE reformist policies of the Socialist (Second) International are as much responsible for the disasters overwhelming European labor as is the strategy of the Stalinized Comintern.

Lest we forget, in Belgium, a government with a Socialist Party premier has just recognized Franco

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Lewis Condemns Wage "Charity"

Rejects "Profit-Sharing" Schemes, Demands Fair Wages And Work

John L. Lewis, chairman of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, called profit-sharing programs a "snare and a delusion" last week when he testified before the Senate committee studying the use and possible extension of such systems in American industry.

Labor, Mr. Lewis said, does not like them because they have been put forward too frequently as a substitute for genuine collective bargaining. The working man, he emphasized, wants his day-by-day pay without waiting for it, and resents "paternalistic generosity."

Moreover, the C.I.O. chieftain said, the "perfect system of profit-sharing would not avail the man who is going to be displaced next month."

"Production is coming back, but we are not reemploying men in the old ratio—and we won't."

Today, he continued, there are still as many persons unemployed as in 1933—"after all these years of experimentation"—and a wider spread of employment must

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DOWNWARD TO DESTRUCTION



Herblock in The Boston Transcript

Daladier Spurs French Fascism

Premier Lays Plans For Decree Rule Regime Against Labor

Sharp reprisals were launched by the French employers, taking the cue from the government, against scores of thousands of workers who had gone out in the one-day general strike on November 30. Latest reports indicate that close to a million workers have been dismissed from their jobs in government services and private concerns, while many hundreds of leaders were placed under arrest and charged with "inciting to violence" and "rebellion." Scattered but bitter protest strikes broke out in many parts of the country in answer to these punitive measures. An effort of the maritime union to call a general walk-out was met by the requisitioning of all steamships by the government. Nevertheless, Le Havre and other ports were tied up for several days.

The one-day general strike, called in protest against the scrapping of the 40-hour week, started off with a great deal of success, despite the hesitation of certain sections of the working class and the

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Lessons of the French Crisis

Popular Front Has Led to Disaster—Independent Labor Action the Only Hope

THE magnificent effort of the French workers, fighting with their backs to the wall against the attempt of the Daladier government to destroy the great achievements of June 1936—the one-day general strike of November 30—has been beaten back by Premier Daladier thru the ruthless use of armed force. Yet, despite this setback, the cause is not lost. If French labor will now, frankly and realistically, learn the lessons of its experiences in the past two years, it may still succeed in saving France from the terrible threat of unbridled reaction and military dictatorship that faces it.

DALADIER—PRODUCT OF POPULAR FRONT

Who is this Daladier who has now revealed himself a grim and bitter foe of the French working masses? Is it not the same Daladier who only yesterday was the chosen leader of the French Popular Front? Is it not the same Daladier whose advent to power was only yesterday demanded by the French Stalinists under the slogan: "Daladier in power?" Yes, the Daladier who met the general strike with arrests, repressions and military force is the very same Daladier who was raised to power by the Popular Front. The heavy burden of responsibility for the desperate plight of French labor at this moment rests upon the leaders of the French labor organizations—upon Thorez, Blum, Jouhaux and their like—who drove the working masses under the yoke of the Popular Front and thus opened the way for the triumph of reaction.

By now it should be clear that the whole strategy of the Popular Front has been a suicidal blunder. It has inevitably fostered and

promoted those very evils that it was supposedly formed to wipe out. It has immeasurably strengthened the forces of employing-class reaction; it has weakened and demoralized the forces of labor.

The strategy of the Popular Front threw the French labor movement into subjection to the so-called Radical-Socialist party, the party of Daladier. In order to preserve their alliance with the Radical-Socialist politicians, Thorez and Blum and Jouhaux called a halt to militant labor action, hamstringed the trade unions, allowed the employers to get away with anything in the factories, did nothing when devaluation of the franc and the financial policy of the government nullified most of the gains of June 1936. In the name of the Popular Front, they became ardent supporters of French imperialism, big armaments and militaristic chauvinism. In order not to "alienate" the Radical-Socialist politicians, they abandoned all criticism of the existing order and thus really alienated the masses of discontented peasants and hard-pressed middle-class people in the towns. In a word, for the sake of the Popular Front, the labor movement disarmed itself and was left helpless before the onslaught of reaction.

ROAD TO FASCISM

Thru the machinery of the Popular Front, French capitalism was able to use the "men of the left"—the socialist, communist and trade-union leaders—to do its dirty work for it in its hour of emergency.

Now that the job has been done and French capitalism has no further use for them for the time being, they have been scrapped and the mask of the Popular Front dropped.

French capitalism has now launched a direct offensive against labor, against the working masses, against the democratic rights of the people, an offensive looking towards the establishment of an authoritarian regime dominated by the army.

The road to reaction and fascism in France has been laid out and paved by the Popular Front.

The decree used by Premier Daladier to requisition the public services against the general strike and to place the workers under virtual military law was the very decree passed by the Popular Front regime of Leon Blum in 1936.

The troops used by Premier Daladier to crush the general strike were the very troops hailed so ecstatically by the Popular Front, and the Stalinists in particular, as the "great republican army" that would "never, no never, be used against the people."

The fascist groups used by Premier Daladier in his effort to break the general strike, were the very fascist leagues that had been permitted by the Popular Front regime to continue their activities unhampered, despite all legal bans, merely by changing the shingle under which they operated.

If certain sections of the working class did not respond to the general strike call as they should have done, what is more responsible than the demoralization spread by two years of the Popular Front? You cannot disarm the labor movement and keep it disarmed for many months and then expect the most effective response to a call to decisive action.

If considerable sections of the French middle class and peasantry were hostile or indifferent to the labor movement in the hour of crisis, what is more responsible than the confusion, apathy and indifference bred by two years of the Popular Front? You cannot parade for months as the best defender of

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\$3,500 by JAN. 1st!—see page 5

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1) and broken off diplomatic relations with Barcelona. "Comrade" Paul Henri Spaak saw to it that the Belgian Socialist Party should put nothing in the way of his government doing a few million francs business with the Burgos butchers every year.

Then, back to France. As late as November 7 of this year, the National Council of the French Socialist Party rejected by a vote of 6,755 to 1,241 a motion to the effect that "the policy of the Daladier government is more and more gravely threatening the rights of the world of labor and democratic institutions. It must not count on any support from the party."

Three weeks later, Daladier expressed his thanks and appreciation for Blum's solicitude for the welfare of French culture, freedom, democracy, liberty, equality, fraternity and all the other sacred shibboleths employed by the descendants of the butchers of the Paris Commune of yesterday in their drive to shoot down the French commands of tomorrow.

And all this hokum of Blum being a defender of purest democracy in the abstract thru the People's Front! It was no one but Blum himself and the People's Front government itself that plagued French labor with the very emergency decree that Daladier has now found so convenient to use against the French working class. We refer to the emergency decree of June 6, 1936—issued by the then Premier Blum. Nor should anyone forget that, in his second and brief premiership, Blum provided the thin edge of the wedge for the entire system of "decree democracy" now being employed by the French "republican," "liberty loving" bosses for introducing fascism.

The French workers in the S.P. as well as in the C.P. can still learn from this costly experience. By breaking with the People's Front and the "social-patriotism" of the Socialist and Communist parties and by swelling the ranks of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France, led by Marceau Pivert, the doors can be closed to fascism and the road to the victory of socialism can be marked and opened.

HOME-BRED FASCISM

In our own specific American form, we are grappling with some of the fundamental problems now challenging European labor. Let us turn to the address delivered the other day by Percy C. Magnus, president of the New York Board of Trade, before the

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DON'T MISS -

- JAY LOVESTONE, Thursday, Dec. 8, 6:15 p. m.—on "The C.I.O.—A Prairie Fire in the Heart of Changing Economy."
 - WILL HERBERG, Monday, Dec. 12, 7:00 p. m.—on ideology and structure of fascism.
 - LEWIS COREY, Tuesday, Dec. 13, 8:45 p. m.—on "Is America Different?"
- Single admission 25 cents
- All lectures at the INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

Lessons of the French Crisis

(Continued from Page 1) things-as-they-are and refuse to lift a finger against the most flagrant abuses in the system and then expect to retain the confidence and support of the impoverished masses in town and country.

For over two years, we were assured that the Popular Front would lead to the "triumph of democracy." Only a few months ago, Earl Browder proclaimed at a meeting in New York and in articles in the Daily Worker that the Popular Front had defeated reaction and was ushering in a "popular government representing all democratic forces, including the communists." But what has the Popular Front actually led to? To Daladier, to reaction and to rule by decree!

PROGRAM OF REACTION
The forces of French capitalism, operating thru the Daladier regime, are now preparing a reactionary offensive all along the line. In this program, the following planks are uppermost: (1) the establishment of a military

"Made-in-America Club, Inc." Discussing "the relationship of national defense to economic security," he said:

"If we are to arm America adequately and completely, which includes the bolstering of our economy, we must right-about-face and do five things promptly, expeditiously and with our whole soul:

"We must solve our labor problem; stop spending and get our budget in balance; stop interfering with business by an Administration pandering to class prejudices to obtain votes; throw over our ideas of a nationally controlled and arbitrarily regulated balance between agriculture and industry, by people who have demonstrated that they know nothing about either; and adopt a sound foreign policy related to our national needs rather than to sentimental theories."

Mr. Magnus is correct and the coming months will surely see the Roosevelt Administration pursuing such a course—compelled by the very inexorable logic of the effect of super-armament on our economic and social relations. No one can exaggerate the sinister significance of the cry, "We must solve our labor problem." The hope of Mr. Magnus and his ilk is fascism. The Roosevelt armament program means rearming not only with more guns, more ships, more planes, more soldiers, more sailors, more armed forces of all sorts, but also spells rearmament in a totalitarian sense. Here is the mightiest boost towards fascism in the United States, coming right from the springs and wells of capitalist liberalism and its New Deal.

At best, this is a case of the road to hell being paved with . . . Dec. 2, 1938.

dictatorship based on army rule; (2) parliament to be suspended for the better part of a year, during which France would be ruled by decree; (3) the outlawing of the Communist Party and the arrest of its leaders, as the opening gun in a drive against French socialism in general; (4) the crippling of the trade-union movement thru reprisals, penal measures and restrictive legislation; (5) the complete destruction of the labor and social-welfare reforms enacted after the great strike wave of June 1936; and (6) the abrogation of the Franco-Soviet pact and an aggressive policy of "appeasing" the fascist dictators in collaboration with the British Foreign Office.

This program is a program of advancing fascism, fascism along the French model.

The moment is a desperate one for French labor, but it is not hopeless. It is not yet too late. It is still possible to defeat the offensive of reaction and to clear the road for socialism and progress in France. But for this the labor movement must make a sharp turn in its policy away from Popular Frontism back to

the road of class struggle. It is necessary to make a clean break with the Popular Front and everything it represents, with the suicidal policy of alliances with "liberal" capitalist politicians leading only to paralysis and demoralization. A firm united front of labor must be forged, committed to militant action and rejecting all entanglements with the existing social order, able and willing to make a direct appeal to the peasant and middle-class masses. Only an aggressive, independent united worker-peasant front, based on a program looking towards socialism, can save France today. This is the standpoint championed by the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party, the party of militant socialism in France.

And we American workers, we too have our lesson to learn from France. Never must we allow ourselves to be misled by the insidious Popular Front propaganda of the Stalinists. For us, too, independent working-class action, an aggressive united labor-farmer front, is the only way out!

Lewis Hits Pay 'Charity'

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precede any general adoption of profit-sharing.

"There is only one answer, and that is to give the adult population willing to work a share in the work remaining to be done," Mr. Lewis declared.

He said he believed that, if a corporation's earnings permitted it to share its profits with employees, there would be "no difficulty under collective bargaining in making the necessary adjustments in the wage structure."

He said that there was "too much of the theory of largess," of dropping a "dollar in the hat," connected with profit-sharing plans. Labor, Mr. Lewis told the committee, had not been afforded an opportunity to participate in management affairs which might determine profit or loss, so it should not be asked to share in something "completely beyond its control."

Mr. Lewis opposed "incentive taxation" to encourage profit-sharing as he felt that it would upset the basis of competition by giving preferred status to some employees.

The position taken by Mr. Lewis on these questions was essentially the same as that expressed by William Green, president of the A. F. of L., in his testimony before the Senate committee.

How to Beat High Prices

EVERYBODY'S complaining about high prices—especially at this time of the year, the holiday season.

But here's a way you can beat high prices if you're smart enough. Just come to the big Bazaar that will be held at Rivera Hall, 131 West 33rd Street, on December 15 to 18. There you will find a large selection of dresses, in all sizes and latest styles, an immense lot of toys for children of all ages, a dazzling display of Mexican articles and novelties, books without number, a wide variety of articles suitable for household and personal use and for gifts.

All articles on sale will be marked down to the very lowest prices, half of the usual store prices, so that the early shoppers will get the full benefit of the bargain. Admission to the Bazaar will be free at all times, except Saturday, December 18, when the Dance will take place.

Speaking of the Dance, this will be a fine chance to meet old friends and acquaintances, dance to your heart's content in fine

Daladier Spurs Fascism

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indifferent or unfriendly attitude of a considerable part of the middle-class elements. Against it Daladier threw all the resources of the government—police, Mobile Guards, troops, mobilization orders, martial law. As the day wore on, it became clear that the forces of French labor, weakened and isolated by two years of the People's Front, could not cope with such overwhelming odds. According to reports, about 2,500,000 of the 5,000,000 registered members of the C.G.T. carried thru the strike to the end.

Considerably strengthened by his success in breaking the general strike and feeling sure of getting a right-wing majority in the Chamber, Premier Daladier called Parliament in session for December 8. It is expected that he will present the Chamber with a program of decree rule, repressions against the socialist and labor movements, and "steered economy" along the fascist model.

At the same time, Premier Daladier made a gesture of "conciliation" by urging an end to the lock-outs and dismissals and by promising certain minor reforms in the decree-laws. This move was closely associated with the sudden tension in Franco-Italian relations as a result of the demonstrative demand for the cession of certain

French territories voiced in the Italian Chamber and press.

The C.G.T. called a special session of its national council for this week to examine the lessons of the general strike.

(Read the editorial, "Lessons of the French Crisis," on page 1. —Editor.)

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(1) Louis M. Hacker: A Short History of the New Deal (1934).

THE FOURTH NEW DEAL: "CONTINENTAL DEFENSE"

By WILL HERBERG

WHEN Congress convenes in January, the Fourth New Deal, already well under way, will be officially launched. The Presidential message, we are reliably informed, will be devoted to the subject of "continental security" or "hemisphere defense." This issue of "continental defense" is not merely a question of foreign policy, however important. It is bound to become the dominant theme of the Roosevelt Administration in its seventh year. The direct implications of the doctrine are already beginning to permeate all aspects of Administration policy, foreign, domestic and political. It is the integrating concept, the central axis, of the New Deal today, of the Fourth New Deal.

The Administration Foreign Policy

Of course, "continental defense" is primarily a question of foreign policy. For the last period of time, the fundamental note in Administration policy on this field has been the active assertion of American imperialist interests in the North and Latin America—in the former, against Japan; in the latter, against England but increasingly also against Japan and Germany. Four years ago, Louis M. Hacker concluded his survey of the New Deal with a penetrating forecast that the very logic of the New Deal would drive it to "another fling at financial and industrial imperialism." "Imperialism," he pointed out, "is exactly cut to the measure of American capitalism in its present stage. Confronted by overexpansion of plant, possessing great capital reserves for which domestic investment opportunities continue to dwindle, mobilized . . . into powerful cartels which can be immediately utilized as the spearheads in a drive for overseas markets, American imperialism is equipped and ready for imperialist adventure. Its inauguration waits on the approval of Washington. The United States can still make the Far Eastern and Latin-American markets exclusive financial and commercial American preserves. . . . Of course, our attempt to possess the Chinese market will be contested by Japan . . . ; our effort to monopolize South American trade and financing will be contested by Great Britain Surely, at the end of the imperialist road stands war. However, war enters into almost every calculation for the future."

In its first stages, this renewed imperialist drive flowing out of the New Deal was carried forward in the name of "collective security," a slogan particularly appropriate considering that the main theatre of operations was the Far East. Practically, of course, the slogan of "collective security" meant an Anglo-American alliance against Japan, a united front of the two great imperialist powers against a common enemy. But, as time went on, it became clear that the "collective-security" appeal was proving a fiasco. Roosevelt's October 1937 address on "quarantining the aggressor" not only fell flat but actually aroused nationwide protest. The Panay "incident" proved a wash-out as a means of working up a war hysteria. Isolationist and anti-war sentiment was growing and finding significant expression in Congress, as the Administration's narrow squeak on the Ludlow amendment in the House taught it. In short, "collective security" was overwhelmingly rejected by the great masses of the American people as inevitably involving the danger of American entanglement in a foreign war. And, after Munich,

only a political imbecile or a Stalinist demagogue could continue to speak seriously of "collective security."

A Shift Of Direction

Moreover, the masses of the people were becoming restive, worried and uneasy at the way the White House seemed to be leading the country to war. A change of course on the part of the Administration was obviously on the order of the day. Emphasis would be shifted from the Far East to Latin America, from a foreign war to "national defense." In this way, it was hoped, the Administration's foreign policy could be much more easily "sold" to the people. Even confirmed isolationists might be made to come along if a big enough war and invasion scare could be worked up. Indeed, was there anything impossible under the magic spell of "national defense"?

When the new slogan of "continental security" is looked into a little more carefully, it soon becomes evident that it embraces a good deal of territory—not only continental United States, not only North and South America, even, but also the adjoining oceans and far-flung possessions. Thus, "continental security" brings the United States to just about the same point where "collective security" was intended to take it. The roads may be somewhat different; the goal is very much the same.

Examined realistically, the practical significance of the policy of "continental security" is threefold: (1) United States economic and military domination over Latin America, the "big stick" in a new form; (2) an Anglo-American alliance against Japan and the other "dictator countries" as the greatest menace to the "peace and freedom" of the Americas; and (3) an undertone of intense rivalry, submerged for the time being but ready to flare up at the appropriate moment, between the United States and Great Britain.

Reaction All Along The Line

Foreign and domestic policy, especially in the present stage of world history, are but two sides of the same thing, and the thoroly imperialist foreign policy of "continental security" is closely associated with a domestic policy that cannot be other than reactionary. The dominant feature of the Fourth New Deal is the systematic settling of whatever liberal objectives the Administration may have had in earlier days for the sake of its comprehensive program of war preparation. This will become increasingly obvious as the new Congress gets under way in January.

Preparation for war is both moral and material. In the first place, it implies a systematic campaign to stir up a war fever that will extinguish every spark of reason and common-sense. "Never in our generation since the four-minute speakers and poster artists, and preachers inflamed our passions two decades ago," testifies the New York World-Telegram editorially (November 26), "has there been such a build-up for war in this country as is going on right now"—and the World-Telegram is by no means hostile to the Administration's efforts in this field.

War preparations also imply, of course, a huge armaments program, something on which the Administration is now beginning to embark in a really big way. But

(2) "What assurances are there that the Latin-American republics will accept the United States as the military protector of the western hemisphere?" Arthur Krock asks quite pointedly in an article in the New York Times, November 27, 1938.

United Action Against War

By TUCKER P. SMITH
Secretary, Labor Anti-War Council

WE have just escaped celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the last World War armistice by starting another world war. . . .

Twenty years ago, the people of the world were just completing the largest outpouring of military sacrifice in human history. The common man had borne his war burden and done his bit. Urged forward to these unprecedented sacrifices, he had won the military victory requested by his "leaders." At Versailles, these same "leaders" sold him out and wrote treaties that made world stability impossible and world peace unlikely.

During the twenty years since the Armistice, the common people have borne the burdens of the severest world depression on record. This depression lasted so long in some quarters that "democratic" capitalism broke down and fascism came as a new burden for the common man. The general game of international politics and economics continued to be so rotten that another war is in making.

The time has come to recognize that the road we have been following leads straight and inevitably to chaos. We must demand a change before we lose even the right to discuss such matters.

Who can deny that these are the basic errors in our society; the basic causes of such insecurity:

1. The average productive worker is not paid enough to live comfortably, nor does he receive a sufficient share of what he produces to keep consumption in step with production.

2. The capitalist system is too far advanced to permit it to absorb, thru expansion, the huge profits it hands to the owners.

3. Governments have been used primarily as tools for guarding profits rather than common welfare. Foreign policy is dominated by this quest for profits and not by world need.

4. Insist upon reorganizing our domestic economy to give jobs and a living wage for all. That is the only defense of democracy at home.

5. America shall support all international efforts toward raising the world standard of living, toward making raw materials and markets available on the basis of world need—but will not assume any part in policing the world in favor of present imperialism.

6. Support moves toward wider democratic control over foreign policy—beginning with the popular referendum on going to war.

7. Build the labor unions, labor political power and co-operatives, to enforce these changes in economics and politics.

We want houses, not warships. We want the popular vote on war.

We want the American government to help Mexico avoid chaos and fascism.

American workers can keep out of war, can preserve democracy at home, if they organize and demand such aims. Make this twentieth year after the armistice a turning point in American policy.

(To be continued in the next issue)

Armament Race Means Disaster

Dislocates Industry, Swallows Up National Income

By A. E.

THE world's biggest and most expensive peace-time occupation is preparation for war. It is estimated that for 1938 \$17,581,000,000 will be spent for this purpose by sixty leading countries in the world. In 1937, the war cost was \$15,469,000,000. The mounting cost of armaments is the barometer of the war atmosphere. The figures for the past five years indicate that the clouds of war are becoming ever heavier and darker. In this period, the leading nations of the world threw into the gutter war preparations the astronomical sum of \$60,000,000,000. This makes an average of \$12,000,000,000 a year for this period as compared with \$3,784,000,000 in 1932.

In Japan, heavy industry has developed twice as fast since 1932 as the consumers-goods industry, all on the basis of war expansion. In America, an instructive example of war expansion is the shipbuilding industry. Here employment skyrocketed from 40,000 in 1909 to 387,000 in 1919 but had sunk to the ground again by 1929.

Disaster Ahead

A writer for the Annalist estimates that about 18% of the national income is expended for war by the leading powers of the world. One writer warns that, if American rearmament is "launched on as vigorous a scale as is intimated in some Washington dispatches, it may tend to accelerate the present recovery at a dangerously rapid rate, so that recovery will be followed by another slump." In the same issue, we find the consequences of this process pointed out: "The present armament programs are everywhere leading to an overexpansion of the heavy and capital-goods industries, especially steel and its associated enterprises." And the London Economist of June 11, 1938 sums up the effects of rearmament thus: "At present, the industrial structure is

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REVISING NEUTRALITY

ACCORDING to a United Press dispatch, officially denied and therefore virtually confirmed at Washington, the State Department is preparing legislation to be introduced at the coming session of Congress "modifying" the present Neutrality Act. The object is to give the President discretionary power to name the "aggressor" and to apply all of the restrictions now provided for in the law exclusively against the party thus named. Obviously, such an amendment would not be a mere modification of the present law; it would transform it into its very opposite. From a measure intended to keep America out of war, it would turn the Neutrality Act into a mechanism for driving this country into every foreign war to occur.

We are not among those who regard even the best neutrality law as a cure-all or a very reliable means of averting the danger of American involvement in war. The present piece of legislation, moreover, has a great many weak spots, those, for example, that permit the President to join in the Anglo-French blockade of Loyalist Spain while he still refuses to recognize that a state of war exists in the Far East. But the point is that the hostility of the Administration to the law is due not to its weakness but rather to the measure of strength it does have, to its degree of effectiveness in hampering the foreign-entanglement diplomacy of the State Department. In other words, the drive to "amend" the Neutrality Act by giving the President discretionary power, is part of the drive to war.

What Mr. Roosevelt would like is for the President to be empowered, whenever a war situation arises abroad, to choose sides by naming one or the other party as the "aggressor" and then throwing the economic and financial resources of the United States into the scales against it—and ultimately the military resources too. By his right to name the "aggressor," the President would thus be in a position to commit this country to a course that would inevitably drive it to war as an ally of the side happening to be favored by him. It is a proposal to put the fate of the entire American people in the arbitrary power of one man. A peculiar way, indeed, of "preserving democracy!"

The President who asks for a power that today only dictators possess, is Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt's action in the Spanish crisis as well as his efforts to put over an Anglo-American war alliance first under the slogan of "quarantining the aggressor" and now in the name of "continental security," certainly do not serve to strengthen our confidence. But let those who do trust Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy bethink themselves that before long there will be another occupant in the White House. Are they ready now, sight unseen, to grant him the arbitrary power of choosing sides in any future war and then sending them out to fight to back up his choice? Let us learn from Europe. In Czechoslovakia and France, the socialists and communists voted enthusiastically to strengthen the governmental power, to increase the military budget and to speed rearmament because they happened to agree with the foreign policy of the administration in office. But what was the result? The extraordinary powers with which the communists helped equip the Czech government are now being used to suppress them and all other anti-Hitler elements. The "republican army" that the Communist Party of France hailed so ecstatically a few months ago, is now being employed for strikebreaking and repressions. The arbitrary powers we grant to Mr. Roosevelt in the hope that he will utilize them to "save democracy," may very well be used by him or his successor to bolster up reaction abroad or promote the predatory interests of American imperialism in some remote corner of the earth. Again let us remember how Mr. Roosevelt has utilized his limited powers under the present Neutrality Act to help strangle Loyalist Spain. Is there any encouragement in that for granting him or any President that may follow him the unlimited power he seeks?

All signs seem to indicate that we are headed for a showdown at the coming session of Congress. The

"Racism" in Italy

Ignazio Silone on Sources of Italian Anti-Semitism

(The following paragraphs are from an article on Italian anti-Semitism by Ignazio Silone, the famous Italian writer, in the New Republic of November 23, 1938.—Editor.)

THOSE who will now try to prove the incompatibility of this Italian neo-racism and Mussolinian fascist ideology, or Italian tradition, are forgetting an important fact: namely, that ideology has played only a fifth-rate part in the development of fascism! It was not ideology that determined the orientation of Mussolini's movement; on the contrary, its ideology has constantly been modified by and adapted to the contradictory necessities of that movement. According to the varying circumstances, the opportunistic Duce has played in turn the part of a follower of Mazzini or of monarchism, of Nietzsche or of clericalism, of Sorel, Maurras, pragmatism or paganism. The nonplussed observer, confronted with the succeeding ideological turn-about of Italian fascism, will merely waste his time trying to find their sources in the writings and talks of Il Duce. The real explanation can be found exclusively in the realistic difficulties of Mussolini's policy. It is the policy of the Berlin-Rome axis that has engendered Italian racism. One does not have to be a prophet, one has merely to know Mussolini, to foresee that the new by-product will live only as long as the axis itself.

The present foreign policy of fascism is particularly misunderstood by the Italian Catholics and Jews. The silencing of the anti-Hitlerian sentiments of the Italian Catholics and Jews by all available means is one of the important tasks included in the ideological preparation for the next war. And so the racial campaign has become an integral part of the propaganda drive for that objective. Even though in Italy public opinion has none of the normal means of expression that obtain in democratic countries, Mussolini has had to take

Armaments Economics

(Continued from Page 3)

estimated." What accounts for the preference which big business has for armament over relief? There is a well known proverb which answers the question: One man's drink is another man's poison. The capitalist sees in armaments a means of stimulating heavy industry in which he is primarily interested as an investor. That armament is perfectly useless production which benefits no one, does not trouble our capitalist. What matters is that it offers an outlet for his investments. It gives him the chance to speculate in the stock-market where he can clean up quickly on munition stocks on the exchange as well as on armament stocks in the factories. Moreover, modern armament makes most manufacturing plants potential munition producers.

The worker is only remotely, if at all, interested in the stock market. He is vitally concerned with relief and other forms of government spending. It is evident that

Administration will probably seek "peace" with big business by yielding on domestic affairs, that is, by scuttling the liberal aspects of the New Deal, in order to have a freer hand to put over its policy of "continental defense" with all that it implies. Revision of the Neutrality Act along the lines of the notorious O'Connell bill is a part of this program. The danger is great.

into account the public's mounting aversion to the axis since the annexation of Austria by Germany. And, to the general reasons for the public's dislike, the Catholic and Jewish opposition has added a specific one—their confessional solidarity with their German and Austrian brethren who are being persecuted.

Mussolini would never have engaged in the present anti-Semitic campaign if he hadn't decided to persevere in the policy of the axis. It goes without saying that he will use anti-Semitism not only for the fundamental purpose of reinforcing the axis in Italian public opinion, but also to attain certain secondary objectives which are an intrinsic part of his domestic policy. To those there are only about 65,000 Jews in Italy (including approximately 20,000 foreign Jews, soon to be exiled) out of a total population of some forty-two and a half million, nevertheless this small minority wields considerable power in business and in the intellectual professions of certain cities. Thus, by anti-Semitic measures, the government can create openings, which in turn will spell advancement for starving intellectuals and maggoty business men.

The new movement can also provide scapegoats to explain a number of curious bankruptcies. In the region with which I am most familiar and which the reader may know thru my novel, "Bread and Wine," there have never been any Jews. But the fascist powers—that have considered it useful to install a Jew from Ferrara at the head of the union of peasant workers. By now he will have had to hand in his resignation and already they will be saying to the cafoni (indigent peasants): "It's the Jew's fault that you're still poor."

Italian racism will also be useful in scaffolding the national pride, now suffering from an inferiority complex aggravated by the increasingly intimate relationship with the blond Germans.

relief expenditures must be met by various types of taxes. The big business benefits greatly from government spending, it is reluctant to pay even part of the bill. It feels, however, that it can more easily shift the armament bill to the backs of the great mass of the people. Profits from armament are not only high but are also certain. For the rest of the population, it is all a total loss. Nay more, it is a heavy and permanent burden.

Alleged Benefits

Some might argue that relief expenditures fail to stimulate the capital-goods industries and that therefore armament is preferable to it. This is not so. Many labor organizations have urged a housing program on a scale as large as the rearmament program and this type of program would serve to stimulate heavy industry and, at the same time, provide much-needed homes for the people of this country. And yet this proposal is frowned upon by the industrialists and bankers. Why? Home construction on a large scale would endanger their investments in the slums, which to the capitalists are a source of riches just as they are a source of misery and disease for those who live there. If the United States today were really a partnership of capitalists and workers, as so many pretend, then what is sauce for the goose would be sauce for the gander. But, since they are mortal enemies in the jungle of capitalism, the capitalist thrives on what is poison to the worker.

Talking It Over:

"My Life As a Rebel"

By Bertram D. Wolfe

(Bertram D. Wolfe's discussion of Angelica Balabanoff's book began in the last issue of this paper.—Ed.)

WE return this week to Angelica Balabanoff's "My Life as a Rebel," for its merits could not be exhausted by a single column—indeed, they could not be exhausted by anything short of the reprinting of the entire work. She wrote it that her experiences might give their lessons to the present generation now beginning the struggle where she will leave it off. And the work is full of lessons: both those she draws and those she fails to draw.

Thus, she fails to understand fully the mixed character of the Zimmerwald anti-war movement whose secretary she was: the conglomerate of small neutral countries; of lands whose movements were not yet tested by war; of delayed-entrance lands like the United States and Italy where the movement against war could develop a little further in the struggle to keep out of it; the pure and impure pacifists, those who would not accept war but would not conduct a revolutionary struggle against it, those who endorsed the movement but were too legal to try to get to a conference without a passport and governmental permission, those whom governments authorized to go because they thought they might fish in troubled waters. Here Lenin was infinitely clearer than Balabanoff, and her failure to comprehend this makes her present his proposals as mere impatience and incomprehensible maneuvers. Yet, on the tempo of division, we can now say in retrospect (hindsight being notoriously easier than foresight) that she and the German Spartacists were more right than he.

The voice of Zimmerwald, her voice as well as Lenin's, rings out clearly today: "The war-makers lie when they assert that the war would liberate oppressed nations and serve democracy. In reality, they are burying the liberty of their own nations as well as the independence of other peoples . . . Don't be misled. A nation's militarism can be abolished only by its own people . . ."

TAKEING us behind the scenes of the Russian Revolution, Balabanoff makes clear as few writers have done, the element that is peculiarly Russian in the heated factionalism, the super-centralism, the emigre quarrels, the lack of democracy, the divorce from mass pressure and from contact with a freely functioning mass movement, which set their stamp upon the Russian party, and later, on the Comintern. She makes clear what could scarcely be clear at that time, how an over-estimation of the possibilities of world revolution caused undue haste and the premature formation of the Communist International. And how, once formed, the monopoly of leadership by a single party, the premature and ill-prepared splits in the movements of other countries, the combination of Russian moral prestige and Russian funds and pliable and characterless agents in other lands, developed an ever greater momentum. She is wise enough to see the basic necessity of some minimum of repression and terror in an isolated Soviet republic, but early warned that the too easy resort to such methods, the too ready use of administrative measures, expulsions and executions, tended to demoralize those who wielded them and threatened the achievement of some of the ends to which these means were used. The role of personality in the further process—a role too often ignored by Marxists—she reveals as, at certain moments and under certain circumstances, of key importance. Lenin, whom she understands but imperfectly, she yet perceives as playing a restraining role on these developments, but holds him responsible for the appointment of less scrupulous and clear-visioned men to act as his tools, of over-confidence in his ability to restrain them (an over-confidence, alas, which his death made altogether unjustifiable). Zinoviev she excoriates, and the Zinoviev regime which drove her to leave the Comintern; Stalin she almost ignores as beneath her contempt, though the few spare lean words she uses on him are sufficient. With Trotsky she restrains herself (what's the use of knocking when a man is down?) but in a sentence here or there gives brilliant and incisive pictures of his great gifts and his great defects of temperament and method. ("His arrogance equals his gifts and capacities and his manner of exercising it in personal relations creates

(Continued on Page 5)

\$3,500 by the New Year!

Special Publication Fund Needed to Build Powerful Press

MORE than \$1,400 has already been received in answer to our first appeal for \$3,500 to build a new socialist press by enlarging the Workers Age to newspaper size and by publishing a theoretical journal.

That's a splendid response—for a beginning! But it is only a beginning.

Everywhere there is great enthusiasm for the drive. Everywhere there is agreement that our growing organizational influence and tasks as well as the crisis of socialism render absolutely necessary a bigger Workers Age and a theoretical journal.

And that agreement and enthusiasm are translating themselves into money. Within a few days of the appearance of the first appeal nearly \$1,500 had come in in contributions and pledges:

This splendid beginning must be followed up quickly to insure the whole \$3,500 by January 1, when the first issue of the bigger Workers Age will appear—the new theoretical journal appearing on January 15.

BIG MONEY DRIVE ON

All the resources of the Independent Labor League are

being mobilized to raise quickly the money needed for a new socialist press.

Every member of the National Council and every member of the I.L.L.A. is expected to make a contribution. And all readers of the Workers Age are being called upon to do their bit in this great drive.

All branches of the Independent Labor League are raising money individually from members and by arranging money-raising affairs. In New York City, house parties are to be held (especially on New Year's Eve) and a theatre-benefit party is being organized. Plans are also being made for a big dance, while punch-board raffles will be put into circulation to raise money.

Efforts are being made to contact sympathizers and get them also to contribute to the \$3,500 Special Press Fund.

Other ideas will be developed. If you have any good ideas to raise money, let us know and we'll put them to use.

Finally, toward the end of January, a symposium-banquet will be held in New York City to celebrate the appearance of the first issue of the bigger Workers Age and of the theoretical journal.

MOVING TO \$1,500—

But \$3,500 Is Needed for a New Socialist Press!

The \$3,500 Drive is on to a splendid start. But quick action is necessary to get the full amount by January 1.

For a Bigger Workers Age and a Theoretical Journal

Armed with these new weapons, we will be infinitely more effective in the struggle to recreate Marxism and rebuild socialism—in the fight against capitalism, war and fascism.

Every dollar secured in this drive will be earmarked to insure publication for one year of the bigger Workers Age and the new theoretical journal. After one year, they should become self-supporting!

Give! Give to build a new socialist press, realistically, intelligently, uncompromisingly devoted to socialism and the struggle for socialism!

Fill out—and Mail at Once!

SPECIAL PRESS FUND, WORKERS AGE
131 West 33rd Street, New York City

Yes, I agree with you: we need a bigger Workers Age and a theoretical journal. I, too, want to help. Enclosed find \$_____ as my contribution to the Special Press Fund of \$3,500.

Name _____
Address _____ City _____

Subject of discussion will probably be the crisis in Marxism.

DON'T WAIT — GIVE NOW!

REMEMBER—every penny raised in this drive will be earmarked to pay the additional publication costs of a bigger Workers Age and a new theoretical journal.

And the money should be raised quickly. He who gives quickly gives twice.

Ask yourself these two questions:

Isn't there a need for the Workers Age to include more material on different industries and unions, more material on the basic problems of labor, farmers, white-collar workers and intellectuals, more material of a popular nature to reach larger numbers of people to wage the struggle for socialism, against reaction, fascism and war?

Isn't there need for a theoretical journal to discuss the many fundamental problems arising out of the crisis in the socialist and labor movements, out of tendencies and events in the Soviet Union, out of the perversion of Marxism into a stultifying dogma?

And the only answer is: YES—there is that great need!

That need will be answered only by your contribution to the \$3,500 Fund for a new socialist press.

Do your share! It is a big task that can only be solved by all of us. Send your contribution NOW to the Special Press Fund, Workers Age, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City.

Nice Going!

By JACK SODERBERG

THERE was quite a scandal on the Eric Reed, the Spanish relief ship, when she sailed from New York recently. It appears that the Stalinist "sailors" had been ordered by Roy Hudson to take the ship out of New York free, gratis and for nothing. Hence, when the ship arrived from the Gulf, a full crew of future commissars stood ready to oust the crew who had signed on in New Orleans at full union pay and ditto conditions. Party-member Curran—also president of the N.M.U.—led the beef-squad on board and proceeded to lay down the law via a two-foot length of iron pipe. In the squad was also Jack Lawrenson, former stool pigeon for the Dog House and later rejected by the rank and file of the N.M.U.

The result was the boatswain being beaten up so badly that he had to be removed to a hospital. Another sailor was also badly beaten but stayed on the ship together with the rest of the union crew, and she finally sailed minus the Stalinists with their bright idea of sailing for sunshine and salt air.

When charged with these acts at a joint meeting later, Curran's only defense was that he had gone aboard, got drunk, turned in and woke up only the next morning when the skipper thought he was a member of the crew and tried to turn him to with the rest. And so, being drunk, he knew nothing of what had happened and thus could not be held responsible! Yes, Curran is the president of the National Maritime Union and also a member of the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations! Nice going!

She does not bewail her fate. Twice they tried to dissuade her from her course—once Plekhanov and a second time the Comintern leaders. "Had I yielded to pressure in either case," she writes, "my life would be quite different

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE

"Continental Defense"

(The following paragraphs are taken from an article, "Continental Defense," by Paul Y. Anderson, in the Nation of November 26, 1938.—Editor.)

I am loath to accept a partisan Republican argument, but there is a large plausibility in the imputation that the President is confusing political defense with national defense in the present instance. That he intends going in for armament in a big way is quite evident. The need for it is less evident. It is very plain, however, that elements in this country which go into convulsions over expenditures for schools, roads, hospitals, sewers and public-works plants would be very happy if the same sums were laid out for armament. National defense, moreover, is always a sacred cause. The Chicago Tribune, which publishes faked photographs of W.P.A. workers under scurrilous captions, would drape American flags

around a picture of the same workers digging a gun emplacement. How could General Johnson find it in his heart to criticize any appropriation for mechanizing the army? How could Walter Lippmann or Dorothy Thompson cavil at any measure labeled as a defense against the Nazis? . . . The Administration has just suffered its first great reverse at the polls. Under such circumstances, it is natural for administrations—and it would be singularly characteristic of this one—to resort to a quick change of emphasis. If the voters are a little weary of being indignant about the Stock Exchange, the power trust and the Liberty League, they probably will welcome an invitation to transfer their indignation to Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japs. And Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japs certainly can be relied on to supply their indignation with plenty of fuel for the next two years . . .

"My Life As a Rebel"

(Continued from Page 4)

often a distance between himself and those about him, which excludes both personal warmth and any feeling of equality and reciprocity." Vividly, she makes us feel how much the effect of the notes in Zinoviev and Stalin and Trotsky are part of a common "Russian" heritage of authoritarianism, the her unwillingness to waste words on Stalin blurs the differences in character and outlook involved. When in passing, she pays her respects to those new-found "friends of the Soviet Union," who opposed and detested it in the days of its heroism and greatest necessity and who admire Stalinism today for all that is evil and unsocialist in it, it is in words that should make their ears burn:

"Their enthusiasm is probably the greatest insult which genuine revolutionaries, in Russia and throughout the world, have had to bear in the past few years."

For a second time, our column space is used up, but the treasures of this book are not so easily exhausted. We can only conclude our discussion by a sample in Angelica Balabanoff's own words which should send the reader directly to the book of her life itself. Last week, we spoke of it as a tragedy. It is that and in the deepest sense not the nostalgic melancholy of a Proust watching the spread of corruption in a dying order, but the fierce tragedy that struggles against the spread of a corruption that is infecting the new order, like a disease contracted in the very birth-womb. Yet, tho the struggle of the protagonist is unsuccessful, her spirit remains unbroken. Like most great tragedies, it is inspired by a note of hope:

"If there is hope for our civilization beyond the black night of war and totalitarianism," she writes, "I am convinced that it lies only in the movement to which we—the living and the dead—have given our lives . . . At sixty, I am drawing conclusions from those experiences. My belief in the necessity for the social changes advocated by that movement and for the realization of its ideals has never been more complete than it is now when victory seems so remote."

She does not bewail her fate. Twice they tried to dissuade her from her course—once Plekhanov and a second time the Comintern leaders. "Had I yielded to pressure in either case," she writes, "my life would be quite different

missed the greatest satisfaction of my life—the knowledge that I have been strong enough to swim against the stream. "I am proud to have lived and worked with the artisans of a new social order. Many of them are now dead or defeated—in exile or in their own countries. But a new generation will take their place—to build more wisely and more successfully on the foundations we have laid."

It is this freedom from bitterness or cynicism, this faith in the ultimate triumph of life over the forces of death, this determination that the defeats and errors of her generation shall serve to teach the next, which makes of Angelica Balabanoff a grand old woman and of her autobiography a stirring and stimulating work.

BOSTON
George F. Miles
Labor Editor, Workers Age
will speak on
"WHITHER AMERICAN LABOR?"
Sunday, December 18,
at 3:30 P. M.
RITZ PLAZA HALL
218 Huntington Avenue
Boston, Mass.

Are You A Thinking Worker?
Then You Can't Afford To Miss
JAY LOVESTONE
on
"The C. I. O."
What basic factors gave rise to the C.I.O.?
What has been and what must be the role of the C.I.O.?
What problems face the C.I.O.?
Thursday, Dec. 8,
6:15 P. M.
INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE
131 West 33rd St.
QUESTIONS DISCUSSION
Single Admission . . . 25c

Why the New Workers Age

By JAY LOVESTONE

WHY do we propose to being a bigger and more effective Workers Age with the coming New Year's Day?

And why are we working overtime to get out the first number of the bimonthly theoretical review before next January leaves us?

Why do we feel sure that we will go over the top in our campaign to raise the \$3,500 minimum needed to cover the additional expense thus incurred?

Well, there are too many reasons to list in answering these questions. We will, therefore, content ourselves with just a few reminders.

First, foremost and last—because such expansion is a vital necessity for all of us in these crowded days when humanity's highest values and noblest aspirations are in a gravely precarious condition.

And, in between and in very small measure, because there is but one way of counteracting the harsh overtones of the desperate crisis gripping the world ever more intensely.

Some one must strike a note of clarity, vision and hope thru word and deed. It is vital to redeem the critical approach as a weapon of the class-conscious workers movement, if we are to transform today's tides of adversity into

tomorrow's sweeping advance. Above all, we in the United States have special jobs to perform, new duties to fulfill, countless tasks to tackle—if we are to do our share in the fight for a new day, for a classless society, for a warless humanity, for a socialist civilization.

Today, lots of things are happening that we would but yesterday have thought unbelievable. Yet, we are not living in an age of miracles but in an age of bitter class conflict and imperialist war. This means that there is not the slightest cause to be struck with a chill of dismay at what is happening at its worst anywhere. This means only tremendously enhanced

and expanded cause for more thinking, more faith, more work and more fight, to arm the ranks of labor with the most up-to-date weapons of Marxism—the science of social progress and social revolution.

We deny that "the only alternative to the talking shop is the concentration camp." We deny that humanity is doomed to go thru an epoch of barbarous fascism and infernal wars.

We have the conviction and the faith that labor and its allies have it within their power in this country and in all other lands to avoid the pitfalls of false premises the snarls and delusions of false and demagogic promisers, and to

build a society saving the best from the past and insuring an ever better future.

That's why we know that you and we, all of us, see eye to eye in the plan for a newspaper-size Workers Age—more meaningful, more colorful, more stirring. That's why we know that you and we look forward to a bimonthly journal spurning shiboleths, orders and petrified traditionalism, to a magazine dedicated to critical thinking, dynamic militant action—living Marxism.

That's the reason for my appeal to all our readers and friends and for my confidence in their responding promptly and generously.

Reprisals in U.A.W.

Eva Stone And Henson Fired For Backing Martin

Detroit, Mich.

EVA Stone, national director of the Women's Auxiliary of the United Automobile Workers, and Francis Henson, administrative assistant to Homer Martin, were summarily discharged last week as part of the sweeping "purge" being carried out in the U.A.W. by the Murray-Hillman receiver installed by C. I. O. headquarters. Miss Stone and Mr. Henson issued statements on the action which speak for themselves. The statements follow in full:

STATEMENT OF EVA STONE

I regard my removal as national director of the Women's Auxiliary as a clear and further indictment of those forces on the International Executive Board that have concentrated all their efforts towards the annihilation of President Homer Martin and those who have been and continue to be the most loyal and ardent supporters of his policies.

This action, part of a whole series of factional moves against President Martin, and only one of the many removals, is dictated solely by the crassest factional motives and is utterly detrimental to the best interests of the membership and the desire of the rank and file for genuine peace and harmony in the organization.

In my capacity as head of the Women's Auxiliary, I have taken my stand, together with other militant and progressive union men and women, in defense of clean and honest unionism, have fought the numerous attempts of the Communist Party to take control of union organizations, and have fought against political domination of the organization by any outside force. I have defended the union and the auxiliary against splitters and disrupters, and have strictly adhered to the laws of the U.A.W. as incorporated in the Constitution. If this conduct has invited my removal, all I can say is that I am proud to have been among those who have been and still remain loyal to the principles for which Homer Martin has fought.

As national director of the Women's Auxiliary, I have been working under a Board of Directors consisting of members of the International Executive Board. I have submitted regular reports to the Board of Directors and the International Executive Board and they have received the unanimous approval of both bodies. At no time has there been offered any criticism to me of the way in which I have conducted for the union the affairs of the Women's Auxiliary.

I have been given no reasons for my dismissal. I can only infer from newspaper reports that those who have been fired are being used as

scapegoats in an unsuccessful attempt by certain groups on the International Executive Board to hide from the union membership their own betrayal of their trust of leadership.

My attitude towards the United Automobile Workers as a progressive, militant organization of the workers in the automotive and aircraft industries continues unchanged. I am not one of those whose attitude towards the union is determined by the particular job that I happen to hold at any one time or another on the union's payroll. My removal does not in the least, and will not at all, affect my unstinted support of President Martin in any effort he will make to build the union and to keep it from being handed over openly or covertly to forces outside the U. A. W.

EVA STONE.

STATEMENT OF FRANCIS A. HENSON

I take for granted I am being "purged" ostensibly because of my alleged connections with Lovestone and his organization. I am not a member of the Independent Labor League of America. I am and have been a sympathizer and have respected its work in the labor movement.

I plead guilty only to having been an ardent and loyal supporter of Homer Martin and his administration in the U.A.W. I have reason to know that Mr. Martin is not responsible for this move. It is the action of the anti-Martin majority on the International Executive Board.

Furthermore, having concrete evidence of the judgment of the Executive Board that I have done my job in a competent way, I regret that the Board is setting the precedent of dismissing members of the technical staff of the union, such as myself, for political convictions. This tendency, if not resisted, may easily lead to a witch-hunt which will involve many innocent persons. It will not bring peace and harmony in the organization. My own attitude is one of regret and of continued support for this great union of auto workers and of the labor movement as a whole.

FRANCIS A. HENSON.

**SUBSCRIBE TO THE
WORKERS AGE**

ILGWU Hits Brophy Step

Protests Invasion Of Its Jurisdiction In New "Jewelry" Charter

New York City

Danger of an attempt to invade the jurisdiction of the I.L.G.W.U. was revealed last week in a protest made against the recently announced plan of the C.I.O. to grant a charter to a so-called "Joint Council of Jewelry and Plastic Workers."

Martin Feldman, manager of the Button and Novelty Workers, Local 132, I.L.G.W.U., who made the protest, informed John L. Lewis, president, and John Brophy, director of the C.I.O., that the council falsely claims to represent an industry which already is 95% organized under the I.L.G.W.U.

"The granting of such a charter would result in serious misunderstanding between the I.L.G.W.U. and the C.I.O., and not in the organization of the unorganized," Feldman wrote.

Brophy, following a conference with provisional officers of the "joint council" two weeks ago indicated that favorable consideration would be given to the charter request. Since then, however, receipt of protests has caused a further study of the situation.

Feldman's letter to Lewis and Brophy said there is no such thing as a "Joint Council of Jewelry and Plastic Workers." The group behind the council, he asserted, has only one local of 200 members of the International Jewelry Workers, A. F. of L., whose leader faced charges which "would have meant his removal" when he met with Brophy.

Feldman declared 3,000 workers in the plastic jewelry trade, or 95%, are members of Local 132.

The announced provisional officers of the "joint council," said Feldman, included one who was formerly manager of Local 132 but was expelled for life because he "posed as manager after his removal from office" and because he collaborated "with employers to the detriment of the union."

Another provisional officer, he said, was forced to resign as president of Local 132 and was later removed as an organizer "for incompetence."

"With this information before you," Feldman concluded, "we believe you will hesitate before granting the backing of the C.I.O. to a group of disrupters. If you wish to further discuss the matter with us, we are at your disposal."

Organizing on WPA

Auto Union Leads Way In New Field Of Labor Action

By HOWARD JOHNSON

Detroit, Mich.

EARLY this year the United Automobile Workers was confronted with a new problem in organization which required a swift solution. In December 1937, the mass layoffs began in the auto plants. By February, the union had some 66% of its membership dumped into the ranks of the jobless by industry.

President Homer Martin led a delegation to Washington to demand adequate relief and more W.P.A. jobs for Michigan workers. The great pressure exerted by the union brought an immediate response from the government. Hundreds of new projects were opened up and thousands of men were put to work.

W.P.A. Department Formed

Then the union made its first organization move: the formation of a W.P.A. department, a division of the union for W.P.A. workers. R. T. Leonard was put in charge and organization was begun early in March.

I was among the first to receive steward's credentials and start out organizing my own project. The going was rough because most of the men on the project were Ford workers. They met my first efforts with open hostility, but perseverance won out.

Our first organizational effort was to appoint gang stewards and then set up a grievance procedure. Grievances were handled without regard to whether the men involved were union or non-union, our purpose being to instill confidence in the minds of the Ford and other non-union workers.

We received splendid cooperation from the special staff set up by the union to handle this particular work. Grievances were settled satisfactorily and Ford workers began to see the light and came into the union. By August, two-thirds of the Ford workers on my project were paying dues. Those men mean business and, when they return to the Rouge plant, Mr. Ford will no doubt hear from them. The W.P.A. Department of the U.A.W. certainly justified its existence because it brought home to the workers the benefits and the message of trade unionism, something that was denied them in the Ford plant. There is no doubt but that the Ford workers have gained a lot of confidence in the U.A.W., and they are among

our staunchest supporters on W.P.A.

Not long ago, a delegation was sent to Washington representing 680,000 W.P.A. workers in Michigan, Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin. The delegation conferred with the W.P.A. administration and their demands received favorable consideration. A notable point the W.P.A. officials conceded to the delegation was that, upon the question of wages, the contracts that the U.A.W. has with the plants would be used as a basis upon which the administration in Washington would determine the prevailing labor rate. The W.P.A. Department of the U.A.W. has proved that in the large industrial areas 75 cents per hour is the prevailing rate.

During the past week, a serious situation has arisen. The W.P.A. administration in Lansing has issued orders that the intake on W.P.A. has to stop. The U.A.W. W.P.A. Department is protesting vigorously against this and is demanding that W.P.A. jobs be made available to all who need them and have been certified by local welfare authorities.

Stalinist Sabotage

One of the major hindrances to the completion of organization of the W.P.A. Department is the sabotage of the Stalinites in the U.A.W. who are more interested in building the politically-controlled Workers Alliance. There is grave danger that the International Executive Board of the U.A.W. will further their plans by splitting up the organization into small units which the Stalinites could very easily control whether in the name of the U.A.W. or the Workers Alliance. Indeed, the first step has already been taken by placing the districts in the hands of the regional directors, thus breaking down the national unity of the organization and laying the basis for local political machines. It is true that the Executive Board has not started to meddle with the Detroit organization as yet, but definitely the combination of the reactionaries and the Stalinites has thrown the whole program into grave danger. Inactivity at the top resulting from horse-trading amongst the Executive Board members, the laying-off of organizers, the false economy of which the W.P.A. Department has been the victim, have seriously injured the organization, laboriously built up during these past seven months. Great sacrifices have been made; a steward system of key-men has been built up, who have worked unceasingly and without pay. It will be a crime if such devotion to union principles is rewarded by the withdrawal of the support of the union, so renowned for its progressive policy.

BIG YOUTH DANCE—Everybody Welcome!

Saturday, Dec. 10—Rivera Hall, 131 West 33rd St.