

**NEXT WEEK:
HOW TO SOLVE THE
UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS**
by Lyman Fraser

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

THE WAGNER ACT MUST BE IMPROVED — by G. F. Miles, page 2
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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

A Personal Appeal

DEAR Friend:

Please allow me to begin with my conclusion. Unless you and several others like you—whom we have every reason to count as devoted friends—immediately send in some money, the Workers Age will fold up, close shop—in plain, painful English—discontinue, at least for the Summer.

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

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

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

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

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

NEW DEAL "PROSPERITY"

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

It is necessary to point out that the very low wage group constitutes a very high proportion. No less than 25% of the socially-insured received an annual wage of less than \$300. About one-third got between \$300 and \$1,000. No more than 20% earned between about \$1,500 and \$3,000 a year.

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

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

"INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY" INDEED!

FROM London, a friend of mine writes: "Harry Pollitt, secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, wrote a pamphlet on the party attitude towards conscription, in which he said:

"It is directed against the people of Britain. Chamberlain wants to complete his alliance with fascism abroad by preparing the way for fascism in Britain."

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

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

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

In this spirit, we advise our readers not to lose any sleep lest the Stalin-Hitler trade negotiations about to be opened produce "strange" results and bedfellow combinations in the world political arena. Nothing and nobody that will come out of these or any other negotiations conducted by Stalin with anybody can be considered strange—certainly not as strange or even as weird as is the entire course of Stalinism from the viewpoint of international or Soviet working-class interests. We are all very painfully familiar with much evidence of many recent events confirming this conclusion.

Hatch Bill Reflects Clash of Party Cliques

State Machines Strive to Seize Control

(Special to the Workers Age)

Washington, D. C. THE Hatch "take-politics-out-of-relief" bill, passed by both Houses against the prolonged feeble resistance of the Administration, and now signed by the President under protest, so to speak, possesses a political significance much greater than meets the eye. It is an episode in the long and bitter behind-the-scenes conflict between the traditional American party machine and the new type of political machine that the New Deal has been trying to build up for the last five years.

In substance, the Hatch bill bars federal executive officeholders, excluding only Cabinet officers and a few top-rank policy-making officials, from taking "any active part in political management or in political campaigns" in connection with elections for any branch of the na-

tional government. Even primaries preparatory to such elections are included under the ban. Other "improper" practices of a "corrupt" or "pernicious" character are also outlawed. Dismissal from office and other penalties are provided.

NATIONAL PARTIES AND STATE MACHINES

It is necessary to look a little below the surface and brush aside the cloak of pious phrases and virtuous remonstrances with which the Hatch bill has been covered during the weeks of controversy, in order to appreciate its real meaning. Traditionally, both of the old parties have been little more than loose national federations of state and local political machines. Real control has always rested with the state bosses and their underlings; sometimes a municipal or county machine would acquire enough power to play an in-

Auto Men To Decide On Union

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

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

The Board ordered that separate elections should be held within twenty days in each of eleven individual plants and two plants grouped together of the Chrysler Corp. of Detroit, and that similar elections be held within fifteen days among employees of the Motor Products Co. and eight Briggs plants in Michigan and Indiana. The order was regarded as a victory for the A. F. of L. union headed by Homer Martin.

The Board's ruling was by a 2 to 1 vote. Edwin S. Smith, dissenting, held that failure to lump all the plants together "makes possible further frustration of collective bargaining."

In each election, except that of the Chrysler plant at Newcastle, Ind., the employees will choose between the rival C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions. At Newcastle, they will vote to determine whether they desire to be represented separately or together with the rest of the employees.

It was noted in the decision that on January 20 a schism developed in the U.A.W. with one group headed by R. J. Thomas following the C.I.O. and the other, under Mr. Martin's leadership, joining the A. F. of L.

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

"We are of the opinion that all plants should not be grouped in a single bargaining unit. It cannot be said that the past history of collective bargaining in the plants has established such a pattern of bargaining. On the contrary, bargaining practice in the past has recognized the individual status of separate plants."

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

Daily Worker Editor Jailed For Libel

New York City Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker, chief Stalinist publication in this country was arrested last week and taken to Brooklyn prison because he failed to pay Mrs. Walter Liggett, widow of the slain Minneapolis editor, the \$2,672 she was awarded in a libel suit.

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

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

The Liggett case is only one of a number of libel suits against the Daily Worker by people who have been slandered in this corrupt Stalinist sheet.

dependent part. Thru these potent political cliques the vast mass of patronage has been distributed; the bosses dominating them have selected the candidates not only for state and local offices but for national offices within their jurisdiction as well. These local bosses have been the real feudal barons of American politics, operating almost independently with their vast armies of retainers. The task of great national party organizers, such as Jim Farley, has always been to muster the support of these state machines by means of shrewd and carefully conceived deals and arrangements, and to whip them into line behind the

Economy Bloc Kills F.D.R. Lending Bill

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

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

This stunning blow to the Administration, most serious of all the defeats given the President by Congress in recent months, was delivered by a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats, who refused even to consider the legislation. In view of the fate of the lending bill, the killing of the housing legislation, which came a few days later, was no surprise.

With both of these key Administration measures thus thrown out, it was believed that adjournment of Congress might come within a week.

At a press conference, President Roosevelt declared that the action of the House in killing the lending bill was bound to hurt the recovery movement and would therefore add to the relief burden of the country.

An indirect result of the killing of the lending bill by the House was the resumption of layoffs of W.P.A. workers under the 18-month rule. In the Senate, an amendment to the lending bill had been adopted considerably modifying this rule, whereupon Work Projects Commissioner Harrington had halted dismissals pending action of the House. But then the House threw out the lending bill, it thereby also killed the W.P.A. amendment so that the 18-month rule went into full effect again. Dismissals of the 650,000 W.P.A. workers who are to be dropped by the end of the month, were thereupon resumed.

Chamberlain Pushes New Munich Plan

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

Labor and Liberal speakers in the House of Commons openly charged that the government wanted to get rid of Parliament in order to avoid interference with the secret negotiations the Foreign Office was said to be carrying on with certain high-placed representatives of the Nazi regime. Attention was called to the sudden trip of Neville Henderson, British Ambassador to Germany, to Bayreuth for a long conference with Hitler and von Ribbentrop. Great bitterness was shown at Chamberlain's determination to dismiss Parliament even in Conservative ranks and the government had to crack the whip of a vote of confidence in order to get the adjournment thru.

In the House of Lords, Viscount Halifax, Foreign Secretary, discussed Britain's foreign policy, especially in the Far East. The most sensational aspect of his speech was his announcement that Great Britain stood ready to "mediate" the Chinese-Japanese war. "Friendlier" relations with Japan were urged.

There was nothing new in Moscow negotiations. The press maintained an "optimistic" tone but there were no developments indicating that the consummation of a pact with Russia was any nearer.

I have spent more time in the House and Senate chambers in the past week than ever before and I have seldom heard such bitter attacks on the Administration program as I have heard during these days.

The most eloquent speeches have been made by Garnerites and not by Republicans. I heard Senator George speak for about an hour and a half against the tendency toward "state capitalism or socialism", which, he says, is represented by the New Deal. He was attacking the spend-lead program which was so ingloriously pared down in the Senate and defeated in the House. He said he was devoting the remainder of his days to fighting this tendency toward totalitarianism and collectivism and away from capitalism, and implied he did not care one bit if it meant the split-up of the party to which he has been loyal in the past. I cannot exaggerate the determination of these southern Democrats to defeat the President and all that he stands for. If this opposition were limited to his foreign policy (many Garner men are for his foreign policy), it would not be serious

A NEW TYPE OF POLITICAL MACHINE

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

P.S.O.P. Fights Repression

Paris, France. REPRESSIONS against the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.) were launched by the government last week in an effort to cripple the party's very effective anti-war and anti-militarist work. Party offices were raided and many arrests made. Poulain, an old socialist militant, 86 years old, with sixty years of labor activity behind him, was one of those seized. So was Lucien Weitz, political secretary of the P.S.O.P., youth organization. The "crime" charged against them was their indomitable struggle against the war-mongering Daladier dictatorship. The P.S.O.P. has initiated a militant campaign of defense. A series of mass meetings have been held in Paris and in other important centers. A special issue of the P.S.O.P. paper, June 26, appeared on the occasion. The party issued a statement reaffirming its fixed determination to continue its revolutionary anti-militarist struggle despite all repression.

Strikes on W.P.A. Continue Strong

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

Washington, D. C. A last-minute effort to restore prevailing wage rates on W.P.A. failed in the Senate towards the end of last week altho a majority of Senators voted in favor of the proposal. Senator Pat McCarran's resolution received 40 votes, with 31 against it. But it failed to receive the two-thirds majority required under parliamentary law, and so it was defeated. A similar fate met Senator Murray's motion to modify the 18-month rule under which wholesale dismissals of W.P.A. workers place. It received 39 votes as against 31, again short of the required two-thirds.

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

Building and Construction Trades Council, representing nearly 150 A. F. of L. unions, declared last week that "the amount of work being performed is less than 5% normal." He said that the strike of A. F. of L. construction workers on W.P.A. projects would continue until union wage scales on these projects were restored.

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

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

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

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

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

Dismissals of the 650,000 W.P.A. workers who fall under the 18-month clause were scheduled to resume last week after a pause

(Continued on Page 3)

World Arms Bill Reaches 20 Billions

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

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

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

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

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

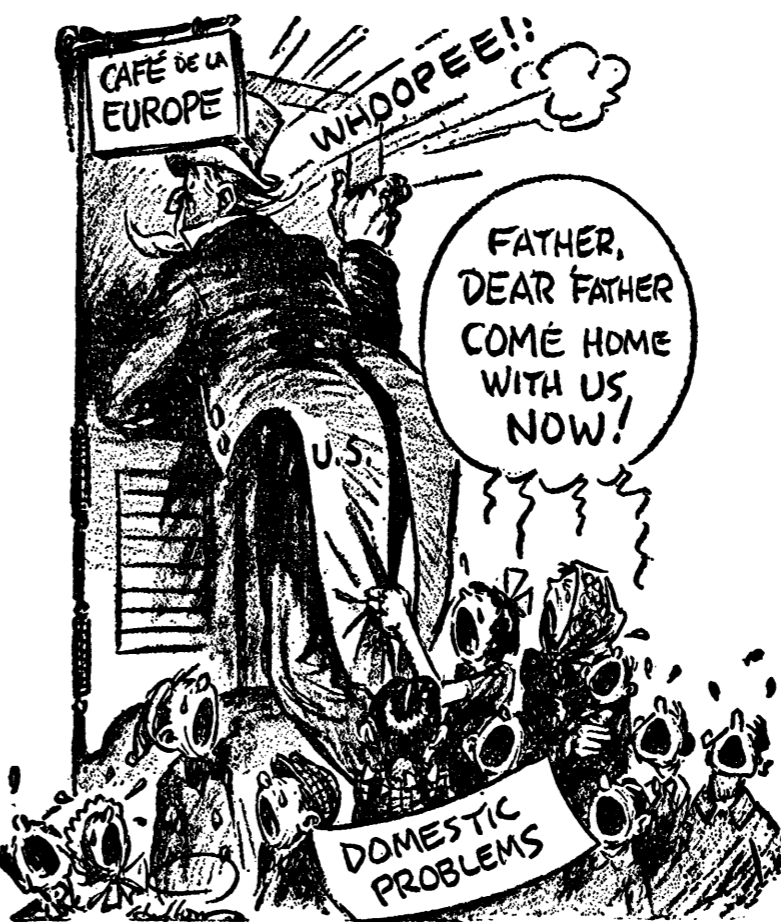
Secretary Morgenthau recently reported to Congress that Great Britain was spending almost 50% of its national budget for arms.

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

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

The \$20,000,000,000 bill for all countries in the 1939 calendar year is based on the conclusion of the Foreign Policy Association that in 1939 the sixty leading governments expended some \$18,000,000,000, plus \$2,000,000,000 on subsequent increases.

SAVE AMERICA FIRST!



Lewis Blast at Garner Stirs Washington

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.

OPINION here among political strategists as to the effect on Democratic chances in 1940 of the Lewis blast against Garner is about evenly divided. Whatever it may or may not do to the possibilities of F.D.R. being in the White House again after next year, it certainly sent a hurricane of fresh air thru this hypocritical city. Despite the unfortunately personal character of his remarks, you cannot help admiring John L.'s probing to the source of the reactionary moves in Washington today—at least as far as internal policy is concerned. Garner is the culprit and he is getting away with murder.

I have spent more time in the House and Senate chambers in the past week than ever before and I have seldom heard such bitter attacks on the Administration program as I have heard during these days.

The most eloquent speeches have been made by Garnerites and not by Republicans. I heard Senator George speak for about an hour and a half against the tendency toward "state capitalism or socialism", which, he says, is represented by the New Deal. He was attacking the spend-lead program which was so ingloriously pared down in the Senate and defeated in the House. He said he was devoting the remainder of his days to fighting this tendency toward totalitarianism and collectivism and away from capitalism, and implied he did not care one bit if it meant the split-up of the party to which he has been loyal in the past. I cannot exaggerate the determination of these southern Democrats to defeat the President and all that he stands for. If this opposition were limited to his foreign policy (many Garner men are for his foreign policy), it would not be serious

The Wagner Act Must Be Improved

Experience Shows Law Needs Strengthening

By GEORGE F. MILES

ON July 19, John Green, representing the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (C.I.O.), appeared before the House committee conducting hearings on proposed Wagner Act amendments and placed himself on record against certain evils which have become apparent under the operation of the Act. Mr. Green had two chief grievances: He scored the unreasonably long delays in securing a decision and by implication proposed that some steps be taken to speed up matters. It was also his opinion that "Congress should give careful and serious consideration to the possibility of strengthening the Act in the future by providing for heavy fines to be levied on those who violate its terms" (National Labor Reporter, July 24, 1939).

AMENDMENTS MAY BE CONSTRUCTIVE

The significance of Mr. Green's testimony is primarily due to the fact that criticism of and proposed changes in the Wagner Act are extremely rare in the testimony of C. I. O. leaders. In fact, they are generally considered as an outright betrayal of labor's cause. The attitude that any amendment to the Act, no matter how favorable it may be to labor, endangers the entire Act by opening the flood-gates of revision from the employers' direction is entirely too simple a formula. There is no reason under the sun why labor cannot sponsor some amendments, for instance, one making undue delay impossible, while opposing and fighting others, those from the employers side, which may reduce or limit labor's rights under the Act. Besides, in practice, the "no-amendment" policy has completely collapsed. Take, for instance, the proposal by the employers that they be given the right to demand a vote on bargaining agency when confronted by contending unions, each claiming a majority in the appropriate bargaining unit. For many months, the chairman of the Board spoke and wrote and argued against it, insisting that such a step was unthinkable and violated the spirit and letter of the act itself. Suddenly Mr. Madden reversed himself, without so much as a warning, and the much-contested amendment became part of the procedural system of the Board. This despite the fact that the loudest and most numerous voices from the ranks of labor were heard against any changes.

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

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

PROBLEM OF SPLIT UNIONS

The present situation in the automobile industry is another example of a condition crying for correction. And if the division in the labor movement persists, such examples will tend to multiply. What becomes of contracts when a labor organization is split into two contending factions? What happens in such a case, where it is not so simple to determine which body represents the official, legitimate, organization? The auto industry shows that the employers take full advantage of such a situation, in substance if not in form. While continuing to recognize the union in theory, the employers refuse to recognize either of the organizations in practice. In the first stage of the split in the auto industry, the management recognized both contending bargaining committees but it soon changed its policy to recognition of neither. To all intents and purposes, the contract with the union was not in operation. Labor had ceased to have an agency for collective bargaining. How are such situations to be met?

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

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

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

AN AMENDMENT OF MERIT

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

"Change of membership in or affiliation with or withdrawal from a labor organization shall not impair the rights conferred by this act on such exclusive bargaining agent until either (1) the term of any written contract made by it with any employer has expired, or (2) one year from the date of execution of such a contract (where the contract extends beyond one year) has elapsed, whichever is first reached. Such labor organization shall have an interest in its own right in said contract for said period."

Stripped of its legal verbiage the meaning of the proposed amendment is clear and simple. The employer must recognize the authority and rights of the organization and its collective bargaining agency, regardless of any splits or divisions which may have occurred since. This would make it possible for the union to enforce conditions regardless of any difficulties which may arise. The second problem of finally determining which faction or which party to a secession movement has the support of the majority of the membership in the particular field under discussion, and which therefore is to be the collective-bargaining agency, is also provided for in a simple manner. If the contract expires within the year after such difficulties in the union have arisen, then a poll is to be taken immediately prior to the expiration of the contract. If the contract is for a period longer than one year, then a vote is provided for after the contract has run one year. Whichever faction emerges victorious from such a poll then becomes the agency for collective bargaining and has full rights and powers under the provisions of the Act.

Labor, especially in its present divided state, has much to gain from an application of such an amendment to the Wagner Act.

There are but a few examples of instances where labor would be benefited from a clarification of the procedure and a strengthening of its rights and powers under the Wagner Act.

Drastic Penalties In Wage Law

Violators Face Fines and Imprisonment

(This is the third of a series of informative articles on the wage-hour law. The fourth will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C.

DRASTIC penalties were provided for violations of the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Among the prohibited acts are: The transportation, offering for transportation, the shipment or sale in interstate commerce of any goods in the production of which workers were not paid at least the prescribed minimum wage, including time and a half for overtime. Such goods, popularly known as "hot goods," may be barred from interstate commerce.

Refusal or failure to pay the prescribed minimum wage, including time and a half for overtime.

Discharging, or in any other manner discriminating against any employee because that employee has filed a complaint or has testified, or is about to testify, in any proceedings relating to the act.

Violating any of the child-labor provisions.

Failure or refusal to keep adequate payroll records.

Any employer who wilfully violates any of these provisions may be fined not more than \$10,000. For a second offense, he may not only be fined up to \$10,000 but may be imprisoned for not more than six months. In addition, goods produced in violation of the wage and hour provisions may be tied up by injunction and barred from interstate commerce. A large quantity of lumber produced in violation of the law

WPA Union Holds Special Conference

By S. MEFFAN

Detroit, Mich.

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

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

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

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

It is hoped that now, with the elimination of elements that have split every organization they have ever belonged to, the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America will once more forge ahead.

by a Virginia firm was impounded under this provision. In Chicago, a large quantity of toys was tied up.

The employer who fails to pay his workers the prescribed minimum wage, including time and a half for overtime, faces still another liability. Any of his employees may bring suit for his unpaid minimum wages, and if successful, he can collect double the amount due, plus a reasonable attorney's fee. This has been called "the self-enforcing clause." On this point, the law says: "Action to recover such liability may be maintained in any court of competent jurisdiction by any one or more employees for and in behalf of himself or themselves and other employees similarly situated, or such employee or employees may designate an agent or representative to maintain such action for and in behalf of all employees similarly situated." This means that a labor union can bring such a suit on behalf of its members.

The law does not specify any particular form of records that must be kept by employers. Nor has Administrator Andrews prescribed any particular form. He has ruled, however, that they must show the individual worker's name, his address, the hours worked, the amount of pay received and the date of payment. If overtime is worked, the records also must show the regular rate of pay, the basis upon which wages are paid, and the amount paid for overtime.

Duly authorized inspectors of the Wage and Hour Division may enter any plant or factory subject to the provisions of the act, inspect

Packard Local Hits U.A.W.-C.I.O. Trickery

Officers Issue Statement Giving Facts

(We publish below a statement signed by the officers and shop stewards of Packard Local 190, U.A.W.-A.F. of L., throwing light on what actually happened in that local and exposing the fantastic stories that have appeared in the Stalinist and C.I.O. press. The statement is signed by: E. C. Linder, president; James McGough, vice-president; Carl Spickler, treasurer; Onal M. Hawkins, recording secretary; Joseph G. Crossley, financial secretary; J. S. Dangel, guide; John Krulock, sergeant-at-arms; Frank Dodge, Larry Jacks, Patsy Zombo, trustees; Philip Przybyla, Roy Miller, Ed Erb, Howard Canine, Charles E. Goff, Lawrence Webster, Joseph Koprowski, Fred Walters, Philip Maniaci, chief stewards.—Editor.)

A majority of the Executive Board of Packard Local Union 190, U.A.W.-A.F. of L., affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and a number of chief shop stewards and deputy stewards, in a sincere desire to solidify the ranks of the Packard workers into one effective, democratic union, contacted members of the C.I.O.-U.A.W., with the hope of democratically solving the problem of unifying the Packard workers, and of restoring bargaining with the Packard management.

We had but one thought in mind: that was the welfare of the workers in the Packard Motor Car Company. After several days of negotiations, a tentative program for solidifying the workers was worked out and agreed upon. According to the agreement between us and the representatives of the C.I.O.-U.A.W., a democratic meeting was to be called, where both factions were to be represented with an impartial chairman presiding. The notice for this meeting was to be authorized and signed by Ed Linder, Carl Spickler, Curt Murdock, Adam Toplowski and R. J. Thomas. The meeting was merely to determine a program by which local officers were to be elected in a democratic election, by secret ballot.

This procedure would have permitted a democratic determination of the representatives of the workers in the factory, and would have cleared the way for a unification of the ranks of the workers in one union and have permitted the restoration of bargaining with the Packard Motor Car Company. However, the Thomasites have completely repudiated the entire agreement and have demonstrated beyond further question that agreements by them are made merely to be broken.

We had seen many examples prior to this of the complete lack of sincerity and honesty on the part of the Thomas group, but now we have had a personal experience with the C.I.O.-U.A.W., which leaves no further doubt in our minds, or further room for hesitancy on our part in making the facts known to our membership and to the public.

The first open violation of our agreement came when Curt Murdock and his crowd called a meeting at Northeastern High School on Sunday, July 23, for the purpose of

and copy the records and question the employees. Only by talking to the employees may it be possible to ascertain whether the law has been complied with. This is especially true in instances in which it is suspected that the payroll records may be inaccurate or deliberately falsified.

Any employee covered by the act who has reason to suspect that he is not receiving the benefits to which he is entitled would do well to obtain a small pocket notebook in which to set down each day the time he goes to work, the time he quits for lunch, the time he resumes work after lunch, and the time he quits for the day.

Such a record will be of great assistance to the inspector if he has occasion to check up the employer's records. It will be of great value if the employee wishes to make a complaint of non-compliance against his employer. It also should prove useful in case the employee wishes to bring suit against his employer under the "self-enforcing" clause.

Unfortunately, enforcement of the wage-hour law has made relatively little progress, to any extent because Administrator Andrews has had only 114 inspectors in the field and 13 lawyers, only 7 of whom are available for litigation work.

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

propagandizing the membership and creating further animosities among the workers.

Despite our agreement for the joint calling of the meeting at Cass Technical High School, the Thomasites resorted to their well-known trickery and subterfuge by sending out a misleading notice to the membership, which had not been agreed upon by us. It was obvious, both from the notice and from the meeting today that the Thomasites were determined to railroad thru a program in violation of our agreement and understanding. The Thomasites completely repudiated the whole arrangement and, with a very small group of Packard workers, most of them unemployed, infiltrated with non-union members and non-Packard workers, they succeeded in putting over propositions and resolutions to their liking, designed to completely destroy all our efforts to solidify the ranks of the Packard workers, under the banner of the C.I.O.

At the meeting, despite the assurances of high officers both in the C.I.O. and the C.I.O.-U.A.W. that there would be a democratic meeting, there was no effort on the part of these officers of the C.I.O. to carry out their part of the agreement, and they sought only to aid and abet Curt Murdock and his crowd in defeating all democratic principles and denying the rights of the workers to determine their own course thru proper union procedure. The excuse given by these representatives of Thomas for not carrying out the agreement was that it was too expensive to hold a democratic election. The meeting was a disgrace to the intelligent Packard workers and to the labor movement, but was typical of the C.I.O. meetings generally. It was utterly devoid of democracy, and the Thomasites resorted to harangues and personalities to put over their schemes. They refused to be governed by parliamentary laws, and gave a demonstration of outlawry and irresponsibility which has characterized their activities from the beginning.

This meeting was finally broken up after several hours of harangue, disturbance and disruption. They wrangled for two and one-half hours over a resolution which should never have been permitted to come on the floor, according to our understanding. Even C.I.O. members could not swallow it, and the leaders were forced to call for reinforcements from the Thomas high command. Finally, most of the members, utterly disgusted, left the meeting.

Our experience has proven beyond any further doubt that the C.I.O. is completely controlled by dictatorial elements, and that there is no hope for true, democratic unionism under its banner.

We are therefore issuing this warning to all automobile workers everywhere: Do not be misled by false promises and rosy pictures painted by C.I.O. propagandists. This experience has convinced us once and for all that the only hope for building a union that will truly serve the workers in the automobile industry lies with the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A Lesson Well Learned

By REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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

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

The Teachers Union had serious difficulties some years ago when a right-wing socialist group was intent upon throwing the communists out of the union. Many members of the union who were not communists resisted this policy and the result was that the right wing socialists under the leadership of Dr. Linville and Dr. Lefkowitz left the union and formed the Teachers Guild. The communists were at that time not in the majority and they may not be now. But it is a fact that due to their military discipline and their religious assiduity in playing union politics, it is not possible to outvote them in committee meetings unless you have the fortitude to remain until midnight at every committee meeting in which policy is being made, their tactics being to prolong arguments and debates until the opposition has grown weary and decimated by the defection of those who need an ordinary amount of sleep.

At the time of the union crisis, Dr. Counts and the editor of this journal acted as co-chairmen of the "Save the Union" Committee. And they succeeded in preventing ouster of the communists. We can not speak for Dr. Counts, but, for ourselves, we are a little dubious about our handiwork.

Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

AN AMAZING STORY

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

The ensuing clash between the two organizations was submitted to an arbitration board consisting of Dr. P. T. Ellsworth of the University of Cincinnati, chairman; O. David Zimring of the Labor Bureau of the Middle West, representing the Amalgamated (A. F. of L.); and John B. Easton, representing the C.I.O. Transport Workers Union.

We quote from the brief of the Board of Arbitration:

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

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

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

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

"One month after the signing of the contract with the company, a strike was called by Local 919 in contravention of its contract. Apparently the strike was not regarded seriously by the company, since close association was maintained throughout the strike between company officials and members of the local, while members of Local 919, at the request of company officials, transported passengers in private cars. There was no issue in dispute between members of Local 919 and the company, the sole purpose of the strike (and the penalty initiation fee of \$15) being to force members of Division 1171 to join Local 919. To say the least, the strike was one of very dubious character.

"While in no way denying the desirability in general of a closed-shop contract, when such is in force be-

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

I.L.G.W.U. Finances

WE beg forgiveness for having overlooked the highly interesting financial statement of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union appearing in its journal, Justice, of June 1, 1939.

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

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

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

"Political Unionism"

THE leading editorial in the current issue of the Journal of Electrical Workers is on "Political Unionism". There are two types of unions, it maintains: the "technological" kind, which concerns itself strictly with the economic problems of the industry; and the "political" unions, which meddle in politics. The editorial then continues:

"As long as the German trade unions before Hitler followed the first line of policy, namely, the technological, the labor movement was powerful. As soon as the republic came and the trade-union leaders were drawn off into political jobs and political leaders interpenetrated the trade unions, Hitler found his opportunity."

The above editorial raises many more basic issues than would seem at first reading but to these we will return at a later occasion. For the time being, just a few comments.

First, the German trade unions always were very closely interrelated, thru a sort of interlocking directorate, with the German Social-Democratic Party, which brought them into existence. The Social-Democratic Party was active, indeed, was a considerable force in politics, long before the coming of the republic. At no time, therefore, were the German trade unions the strictly economic or "technological" bodies which the writer envisages. It appears to us that the writer would even have a difficult job proving that "political" unionism "has little or no support in countries like England". The interrelationship between the Trades Union Congress and the British Labor Party is easily as close as that between the German unions and the Social-Democratic Party.

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

Secondly, the writer is not correct as to the ease with which Hitler took the German unions. The facts are quite the reverse. Hitler won over communists and socialists in large numbers but made very slight headway in the unions. At no time were the Nazis a significant factor in the trade unions. In fact, discussions in Nazi periodicals. It was not until after the Nazis captured political power that they proceeded to take over the unions and even then resistance was quite general. Participation in politics by the trade unions was clearly not the cause for the rise of Hitler in Germany and non-participation hardly the guarantee against the rise of fascism elsewhere.

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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A SINISTER THREAT

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

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

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

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

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

The danger is great, and is growing greater every day. Every thrust of the forces of reaction, without let or hindrance from the New Deal, must be resisted with determination by labor and all liberty-loving people throughout the country. Above all is it a life-and-death necessity to strengthen our efforts to keep America out of war. For once war comes it will bring with it dictatorship, reaction and repression all along the line.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS ON WAR

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

In the past, "until recent years", in fact—the social-democratic resolution tells us—wars were imperialist wars born out of the "economic rivalries of the great capitalist powers, in the struggle for markets, for sources of raw material, for investment opportunities. . . In such wars, the "workers of the world had no reason to take sides."

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

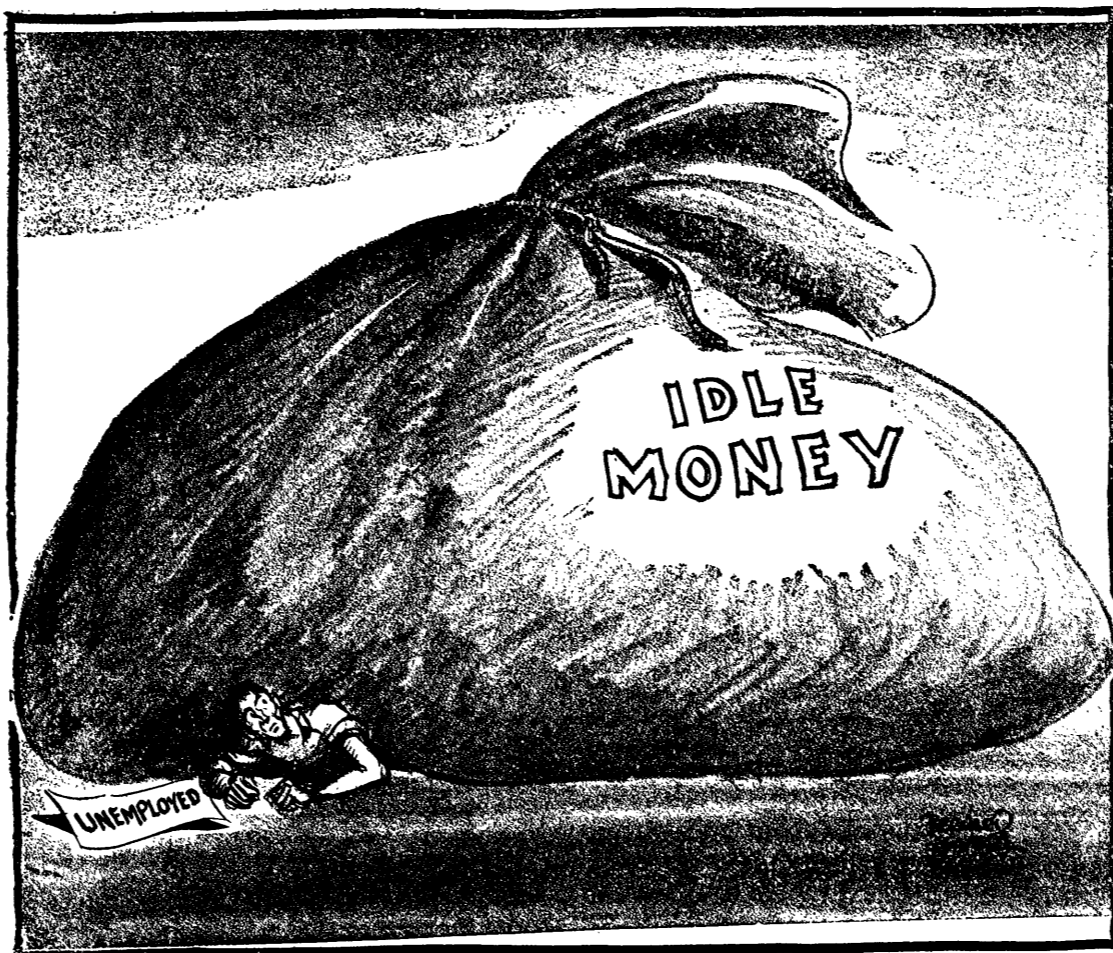
This is the social-democratic thesis, and it certainly goes the whole hog—on the road to war!

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

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

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

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



Imperialist Giants in Death Struggle

Preparations for War Bring Growing Dictatorship

By JAY LOVESTONE

(Concluded from Last Issue)

BEFORE examining the line-up of the developing world war, it is appropriate to get a composite picture of the prevailing relationships, of the differences and identities, among the decisive powers.

A frank estimate of the present "balance" or "unbalance" among the imperialist giants is presented in the recent study of the "Political and Strategic Interests of the United Kingdom." This survey, made by no less an authority than the Royal Institute of International Affairs, tells us:

"It is indisputable that under modern conditions, a war in almost any part of the world, especially if a great power is involved, must inflict injury upon British financial and commercial interests, and that Great Britain has no ends which could be served by the initiation of war. . .

"For a hundred years—from 1815 to 1914—Great Britain's combination of sea-power and money-power in some degree imposed the characteristics of her international regime upon world relations; her navy kept open the channels of trade, and her financial power promoted the development of industry and commerce. But in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Germany and Italy achieved national unity and, with Japan, rose to the status of great powers. The conditions that made the Pax Britannica possible ended with the Great War; in particular, the development of aerial warfare permanently modified the advantages of maritime predominance and an insular situation; this country therefore took a leading part in the creation of a League of Nations thru which it was hoped to merge her own security in a general regime.

"In seeking thus to promote the reign of peace and the rule of law, Great Britain was undoubtedly promoting her own interests. . .

"The breakdown of the League system has compelled Great Britain to reconsider the methods by which her interests may be served. . .

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

25 YEARS AGO

AUGUST 6 to 12, 1914

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

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

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

August 8.—Austria-Hungary declares itself neutral.

August 12.—France and Great Britain declare war on Austria-Hungary. Germans and Austrians crowd naturalization bureau in New York to escape service.

SOME VANISHING DIFFERENCES

No one could expect a generally more honest statement from a mouthpiece of British or any other imperialism. If only the pseudo-communists and Stalinist liberals were to see the issues as clearly! Here are the real stakes in the big war in the making. Here is the real background of the world's suicidal conflict.

But too many people throw sand into their own eyes and see the imperialist war as a clash of ideologies and ideals. Altogether too many see differences of this sort between the warring camps—differences vital and permanent enough to warrant international labor support of the Anglo-French imperialist block against the fascist imperialist axis.

Of course, there are differences between the fascist capitalist powers and the "democratic" capitalist countries. Too often these differences are exaggerated. Yet, some of them are important. However, differences in political organization at home—in peace-time—must not be viewed statically. Particularly in the present period of rapid change must we view all social and political institutions dynamically. The significant and decisive feature of the present international situation is not that there are some differences between the opposing imperialist groups; rather it is that significant as these differences may be in peacetime, they tend to disappear as rapidly as war preparations advance and vanish entirely with the outbreak of actual and active warfare. This was largely true even in the last world war.

It is clear to everybody that the impending world conflict will be totalitarian from beginning to end—and likely for long after the finish. Totalitarian wars bring totalitarian defense and attack. This entails political reorganization along totalitarian lines; in other words, the eradication of all democratic institutions as the primary and vital prerequisite at home. Anticipating this totalitarian war, the German bourgeoisie have resorted to a rigorous fascist regime some years in advance. The so-called "democratic" opponents of Nazi imperialism cannot escape this course in their armed defense of their positions and resources. More and more is military preparedness synonymous with the extension of fascist or totalitarian methods of political life and organization in countries like England, France and the United States. War spells the establishment of full fascist regimes in these countries. Obviously, each land will have its own specific form of fascism.

DEMOCRACY— DECREE TO DEATH

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

Daladier himself, elected by a decisive Left majority, is now the spokesman of the Right. France is governed by decree. By decree-dictatorship, the French workers and lower middle classes have been robbed of all their social and economic gains of recent years. In but one day, Daladier recently issued ninety decrees—one of which postponed elections for two years, until 1942. This was an unprecedented move. Even during the last world war, the decision to postpone the French elections was not made till 1917—and then it was made by the Chamber itself and not by decree. Rob a parliament of its rights to deal with and decide financial matters and foreign affairs and you have reduced parliamentary democracy to the hollowest of mockeries. Do unto it what Daladier has done and you provide a picture of complete collapse of the efficacy of parliament as even a limited and distorted expression of the will and wishes of the electorate.

UNCHALLENGEABLE AND PERSISTENT IDENTITIES

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

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

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

(Concluded in the next issue)

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Talking It Over:

On Magic Spells

by Bertram D. Wolfe

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

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

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

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

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

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

MENTAL BIRTH-CONTROL

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

SHAKING OFF THE SPELL

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

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

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

PACIFISM AND ISOLATION

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

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

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

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

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