

A Danger Signal

an editorial

IT is gratifying to learn from the recent Gallup poll of public opinion that the great masses of the American people are definitely hostile to fascist barbarism as it manifests itself in Germany and Italy. Such a sentiment, especially if it can be clarified as to its political implications, should be a big asset in the struggle to keep fascism out of America.

But the same poll shows another tendency of public opinion that should cause every one active in the anti-war movement to sit up and take notice. Asked whether they thought that the United States could stay out of a war waged by England or France, 54% said yes and 46% said no, whereas, only about a year and a half ago, in January 1937, the answers to the same question had been 62% yes and 38% no.

The significance of these figures lies not in the numbers themselves but in the trend that they disclose. The American people want peace. That is clear from all recent surveys and from the reaction of the masses of workers and middle-class people to the war-referendum idea and similar proposals. But large sections of the American people are also slowly and definitely drifting towards a dangerous mood of hopelessness and helplessness, towards a feeling that once Great Britain or France is involved in war, the United States will be dragged in despite anything we can do. Such an attitude, of course, only clears the way for the war-makers. To the degree that it permeates the masses, it tends to paralyze all effective resistance to war—for of what use is resistance if America is fatalistically doomed to be swallowed up in the catastrophe?

Whatever may be the superficial appearances, such an attitude is by no means justified by the realities of international politics. As far as this country is concerned, the great source of war danger is in the Far East, arising out of a possible clash between an Anglo-American block and Japan over so valuable a field of imperialist exploitation as China. But it is precisely in this situation that the people of the United States can exert the deciding influence. For Great Britain will not readily undertake any war in the Far East unless it is quite sure of American assistance, unless it can count on the "cooperation" of the American navy and the availability of American financial and economic resources. Towards such an Anglo-American military alliance in the Far East, a large part of the foreign policy of the Administration has been directed in recent months. So strong and so universal has the peace sentiment thruout the country been, however, that the Administration has not dared to come out into the open but has concentrated upon diplomatic intrigue behind the scenes and upon efforts to confuse and demoralize public sentiment so as to render it more "manageable." The insidious propaganda that American involvement in war is "inevitable" because it depends on factors outside our control, is part of this well-planned campaign to break down popular opposition to the war plans of the Administration.

The anti-war movement should wake up to the challenge. The American people must not lose faith in their own power to prevent war by blocking the schemes of the war-makers!

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Labor Needs Own Politics

L.N.P.L. Urges Workers Exert United Strength In Coming Elections

Labor must assert its strength in the coming elections or it will lose the National Labor Relations Act and may lose the Wage-Hour Act, social security and other progressive legislation, Eli L. Oliver, executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, warned last week. He addressed delegates to the fourth national convention of the American Communications Association, a C.I.O. affiliate, in New York City.

He declared that labor's chief need was political strength. "Labor's Non-Partisan League is symbolical of a new unionism in America, just as you are, because you bring into the labor movement new people—younger, more vigorous, more energetic—and a new confidence," he said.

"American labor needs political strength. The policeman who breaks thru picket lines, the national guardsman who bayonets pickets or shoots them—as they have too often, the judge who hands down injunctions, must be reached by labor, and must be reached by labor with political power in its hand.

"The decisive thing is an organization that can go into every ward and get out the vote. You must work in your districts in the coming elections or you can lose them, and if you lose them you're going to lose the National Labor Relations Act. You may lose the Wage-Hour Act. You can lose your social security and other progressive legislation, and bills may be passed to hinder the work you are doing."

Edwards at I.R.A. Dinner in Phila.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Robert Edwards, member of the National Council of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, was the guest of honor at a highly successful dinner in Philadelphia at the Sylvania Hotel under the auspices of the International Relief Association last Thursday night.

The speakers list included Peter Schaeffer, German trade unionist and anti-Nazi; John W. Edelman, C.I.O. regional director in Eastern Pennsylvania; and A. A. Tomei, president of Local 77 of the American Federation of Musicians.

Among the guests were Bennet Schaufler, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board, and Don Carlos Calderon, Mexican Consul in Philadelphia. A permanent Philadelphia I.R.A. committee was formed, with Mrs. W. R. Rose as executive secretary.

3,000 JOBLESS DRESSMAKERS PUT TO WORK ON W.P.A.

Three thousand jobless union dressmakers will go to work this week on a W.P.A. sewing project to provide clothes for relief clients. The project will spend an estimated five million dollars, with final authorization for the purchase of \$400,000 worth of materials already

"EQUALITY"

TWO-FIFTHS of the population in the lower-income groups bear the main burden of chronic diseases, according to the report of the federal public Health Service.

Workers in non-relief families with \$1,000 or less income, it was also found, lost twice as much time from sickness as those in the group earning \$3,000 or more.

UAW Halts Trial To Bar Sabotage

Auto Union Board Recesses to Aug. 6 And Fixes Rules for Speedy Hearing

By GEORGE F. MILES
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

Detroit, Mich.

The trial of the suspended officers of the United Automobile Workers of America came to an abrupt halt on Friday, July 29,

when it became clear that defense attorney as well as defendants were doing everything in their power to stall and delay the trial.

Pointing out that, after almost a full week of trial hearings, the defense had failed even to file a verified answer to the detailed charges lodged against them, the International Executive Board passed a resolution providing for the remainder of the evidence to be submitted in affidavit form and setting time for submission of these affidavits and for appearance of counsel to argue the case, and then adjourned until August 6.

Filibuster And Obstruction

That the defense had no intentions of permitting the trial to proceed in an orderly manner, was clear from the start. Almost the entire first day of the trial was wasted in trying to get some order in the International office of the union where the trial was to be held. Squads organized by the suspended officers swarmed all over the office, refusing to leave and engaging in pitched battles with union officials trying to secure order.

But, by the time the trials opened, the picture had completely changed. No sooner had word spread of the obstructive activity of the splitters and their friends than loyal union men from Detroit, Pontiac, Flint, Lansing, New Haven, etc. rushed to the defense of their union. When the hearings opened the following day, union premises were under strong guard, prominent among these being a contingent of Negro union members from the New Haven Foundry. Enraged over the speedy ending of their disruptive game, the suspended officers protested against the "gorillas, who looked ready for anything." "We were greeted in the corridor by a typical fascist set-up," wailed Attorney Sugar. "There was no doubt of it; we were under protective custody. There was a line of rather disreputable-looking men, standing shoulder to shoulder and all of the defendants and counsel had to pass thru this gauntlet."

Replying to this charge, President Martin declared: "I don't think the defendants have room to complain after the riot they tried to start yesterday. It is obvious that the set-up here today is not to the defendants liking. The set-up yesterday with rioting, bloodshed and anarchy was more to their liking." Mr. Martin also spoke up sharply against Sugar's slanders directed especially against the Negro guards: "The entire membership of the U.A.W. deeply resent this contemptible slander of our colored brothers and we propose to protect their good name and reputation as loyal, faithful and courageous members of our organization."

Done with slandering the union guards, the five defendants, according to their attorney, Sugar, "entered the Board room with their hands upraised in the Nazi salute

(Continued on Page 2)

"DON'T MAKE ME LAUGH"



Henry Ford Honored by Hitler as Friend of Nazis

America's No. 1 Labor-Hater Gets Fascist Cross

Recognizing in him a kindred soul, in close sympathy with the reactionary labor-hating and anti-Semitic "ideals" of the Nazis, Adolf Hitler last week bestowed on Henry Ford the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, the highest German decoration for foreigners.

The presentation was made on behalf of the Nazi government by Karl Kapp and Fritz Heiler, German consular agents in America. "Fuehrer Hitler has always admired you as a friend and an inventor," Heiler declared in his address, "but more recently because, like Hitler, you have spent your time promoting peace!"

On several occasions in the past, Henry Ford was openly identified

given by Mayor LaGuardia of New York City.

The project was worked out at a conference between President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Mayor LaGuardia. The present plans call for production of children's dresses and skirts and women's dresses and coats.

with anti-semitic propaganda in the United States; at one time, his Dearborn Independent was actively engaged in such a campaign. It is also reliably reported that he established close contact with the Hitler movement even before it came to power and that he gave it considerable financial assistance in those years. Even closer connections have been rumored, such as that a number of people highly placed on the Ford staff are active and accredited Nazi agents in this country.

Henry Ford's own pronouncements in recent years show how close his ideas are to the accepted Nazi doctrine. He has made no secret of his implacable hostility to organized labor in any form, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike; indeed, like the Nazis, he pretends to trace unionism to a "conspiracy of the international bankers"! On many occasions, he has publicly flaunted his support of and sympathy for the Nazi regime in Germany.

It is, indeed, eminently fitting that America's No. 1 labor-hater and open-shopper should be honored by Adolf Hitler, the bloody Fuehrer of fascism!

The Negro in New York

CHARACTERIZING current conditions of Negro labor in New York State as "a matter of emergency importance," the temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Colored Population, instituted last year by the state legislature...

Maintaining that the remedies for these and other evils come clearly within the jurisdiction of the state and adding the criticism that racial-equality laws are being violated because the statutes provide no adequate procedure thru which complaints may be made and redress of grievances secured, the commission broadened its recommendations to include the following:

The Negro is also subject to mistreatment by installment-purchase houses and insurance companies. The commission records charges that the Negro is dealt with unfairly in the matter of relief administration. The state of New York will have to do a great deal to provide due protection for the rights of the Negro...

Certain contractors who have contracts for state or public works have shown racial discrimination in employing workers. The law prohibits this type of abuse but that law must be strengthened and enforced. In public utilities, there is a need for a fixed procedure to control employment and promotions, regardless of race, color or creed.

The legislative commission confesses that its study "does not represent an exhaustive investigation of the conditions covered." It suggests that this preliminary survey has revealed specific situations which are "of sufficient gravity to call for additional detailed study."

Many of the conditions listed in the report are so obvious that there was little need for a committee to spend a year bringing in material that the man in the street is entirely familiar with. These cases must be investigated, it is true. But these cases and conditions must be acted upon at once.

UAW Board Recesses Trial

(Continued from Page 1) crying in unison 'Heil Hitler!' But this would-be dramatic stunt soured immediately when President Martin greeted them with: "O.K., comrades!"

"Spot" Motions At the opening of the hearing, Attorney Sugar made a series of proposals which bore out previous opinions on the nature of the defense. Having gone thru the ritual of asking for the C.I.O. to "take over" the trial and then for the C.I.O. to send observers, Mr. Sugar proceeded with his "spot" motions. He proposed that President Martin and all Board members, except the six supporting the defendants, be barred from sitting at the trial!

The Board failed to see the wisdom or fairness of this proposal and voted it down. Mr. Sugar's next proposal was even better. He suggested that a two-third vote be necessary to convict but, upon finding that the Board lines up 13 to 6, which is better than two-thirds, he put his legal brain to work and came up with the simple expedient that each suspended officer be permitted to cast his vote on the guilt of the others! Needless to say, such proposals were turned down.

The Case Against The Defendants In a statement to the International Board, Larry S. Davidow, presented the case against the defendants. Mr. Davidow stated he would prove:

- 1. The existence of a conspiracy dating back to March 1937 to take over the International Union from its duly-constituted officers.
- 2. The highly irregular methods for holding and dominating local unions, especially so in the case of Flint during the reign of Robert Travis and Wyndham Mortimer, for the purpose of using these locals to oust President Martin.

Plot To Capture L.N.P.L. It is also said that Frankensteen is being charged with handing over the Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League to the control of the Communist Party. Evidence has been submitted by a recently resigned member of the Communist Party to the effect that, at a fraction meeting of Communist Party delegates to the Labor's Non-Partisan League convention, held on the morning of the day of the convention, William Weinstone, then state organizer of the Communist Party, reported that an agreement had been reached with Richard Frankensteen by which the C.P. would back Frankensteen for chairman of the Wayne County organization. In return, Frankensteen was to propose the creation of the post of organization director in order to make place for Michael Kamm, a member of the C.P.

This plan apparently worked out, for Frankensteen is now chairman of Wayne County's Labor's Non-Partisan League and Michael Kamm is organizational director. The resolution of the International Executive Board laying down the new rules of procedure for the trial, follows in full:

1. That counsel for the International Union is directed to serve upon counsel for the defendants a supplemental bill of particulars by Saturday, July 30, 1938, 12:00 noon.

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over the International Union from its duly-constituted officers. The attempt to induce John L. Lewis to place an administrator over the union during the session of the Board in Washington, D. C., in April 1937, Mr. Davidow considered as part of this conspiracy.

5. An attempt by Mr. Frankensteen to involve President Martin in conferences with William Z. Foster, B. K. Gebert and William Weinstone, all officials of the Communist Party, on matters concerning such a conference at the home of Wyndham Mortimer.

6. Continuation of their factional campaign against the union by the suspended officers even while participating in the meeting that passed the 20-point program of activity for the union and voting for this program.

7. An illegal attempt by the suspended officers, taking advantage of the absence of several Board members, to enlarge the agenda for purposes of reversing union policy and, after this first meeting, resorting to a secret caucus in the Book-Cadillac hotel, where plans were made for taking over the administration the following day.

8. Resorting, after their suspension, to open methods of disruption. Here follows a detailed description of the attempts of the suspended to stop funds from being paid out by the banks, to urge locals not to pay per-capita taxes to the International Union, to attempt to tie up the delivery of the mail to the union office, etc., etc.

9. Issuing of publicity to the employing-class press, of a false and misleading character, in which the defendants claimed to be the administration of the union, and, after their suspension, conducting a type of campaign conducive only to the creation of a dual union.

10. Activity on the part of Walter Wells and George Ades to put over an agreement providing for a ten-percent cut after the members of the Norge Local had repeatedly turned it down. Ades and Wells received in Detroit a committee from this local in which was present the personnel director of the firm whom Wells knows very well! Plans for putting over the agreement were made at this meeting. The expenses for the committee's trip to Detroit were paid for by the firm.

Mr. Davidow further charged that, upon complaint from a member of the Norge local, the International sent its auditor to check the accounts. The financial secretary of the local, after consulting Ades and Wells, ordered the auditor to cease. When finally completed, the audit showed a shortage of over \$1,000.

2. That counsel for the International Union is directed to serve upon counsel for the defendants a supplemental bill of particulars by Saturday, August 1, 1937, not later than 4:00 p. m.

3. That counsel for the International Union and counsel for the defense shall file all affidavits and exhibits in support of their pleadings by Wednesday, August 3, 1938, not later than 4:00 p. m.

4. That oral argument by counsel on the issues shall be heard on Saturday, August 6, 1938, at 10:00 a. m., in the Board Room of the International Union Headquarters, Griswold Building, Detroit.

5. That copies of all pleadings, exhibits and affidavits shall be submitted in the number of thirty.

6. All papers shall be duly filed with the secretary at International Headquarters at the times stated.

7. The Board is declared adjourned until August 6, 1938, at 10:00 a. m.

NOTICE! If the following number 32/38 appears on the address cover of your copy of the Age, your subscription expires with this issue. Please renew immediately.

JOIN! I want to help build a progressive labor movement. I want to help fight for a socialist America, therefore I hereby apply for membership in the INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

Nationalization and Capitalist Decay

GOVERNMENT ownership of industry is not always and necessarily a progressive measure. It may come into being out of wholly reactionary purposes.

Consider the railroads. They are in a desperate financial condition. They are trying to overcome that condition by lowering wages and borrowing money from the government thru the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

What attitude, then, shall progressive labor take to government ownership, to nationalization of industry? Clearly progressive labor cannot (Continued on Page 4)

Saving The "Sick" Railroads It is clear, however, that the top-heavy capital claims on the railroads cannot be preserved on an economic basis. And, if the situation gets worse, if the railroads cannot secure lower wages and government loans, then the demand will arise for government ownership of the railroads to "save" a "sick" industry.

Once before in American history, the railroads considered government ownership as the way out of a critical situation. In the 1880's and early 1890's, the railroads, because of wild-cat financing, plundering, mismanagement and unrestricted competition, were on the verge of complete bankruptcy.

Government ownership proved unnecessary, however. For capitalism and the railroad system were still expanding. Money could still be made out of the railroads. So the Morgans and the other financiers took hold, reorganized and recapitalized the railroads, softened competition and saved the situation.

Now, however, the situation is totally different. Capitalism and the railroad system are no longer capable of expansion. The railroad system must continue to decline not only because of a non-expanding capitalism but because of the competition of new types of transportation—the airplane, automobile and motor truck.

That means a permanent condition of crisis on the railroads and multiplication of the desperate efforts of management to save capital claims. The final result of this condition will be the demand by railroad managements and investors for government ownership to "save" the railroads—that is to say, to save the capital claims of the investors, inflated capital claims that are beyond the earning capacity of the railroads to sustain.

And so we get this peculiar development: Government ownership of railroads, formerly a radical demand, will become the demand of conservatives to save their investment. Obviously, such a demand for government ownership is reactionary. Its purpose is to save capital

T. Winttringham Is Expelled

London, England. T. H. Winttringham, veteran leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain, has been expelled from the party for "refusal to break off personal relations with elements considered undesirable by the party."

In 1925, Winttringham was one of the twelve British communists sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for "sedition." He is the author of the well-known work, "The Coming World War," and of the anthology, "Mutiny." Recently he served in Spain as commander in the International Brigade.

Need For Unity Because of this condition and also because of the sharpening international situation, civic leaders, church groups, leaders of labor and youth, have been actively conscious of the great and pressing need for unifying and coordinating the work for peace into one great nation-wide movement.

American Masses Want Peace

By I. ZIMMERMAN (I. Zimmerman is field representative of the Keep America Out Of War Committee.—Editor.)

OUR people want peace; yet the forces operating in this country to keep us out of war have heretofore been tragically disunited. This lack of unity among the peace forces of the nation is so much the more deplorable when we consider that the militarists, the reactionaries, the warmakers are so well organized for their purposes.

These conferences culminated in the Keep America Out of War Congress held in the nation's capital on May 28, 1938. Over one thousand delegates came from forty of the forty-eight states, representing not only the peace organizations already in existence but also a great many labor, church, social and youth groups imbued with one purpose: Keep America Out of War—Keep Fascism Out of America!

The immediate removal of American warships and Marines from Chinese territory and evacuation of American nationals who, if they stay, stay at their own risk. This plank needs little comment, for it is obvious that, to remove the possibility of involvement in foreign war, we must withdraw our military forces from all foreign territories, especially from belligerent zones.

Passage of an amendment to the Constitution to give the American people the right to vote in national referendum on a declaration of war. With totalitarian fascist dictators springing up in all parts of the world, we in the United States must guard jealously our democratic rights and our civil liberties. Is it not the essence of democracy to let those who pay for war, those who are called upon to fight when war comes, say whether they are to become engaged in any foreign war before they are dragged into it?

No increase in military budgets. That building armies and navies does not make for economic improvement was eloquently expressed by President Roosevelt himself when, in a speech made at Buenos Aires in December 1936, he said: "Events elsewhere in the world have served only to strengthen our horror of war and all that war means. The men, women and children of the Americas know that warfare in this day means more than the clash of armies. We know, too, that vast armaments are rising on every side and that the work of creating them employs men and women by the millions. It is natural, however, for us to conclude that such employment is false employment, that it builds no permanent structures and creates no consumers' goods for the maintenance of lasting prosperity. Nations guilty of these follies (big armaments) face the day when their weapons of destruction must be used against their neighbors or when an unsound economy like a house of cards must fall apart."

The super-navy bill, sponsored by President Roosevelt, recently adopted by Congress, carries an appropriation of more than \$1,130,000,000. With one-third of the people of this country living in houses unfit for human habitation, this figure assumes its real importance when it is remembered that a billion dollars would provide 200,000 new homes capable of housing the entire population of (Continued on Page 5)

claims that ought to be wiped out, to dump losses upon society that, under the logic of capitalist production, should be borne by the investors themselves. And, as capitalism declines and contracts, as investor losses multiply, profits dwindle and other industries get into the permanently "sick" class, the demand for government ownership of other industries will arise—for the same reactionary purpose of saving investors from suffering losses.

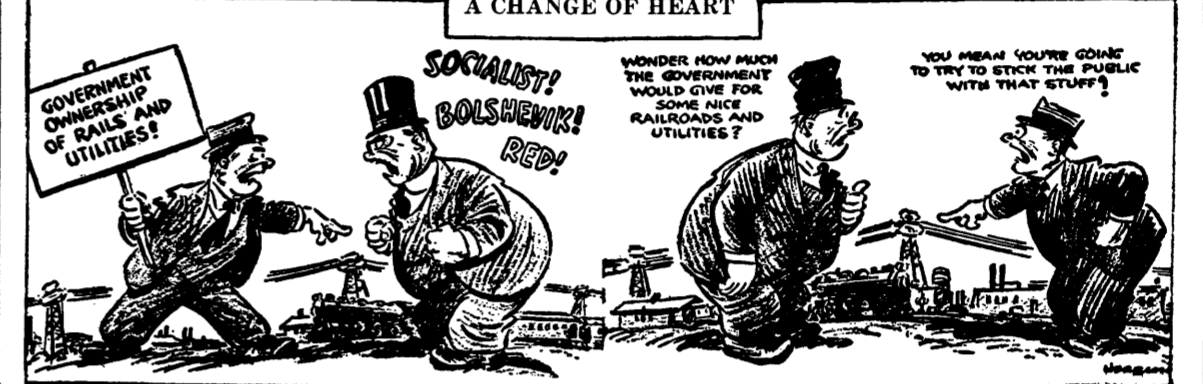
What attitude, then, shall progressive labor take to government ownership, to nationalization of industry? Clearly progressive labor cannot (Continued on Page 4)

War Issue at Royan Congress

Paris, France FOREIGN policy and war occupied an important place in the deliberations of the Royan Congress of the Socialist Party of France. The working masses are deeply concerned about the growing war danger. For the leaders of the Socialist Party, in their turn, the question of preparations for war becomes, more and more, the central problem of their collaboration with the bourgeoisie.

Two Tendencies Within the right-wing majority of the Royan Congress, there were two tendencies on questions of foreign policy and the position to be adopted towards the war danger. L'Heveder and Camille Planché defended in their speeches a policy of "reconciliation" between the "democratic" powers and the fascist dictatorships—a policy of concessions to Hitler and Mussolini. Their speeches made quite clear that, in the present situation, the viewpoint advocated by bourgeois pacifism that war can be avoided thru the joint action of the imperialist governments, leads practically to the policy of Chamberlain who, like Flandrin, want an agreement with Hitler and Mussolini at the expense of the working class, the Spanish revolution and the Soviet Union. L'Heveder even proposed action to bring about an armistice in Spain.

Zyromsky's Viewpoint On the other side Zyromsky said that, because war is inevitable under capitalism and because the fascist powers are by the very essence of their regime compelled to make war, the workers have no other way before them but to prepare to go to war for the defense of the "democratic" powers, i.e., for the defense of the imperialist ruling groups of these powers. Zyromsky's speech created the impression that he is almost impatient to go to war. Being the agent of Stalinism inside the S.P., Zyromsky linked up his eulogy of the guns and tanks of the "democratic" imperialists with a clumsy



By L. P.

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SUICIDAL FOLLY

CUTTING off one's nose to spite one's face is a rational and prudent occupation compared to what the officialdom of the A.F. of L. has recently been doing in regard to the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B.

At a time when the forces of big-business reaction are so eagerly searching for a way to rob labor of its newly-gained rights of self-organization and collective bargaining thru "amending" the Wagner Act and hamstringing the N.L.R.B., the A.F. of L. leadership comes forward with a savage attack on the latter and a proposal to revise the former in some essential points. President Green's address at the recent convention of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association and the editorial in the current issue of the American Federationist both tell the same story: In order to put a spoke in the wheel of the C.I.O., the A.F. of L. is ready to trip up the whole labor movement without regard to consequences.

Why this bitter criticism of the N.L.R.B.? Simply and solely because it has decided to recognize the fact of the existence of the C.I.O. In substance, that is all the A.F. of L. charges. "The board has given an insurgent group (the C.I.O.—Editor) the rights of belligerents . . ." so runs the editorial in the American Federationist. "Every agency of government that gives status to the C.I.O. gives the same recognition. Surely this is not freedom for workers to choose their own unions and representatives for collective bargaining . . ."

The high crime of the N.L.R.B. seems to be, then, that it "gives status" to the C.I.O.—in plain terms, that it allows the name of a C.I.O. union to appear on the ballot in collective-bargaining elections when some of the workers involved demand it. Note that Mr. Green does not charge officially that the N.L.R.B. favors the C.I.O. as against the A.F. of L.; he merely charges that the board recognizes the C.I.O. as a labor organization, as a "belligerent." Apparently, what Mr. Green would like would be for the N.L.R.B. simply to ignore the existence of the C.I.O. and bar it from all participation in collective-bargaining elections. That would be "government impartiality" in Mr. Green's view; that would be "giving freedom to workers to choose their own unions . . ."

So far gone is the A.F. of L. leadership in its mad hatred of the C.I.O. that it does not seem to appreciate the ludicrousness of its position nor even the grave dangers inherent in the situation which it is creating. Once open the sluice-gates by beginning to tamper with the rights of labor guaranteed in the Wagner Act, and the deluge will swallow up everything in sight. Undoubtedly, Mr. Green has in mind an amendment that will outlaw the C.I.O. and leave the field clear to the A.F. of L. But the danger is great that, by his crusade against the N.L.R.B. and his efforts to "revise" the Wagner Act, he may be opening the way for those who want to destroy both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. so as to leave the way clear for company unionism.

Poison of Dual Unionism

IF there is one person who embodies to the fullest degree the undesirable tendencies that impede the growth and progress of the C.I.O. on a number of fronts, that person is Harry Bridges. Stalinist intrigue, high-handed bureaucracy, union-wrecking for factional advantage—these have become the routine of Harry Bridges's activities.

Perhaps nothing better illustrates Harry Bridges's outlook on the labor movement than an incident that took place recently in San Francisco. A symposium on the labor situation was arranged there by the League for Industrial Democracy. To this symposium were invited the following: J. Shelley, president of the San Francisco Labor Council; Edward Vandeleur, secretary of the California Federation of Labor; Israel Feinberg, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Harry Lundberg, secretary of the Sailors Union of the Pacific; and—Harry Bridges, West Coast regional director of the C.I.O. Harry Bridges refused to attend, and refused in very characteristic terms. "I have a distinct distaste," he stated in his letter, "for lending my presence . . . to rounding out a

Fruits of Betrayal

Results of the Popular Front in France

By ALEXANDER COSANI

(Alexander Cosani is a well-known Italian socialist. One of the earliest anti-fascist leaders, he has already been in exile for over fifteen years. —Editor.)

WHAT is the lesson of the French Popular Front?

It sprang out of an instinctive union among all the French workers against the menace of fascism. This unity prevented the fascist rising in February 1934. It was strong enough to storm the citadels of French capitalism—as long as it was a workers alliance.

Then the Popular Front government was formed, including the French Radicals—and, from that moment, it deserted the workers. French Radicalism demanded its share in the direction of policy, and, acting as a brake on the workers demands, it transformed a live revolutionary movement into an instrument of capitalism.

It worked as a capitalist government by:

1. filching from the workers by means of devaluation all the gains they had obtained by their own economic efforts;
2. betraying the Spanish workers

at the behest of French capitalism and the City of London;

3. repressing the workers and peasants movements in the French colonial empire;

4. refusing to suppress the fascist organizations in France, which are now more powerful than ever;

5. destroying the springs of revolutionary activity in the workers movement and thus preparing the way for a war government of "national unity."

The watchword of the Popular Front is now "democratic war against fascism." This is as false as the 1914 slogan of "democratic war against Prussian militarism and German barbarism."

The workers will not be led again thus to the slaughter. Our watchword is: "Formation of a workers front against capitalism." Our task is to build a workers movement on a class basis which will fight unceasingly against all wars inherent in capitalism and imperialism, which will link up with other workers movements in the international field, and which will not follow the myth of collaboration with capitalism in any form, but will fight for socialism.

Nationalization Problem

(Continued from page 3)

oppose government ownership. Yet it cannot unreservedly favor it. For nationalization under the conditions described makes for fascism, becomes a part of fascism. For, as nationalization of "sick" industries (or other government aid to "sick" industries) uses up public money and piles up the public debt, the burdens upon industry and the people become worse, the economic crisis is aggravated, and the forces of fascism begin to multiply.

Hence, labor must have its own program on government ownership, independent and clear-cut, and aware of the reactionary possibilities of government ownership. Some aspects of such a program are as follows:

1. Labor must insist upon the deflation of the capital claims of industries that are nationalized. It must expose and oppose all capitalist efforts to use government ownership for the purpose of saving capital claims that ought to be wiped out.

program that embraces people who, to my way of thinking, are better exponents of employer plans to destroy unionism than the employers themselves. . . . If I have to appear to present my views against employers representatives, I prefer to do so with those openly and officially representing the employers."

Imagine this Bridges, who enthusiastically discusses "industrial peace" with the very dubious "Committee of 43" and the viciously reactionary Waterfront Employers Association, refusing to stand on the same platform with officials of bona-fide unions, including members of the C.I.O.! Imagine this Bridges, whose whole career in the labor movement falls into the short span of a few years, daring to refer to Israel Feinberg of the I.L.G.W.U. or to Harry Lundberg of the S.U.P. as "employers representatives," as "exponents of employer plans to destroy unionism!"

Here you have the psychology of dual unionism in its most sinister, virulent form. Such a man is indeed a menace to the labor movement, especially in view of his official standing in the C.I.O.

WORLD TODAY

By Lambda

Storm Over India

By YUSUF MEHERALLY
(Secretary, Congress Socialist Party of India)

A FRESH wave of discontent is sweeping over India. It recalls to mind the situation ten years ago, when the Simon Commission arrived in the country to meet with the hostility of a united people. The fierce attack by the police on the members of the Bombay Youth League leading a protest demonstration as the Simon Commission landed, was a prelude to many others that were to follow. From its first day to the last, the cry of "Simon, go back," pursued the commission wherever it went.

When it became clear that the British government insisted on getting ahead with its imperialist ambitions, the Indian National Congress met at Lahore under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru and took the momentous decision of changing its goal from the attainment of Dominion status to complete independence.

Three months later, Mahatma Gandhi led the first batch of resisters and invited the country to a campaign of non-violent civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes, and boycott of British goods.

In a short time, the prisons and concentration camps were overflowing with 100,000 prisoners—men and women alike—the cream of India's political workers.

India's determination to resist the federal part of the Government of India Act of 1935 is on a par with her determination to boycott the Simon Commission. If anything, during these years the determination has hardened and the unrest has gone deeper.

India is resolved not to accept any constitution except the one framed by a Constituent Assembly elected by the free vote of the people, by universal adult franchise.

If Britain insists on proceeding with her present plans for imposing the federation on an unwilling country, a major struggle between the people of India and British imperialism is indicated for the future.

In the midst of all this political uncertainty and perhaps because of it, a development of far-reaching importance for the future of the Indian struggle needs to be carefully watched.

Undoubtedly the awakening of the peasant masses has been the most outstanding event of the last two years in India. The Congress Socialist Party has given a powerful impetus to this movement, and its unremitting efforts in this direction have brought it added strength and prestige.

How important this question is can be seen from the fact that nearly three-quarters of India's total population of 350,000,000 is dependent on agriculture for a livelihood. And the peasants are distributed in 665,000 villages in a country very nearly the size of Europe.

Among the principal countries of the world, India has the highest percentage of people engaged in agriculture and a low percentage employed in industry, transport and trade. According to the census figures of 1931, no less than 73.9% of the population of India is living on agriculture as against 10.6% in the mining industry and 7.1% in transport and trade.

This compares very unfavorably with the advanced countries of the West. But, scarcely half a century ago, even countries like France and Germany had more people dependent on land than India.

In the West, however, rapid industrialization has reduced the pressure on the soil. In India, exactly the opposite has been the case. One hundred and eighty years of British rule have resulted in the ruin of India trade and industry and have thrown a larger and larger proportion of the population on the land.

During the last half century, the situation has grown particularly acute, as can be seen from the following table:

Year	% of population dependent on agriculture
1881	58.0
1791	61.06
1901	66.5
1921	71.6
1931	73.9

These are significant figures indeed!

The condition of the Indian cultivators has been deteriorating year by year. The world economic crisis and the consequent fall in the price of agri-

(Continued on Page 6)

News of the AGE

By ROBERT MACKLIN
DEBUNKING SOME STATISTICS

THE Merchants Association has come out with its yearly batch of statistics trying to prove that the salaries of office workers went up during 1937, the weekly average now being \$32.17. These figures include a group of accountants averaging over \$58.00 per week. But, in the end, the report is forced to admit reluctantly that stenographers, secretaries and office clerks suffered reductions.

One of the categories also included in the survey is called "and all other office occupations." Guess what that means. Last year, the same Merchants Association let the cat out of the bag, when it reported that \$50,000 a year executives were considered as office workers. Now, figure it out for yourself. Add one \$50,000 executive to sixty \$16.00-a-week clerks and you have an average of \$32.00 per week for sixty-one office workers. That's statistics for you!

Some More New Deals

This reminds me of a young lady who earns \$19.50 weekly. She has to budget herself quite strictly and does it in a rather unique way. I suspect this unique budget system is quite widely practiced. Her weekly wages are divided and marked: rent, meals, carfare, stockings, etc. Once in two weeks she includes one marked: movies. If something goes wrong, an illness for example, or a letter of distress from her folks with an appeal for financial aid, a new envelope makes its appearance marked: loan payments.

This young lady ought to be flattered, for down at Washington, D. C., the New Dealers are thinking about her. Her friend, F.D.R., believes that more of the American people should have the honor of helping the government finance its expenditures which, by the way, include the greatest war budget ever. He says that the tax burden must be broadened and, if his wishes become law, as they probably will, all single workers making more than \$16.00 weekly, will be paying an income tax! And so another envelope will find itself in the young lady's collection of budget items. It means that she will have to forego that bit of dessert at meal time, that she will have to inveigle some boy friends to pay for her movies, that she will have to ignore those runs in her stockings, that she will have to include more often the word "sorry" in the letters to her folks; but, after all, she will be making HER country safer for democracy!

I tried to convince this young lady that one more item should be included in her budget, that would be a real investment for her future and the future of her class—a subscription to the Workers Age. After reading several copies, she buttonholled me with a rapid fire of questions: "Who are you? What do you stand for? Have you any more literature? What can I do?"

It was a pleasure to answer these questions!

Washington, D. C.
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War Issue At SP Meet

(Continued from Page 3)

why one of the delegates, in a very effective speech, declared that the People's Front is dead, that no unity is possible between exploiters and exploited, whilst another speaker of the Left still defended the old formula of a "fighting People's Front," a slogan which had already been abandoned by the leadership of the Revolutionary Left before the Royan Congress.

After the Royan Congress, the Revolutionary Left decided to form a new party, the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.). They did it not only because the expulsion of the Seine Federation had been confirmed by the congress but above all because the decisions of the congress meant that the French Socialist Party would continue and extend the policy of national unity. The new party has issued a manifesto which contains a criticism of both the Socialist Party and the Stalinists and declares that the new party has but one aim—a socialist society; but one method—class struggle and revolution; but one banner—the Red Flag; but one song—the Internationale!

The creation of a revolutionary proletarian party in France is not an easy task under present conditions. It was an act of high moral courage that the Revolutionary Left, despite all difficulties, decided to accomplish the organizational rupture with reformism. This rupture is a first but a decisive step on the way to the formation of that real revolutionary party which the French working class needs so urgently and the lack of which has been felt so painfully during recent years.

Reading Labor for Anti-War Congress

Support for the Keep America Out Of War Congress has just been voted by both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. central bodies here, and Branch 10, American Federation of Hosiery Workers' has just affiliated. Station WFEU has carried an anti-war radio speech under the auspices of the Federated Trades Council, whose president, George Rhodes, is one of the local K.A.O. W. C. sponsors, together with May; or J. Henry Stump and Raymond E. Hofses, editor of the Reading Labor Advocate.

Washington, D. C.
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BOOKS

THE REST OF THE WORLD, by Ernest O. Hauser. Stackpole Sons, New York, 1938.

THIS racy little study of imperialist hypocrisy is as timely as tomorrow's newspaper. It also has a message for the liberal reader that the threat of fascism, with all its barbaric implications, "is the more immediate concern for the liberal than the welfare of eternal justice." To the author, the world's only security against the "daring onslaught of the monolithic league" is the "colonial monopoly of the democratic powers." But this only security is itself threatened by the "sweeping power" of colonial revolt, embracing hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world.

The author frankly states that "there is not a single moral reason to justify" the continuation of colonial rule by western powers. He knows that there is "unbelievable and unspeakable" poverty in India, which has been exploited ever since, in the days of the famous East India Company, "Indian thumbs were clipped to prevent Indian hands from spinning and weaving and thus from competing with Lancashire." He is well aware that in India there is as little freedom as in Nazi-land, for he tells us of the "carnage of Amritsar," where democratic Britain treated the natives "with a measure of cruelty and harshness unprecedented in the history of colonial administration." Tho a "great Asiatic people, in the grip of foreign rulers for a century and a half, is striving for its liberation," the author's theory of the "spiritual rejuvenescence" of democracy commands the liberal to defend every inch of colonial territory.

According to the author, the imperialist world is essentially divided into the old and complacent liberal nations and the monolithic states whose "manifest destiny is to run amok." He believes that

the anti-imperialist peace movement has just appeared here with the first issue of the Keep America Out of War Congress Record. The Record will come out monthly, carrying news of the united front between labor, peace, cooperative, farm, and other organizations, founded at the Washington Anti-War Congress. Sample copies may be secured by sending a 3-cent stamp to the office, 1707 H St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Subscriptions are \$1 a year.

The author properly uses material, measurable facts to judge imperialist behavior. Thus we learn that the British Empire means one-fourth of the surface of the earth. It means one-fourth of the total population inhabiting this planet. It means one-third of world trade. It means more than one-quarter of the world's wheat, cotton, copper and coal, about one-third of the world's zinc, lead and tin, more than one-half of the world's rubber and wool, nearly all the world's nickel and two-thirds of the world's gold production.

If you travel with the author over the eighty-five thousand nautical miles of trade routes that form the net of overseas communications of "this giant commonwealth whose domain has no limit, whose interests end nowhere," you will very easily discover what regulates British diplomacy which always gains something by giving nothing. Its aim is to maintain itself as the foremost shareholder in the colonial pool. And, according to the author, "the bulk of the world's key raw materials is controlled by a quasi-monopoly trust made up of five empires: the British, the French, the Dutch, the United States and the Soviet Union. This trust controls: 88% of the gold, 32% of the silver, 97% of the nickel, 60% of the tin, 50% of the copper, 80% of the iron, 97% of the rubber, 80% of the cotton production, 70% of the wool, 70% of the oil, 74% of the coal, 65% of the wheat."

From this array of figures, it would seem that Lenin's old-fashioned theory that imperialism, whether of the fascist or democratic variety, is based upon the search for sources of raw material as well as markets for the sale of goods and export of capital, is quite sound. But Mr. Hauser disagrees: "The insight that not so much material motives as immaterial and immeasurable factors are moving the world again, this insight makes the analysis both

Local 22 Strengthens Its Position Despite Crisis

New York City
With 98% of its membership in good-standing and hundreds of younger unionists enrolling in the day-to-day activities of the union thru the educational department, Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. is now in a stronger position than at any previous time in its history. Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of the union, reported recently. Local 22 has 30,000 members in its ranks.

Despite the depression, there have been no defections from the local's ranks, largely, according to Manager Zimmerman, because there is no longer any question in the dressmaker's mind of the union's importance in maintaining standards and of the catastrophic results which would follow any weakening of the union's position. Discipline and interest have been exceptionally high thru the past season due to the local's successful efforts to secure the maximum cooperation from shop chairmen and the general membership in carrying out the union program, and especially the drive to attach unemployed members to shops.

Attempts to stir up dissatisfaction among union members, made by some questionable elements in the local, failed miserably because it was apparent to all that unemployment was due to general economic conditions completely outside the control of the union and that the local itself was making every conceivable effort to protect its membership from the effects of depression.

As the industry approaches the new season, Mr. Zimmerman stressed the fact that Local 22 is a tightly-knit organization ready to play its part in the crucial period preceding negotiations for the new agreement.

comfortable and rewarding." Not only is this theory not true; it is not even comforting. We must suppose that \$18,700,000,000 in gold held by the "three key democracies," Britain, France and the United States, is just so much "spiritual rejuvenescence." And the group of nations that controls more than four-fifths of this "immaterial and immeasurable" substance—gold—can rule the world. Is it to perpetuate this that we need a "united front of democracies" against the "totalitarianism of capitalism?" It is noteworthy that, in practical foreign politics, the three "great democracies" are reduced to two, Britain and the United States, for we must agree with the author in what he says about France: "The Quai d'Orsay has become one of the departments of Downing Street."

To the author, the U.S.S.R. is the "priceless term, a monolithic country, was coined" by the premier of Soviet Ukraine who said: "The executions were justified because we are a monolithic state." He finds that the only difference between Stalinism and fascism "lies in the ideological background." Tho we believe that both fascism and authoritarian regime, they are poles apart in their social and economic character. The Soviet bureaucracy rests uneasily upon a socialist economic base, the fascist economic structure itself rests upon an explosive volcano. Mr. Hauser would classify the Soviet Union with the fascist nations; the Stalinists would place the U.S.S.R. among the "great democracies." In reality, the Soviet Union is in a class by itself—a socialist island in a capitalist sea. The interests of Soviet Russia lie, not with the powers that be, but with the powers to be.

Knowing that imperial Britain spans the "universe as no other organized unit ever did before," it is not hard to foretell its foreign policy. Thus, without consulting the Oracle of Cliveden on the Thames, where as they say "presides Lady Astor, whose week-ends brew . . . a witches-broth," the author could write, long before the event: "An armed conflict in the Mediterranean waters is not desirable to the British, and Downing Street diplomacy will continue to ask for Italy's friendship. The battleships are not quite ready yet, and, for the time being, it is safe for Britain to have as many friends along the Mediterranean shores as possible." The ingredients for the imperialist broth of British diplomacy come from the Seven Seas. Here are to be found the fates that spin the destiny of "the master of imperial rule" and of the world.

A. E.

Missouri Labor Politics

St. Louis Labor Unites Forces for Elections

By ALBERT EDMUND
(Our Midwestern Correspondent)

St. Louis, Mo.

FOR the first time in Missouri politics, the trade unions of St. Louis are campaigning as organized bodies for a labor candidate. Some 300 locals of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. have endorsed, thru the Union Labor Party (A.F. of L.) and Labor's Non-Partisan League (primarily C.I.O.), the candidacy of A. J. Pickett for the Democratic nomination as Congressman from the 12th Missouri Congressional district, which embraces part of the city of St. Louis and all of St. Louis County. (St. Louis belongs to no county.) The I.L.G.W.U., which is affiliated with neither Labor's Non-Partisan League of St. Louis nor with the Union Labor Party, has also endorsed Mr. Pickett. The unions have not merely given their endorsement to Mr. Pickett but are actively campaigning for him at large mass meetings, which have been held with A.F. of L. and C.I.O. speakers participating. The name of every union member residing in the district has been indexed and A.F. of L. and C.I.O. committees work from each of the thirteen ward and township headquarters to canvass the union membership, in addition to the regular canvass of Democratic voters. Here we have the embryo for the organization of an independent political party of labor. It is only an embryo which has to be freed from connection with the Democratic party lest it die unborn.

Why Support For Pickett

The enthusiastic support for Mr. Pickett comes not only because of his own popularity but also because of the extreme unpopularity of his opponent, the incumbent, C. Arthur Anderson, who has a 100% anti-labor record. He opposed original wage-hour bill, fought bitterly against the National Labor Relations Board on behalf of Henry Ford, whose tool he is in St. Louis. At Ford's request, he has attacked the St. Louis Regional Labor Board during its hearings on the anti-labor practices of the St. Louis plant of the Ford Motor Car Co. Only a short time ago, he addressed a closed meeting of the company union at Ford's. His speeches against unionism have been printed at government expense for distribution here. It is said that his speeches against the United Automobile Workers were prepared by Ford lawyers. He is reported to have boasted in private of having received Ford money which will elect him to office.

But, in spite of this miserable anti-labor record, William Green, president of the A.F. of L., sent Mr. Anderson a letter of endorsement! As a result, the Non-Partisan Union Labor Party of St. Louis (A.F. of L.) sent a letter to Green on April 15, from which we quote the following pertinent sections: "At the last meeting of our party, cognizance was taken of a St. Louis Star-Times item, dated March 23, 1938, in which you are quoted as endorsing the record of Congressman C. Arthur Anderson and urging his reelection. Unfortunately, Mr. Anderson's public record is such that it would be impossible to mobilize the labor vote here in his behalf. Furthermore, Mr. A. J. Pickett, popular general chairman of Railway Clerks on the M. K. and T. (Brotherhood of Railway Clerks on the Missouri, Kansas and Texas line—Editor) and assistant to General President George M. Harrison, is filing as Anderson's opponent."

The letter also rebuked Mr.

Green for his high-handed attitude and gave a significant warning: "The undersigned were also instructed to make the respectful request that, in the future, accredited local leaders of the American Federation of Labor unions be consulted before endorsements are given to candidates in this area. It is obvious that labor's political success will be impossible unless we can unify the rank and file for the candidates we support." This letter proves quite definitely that joint action between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. is possible in many instances.

Mr. Pickett's Platform

Mr. Pickett has not only been active in the labor movement all of his life but his platform is built around a labor program, tho it contains the usual political shibboleths which labor should learn to avoid. Some of the important planks in his platform are:

"1. I favor legislation to adequately compensate W.P.A. employees for transportation costs to and from their place of employment, and more efficient placement of workers.

"2. I favor and support the National Labor Relations Act and will work and vote for its improvement.

"3. I shall work and vote to improve the minimum-wage and maximum-hour law to the end that it may better the American social system.

"4. I favor the provisions of the Wage-Hour Bill that prohibits child labor in industries engaged in interstate commerce.

"5. I stand foursquare on the proposition that federal employees shall be protected in their pension and employment rights.

"6. I favor equal pay for women when performing the same work that is performed by men.

"7. I favor legislation that would tax government-exempt bonds.

"8. I believe that religious and race intolerance has no place in our American system."

On the other hand, the platform contains some undesirable planks on war debts and militarization. The Roosevelt issue also plays an important part in this campaign.

On The Road To A Labor Party

It seems that labor's climb toward independent political action is slow and still enveloped in the fog of old-party politics. But there are definite signs of encouragement in the organized and unified efforts of labor to elect its own candidates. The functioning of organized independent labor groups in this campaign can lead to the eventual development of a real labor party. A vigorous effort has been made to get the workers to vote in the primaries not merely as citizens but as workers. The campaign centers primarily upon labor issues and not upon general and vague slogans. If the St. Louis labor movement learns from the Kennedy experience in Pennsylvania that it is dangerous to limit the activity of labor to primary elections and that labor must create its own instrument for political activity by setting up strong independent political machinery in every locality, then win or lose in the primaries, labor will have strengthened itself for its future battles.

**HAVE YOU A SUB?
GET ONE NOW!**

STORM OVER INDIA

(Continued from Page 4)

cultural produce has made the situation all the worse.

While the income is half of what it was in 1930, and in some cases only one-third, the burden of land revenue has scarcely decreased.

This deterioration is reflected in the figures for rural indebtedness. The Central Banking Inquiry Committee appointed by the government of India reported the total agricultural debt of India at roughly £700,000,000.

Many impartial and competent observers regard this figure as a gross underestimate. However, there is more general agreement that the depression of the past years and the occurrence of falling prices has very nearly doubled the total of debt.

In the Punjab, the figure for debt stood in 1921 roughly at £70,000,000. By 1929, it had increased to £105,000,000—an increase of 50% in eight years. It is estimated that stands today roughly at £150,000,000.

Agriculture in India is not a means of living, but a mode of living. This was the dictum laid down by the Royal Commission of Indian Agriculture over which the present Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, presided.

Ninety per cent of the farmers live on borrowing and an expert inquiry committee which made a survey of 54 villages in the Matah Taluka of Gujerat came to the conclusion that only 6% of the peasants were free from debt, while the rest had to borrow even to pay land revenue to the government.

This desperate condition helps the Indian peasant to realize that his only hope lies in helping in the liberation of his country from the foreign yoke. For he realizes that only thus is it possible to have a government that would look with sympathy on its unfortunate plight.

The peasant program of the Congress Socialist Party, with its three cardinal items, is making a larger and larger appeal to the peasant. These three points are:

1. Abolition of feudal landlords and of all intermediaries between the cultivator and the state.

2. Lifting the burden of debt from the shoulders of the cultivator.

3. Substantial reduction in land revenue and the abolition of all feudal and semi-feudal levies.

The Indian peasant today is throbbing with a new life. A great part of the credit must be given to Jawaharlal Nehru, whose whirlwind tours have infused a new spirit of hope.

If a vigorous movement starts on the issue of resisting the present federal scheme, the Indian peasant is bound to make history.

The People Want Peace

K.A.O.W.C. Movement Leads in Anti-War Fight

(Continued from Page 3)

ten cities like Wilkes-Barre, Pa. A battleship costs approximately seventy million dollars. This amount would be sufficient to build new modern homes for 14,000 families, or about two-thirds the population of Wilkes-Barre.

4. Abandonment of all existing plans for industrial mobilization and opposition to new plans for universal conscription. This has particular reference to the so-called Sheppard-May bills which were placed before the session of Congress that recently ended. These bills provide for the conscription of man-power as well as for the dictatorial control of industry, labor and agriculture. They give the President full power to set wage rates, interest rates, rents, hours of labor, etc.

The titles of these bills state that their purpose is "to prevent profiteering in time of war and to equalize the burdens of war and thus provide for the national defense and promote peace." But, as the minority report from the House Committee on Military Affairs states, the present bill "positively does not prevent profiteering nor equalize the burdens of war. It makes no provision for the national defense. It does not promote peace. . . . An honest title to this bill would be a bill to take democracy out of America upon the declaration of war."

These bills are vicious and anti-democratic. Their passage would be the first step toward the scourge of fascism in this country.

5. American cooperation for international peace—but no alliance with any nation or group of nations for war, declared or undeclared, under any name or any pretext.

Social Constructions Against Armaments

6. Above all, concentration on the struggle against injustice, unemployment, bad housing and poverty at home and a determination to seek our prosperity thru that struggle rather than in war trade.

As long as the pressure of the economic crisis continues, as long as depressed economic activity and unemployment prevail, the United States will itself increasingly generate forces moving toward larger armaments, fascism and war and it will be unable to utilize its economic resources for world peace.

It is necessary to implement a peaceful, constructive program of economic alternatives to armaments and war as a means of meeting the economic crisis. It is necessary to carry thru a program of economic and social betterment capable of creating full employment of our economic resources and labor, of multiplying the output of useful goods and services, of increasing the earnings of workers and lower-salaried employees, of moving toward continu-

ously higher standards of living.

All progressive forces struggling against war, and particularly the labor movement, must demand a planned government program of economic and social betterment capable of raising the level of economic activity and of destroying the pressure driving toward armaments, war and fascism. The struggle for a more progressive economic and social order is an inescapable part of the struggle for peace.

On this minimum program was the Keep America Out of War Committee established. With this program as a basis, our efforts are now directed to setting up Keep America Out of War Committees in every state in the Union and in every community.

The Labor Section

If I were asked to name the one single fact that distinguishes this anti-war movement from others, I would say it is the creation of a section of the National Anti-War Congress itself, consisting of organized labor.

For the first time, an effective agency has been created thru which organized labor will, by itself and in collaboration with other anti-war forces, wage an effective fight against war and the things that make for war. More than 300 of the 1,000 delegates came as representatives of labor unions affiliated with both the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. Such unions as the United Automobile Workers, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies Garment Workers, the United Shoe Workers, sections of the railroad brotherhoods, city and state federations of labor and city and state industrial councils were actively represented by delegates, sent either by their International office or by locals or by both. No one can doubt that the participation of unions in such key industries as automobile and steel lends this movement an element of effectiveness sorely lacking heretofore.

In this movement, it is wisely provided that "group and organizations affiliated with the Congress have the right to develop outside of the minimum program for joint action, their own full programs for advancing peace and opposing war, militarism, imperialism, fascism and totalitarian dictatorships."

The Labor Section accordingly adopted by unanimous vote the following provisions which are to be added in principle to the program of the Labor Section:

1. Lifting of the embargo against Loyalist Spain.

2. International solidarity of workers against war and causes of war, namely imperialism.

3. Promotion of the use of labor's power to prevent the arming and equipping of fascist and imperialist nations for purposes of war.

4. Nationalization of the munitions industry.

Another accomplishment of this Congress is its success in the pioneer job of uniting the many youth groups thruout the country into a national youth movement against war. The importance of active, well-organized national youth participation is all too obvious to require further elaboration here.

Today, the American people do not want war. But a new Panay incident, the propaganda of profit-seekers and militarists, the well-meant but mistaken idealism of certain advocates of "collective security," and the calculated intention of others to use it to cloak a war alliance, will yet, unless we are on our guard, sweep us into war. Now is the time to act!

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