

# We Fight War At Home!

by Homer Martin

(We publish below the most important paragraphs of the address by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, at the National Anti-War Congress held recently at Washington.—Editor.)

TWO great problems have become closely interlocked in the current discussions of various roads to peace: namely, keeping out of war and maintaining and extending democracy. Both of these great problems have their international ramifications. The danger of war is inextricably bound up with foreign policy and international relations in general. The maintenance and extension of democracy is a world-wide problem and is closely related to international trends. But I contend that the fight against war and the struggle against dictatorships must begin at home.

The war menace must first be met here, right among our own people. This principle, while true of all nations, is particularly true of the United States, which is so favored historically and geographically in this matter of keeping out of war. Let me remind you that America is in no danger of attack, and further, it is an undisputed fact that our armed forces are more than adequate to repulse any conceivable attack.

In fact, it is quite clear that America can become involved in war only if we are led to commit one of several national blunders:

1. America will quickly and certainly become involved in a deadly war if we undertake to police the world. If our own imperialists, if our own big investors, if our own great corporations who are looking for markets and supplies, are allowed to sell us the idea that it is America's business to police the world in order to guarantee those markets and those supplies, then we may expect war.

2. America may become involved in a war if we allow the depression to drag on to the point that it becomes expedient for politicians representing special interests, rather than public welfare, to turn to war as an escape from depression and, under the guise of restoring "orderly processes" or some other fiction, substitute bullets for bread and graves for jobs.

3. America may become involved in a war if the enemies of organized labor are permitted to seize upon it as a means of crushing a rising labor movement. The May Bill is a serious warning of the reality of this danger. As you know, I am connected with that dangerous, terrible organization, the C.I.O.—the C.I.O. which has, in the space of a few months, wrung from the industrial overlords privileges which labor had never before dreamed of enjoying. In the struggle for those privileges we have crossed swords with America's most powerful economic barons—and they don't like us. They aren't used to being denied the free play of their exploiting wills. If all other attacks upon organized labor fail, they might welcome a little war to rid themselves of this annoying movement. And, incidentally of course, they could make their usual super-profits out of such a war to restore "orderly processes." Another Panay incident might be used quite successfully to ignite war tinder.

4. In 1917, America became involved in war because our interna-

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## On the Road to Destruction



## AUTO WORKERS RALLY TO UNION IN CRISIS

### Stalinist Wrecking Plot Exposed And Checked

By GEORGE F. MILES  
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

THE five suspended officers of the United Automobile Workers took one more step last week to widen the gulf they had created between themselves and the union. In a document under date of June 21, signed by the suspended officers and return-addressed to the home of Mr. Addes, now serving as a sort of dual office, it is claimed that President Martin acted unconstitutionally in suspending the five officers. The only basis to warrant suspension, argue the suspended, is the existence of an emergency and no such condition obtained in the union at the time of the suspension!

Spokesmen for the union, however, insisting that the attempted coup was just that emergency, point for justification to a section of the very letter itself which reads as follows: "President Martin has further accused the suspended officers of trying to seize power. . . . Can President Martin possibly think it is unconstitutional for a majority of the Board to vote against him?" This, union spokesmen insist, is a confession that the chronic factionalists, utilizing a momentary situation in which they thought they could muster a majority, forgot their pledges and the policies unanimously arrived at but two weeks earlier and launched a reckless, irresponsible adventure with the aim of ousting the progressive leadership elected by the last convention.

Union spokesmen further point out that the very issuance of documents of the kind quoted and others like it—such as the one of June 16 in which the suspended insist it is "illegal" to send money to the union and urge local unions to send funds to Mr. Addes—is an

indication that the opposition knows only too well that it has no leg to stand on so that it proceeds to violate other provisions of the constitution in the determined effort to cause as much chaos and disorganization as possible in the ranks of the union.

But the local unions in the U.A.W. are older, more experienced and show little if any sign of hesitation in backing the International Union. Despite the attempt to have all union life revolve around the issue of the suspensions, the work of the union proceeds normally. The Brewster local of the U.A.W. enthusiastically endorsed the recently signed contract which gave them the closed shop and wage increases; application for a new charter for a local union with a potential membership of 2,500 in Des Moines, Iowa, was received and new negotiations with aircraft firms continue.

Commenting on this situation in the union, Vice-President R. J. Thomas declared last week: "This shows that Martin is continuing to build up the organization while the suspended officers are carrying on a campaign which cannot by any stretch of the imagination be considered constructive." Mr. Thomas then proceeded to do a little constructive work himself by participating in a mass distribution of union literature in Dearborn where Ford's police rewarded his efforts by including him among those arrested. Also arrested was Fred Pieper, Board member, who participated in this distribution.

The official charges against the suspended Stalinists and their stooges have not yet been made public nor has the date for their trial been announced.

Meanwhile, the Stalinist press is surpassing itself in its poisonous diatribes against the union and its

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## Britain Plots For Reaction in Spain

### Anglo-French Diplomacy Directed Towards Four-Power Pact With Italy, Germany; Russia To Be Isolated, Loyalist Spain Crushed

Reports from Paris state that proposals have been placed before the Loyalist government at Barcelona for a "compromise peace" to end the Spanish civil war. The French Ambassador in Barcelona was sounding out the Negrin government on a plan for an armistice, it was said. The same reports indicated that another cabinet shakeup was imminent in Barcelona and that former Minister of National Defense Indalecio Prieto might return to the government on a "compromise peace" platform. Other sources, however, declared that Negrin himself was contemplating such a course.

From these reports, it is clear that the British Foreign Office is intensifying its efforts to speed the triumph of reaction in Spain thru a so-called "compromise peace" leading to the establishment of a "united national government" under British domination.

Within the last few weeks, a series of moves have been made on the chessboard of European diplomacy that clearly reveal the international line-up of forces and the general direction of British foreign policy, which is decisive.

Prime Minister Chamberlain's immediate job at the moment is to "liquidate" the Spanish situation and so consummate the recent Anglo-Italian deal. The British government no longer makes any effort to hide its anti-Loyalist tendency. "It must be said straightaway," declared Augur, the semi-official spokesman of the British Foreign Office in the New York Times of June 20, "that Mr. Cham-

berlain and Premier Benito Mussolini see eye to eye on the Spanish problem." To bring about finally the long-expected defeat of the Loyalists, the British Foreign Office is busy at work tightening the blockade against anti-fascist Spain.

With the Soviet Union going along in spite of some mumbled protests, the London Non-Intervention Committee last week took action to put into effect the British plan for the "withdrawal of volunteers" and the land-and-sea patrol. The basis was also laid for the recognition of the Franco insurgents as a belligerent power in the near future.

In all this, the British Foreign Office finds a willing auxiliary in France, all the more so with Daladier in power. The French border has been shut down tight under British instructions. Repeated declarations have been issued in semi-official form making it clear that the Soviet alliance is not to be taken seriously in determining French foreign policy now or in the future. With the French parliament adjourned for a long Summer vacation, the Daladier Cabinet will be able to hew close to the British line without any interference from the Chamber.

Once the "Spanish question" is settled to his satisfaction and the Italian pact put into operation, Chamberlain plans to move on to Germany. Unofficial negotiations have been under way for some time in this direction. The British government is reported willing to make all necessary "concessions" to Hitler in order to "pacify" him

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## EDWARDS DINNER TREMENDOUS SUCCESS, LABOR UNITY HAILED

The most memorable labor affair of the year took place last Thursday, June 23, in New York City. Five hundred guests, drawn from all sections of the labor and liberal world, gathered in the big banquet hall of Hotel Victoria to welcome Robert Edwards, British Independent Labor Party leader, who is visiting this country to study labor and economic conditions.

It was a magnificent affair. The theme of the discussion was "World Labor Cooperation" and every one who took part threw new and valuable light on the subject. Bob Edwards, the chief guest-of-honor, spoke last. In a spirited, eloquent address, he paid tribute to the great achievements of the labor movement in this country under the C.I.O., warned against the preparations for war going on under cover of an Anglo-American alliance disguised as "collective security," discussed some of his experiences in Spain where he fought with the Loyalist armies on the Aragon front, and concluded with a strong appeal for international working-class unity against reaction, fascism and war. The

loud and enthusiastic applause showed that he had struck the note uppermost in the hearts of his audience.

We will have to leave to the next issue of this paper a full account of what the speakers said at this historical gathering. Lewis Corey, economist and writer, emphasized the economic implications of the struggle against war and fascism and made a fervent plea for intellectual honesty and tolerance in the labor movement. Allan Haywood, New York regional director of the C.I.O., in an address breathing militancy and sincerity in its every word, laid great stress on trade unionism as the foundation for any forward movement of labor and reiterated the firm adherence of the C.I.O. to the ideal of working-class unity at home and on a world scale. Goodwin Watson, of Teachers College, Columbia University, and Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, well-known columnist on the New York Post, followed with striking and appropriate remarks on world labor cooperation and the fight against war.

The address of Norman Thomas, (Continued on Page 2)

## Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

### Spawn of the Crisis: I

THE NINTH year of economic crisis finds the face and substance of American politics in broad transformation. Indeed, the transparency of the close bond between the cyclical movement of the crisis and the varying strategy of the Administration, and especially between classes and political programs, in itself testifies strikingly to the advanced stage of capitalist decay. Party politics, too, have changed their traditional see-saw, tweedledum-tweedle character. For, in its own peculiar way, America has come closer to the one-party system in this period than since the decades of Federalist rule. The real political struggles of the day take place nationally, as they have done in the South since the Civil War, within the ruling Democratic party. In it struggle for hegemony the old-line conservatives, the Roosevelt "liberals," the emergent political forces of the new labor movement. And, while here and there the G.O.P. may threaten this or that official sinecure of the Democracy, the struggle between these two parties is not of the same significance as the inner struggle taking place within the Democratic party.

The temporary halt in rapid economic decline helped smooth over many differences in the Democratic party. The boomlet made the New Dealers feel that we could go back to the old ways, that the basic fight against depression had been won. The New Dealers, however radical their theories may have sounded, never questioned the economic system as such, and even the most "left" believed that economics was a matter of politics. With certain "reforms" under the wire, the business of patching up differences was begun. Also there is always an extreme wing of the employing class that opposes all concessions in part so that the whole can be maintained, large sections of the employers began to accept the new aspects of the regime, hoping the while to negate some of its "excesses." This was the basis of the new boomlet harmony.

But the temporary halt reached a sudden end—and the crisis resumed with new and savage force. So far had Roosevelt permitted differentiations between his "classic" policy and that of his opponents to be dimmed, that revolt threatened this time from the "left." Labor pressed for its demands; the New Deal block of his own party grew restive at Roosevelt's continued inaction. Finally, the pressure of the crisis broke thru, and the LaFollette movement sought to rally the liberals, this time outside the Roosevelt charmed circle. Roosevelt finally had to yield to this pressure for spending, altho in an extremely limited way.

Now, of course, that fear of revolutionary upheaval which was very real in ruling class circles in 1932-1933, has died down. The employers are on the offensive. They have their extremist wing, whose policies do not stand much chance of success, in the Republican party. The real conservatism of the employing class finds its expression, with far greater degrees of success, in the Roosevelt Administration itself: in decreased social spending, in increased war preparations, in "revision" of the Wagner Act and in anti-union legislation.

In this political fight, Roosevelt is busy building a whole new organization in the South, where the "regular" Democratic machine is too much in the hands of his party enemies. To break the hold of the Southern dictatorship means, however, not a new progressivism, social and political rights for the Negro, or economic rehabilitation of the South. It means that the new type of regime, which, in order

## Workers Rally to Back U.A.W.

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leadership. The less progress the would-be splitters make in the U.A.W., the more they appear to be sweeping everything before them in the Stalinist press. The Stalinists have once again injected themselves directly into the present situation by issuing demands upon the union. In a recent issue of the Daily Worker, William Z. Foster made the demand that the union immediately reinstate all the suspended officers. Commenting on this, a union spokesman remarked that these must be "Sudeten communists" for whom Mr. Foster is appealing, evidently having taken a page out of Hitler's strategy in relation to the Germans in Czechoslovakia!

Mortimer Shows His Hand  
But the Communist Party, intent on covering its destructive traces, persistently continues spreading

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tional bankers had been making blood-money out of extending credit to Europe for the tools of war. We were told, of course, that we were to make the world safe for democracy. We were not told until ten years later that we went to war as security for our own foreign investors. This road to war again lies open to America if we permit a repetition of such practice.

5. We may become involved in war thru any or all of these, if we commit the national blunder of leaving our destinies in the hands of one or a few men. Let democracy work on this matter of going to war; let the people of this country vote on whether they will become cannon-fodder; let Congress and the Administration bring off the shelf the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment, or give us one in its place.

Economics Of War  
I am convinced that the most important single thing we can do to end wars is to press the fight for a living wage for every family in America—yes, every family in the whole world. The tap-root of war lies in an economic situation which permits a few to ruthlessly exploit the labor of the many. It is the unquenchable greed for profits that creates the ravenous appetite for foreign markets, the craving for investment areas, for spheres of influence, for colonies, for naval bases and all the trappings of the imperialist-militarist set-up. We can never end war so long as this greed is permitted to determine our foreign and internal policy.

What is the root of the world problems of raw materials, of tariffs, of markets, of colonies? The root which feeds all the inhuman and uncivilized practices which eventually lead to war is the fact that men and women are forced to toil endlessly in the mines, mills, factories and on the farms for wages that equal only a fraction of the total wealth they produce. If we want to build a wall against war so high and so strong that no politician, no munitions-maker, no admiral, or no general can tear it down or climb over it, then we must make the bricks of that wall pay-checks of workers and farmers—pay-checks equal to their contribution to production, pay-checks sufficient to meet their needs, pay-checks which will increase purchasing power and enable us to utilize our own markets. Imperialism, militarism, fascism can never make a breach in this bulwark of peace.

One of the basic principles in any successful anti-war program is the establishment and main-

tenance of a strong, intelligent, responsible labor movement. If time permitted, we could pursue this thought thru its more remote ramifications, but today we merely state that we open the fight for peace at home by attacking the special economic privileges of those who exploit us in time of peace and war and by fighting for improvement of the living standards and working conditions of labor.

To put it concretely, may I be pardoned for pointing to the delegations from the United Automobile Workers of America that sit thruout this hall. Only a little more than a year ago, these men and women who sit with you here today were risking their economic destinies and very lives in a bitter battle with the powerful industrial barons in Flint, Pontiac, Lansing, Detroit and other automobile centers. Last year, in this conference, we must make plans to fight these same industrial barons, who are also overlords of the munitions industry.

We must always remember that war itself is the best fertilizer for dictatorships, at home and abroad. Peace is absolutely essential to the fight to maintain and extend democracy. A "war to save the world for democracy" was the seed-bed for the most vicious and ruthless dictatorships the world has ever known. Another war would wipe out what democracy remains.

Press Fight At Home  
In our fight to maintain peace, we must build a great nation-wide anti-war movement, combining the forces of labor, the churches and all other progressive forces that oppose this inhuman and uncivilized business of using mankind as a pawn in the hands of unscrupulous international manipulators. American workers are brave; they are sacrificial. They stand ready at all times to give their very lives for worth-while goals, at home or abroad. That is why the war-mongers always trot out these slogans of "making the world safe for democracy," "collective security," "orderly processes," etc., etc. We must build a movement that will educate our people to see thru the sham of these slogans when they are used to cloak the ugly forms of dictatorship, war, destruction and greed.

We must carry our message into every union hall, every church, every club where our citizens meet in the ordinary routine of their lives. We must make America aware of the imminent menace of war. We must make America aware of the causes of war. We

the fiction that the cause of the whole struggle within the U.A.W. is the factionalism of the "Lovestones." Duffily Mr. Mortimer, as a true follower of the faith, echoes the same sentiment in an interview given to the Detroit International News Service on June 21. "Lovestone," says Mortimer, "has nothing constructive to offer. All he wants is the destruction of the Communist Party in America and he is willing to wreck the labor unions to gain his revenge."

Mr. Mortimer has said too much, in our opinion. For, in essence, he is insisting that the suspension of himself (who is so vitally interested that the Communist Party may not die!) and his four colleagues may wreck the Communist Party. His statement may be untrue, and is untrue in every respect where Lovestone and the Independent Communist Labor League are concerned, but it leaves no doubt whatever of Mr. Mortimer's relations with the Communist Party!

As malicious as may be the unfounded and ridiculous statements of the Communist Party, the I.C.L.L. may feel justly proud in having earned the undying hatred of the Stalinists. In a real sense, it signifies that the members of the I.C.L.L. in the ranks of the union have been among the most effective in defeating the onslaughts of the union smashers. That only, not political disagreements, no matter how sharp they may be, determines the Communist Party's attitude to any other group of workers.

No one is hated more by the Stalinists than the followers of the exiled Leon Trotsky. Yet, up to a very few weeks ago, the latter were welcome allies in the "unity" caucus because they helped to further the Stalinist campaign to dominate the trade unions. Similarly with the Socialist Party members. No matter how slanderous the Communist Party's attitude to Norman Thomas or other leaders of the S.P. has been, the Stalinists retained, up to very recently, a soft spot in their hearts for the Michigan socialists, for these helped them realize their destructive and nefarious schemes in the labor movement.

When the socialists balked after the state C.I.O. convention in Michigan, Weinstein and Gebert immediately changed front and launched into sharp attacks upon them, as can be seen from the Daily Worker of some weeks ago.

And now, when the Socialist Party of Michigan is once more doing yeoman service for Stalinism by playing the role of "neutrals" while mobilizing for

must make America aware of the shams, the tricks and the strategy of the war-mongers. We must expose those who traffic in war and war propaganda for the enemies of humanity that they are. We must build public opinion to support the ways of peace and despise the ways of war.

I have just come from the meeting of the Executive Board of our great International Union and am happy to report to you that we rededicated the strength of 400,000 automobile workers to this struggle against war. I am convinced that other workers will also join in a movement which this very congress must set up.

For let me repeat that the workers in the industries want peace, not war. We want bread, not bullets. We want jobs, not graves. We want homes for our families not tents on the battle fields. We want the more abundant life, not the ever-present specter of a horrible death. We want to build, not to destroy. We want peace and we are determined to use every power at our command to secure its blessing for ourselves and our children.

the same thing as the Stalinists—the immediate reinstatement of all the suspended—the socialists are once again welcome in the ranks of the Stalinists.

Position Of The I.C.L.L.  
The C.P.'s persistent attacks against the "Lovestones," therefore, have nothing to do with past or present political differences. They do have something to do, and very much at that, with the fact that the members of the I.C.L.L. have always refused to lend their aid in any way shape or form to the advancement of Stalinist ambitions in the U.A.W. On the contrary, the I.C.L.L. has been most energetic in helping to keep the U.A.W. free of domination by any political force.

The policies pursued by the I.C.L.L. members are very well formulated in a statement published in a recent issue of the Detroit News:

"The Independent Communist Labor League is an organization of militant and progressive workers whose program is based on the economic and political needs of labor.

"We originated as a group expelled from the official communist movement in 1929 by orders from Stalin, in spite of the fact that our position was supported by a majority vote of the American membership.

"We were expelled because we refused to accept a program of building dual unions, thus splitting the labor movement. We also opposed the bureaucratic and dictatorial domination of the Third International by Stalin. We hold that policies should be determined by an analysis of objective conditions, not by orders from outside.

"We believe that the interests of any political group are subordinate (Continued on Page 6)

## Edwards Dinner Is Huge Success

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chairman of the Socialist Party, turned on the problem of labor unity, at home in meeting the menace of reaction and incipient fascism, as exemplified in New Jersey, Harlan and parts of the South; abroad in the imperialist alliances making for war. Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., struck the note of international labor solidarity as against both "collective security" and "isolationism." Labor solidarity and cooperation, he went on, should begin at home and he strongly urged a united labor front against the attacks of the employing class. He took occasion to add a few effective words of praise of the increasingly aggressive and independent attitude of the A.L.P. in the present political situation.

Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, unable to attend because of pressing union business in Detroit, sent a spirited telegram of greetings. Similar telegrams were received from Cecil Owen of Labor's Non-Partisan League and Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Joint Council. In addition to the speakers above mentioned, guests-of-honor at the banquet included Mark Starr, educational director of the I.L.G.W.U., George Backer, A.L.P. candidate for Congress in 1937, Margaret Marshall of the 1937 and Benjamin Stolberg, well-known journalist and student of the labor movement.

Jay Lovestone officiated as chairman, skillfully correlating the remarks of the balance-sheet in his concluding address.

It was an affair that will be long remembered in New York City! (See the picture on page 6.—Editor.)

## Labor and Wage-Hour Legislation

By WILL HERBERG

THE wage-hour bill recently passed by Congress is hardly more than a statement of policy, a declaration of intention. The actual standards prescribed in it are so inadequate that probably not more than a million workers thru-out the country will be immediately affected by the 44-hour maximum work-week provision and about a quarter of that number by the 25-cent hourly minimum. Obviously, it would be absurd to speak of any appreciable increase in buying power resulting from the measure, at any rate to a degree that could affect the economic situation. Nor would it be realistic to look to the new law for any improvement in the lot of more than a small proportion of the millions working under sub-standard conditions today. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that, from the standpoint of immediate, practical effect, Congress might just as well have enacted Section 2, "Finding and Declaration of Policy," and let it go at that.

Yet, even as it stands, the wage-hour law is of vast importance—in its potentialities and implications. For the first time in our history, it has become a recognized function of the federal government to regulate wages and hours. A vast new field opens in labor legislation, with vast new problems of labor strategy. Could any one have foreseen two years ago the wide sweep and significance of the Wagner Act? Can any one today assert with any real confidence what wage-hour legislation may come to mean in the next few years?

### Double Character Of New Deal Labor Legislation

We already have experience enough, however, to indicate that, under the New Deal, the big advances in labor legislation possess a double and contradictory character. They are, of course, reforms or concessions to labor. But they are, at the same time, movement in the direction of the governmental control of labor thru the regulation of working conditions and thru the integration of the trade unions, into the governmental machinery of economic administration. This is significantly true of wage-hour legislation as well.

From the point of view of the labor movement, the proper and legitimate function of wage-hour legislation is to eliminate sub-standard conditions, to outlaw the sweatshop, to fix a definite floor for wages and a definite ceiling for hours. It is the business of the government, in other words, to set up minimum-wage and maximum-hour standards. But it is not the business of the government to set up "fair" wage standards by law, that is, to fix wages above the minimum. Wage-fixing is a task for the unions to accomplish thru collective bargaining, not for the government thru legislation. For the trade-union movement to yield this function to the government would mean to deprive itself of all reason for existence, to destroy the very ground from under its feet. For the government to arrogate to itself such a function would mean to subject the mass of workers to an arbitrary bureaucracy with power to determine their very conditions of life yet without any possibility of effective control on their part. In its logical conclusion, it means a governmental despotism bordering on fascist totalitarianism.

The "labor philosophy" of the New Deal is strongly tinged with this dangerous "totalitarian" tendency. For the New Deal, wage-hour regulation is not merely the

legislative guarantee of certain limiting standards but rather the governmental determination of wage-and-hour levels all along the line. When the original Black-Connery bill was under consideration, Arthur Krook defined the fundamental attitude of the Administration in the following words (New York Times, June 13, 1937):

"In the opinion of the President, members of Congress and group leaders who have long been determined on passing such a law . . . one of three powers in this country will fix hours and wages. . . . These 'three powers' are capital, labor and federal government. Capital would fix wages and hours thru codes. . . . Labor would fix wages and hours thru collective bargaining and strikes. Government would fix them thru legislation. . . . As these particular sponsors, architects and supporters of the Black-Connery bill see it, government is the most desirable and effective of the three agencies. Its enforcement, in their opinion, will be more equitable and will better guard the national order and economy from the 'chiseling' of capital, on the one hand, and the aggressions of labor, on the other."

### "Abolishing" Unionism

Almost a year later, a few days ago in fact, this same philosophy was expounded in even more revealing form by Jay Franklin, semi-official New Deal propagandist and Administration champion. Wrote Mr. Franklin, in his syndicated column, "We, the People"

## How the Draft Law Works Provisions of S-1721 Blueprint Way to Fascism

(The following description of the provisions of the 1937 industrial-mobilization and labor-conscription bill is taken from Stephen and Joan Rauschenbush's book, "War Madness."—Editor.)

THE details of the draft . . . are contained in S-1721 (74th Congress). It goes this way:

Section 1. Congress authorizes the President to draft all males.

Section 2. Every male over 18 years old has to register, by age groups. Everybody registered is and remains subject to being drafted into the army. Anybody who refuses to register is subject to imprisonment. If he is found guilty of refusing to register, he is immediately, upon his conviction, registered anyhow.

Section 3. Once a man is registered, he is subject to military rules (court martial). He stays subject to those rules until six months after the President declares the emergency to be over. (There is nothing forcing the President to decide the emergency is over as soon as the war is over.)

Section 4. Aliens (other than alien enemies) are included in the draft or forfeit their right to become citizens of the United States.

Section 5. Nobody can buy his way out of the service by getting a substitute.

Section 6. The members of Congress and of state legislatures get a deferred status. The President can, if he wants to, give deferred status also to federal, state, county and municipal employees. He can go further and give it to persons "engaged in industries, occupations or employments, including agriculture" who are found to be necessary for home service.

Before this gets into operation, the air will be red, white and blue with patriotic appeals for sacrifice

(New York Post, June 17, 1938): "Some time ago, I wrote that the hours-and-wages bill could be better described as an act to abolish the necessity for union membership in the United States (emphasis mine—W. H.) . . . These groups (workers outside both A. F. of L. and C.I.O.—W.H.), which are numerically stronger than the Federation and the C.I.O. combined, are now under obligations to no walking delegate, to no union official, for protection of their minimum rights to decent working standards. President Roosevelt has captured this field for the government without benefit of union cards, compulsory dues or broad-bottomed, permanent labor officials."

In Mr. Franklin's remarks—in which the animus against trade unionism is so obvious—an important aspect of New Deal labor legislation is uncovered: labor legislation directed toward eliminating unionism altogether by having the federal government "take over" its proper functions and then incorporating the castrated unions into the governmental machinery as semi-official bodies entrusted with certain technical and administrative tasks.

It was because he realized this dangerous aspect of federal wage-hour regulation that John L. Lewis so vigorously opposed Section 5 of the original Black-Connery bill last year, a section that provided for wage-fixing above minimum levels. The present law is free from (Continued on Page 5)

cused from fighting and they have to do non-combatant service.

Section 7. The drafting has to be done equally in all states, based on the number of registrants.

Section 8. The President can put any person, regardless of deferred status, into the army whenever he wants to.

Section 9. The President is given the whole power of the government to execute the draft and anybody helping administer it has full powers.

Section 10. Anybody trying to get around the draft with false statements, or anybody who evades the draft "or who counsels, aids or abets another to evade service in the armed public forces," is to be punished. If he is a man over 18, he is to be court-martialed and punished in any way the court-martial decides. If it is a woman, she can be imprisoned and fined.

Section 12. All laws in violation of this one are suspended. This draft bill is to be coupled with a law (S-25-HR-2, 75th Congress) fixing wages and prices.

Now how does the draft bill work?

First, every man over 18 registers. Then men from 18 to 28, perhaps, are called into the army first. A few working in munitions companies or other important industries, in skilled positions, are let go. A few with large families are let go. The rest are in camp, off to the war. That takes care of the draft of trench labor for the moment.

Second, the draft of industrial labor gets into operation. It is not called that. Mr. Bernard Baruch, whose ability is not above finding popular phrases for this plan, calls it the "work-fight-or-starve plan." He believes it is capable of immense expansion.

Before this gets into operation, the air will be red, white and blue with patriotic appeals for sacrifice

## Workers Parties In Czech Crisis

By FRANZ

Prague, Czechoslovakia  
May 27, 1938

THE military measures of the Czechoslovakian government worked like a cold compress on a fever-stricken person. The Henlein propaganda was aimed at impressing the people with the idea that the Sudeten-German problem would be solved without any difficulty or resistance just as the Austrian problem had been. Among the active Henlein people, the opinion prevailed up until last Saturday that the moment to fight had come. Organizational measures had been prepared accordingly and the preparations were not limited to the Asch district but were spread over the entire Sudeten-German region. The first effect of the partial mobilization and the increased amount of police and gendarmerie was to produce a sober and partly depressed mood among the Henlein followers. The "white stockings," the emblem of the Henlein people, disappeared from the streets. But the whispering campaign did not subside. On the contrary, it grew stronger. The most fantastic rumors were spread. This propaganda was now, above all, directed against the army.

Since then, the Henlein propaganda has become active again. The terror in the factories, instead of decreasing, has become stronger. The funeral of the two Henlein men who had been shot at Eger raised the fascist morale of the Henlein crowd. To a large extent, this was due to the fact that, at the funeral, the German military and air force attaches officially took part and Hitler had two wreaths deposited at the grave of the victims. Ten thousand people participated—the Henlein press reported 40,000. Factories did not work; shops were closed and, in many parts of the Sudeten districts, especially in Asch, factory demonstrations were organized at the time of the funeral. In these factory demonstrations, workers participated who had hitherto resisted the fascist terror.

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Election Results In Prague  
The results in Prague were quite a surprise inasmuch as they showed an increase for the left-wing parties. The party of President Benes (called the National Socialists) increased its vote from 107,200 in 1935 to 142,000 in 1938. The Czech social-democrats suffered a slight decline from 79,773 to 77,530. The Communist Party increased its vote from 69,763 to 90,373. Even the People's Party registered an increase from 29,700 to 37,500. The openly chauvinist semi-fascist Party of National Unity suffered a heavy loss. Before its split, it had obtained 140,107 votes in the parliamentary elections while after the split both sides could muster only 94,000 votes. The heaviest loss was sustained by the Strihny wing. It must be remembered, however, that the sentiment of the voters is predominantly nationalistic. That explains the election victory of the C.P. in Prague. The nationalist policy of the C.P. of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet alliance were contributing factors. The vote was cast primarily not for a communist policy but as a re-education to nationalism and as a recognition of Russian aid.

### Hopeless Economic Situation

The economic situation in the Sudeten-German region is hopeless. Quite a number of factories are being closed down. Experts report unanimously that almost no orders are being placed. The answer generally is: "We can't buy anything and cooperation. There must be a united will to win. Everybody must help save the world for democracy. Our very form of government is at stake. Everybody must save tinfol and orange peels and peach pits. Whoever refuses to do what the government asks, is against the government. No mercy for slackers.

According to bills prepared by the War Department for passage by Congress at the outbreak of the next war, working people will find themselves unable to protect their standards of living or freedom. There will be a little difference between them and the boys drafted into the army, but not much.

today. But when we belong to the Third Reich. . . .

The Jewish population is rapidly leaving the border districts and so are many Czechish women and children. They are making for the interior of the country. Many families of Reich-Germans are leaving for Germany.

In the Czechish districts, nationalism has grown tremendously. The government's mobilization measures have produced an enthusiasm which is reminiscent of 1914. The "white socks" have disappeared in the cities. A strong anti-German feeling is to be noticed. From the communists to the social-democrats to the bourgeois parties, every party has been infected with nationalism. The policy of the government is generally approved.

The municipal elections take place in three stages, beginning on May 22 and ending on June 12. It is already possible to draw some conclusions: (1) a strong growth of autonomous tendencies among the Sudeten Germans as well as among the Hungarians and Slovaks; (2) a marked decline in communist and social-democratic votes in the Sudeten-German districts and in communist votes in Slovakia; and (3) support of the government and the Communist Party by the Prague voters.

In the Sudeten-German districts, the Henlein party not only retained its 1935 parliamentary strength and the support of the coordinated bourgeois parties, the Landlords League and the Christian-Social Party, but it also gained the votes of many former communist and socialist. In the Sudeten districts, the C.P. lost 20% of its vote on the average. In some places, the loss was as high as 66%. In the 28 localities where the C.P. put up candidates, the decline in absolute figures was from 9,303 in 1935 to 7,098 today. In 48 German districts, the Henlein party received 122,049 votes, the 'German social-democrats 14,912 and the C.P. 7,098. The Henlein party received 73% of the vote cast in the German districts.

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The policy of our group, the Communist Opposition, is strongly influenced by our geographical position. The vacillations which arose as a result of the proposed delegation to the government and the drawing up of a memorandum are partly the result of this. Nevertheless, our group has, relatively speaking, the clearest insight into (Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

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THE A.L.P. MOVES FORWARD

THE death of Senator Copeland in an election year of such importance suddenly raises a number of big problems for the American Labor Party of New York. Fortunately, the A.L.P. seems to be approaching the situation with a mixture of realism and independence that promises good results.

The A.L.P. was first on the scene with its demand that a Labor man, Sidney Hillman, be given the place left open by Mr. Copeland and that another Labor man, either Langdon Post or Frederick Unhey, be considered for Lieutenant-Governor, if there is to be any cooperation at all with the Democrats in the elections this Fall. It is hardly necessary to point out here how thoroughly justified this demand is. The A.L.P. is a powerful political force, extending its organization and influence every day; already it is the balance of power in city and state. Nor need it be ashamed of the caliber of statesmanship of the leading elements to be found in its ranks. Unless its relations with the Democratic party are purely one-sided, where it does all the giving and the Democrats all the taking, it is certainly entitled to its very modest demand.

The A.L.P. plans apparently go further. As far as the governorship is concerned, the party will probably limit itself to using its influence against a conservative nominee on the Democratic ticket to replace Mr. Lehman, who has already announced himself as a candidate for Senator. But the field is wide open when it comes to Congressional candidates. It would, indeed, be unthinkable for a party as powerful and influential as the A.L.P. to deny itself adequate representation in the House of Representatives or to be challenged in that right by its New Deal allies. According to press reports, the A.L.P. is virtually certain to put up independent candidates for Congress in about a dozen New York City districts, with excellent chances of success. Should this go thru, the A.L.P., at the end of the second year of its existence, will have its independent Labor delegations in the New York City Council, in the State Legislature and in the House of Representatives. Not at all bad for a party that started out by limiting itself to an endorsement of Roosevelt and Lehman!

The problem that the A.L.P. faces is broader than the elections this Fall. It is a question of the perspectives and line of development of the party. It is becoming apparent that the A.L.P. leadership is not altogether satisfied with the results of its practical politics, and the membership certainly share that sentiment. For, speaking frankly, what has the A.L.P. to show for all of its political "concessions" and "deals"? Its Assemblies and Councilmen it elected thru its own resources, with its own votes. But, for the sake of its alliances, it sacrificed a number of sure Assembly districts and endorsed or made room for Democrats of whose record it has no reason to be proud. For the sake of its alliances, it ran no independent candidates for the state constitutional convention, supporting certain Republican and Democratic "liberals," who have turned out not to be so liberal after all. For the sake of its alliances, it has gotten itself all tied up in a fetid "majority block" in the City Council, bringing it neither benefit nor credit. Of course, "deals" and "concessions" are sometimes necessary in politics, even for a labor party, but surely they must yield something substantial to the party in the way of advancing its program and its independent political influence.

Among most sections of the A.L.P. leadership, there is welcome recognition of this fact and increased emphasis on the need for greater independence and self-assertion. The recent public statements of the party leaders ring with this theme. Last week, we called attention to the declaration of Councilman Hollander urging the A.L.P. to act independently in the City Council. Mr. Rose has taken every opportunity during the last few days to emphasize that "party independence must be maintained on a stronger basis than ever." Even more clear-spoken is President Dubinsky of the I.L.G. W.U.: "The American Labor Party is in sympathy with the New Deal, but this in no way commits it to the support of every Democratic candidate. The

Revolt in the Barcelona Model Prison

(We publish below a letter from Barcelona, giving a participant's report of a recent demonstration of anti-fascist prisoners in Barcelona's Model Prison.—Editor.)

Barcelona, Spain  
THE prisons of Republican Spain are filled with anti-fascists. Proletarian veterans of the war and volunteers of the first militia have been imprisoned for their fidelity to the revolution. Stalinist hatred keeps them there.

The atmosphere of the prison became more and more intolerable. What could be done? The patience of the prisoners was being exhausted. A sharp dramatic struggle between the prisoners and the government was felt in the offing.

The surroundings could produce any folly. The government was speculating on the irritation of the prisoners and seeking a motive for a massacre. We can find no other explanation for the neglect of the authorities to meet the problem of anti-fascist prisoners.

On Wednesday, April 20, at 7 o'clock in the morning, policemen and guards, with loaded guns, made a search of the Model Prison in Barcelona.

This was a real provocation. They began in the anti-fascist galleries, before committees could be sent to meet them. One could not help believing that they wanted to repeat the deeds of Figueras. The search was most minute. They read paper by paper. They awakened the prisoners and made them get out of their cells and into the galleries where, ill as they were, they were subject to fatal drafts.

Suddenly, the sirens gave the signal indicating the imminence of a bombardment, and the prisoners who were locked in their cells began to shake the doors, as if the hysterical cry of the sirens had been the sign they awaited. It was a deafening, infernal noise. A sort of African tom-tom. The police wanted to interrupt the shouting but their voices could not be heard. Some doors flew into pieces, and comrades passed spontaneously from cell to cell to open the gates. The prisoners were aroused; the police and the Assault Guards retired from the galleries to concentrate in the middle of the prison.

No one can explain what happened next. In five minutes, at the gate of the first gallery, fifty heaps were burning. The gate of the other gallery fell into pieces under the blows of an iron bed pushed by thirty arms. At the windows of the gallery, several dozen mattresses were also burning. The rising flames reached the other gates.

Provocations and continuous

party cannot lose sight of the fact that it is an independent labor political organization with a definite program. To further its program, the A.L.P. may combine with any other political group whenever expedient or practical. But the party must retain its identity under all circumstances and get the recognition it is entitled to in all political exchanges or endorsements in order to impress the multitude of its supporters with its importance as a political factor in the life of our state.

If the A.L.P. follows such guidance, it will not only be able to take best advantage of every momentary political situation but it will soon reach the stage where it will be able to stand on its own feet and fight under its own banner without any entangling political alliances.

misery during weeks and months broke out in a sort of destructive fury. At the end of ten minutes, there remained in the anti-fascist galleries not a single mattress. Fires were burning on all sides, destroying the gates of the cells, destroying all that symbolized an oppression which had become intolerable.

The police and the Assault Guards were obliged to abandon the center of the prison and tried to pass to the first story. But the prisoners hunted them down like wolves. The first gate flew into bits. One could never have imagined such power in a revolting mass. The thickest bars were bent, the most solid locks broken, the strongest doors demolished. Nothing could hold back this multitude whose eyes shone with fire and blood.

One gate after another was broken in. The prisoners arrived at the last gate, located in the exterior yard of the prison. But it was not the gate, which the least agitation would have broken, that stopped them; it was four Russian machine-guns, seated on it, ready to fire.

A conference was held between the mass of prisoners disposed to struggle unto death and the machine-guns. It was necessary to convince the guards that they were not dealing with fascists. Shouts of fraternity, of anti-fascist struggle, revolutionary songs, were heard. These were moving moments.

In front of the gate, there was carried a wounded prisoner from the fourth gallery. He was dying. A bullet had penetrated his head. Blood was flowing. They were carrying him on a mattress. Everything around him was drenched in blood. This dying comrade tried to convince the guards. They withdrew their machine-guns. After several short discussions, the prisoners abandoned the gateway so that the wounded comrade could be passed. Out of his mouth, there came a steady trickle of dark blood.

After the wounded, they carried out the dead. An English communist from the International Brigade. One of his comrades carried him, shouting in English. Amidst the silence of all the prisoners, he addressed himself to the guards. We shivered in horror. Before the words of the prisoners, several guards lowered their eyes.

The last gate began to give way. A hundred hands shook it. The critical moment had arrived. What would happen if this gate fell as had the others? There was liberty or slaughter. And the prisoners hesitated to go ahead. The atmosphere of the street was menacing. The machine-guns again were placed in the yard.

And the assault began. The prisoners wanted to use one last argument. On their arms, they raised like a flag the body of the English volunteer. His arms and his head lay on the bars of the gate. The prisoners then again saw the menace of the machine-guns. They retreated. The corpse fell down behind the gate.

Defeat And Reprisals

Several hundred guards entered, crying savagely and drawing their revolvers. The confusion was indescribable. The prisoners tried to beat a retreat into their galleries and their cells. The defeat of the movement had come.

Reprisals began. While the prisoners were thus kept under watch, the Assault Guards and the police pillaged the cells and the galleries. Fascists would not have been more savage. All that could have any value whatsoever was stolen or de-

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By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

London, June 18, 1938

THE report that Stalin has accepted the nomination for the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was welcomed by the secretary of the party, Grobenjuk, at a mass meeting in Kiev in the following words:

"Comrades: Our fortune and our joys are boundless! The great leader of the peoples, our beloved Stalin, has accepted the nomination for the Supreme Soviet Council of the Ukrainian Republic from our election district."

Stalin has accepted to run for the Supreme Soviet Councils in nearly every soviet republic. And so have all the members of the Politburo with the exception of those who have since disappeared from the scene—Rudzutak, Eiche, Kossior. Yeshov runs a close second to Stalin, having accepted to run in twenty Soviet Republics.

At best, these multiple nominations are an expression of grotesque Byzantinism; at worst, they may be a preparatory step in the extension of the present personal dictatorship of Stalin.

The temporary President of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic has been demoted. A survey shows that, of ten party secretaries of the Soviet republics still in office last year, all but two have been eliminated.

Moscow reports officially that a new "counter-revolutionary plot" has been uncovered involving a number of high officers of the Red Army, in particular in the Ukraine. The Stalin-Yeshov purge continues unabated.

FRENCH S.P. CONVENTION

THE convention of the Socialist Party of France resulted in a victory of the right wing represented by Blum and Paul Faure. The Pivert group (the Revolutionary Left) was expelled by a vote of 4,284 to 3,002—which means that about two-fifths of the delegates were opposed to the expulsion. Quite a minority!—and to this must be added at least 500 votes of the excluded Seine Federation itself, with 500 votes subtracted from the majority. It would be wrong, on the other hand, to assert that the 3,002 who voted against the expulsion are in total agreement with the Pivert group. The vote on the political resolution showed that these 3,002 were composed of followers of Zyromski in addition to those of Pivert.

The vote on the political resolution was as follows: Blum proposal, 4,872 for and 3,166 against; Zyromski's proposal 1,735 votes in favor; and Pivert's, 1,430 in favor. In other words, Pivert's policy was endorsed by well over one-fifth of the convention. It is to be noted that it was made very clear to the delegates that the vote on this issue might lead to a split.

The main points in the resolution as introduced by Blum and endorsed by the majority are: (1) opposition to the immediate overthrow of the Daladier government; in favor of supporting it for some time; (2) Blum's declaration that it is impossible to form a People's Front government; (3) approval of Daladier's Spanish and Czech policies; (4) Blum's express statement that, in case of war, the party stands for class peace; and (5) Blum's statement endorsing Mandel and Reynaud, right-wing members of the Daladier government, as non-fascists and as reliable in case of crisis.

The development at the Royan congress conclusively prove the bankruptcy of the S.P. of France as a result of the People's Front policy. Even the right-wing section, which rallied around Blum and Paul Faure, is badly split. Despite strenuous efforts, Blum was unable to win over the Zyromski group to his political line.

INTRIGUES AGAINST SPAIN

THE rumors emanating from London concerning Franco-British negotiations on Spain confirm the view that Great Britain is renewing its efforts to bring about a speedy termination of the Spanish civil war thru a compromise. Hitherto, British Conservatives had hoped that the Loyalists would soon exhaust their resources and be defeated. Perhaps there is some connection between the Chamberlain policy and the alleged revolt of General Queipo de

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Spending: War vs. Relief

Not Tombs for the Dead, But Homes for the Living

By A. E.

THE employing class is trying to frighten the American people with the bugaboo of "extravagant relief expenditures." The capitalists want to cut the already inadequate relief on the spurious claim that the resources of the country are not able to stand the strain. So loud has been the hue and cry raised by innumerable employing-class spokesmen about the billions expended on relief that many a worker who is used to counting his "fortune" on his fingers is stunned by the astronomical figures of relief expenditures and begins to believe anything. But, if we want to see the thing in its proper perspective, we should compare the expenditures involved in relief with the financial burden of the World War of twenty years ago.

The official facts are here for us to examine. Fifty billion dollars were spent for a year and half of war; \$13 billion, for five years of relief. In return for the fifty billion dollars, the American people received 70,000 corpses and another 200,000 maimed and wounded—a total of 270,000 casualties. There was no cry of "economy" from the capitalists then. But how

thriftily they become when it is a question of relief for the masses! In the course of the five years from 1933 thru 1937, \$13 billion was spent on all forms of public relief. This amount is about a quarter of the direct cost of the war to the American people. The amount spent for one month of war is about equal to the amount spent for a whole year of relief! Moreover, the expenditures for relief helped to maintain, at the peak, some 27,000,000 persons. Inadequate as the relief may be, it is used for a constructive purpose. The lavish expenditures for war went into the furnace of destruction.

The American workers have the right to demand that the billions being allotted for preparing and waging the next war be used to relieve the widespread distress among the people. Instead of tombs for the dead, let there be homes for the living!

If it was possible for the leading European countries to quadruple half their national wealth for the World War, why should it not be possible for the United States to double present relief expenditures, which amount to a mere 5% of the national wealth? Let us fight unemployment on the same scale as we fought the war.

Labor and Wage-Hour Law

(Continued from Page 3)

This grave defect—but the danger has not been completely eliminated. Any wage-hour law, no matter how it is framed, must necessarily allow plenty of leeway in administration, and upon administration will depend to a large extent whether the new law will become, as Mr. Franklin so elegantly puts it, "an act to abolish the necessity for union membership in the United States." For the labor movement, the question is one of the utmost gravity: the issue at stake is nothing short of the very existence of unionism as a free movement of labor.

Unionism And Enforcement

From the quotation we have given, it will be noted that Mr. Franklin, in his eagerness to dispose of unionism, is quite ready to write it off as a significant factor just as soon as there is any wage-hour legislation in effect, even if such legislation is kept within proper bounds. But here, too, he is a little over-hasty. Our experience with the N.R.A. and the Wagner Act, indeed, with any piece of labor legislation whatever, should teach us that without vigorous independent action by the trade unions, there can be no effective enforcement. Where the unions are alive to the opportunity, where they are militant and energetic, there will be proper enforcement by the government, under the spur of labor; but if everything is left to the government agencies, the results will be very disappointing and may even prove a boomerang. Let us remember that, under the set-up provided for by the law, industry commissions, named by the administrator and making their recommendations to him, will have broad powers and exceptions, and the like. Unless labor is able to make its pressure felt in these committees and in the every-day administration of the law, there will be no real enforcement; indeed, it is not impossible that, under such circumstances, the law may become a cover for the perpetuation of long-standing abuses in a new form. Strict, vigorous enforcement is the very heart of wage-hour legislation and such enforcement is primarily depend-

ent on the vigilance and organized power of labor.

Even more vital is militant trade-union action to maintain existing wage differentials, that is, to prevent the minimum from becoming the maximum. Here, again, experience with the N.R.A. has taught us that the preservation of the wage structure under such circumstances is possible only thru the independent action of organized labor.

Lines Of Labor Policy

The strategy of labor in the field of wage-hour legislation is complex and difficult; it is, in a sense, uncharted territory, despite European experience. But already certain conclusions emerge as fairly clear and certain.

In the first place, governmental wage-hour regulation, if kept within proper limits, has a useful and legitimate function to perform. The hardly disguised hostility of decisive sections of the A. F. of L. leadership towards any sort of wage-hour legislation whatever, is short-sighted and reactionary. Fortunately, it is not an attitude shared by the masses of the workers.

On the other hand, once governmental wage-hour regulation steps out of its proper limits, it constitutes a serious menace to trade unionism as such. In New Deal circles, this dangerous tendency is well marked.

The standards provided in the present law are thoroughly inadequate from every viewpoint. Labor's first task is to get Congress to raise these standards, at least to the 40-40 level, that is, 40 cents an hour and 40 hours a week to start with and a minimum wage of \$16 a week should hours be further reduced.

Effective enforcement and the prevention of evasion thru the many loopholes that exist, as well as the preservation of wage differentials, are possible only if the trade-union movement is active and on the watch. The workers in the sweated and sub-standard industries must be organized immediately, with proper advantage taken of the rising sentiment among the masses as the new standards begin to be applied.

In a word, wage-hour legisla-

BOOKS

THE POLITICOS: 1865-1896, by Matthew Josephson, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1938.

THE nature of the two-party system in the United States can be understood only by exploring the channels marked out by the Civil War and the Reconstruction Period. Likewise we shall only be able to explain the particular development of a labor party in this country by tracing the evolution of politics back to the Second American Revolution, when the characteristically capitalist structure of present-day America was first built. The value of Matthew Josephson is primarily as a literary craftsman and not as an historian. For the reader, this quality, is decisive and to study this book is a good way of becoming familiar with the politicians, statesmen and political parties of the era of greatest capitalist expansion from 1865 to 1896. It is the companion volume to the more polished book, "Robber Barons."

The word "politicos" is here applied to the politicians who came into prominence after the Civil War. Once the Radical Republicans were defeated in their efforts to carry the Reconstruction program thru to its logical conclusions, the two major political parties changed from parties with opposing principles into agencies of the northern capitalist class which had become the undisputed dominant class thru the Civil War. The top circles of the capitalist class selected one or the other of these vote-catching machines in accordance with their needs. The attitude of the Robber Barons toward the parties of spoil and booty was best expressed by the notorious Jay Gould: "I was a Republican in Republican districts, a Democrat in Democratic districts. But everywhere I was for Erie!"

The author endeavors to get at the essence of what happened in this period by investigating "the action which the ruling political party takes in self-interest, that is, as an 'institution' seeking to exist per se, and the action taken in the interests of its most important allies. . . . the northern business class." The sections dealing with the party as an institution are by far the most important in the book; they attempt to do for the American political parties what Michel and Weber did for the German social-democracy. Mr. Josephson, if he can maintain an objective attitude might do a similar study on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its satellite parties. There would be many points of great interest in such a study.

In the foreword, paraphrasing Marx, Mr. Josephson states his philosophy of history: "Historical actions do not seem to arise from the ideas of men; but rather ideas seem to be conditioned by the social being of political men, by their relation to the larger social movements in which the destinies of whole peoples and classes are embraced." In the execution of his plan, the author has not fulfilled his promise. His failure to treat the "larger social movements" adequately must be attributed to the fact that he has not comprehended the meaning of the struggle over Reconstruction. The Civil War and the Reconstruction Period form an organic unity; together they constitute essentially a bourgeois revolution in two stages. But to Mr. Josephson, the whole struggle over Reconstruction is merely a struggle for the maintenance of the Republican party in power as an institution. He fails to see that the fight between the Radical Re-

publicans and the Conservative Republicans was a war over principle and not merely over booty. It was Marx, whom the author quotes with more reverence than understanding, who said that "revolution was the locomotive of history." But Mr. Josephson has neglected the locomotive. A. E.

World Today News of the AGE

(Continued from Page 4)

Llano and his officers against the domination of the German and Italians, as reported by a British news agency. No doubt, other pressure is being brought to bear on both sides in Spain.

At the Socialist Party Congress in France, Leon Blum attempted to justify "non-intervention" by branding "intervention" a reactionary policy a la Metternich! As a matter of fact, the S. P. of France has made its peace with Daladier's foreign policy, which is nothing but a continuation of Blum's policy, as he has himself attested. Blum's policy while in office, from the very beginning was dictated by Daladier and other Radical-Socialist ministers.

Britain Plots With Fascists

(Continued from Page 1)

and effect its ends. Hitler is understood to be demanding a rupture of the Franco-Soviet pact, a colonial settlement as well commercial and financial assistance. Chamberlain has already indicated that these demands do not constitute an "insuperable obstacle" to negotiations.

The big objective of British diplomacy is to bring about a new four-power pact, embracing England, France, Italy and Germany, completely isolating the Soviet Union and driving it to the background as a force in world politics. It is obvious that Hitler's designs against the U.S.S.R. will hardly meet with much resistance in London. Czechoslovakia has already been "written off" by the British, with the stipulation that Hitler do the job peacefully. Here, too, French acquiescence is taken for granted.

What about the Soviet Union? The evil fruits of the Stalin diplomacy are now being garnered. All intents and purposes, Russia is completely isolated in international politics, isolated and impotent, forced to drag along after England and France in a policy that only strengthens the hand of fascism and draws the noose of imperialist encirclement more tightly about itself. Partly as a desperate last resort and partly as a threat, the Stalin regime now seems to be turning towards a German alliance, which it contemplated for a short while in 1933-34. An Associated Press dispatch, published in the New York Times of May 19, refers to the possibility that Russia's "withdrawal" from European politics may lead her to "increase her trade with Germany in an exchange of raw materials for arms, munitions and other manufactured articles."

The auto workers today have another battle on their hands. A sit-down can put the bosses in their place. A kick in the pants is a persuasive argument to a scab. But there is a new menace, a special type of union-busting vermin—the Stalinists—that must be dealt with. The Workers Age has proved the most potent weapon against them. The progressive auto workers know it and use it. Many are the demands for special extra-size bundle order of issues containing articles by George F. Miles, Jay Lovestone and others. These workers, who are for the most part unemployed, sacrifice to spread the Age. The other day a sizable batch of subs came from Detroit as a contribution to the 3,000 new readers drive.

I know for sure that, were our friends and readers to donate 1,000 subscriptions to the Workers Age, we could very shortly place them all in the Michigan area, and we do not wish to neglect the other fields of class struggle.

No Appreciation!

TALK of injustice! Here is the Communist Party, one of the most blatantly patriotic outfits in these United States, brought before the police authorities of Woonsocket, R. I., charged with . . . "improper use" of the American flag!

By ROBERT MACKLIN

THE O'Learys live on a two-acre tract outside of Flint, reached by a ruddy dirt road. The house is unfinished but livable and clean. In the back, there are strawberry, potato and tomato patches. A couple of chickens complete the scene. Many auto workers live like that, making up a little for extended periods of unemployment.

The O'Learys are fighters. Father is a militant union member. Mother is in the woman's auxiliary. And their two boys—John, 16, and Timothy, 12—contribute their bit. At the famous battle of Bull's Run in Flint (Fisher Body No. 7 and 9), when the workers captured the plant despite the array of police, company guards and scabs, all the O'Learys were on the picket line. They were at the moment "enter-taining" some scabs. A scab, you know, is a low, pesky form of life which unfortunately one cannot eliminate merely by squeezing between the thumbnails. Special "treatments" are sometimes necessary. Young Tim was right there in the thick of it all. "Gee, ma ain't it grand," he cried out.

Ma had her hands full, but she did manage to favor him with a smile of encouragement. She thought of the precarious hold on their two acres and on the house that might never be finished, of her two bright youngsters who'd be unable to complete their schooling, of this rotten, decaying system, and of the hopelessness of the workers living under it. She knew there was only hope in struggle and there she was on the battle line beside her husband-comrade and her two spirited boys. Yes, she thought it was grand!

Ma and Pa O'Leary were delegates to the last national convention of the I.C.L.L., held in New York. They brought the boys along. Young John was content to sit and listen. Tim was restive. He was collecting autographs. How he swelled with pride when Jay Lovestone signed up, adding a few pointed remarks about the youth in the class struggle. Tim approached me, too. I sure was flattered. I had no illusions about my own importance, but to Tim I represented the Workers Age, and the Workers Age is an established institution, a weapon of struggle down there in Flint—as it is in Detroit, Lansing, Pontiac and other scenes of the great sit-downs.

The auto workers today have another battle on their hands. A sit-down can put the bosses in their place. A kick in the pants is a persuasive argument to a scab. But there is a new menace, a special type of union-busting vermin—the Stalinists—that must be dealt with. The Workers Age has proved the most potent weapon against them. The progressive auto workers know it and use it. Many are the demands for special extra-size bundle order of issues containing articles by George F. Miles, Jay Lovestone and others. These workers, who are for the most part unemployed, sacrifice to spread the Age. The other day a sizable batch of subs came from Detroit as a contribution to the 3,000 new readers drive.

I know for sure that, were our friends and readers to donate 1,000 subscriptions to the Workers Age, we could very shortly place them all in the Michigan area, and we do not wish to neglect the other fields of class struggle.

3,000 NEW READERS FOR WORKERS AGE!

Help us to acquaint 3,000 more workers with America's best labor paper, the Workers Age.

## West Coast Labor Rises Against Stalinist Menace

By EARL LANE  
(Our West Coast Correspondent)

Los Angeles, Cal.

THE trade-union movement of Southern California, in spite of the obstacles it has been confronted with, has made enormous strides in the organization of the workers in what was formerly so widely advertised by the Chamber of Commerce as "the White Spot of America." Yet today it is seriously menaced by the virus of Stalinism. Seeking to get a stranglehold on the unions so as to subject them to its "line," the Communist Party with a total disregard for the welfare of the labor movement, is using methods comparable only to those practised by Stalin and the G.P.U. in the Soviet Union. It lacks the power to assassinate its opponents physically; it therefore resorts to the lowest forms of character assassination of all who oppose it, and to the disruption and wrecking of all organizations which it cannot control.

The work of building the C.I.O. has been seriously hampered by these destructive tactics of the Stalinites. In Los Angeles several locals of such important unions as the U.A.W.A., the United Shoe Workers, etc., refuse to affiliate to the C.I.O. Industrial Council, and other locals participate in a haphazard manner, due to the stranglehold which the C.P. has on this body, which it maintains by control of delegates from paper unions. The Stalinites use the council as if it were a department of the C.P. They use it as a machine to gain control of those unions not dominated by them or their stooges and as a forum for their "innocent clubs," such as the League For Peace and Democracy, League of Women Shoppers, Anti-Nazi League, and so on indefinitely. Appearance of a speaker from one of these organizations, and rare is the meeting when one does not appear, is invariably followed by a motion to send delegates, or whatever action this worthy may request, which the Stalinite majority passes with great acclaim, the minority, representing the real union strength of the city, abstaining. Thus, another great victory for the cause of "Peace, Progress and Prosperity" has been won and the "great leader" is so notified.

The leading unions are also refusing to participate in Labor's Non-Partisan League as it, too, is controlled by the C.P. thru its paper unions. There we find the Stalinites using labor's growing desire for political action not to build a bona-fide labor party with a working-class program and working-class candidates but to build up a People's Front movement supporting "progressive" leaders of the Democratic party. It openly supports for the post of governor, State Senator Olsen, who even refuses to commit himself as to whether or not he will pardon Tom Mooney if he is elected. Thus we see the L.N.P.L. in this state functioning not as the first step on the road to independent working-class political action but as part and parcel of the Democratic party.

But Stalinism has even worse crimes to its credit. In recent weeks, two important unions, the Sailors Union of the Pacific and Local 34 of the United Office and Professional Workers of San Francisco, have been driven by the Stalinites to the point where they were forced to affiliate with the A. F. of L. in order to escape complete destruction of their character as bona-fide unions.

The S.U.P., refusing to submit to the rule of Harry Bridges, voted overwhelmingly to affiliate to the

A. F. of L. rather than to the C.I.O. Thus, a powerful potential affiliate of the C.I.O. was lost.

Stalinist disruption reached a new high when almost the entire membership of Local 34, U.O.P.W. A., of San Francisco, faced with the prospect of submitting to bureaucratic dictatorship and blind submission to the Stalinites, voted to leave the C.I.O. and join the A. F. of L.

The unemployed movement of this area is now weaker than at any time in its history. The Workers Alliance has been torn asunder by Stalinist disruption. Members who protest against the present course, which has turned the W.A. away from a militant policy and has made of it an organization to corral the votes of the unemployed for the old-line politicians, are immediately brought up on charges of "Trotskyism" and "disruption" and forthwith expelled. The membership has become disgusted with these practices and has dropped out in wholesale lots. Indicative of the state of the W.A. at the present time is the fact that the attendance at the meetings of the Downtown local, at one time one of the largest in the city, has shrunk to around twenty-five.

In recent weeks, the progressive leaders of the C.I.O. movement of Los Angeles have shown that they have a real desire to fight Stalinism in a determined manner and, in one instance, on the question of a C.I.O. relief policy, they defeated the Stalinist program and put thru a sound progressive one. This fight was led by such outstanding unions as the I.L.G.W.U., the United Rubber Workers and the U.A.W.A. This shows what can be done once the progressive unions swing into action and should serve as a guide to future action for the progressive leaders. On this question a significant break occurred in the ranks of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, up to now a Stalinist stronghold.

If the labor movement of this city is to be preserved, the progressive union leaders must unite on a platform of sound, constructive unionism, to fight Stalinism and build a powerful labor movement.

### Labor in the Czech Crisis

(Continued from Page 3)

The situation. It is interesting to note that in Asch the Communist Party is being more and more influenced by the C.P.O. Tho the district leadership of the C.P. in Asch has made and continues to make many grave mistakes flowing from the policy dictated by the Prague leadership, the membership of the party has accepted the proposals of our group on all decisive questions. This was particularly true when it came to putting up economic, political, cultural and national demands. Our demand for the liquidation of the Henlein party and the arming of the workers was unanimously accepted by the district committee of the C.P. The C.P. and C.P.O. are so far working closely together.

#### Our Group In The Elections

Our group put up candidates in a number of localities during the municipal elections. In Neuenbrand we supported several social-democrats on our slate. In Halbgebau, we had a united slate of the C.P.O., the S.P. and the C.P. In Schoenbach, one of our comrades was put on the C.P. slate with a good chance to win. The united action taken was the result of the local situation. All candidates are in

## AT THE GREAT EDWARDS BANQUET



Third from the left, Lewis Corey; then, Allan Haywood; Robert Edwards; at the microphone, Jay Lovestone; seated in front of him, Norman Thomas; second from the right, Goodwin Watson; at the extreme right, Chas. S. Zimmerman.

## Workers Defend U.A.W.

(Continued from Page 2)

to the interests of the union. Our members in the unions are bound by the discipline of the union.

"In the U.A.W., we have never asked the support of Homer Martin or of the union. We have supported Homer Martin and the union because we believe he is honest and loyal to the union and his motives are progressive and fill the needs of the membership.

"We ask no favors and we make no deals and we are proud of the constructive part we have played in building the U.A.W. and making it a powerful, responsible organization."

For these policies, the members of the I.C.L.L. have earned the undying hatred of the Stalinists and the sneers of the S.P.s who preferred the reckless, adventurist policies of the Communist Party in the U.A.W.

The Stalinists have an additional reason for trying to make out that the fight is one between the C.P. and the I.C.L.L. They believe they will have some chance of defeating the progressive leadership of the U.A.W. if they can create the impression that the fight does not concern the mass of the membership or the future of the union itself but merely the I.C.L.L. members.

#### The S.P. In The Crisis

The position of the Socialist Party of Michigan, in this critical situation for the union, continues to be one that must amaze every worker who has the best interests of his union at heart.

The Socialist Call of June 25 carries an editorial entitled "Auto Workers Demand Peace!", including the following policy proposals: (1) Opposition to a coup d'etat—after the progressive leadership has effectively squelched such an attempt without the help of the socialists. (2) Opposition to "undemocratic purges"—thus attacking the progressive administration for penalizing those who attempted to perpetrate the coup d'etat. (3) They look "with disfavor" on the conspiratorial character of the C.P. and its press. (Note how cautiously they treat the C.P.—to them merely a matter of "looking with disfavor.") (4) Opposition to the "extremists on both sides." To them it is not a matter of the union defending itself from disruption, but of two factions, equally guilty, which the patronizing, holier-than-thou socialists must bring together. (5) "Congratulations" to Walter Reuther who is demanding "peace."

favor of the program put forward by us.

\* \* \*  
(This is the second article on the situation in Czechoslovakia. The first article appeared in the last issue.—Editor.)

What the editorial does not include is the slogan for the immediate reinstatement of the suspended officers. This is the Stalinist demand and also the demand of the socialists here. S.P. members are as vocal in voicing it as any raucous Stalinist—despite their vague clause about opposition to coup d'etats.

Nor does the editorial say one word about the open anti-union campaign launched by the suspended Stalinists and aided and encouraged by their socialist allies. No mention is made of the attempt to paralyze the union thru tying up its funds, to divert the union funds to the suspended officers and to encourage the withholding and non-payment of per-capita taxes to the International Union. The failure to say something on these issues brands the editorial in the Socialist Call as little more than a transparent apology for the Stalinist raid on the U.A.W. The aim and purpose of such editorials and such policies as the socialists are pursuing here, is to lead unsuspecting auto workers into the Stalinist camp thru the rear door.

Fortunately, there are some socialists who never did stomach this belly-crawling attitude and others who are now beginning to realize their responsibility in having contributed to bring about this severe crisis in the inner life of the U.A.W. It is common knowledge, for instance, that Norman Thomas is doing all he possibly can to swing the Michigan socialists to support the U.A.W. administration despite the fact that he has differences with the administration on a number of matters. It is also said in union circles that the Wisconsin socialists, and especially Paul Porter, are rendering assistance and support to Regional Director F. J. Michel and President Martin in the Wisconsin area.

The very editor of the Socialist Call, in which the editorial quoted above appears, comes out in direct support of President Martin! The U.A.W. publicity department has released a letter from Gerry Allard, editor of the Socialist Call, which is quoted in part:

"I don't hesitate in definitely

allying myself with your cause in the terrific struggle that prevails in the auto union. As a progressive trade unionist, I feel that I would be lacking in my duty if I did not declare myself on this question at the present time. . . .

"I thought that you would be interested to know that these veterans of labor struggles (miners with whom Allard had discussed this matter.—G. F. M.), who incidentally, from first-hand experience know something of the menacing Communist Party, are allied with you in the fight to save the United Automobile Workers of America. Good luck."

It is common knowledge, also, that the Detroit socialists are sharply divided, a number of leading socialists disagreeing completely with the policies of Walter Reuther. These socialists realize that this present crisis is not a fight between two factions but rather a struggle of a destructive faction against the union, and they propose to support the union and fight the faction.

The socialists in Michigan can render great services to the U.A.W. and to the trade-union movement but to do so they will have to step out of the shadow of Stalinism in which they have been walking.

## Prison Revolt

(Continued from Page 4)

stroyed. Food, laundry, clothing, boots, valises, soap, combs, tooth paste, etc. All that remained were books without pages, papers torn to pieces, broken bottles and a few empty valises. When the prisoners returned to their cells in the evening, they cried with rage before this devastation.

The Popular Front and its government had just won a battle—in the rear . . .

As for the workers organizations which participate in the government, they are covered with shame.

The press has remained silent.

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