First Glance

By Jay Lovestone -

ONE angle of the savage persecution of the Jews in Germany has been entirely overlooked. Everyone recognizes that the Paris shooting incident was just a flimsy excuse seized upon by the Nazi bloodhounds. The present drive against those who have not been able to secure Aryanization certificates was planned in its minutest detail many months ago.

But why did Goebbels and Hitler let loose the "spontaneous" pogrom just at this time? We cannot underscore too heavily that its timing is tied up with the war crisis. Totalitarian dictatorships are buttressed by nothing as much as by their capacity to plant in the great mass of the population a terrific fear of brutal terror. During the Munich days, a surprising manifestation of opposition to war was evidenced in Germany. Mothers, wives and sisters, in certain instances, jammed the railroad stations, demonstrated against troops being rushed to the Czech and other borders, and defied en masse the Nazi terror. Particularly in southern Germany was anti-war sentiment expressed defiantly by factory workers.

Obviously, the Nazi chieftains had to act speedily to sharpen the edge of the fascist terror, an edge somewhat blunted during the Munich days. There was only one way of restoring such horror and fear of the Nazi dictatorship. That way was to strike such terror into the hearts of the most persecuted, the Jews, and thus to set such an example in bestiality as to restore and even intensify among the masses the fear of the Hitler regime. Precisely because the element of fear haunts the masses, it helps the government maintain itself in power over them. Essentially, this principle also guided Czarist strategy in the Romanov pogroms of pre-war Russia.

ALL EYES ON LIMA

LL eyes on Lima! While this A LL eyes on Line.

pan-American conference does not compare with the Munich confab in immediate import, its potentialities are challenging. Not a state in the Union, not a country on earth, will be unaffected by its decisions. In the sweet words that will be poured out there, not much substance will be found. But, in the why and wherefore of the gathering, in the aims-remote, even more than immediate-set by Uncle Sam, we find much to ponder.

The United States has long outgrown the problem of states rights | journal is to be issued. We need, as a major issue, tho there still we must have a bigger, more differences and conflicts of policy. More than that, the of militant labor struggle and United States now speaks most decisively in terms beyond its national frontiers. We are now operating on a much grander scale on a hemisphere basis. Hence, Roosevelt speaks of a navy to "defend" not merely New York or San Francisco, but of a navy and air force to "defend" the entire western hemisphere. In summary, the Wall Street empire has expanded its interests and, therefore, has been compelled to enlarge its horizon and the cruising distances of its naval vessels and airships.

Lima is one of the answers by Washington to Hitler's drive for world hegemony and Germany's encroachments on Wall Street's South American trade preserves, to Japan's slamming the "Open Door" in the face of the United States as a serious competitor in the Far East. In this light, one (Continued on Page 2)

Workers Ag

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 49.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1938

5с а Сору

We Expand Our Press! General Strike Is

\$3,500 Fund Needed for Bigger Workers Age And for New Theoretical Journal

By WILL HERBERG

T no period in recent history A has a clear, militant constructive voice in the labor movement been as necessary as today. The landmarks of generations have been destroyed. Conceptions once held as unquestioned principles now lie shattered in the dust. Organizations in which millions of workers have placed all their hopes for the future have proven bankrupt and impotent. Reaction is in the saddle, driving forward from one victory to another; labor stands divided, uncertain, confused, without confidence in its own powers and without the leadership that the emergency demands. This is a picture of things on a world scale and increasingly things are shaping up this way in this country

Our only hope lies in stemming this retreat, in inspiring the working masses with renewed confidence in themselves, with renewed determination to go forward to victory. But, if this is ever to be done, it must start at the top, with the more advanced, more a threat to the peace of either class-conscious sections of the continent. Among the organizaworking class at home and abroad, tions taking this position were the Here is where the tide of confusion | Keep America Out of War Conand demoralization must be turned. Here is where a new spirit of unity and militancy, a new clarity of aim and purpose, a new faith in socialism, must arise.

For us this situation is a challenge and a call to action. We must become, far more adequately than we have ever been, a decisive force in this effort for reorientation and revival. And for that reason we must multiply manifold the power and effectiveness of our most important weapon-our press!

The recent session of our National Council decided to enlarge and extend our press. The Workers Age is to be increased in size and changed to newspaper form. A new bimonthly theoretical popular Age, to bring our message socialism to the masses of the workers and hard-pressed middleclass people. We need, we must have a theoretical journal for an independent study of the tremendous problems brought forward by the historical crisis of the international working-class movement. Without this expansion of our press, we cannot hope to cope with the big problems confronting us.

entail an additional expense of at tion of huge navies introducing practises.

least \$3,500 for the first year. This sum must be raised and raised without delay if our program is to go thru as scheduled. That is the purpose of the Special Press Fund

The Drive is already under way. We appeal to every reader of the Age, to every member and friend of the Independent Labor League. Do you share in this Drive! Send in your contribution—get contributions from your friends and fellowworkers! Help us build up a press that our movement needs and must

Called In France

It's Coming!

66 NEVER in our generation since the fourminute speakers and Liberty bond orators, poster artists, publicists and preachers inflamed our passions two decades ago has there been such a build-up for war in this country as is going on right now."-Editorial in the New York World-Telegram, November 26, 1938.

Anti-War Groups Attack Roosevelt Arms Polic

"Continental Defense" Slogan Hides Imperialism

and military establishment to defend the western hemisphere, were attacked last week by seven peace organizations as creating another "Martian invasion" scare and as contrary to pan-American agreements for consultation in case of gress and the Labor Anti-War Council.

"Hysteria," the statement of the organizations said, "is taking the place of reason in thinking and speaking of international affairs. The show is not being staged by Orson Welles but by the President of the United States. It is not as good a job but it is decidedly more dangerous.

"We condemn utterly the policies and methods of Hitler and Mussolini. We believe in the firmest possible protection of democracy. But we assert that all history has proved that battleships and bombing planes cannot stop economic or cultural penetration of nations. Such penetration from abroad can be met only by improving the ties between the nathe western hemisphere The job of the United States is to | Congress enact a clarifying amendshow the American countries a ment making it plain that the working democracy here and lend penalties provided in the act also living standards so that fascism wages. will have no appeal.

"As for armed invasion by fas-

Current plans to create a naval | into all American countries the 'armament economy' which today causes most of the trouble in Germany and Italy is, on the other hand, the open door to fascist theories of government.

"Attempted overlordship by the United States, it is already clearly indicated, will make for worse, not better, relations between the two American continents. Camouflage of imperialism behind hysterical cries of 'threats' to democracy and 'common defense' may fool the people of the United States but they will not fool Latin-Americans. The protection of democracy in this hemisphere calls instead for support of every democratic movement in Latin-America.

"The President will do the whole (Continued on Page 2)

Andrews Bans Wage Trickery

Employers who reduced higherbracket wages to the minimum level of 25 cents an hour prescribed under the wage-hour act, are violating the law and acting in a Mr. Andrews also stated that he

Plans for steps for enforcement were indicated by Mr. Andrews's cist states, we need never fear announcement that he was looking that will be attempted unless fas- for some "good" cases on which to cism has first won the loyalty of the peoples of Latin-America. the books of the business concerns Fascist ideas cannot be kept out involved would be made, it was This expansion of our press will by a line of battleships. Construct emphasized, to check any such

Daladier Threatens Fierce Repression Under **Martial Law**

A general strike of all French workers on Wednesday, November 30, was proclaimed last week by the C.G.T., French trade-union federation, as the culmination of the powerful strike movement, already embracing nearly 200,000 workers, that gripped the country in protest against the Daladier decrees destroying the 40-hour week law and establishing heavy penalties for refusal to work extra hours.

The government made every preparation for severe repressions. Premier Daladier, after consultation with the army chiefs, threatened the establishment of martial

The strike wave assumed particularly big proportions in the North and in the Paris regions. The metal, mining and auto industries were especially affected, with sitdown strikes coming to the fore again. The government answered with ruthless police tactics. Mobile Guards were sent against the strikers at Denain, near Lille, and at several points outside of Paris. Tear-gas bombs were used at the great Renault plant along the Seine River. Casualties mounted into the scores during the first days.

As the strike movement seemed about to reach the railroad workers, the government issued a decree calling all employees into military service under mar'tial law. The Workers Federation, Railroad meeting in Paris last week, voted in favor of a general strike.

In government circles, the possibility of taking steps very soon to dissolve the Communist Party was being widely discussed. Such action was forecast some time ago as an essential part of the reactionary, pro-fascist course being followed by the Daladier cabinet. Only a year ago, the French Communist Party was conducting all its political agitation under the main slogan: "Daladier in power!"

In the trade-union movement, the Stalinists are now suffering "most illegal manner," Elmer F. considerable setbacks because of Andrews, Fair Labor Standards their disruptive activities and Administrator declared last week. intrigues for domination. Despite a deal apparently reached between was considering a suggestion that Leon Jouhaux and other top union leaders, on the one hand, and the Communist Party, on the other, every Stalinist candidate was a hand to help them raise their apply to such attempts to slash defeated in the elections for the executive committee of the C.G.T. held recently at a session of the National Confederation Commit-

In Wake Of Munich

A so-called "peace" pact, along lines similar that entered into between Chamberlain and Hitler some weeks ago, was concluded between France and Germany last week. Immediately following, "consultations" took place between the premiers of Great Britain and France, as a result of which, it was understood, French foreign policy was brought into more or less complete alignment with that of England, especially on the question of "appeasement" of the fascist powers, the Spanish civil war and the Far Eastern crisis.

HELP BUILD A NEW SOCIALIST PRESS

see ad on page 5

The implication is too clear. To

day, anyone who so much as criti-

Now, what we would like t

know is: Were Browder and the

Communist Party fascists when

the New Deal in the not too distant

"No dependence on Roosevelt is

"Let us remind Mr. Roosevel

since he has been in office has been

poor."-The Communist, Apr. 1936.

serves only as a cover for feverish

preparations for war which today

are the predominant concern of

"Clearly Roosevelt's program

the Roosevelt regime."-The Com

also leading to the sharpening of

country and is placing on the

agenda, here also, the problem

the revolutionary seizure of power

by the toiling masses, the prole

tarian revolution. The objective

prerequisites for a revolutionary

"The New Deal (N.R.A. as key-

stone) has led to a further impov-

The Communist, February 1934.

"Under the guise of public works, it has diverted immense

millions to the building of a vast-

Of course, all this was as far

ago. For Stalinism a thousand

ears couldn't mark a more com-

Anti-War Groups Attack

President's Arms Policy

(Continued from Page 1) cause of inter-American coopera-

tion a service by withholding

further attempts to scare people

into moves which have not been

thought thru and on which our

supposed partners have not been

consulted. He will also do a favor

o the taxpayers of this country

by not pyramiding further tax

burdens of billions of dollars upon

YOUTH DANCE

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Entertainment . . . Games

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Youth Branches, I.L.L.A.

olete political transformation!

ly larger navy and the mechaniza-

munist, February 1934.

munist, February 1934.

nist, April 1934.

"The peace talk of Roosevelt

the first principle."-The Commu

is virtually a fascist.

Serve?

A CCORDING to a state-ment of Sir John Simon

in the House of Commons,

last week. Ambassador Ken-

nedy helped the British gov-

ernment suppress parts of

an American newsreel criti-

cal of Prime Minister Cham-

berlain's policy in the Czecho-

slovakian crisis. Acting for

Chamberlain, Kennedy got in

touch with the Paramount

News in Hollywood and

obtained the removal of

sequences featuring inter-

views with British editors

denouncing the Munich

This is the second time in

recent weeks that Ambas-

sador Kennedy has gone out

of his way to assist Prime

Minister Chamberlain in his

policy of conniving with the

fascist dictators under cover

of the slogan of "appease-ment." Whom does Ambas-

sador Kennedy represent

anyway—the American

people or the British For-

eign Office? Isn't is about

time that a movement was

started for his recall and

wn. This is also revealed by the

Workers Back McLevy

replacement?

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1) must understand Roosevelt's real concern over the following finding by the U.S. Chamber of Com-

"It is significant that during the decade (1927-1936 inclusive) the share of the United States in providing the goods purchased abroad by each of the South American nations has shown a decline. While our country still does the bulk of the trade with the South American continent as a whole, this survey leaves little doubt that our leading position is being challenged constantly by other nations, particularly Germany and Japan."

Furthermore, direct United States investments in Latin America exceed by more than a billion dollars the combined American investments in Europe and Asia. It WMCA, Earl Browder said, by cizes Roosevelt and the New Deal is true that yesterday trade followed the flag (war or force). But, unless we wake up and do something drastic to change it, we will find that tomorrow the flag (army, velt and the New Deal represent they denounced both Roosevelt and navy, air force) will follow today's

EVERYTHING FOR WAR

100 often and too emphatically L we cannot stress that, from now on, "national defense"-preparation for war-will be the cenpolicies. This sheds considerable its democratic institutions" are belight (but for the workers it affords cause we have war prosperity withno warmth or comfort) on the quiet but persistent preparations distributions the distribution of the preparations out war! Only fools will then work themselves up over an unbalanced quiet but persistent preparations of the W.P.A. to throw many thousands from its relief rolls. There is to be a shift of spending—from to be a shift of spending—from the spending—from the spending—from the spending of the meager social security to adequate "national defense."

picious to arrive at this rather unkind interpretation of what animates Roosevelt's strategy here. In the face of German imperialist drives for more spheres of influence, for a bigger share of the world market, for a redistribution of the loot plundered by the juri- hail themselves as peace-insurers! dically victorious powers in the The damnable thing about the last war, it is very easy to get whole fatal business is that it's all tremendous popular support for a a nightmare for which we will pay erishment of the toiling masses."ities accompanying Hitler's im- into their own hands-with corpses And, in a momentary sense, won't | ilization. unemployment be reduced when Nov. 23, 1938.

Here's An Answer!

cal read with joy the announcement of a bigger Workers Age and a new theoretical journal. We do need them! And we need them now more than ever because now is the time to organize against fascism and war before it is too late. We must grow to fight more effectively for socialism, and will grow with a bigger Workers Age and a theoretical paper. Here's \$5 for the Special Press Fund. I'll try to get my fellow workers to send some money.—An R.C.A.-Victor Worker, Camden, N. J.

This is one worker's answer. How about yours? Do your share! See the ad on page 5-and send your in contribution immediately to the Special Press Fund, Workers Age, 131 West 33rd Street,

Was Browder a "Fascist"?

Stalinist Denunciations Hit Own Leaders

N a recent address over Station the New York Times, Nov. 1:

"Those Americans who are carrying on such a vicious campaign f hatred against President Roosethe same forces that brought about the peace of Munich and its con- past? For instance:

keels are laid down for battleships, when motors are built for planes, nist, April 1936. when bodies are turned out for military trucks? We can just that his entire taxation policy magine millions listening to Fireside Chat No. What Not telling us to relieve the rich and burden the "how wonderful this country and ment authority will go up and out with its fascist war objectives eral control or centralized governwith the smoke from the fireplace. One need not be cynical or sus-Roosevelt regime will not have an

shops on Capitol Hill. Farley can truly say: Blessed are the war-preparers when they crisis are maturing."-The Comhuge army and navy. The bestial- |-unless the workers take matters | perialist moves help lots in this piled to the heavens, with ruins dedirection. Who is there who can fying imagination, with suffering protest against spending for such untold and indescribable. These are "constructive" purposes? Certain- the glories of the most powerful ly, not the steel magnates, nor the and, for a time, the most popular ship-builders, nor the bankers! of the leaders of present-day civ-

easy time of it, tho they may have

more seat-warmers in both talk-

WHAT TO DO?

NEWS FROM THE INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, Wednesday, Nov. 30, 7:00 p. m.—on "Where Is American Labor Going?", a discussion of Benjamin Stolberg's "The Story of the C.I.O." and Edward Levinson's "American Labor on the March."

JAY LOVESTONE, Thursday, Dec. 1, 6:15 p. m.—on "Our Changing Economy-the Challenge to Labor."

WILL HERBERG, Monday, Dec. 5, 7:00 p.m.—on democracy, fascism and sovietism.

LEWIS COREY, Tuesday, Dec. 6, 8:45 p.m.—on "Is America Different?, the sixth lecture in a series of eight.

Single admission 25 cents

All lectures at the INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

WORDS ARE NOT ENOUGH



Tim outraged! I'm indignant! I'm wholly shocked! I'm symbathetic! I'm almost: symbathetic enough to grant refuge in my own country to the stricken almost, but not quite."

Open the Doors to the Refugees!

THE whole civilized world is aroused to horror and indignation at I the savage persecution of the Jews in Germany deliberately instigated by the Nazi government. Condemnations of the Hitler regime, manifestations of sympathy with the victims of anti-Semitism, expressions of abhorrence of the Nazi tormentors, are universal. Even President Roosevelt himself, tho he is the official head of the government, has joined in this chorus of humanity.

But are kind words all we have for the victims of the bloody orgies of Nazi anti-Semitism? They seek a refuge, a shelter in this dreadful storm of endless persecution. But when they turn their eyes with hope to this country, they find the way barred by cruel and senseless immigration restrictions. They plead for a place where they may rest their weary heads; we give them fine resolutions!

President Roosevelt denounces the Nazi pogroms as "shocking," funds from the care of starving as something he "could scarcely believe could occur in a twentiethcentury civilization"; but he keeps the gates of this country locked against those who beg for refuge. He recalls Ambassador Wilson as a tion of the army."-The Commuform of diplomatic protest; but he does nothing about relaxing immigration restrictions, even where this is possible within the general back as-two years and four years provisions of the present law.

When a neighbor's family is beset and beaten by bandits, is it enough to denounce the outrage and send a message of sympathy to the victims, while refusing them shelter for the night because we claim we can't afford it? That is the shameful position to which we are reduced unless we do something to open the gates of this country to the victims of anti-Semitism and other forms of fascist persecution.

All labor, all liberal, progressive and humanitarian opinion, should nite in this cause during the present emergency. Let us demand prompt action from the President and from the new Congress when it meets: Open the doors of America to the refugees! Unless this is done, all our protestations and resolutions are the sheerest hypocrisy!

Bazaar and Dance

December 15 thru December 18, 1938 RIVERA HALL, 131 West 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Proceeds to aid German Refugees

The BAZAAR will be open Thursday and Friday evening and all day Saturday and Sunday, December 15, 16, 17 and 18.

A big selection of dresses, cloaks, furs, toys, books, etc. A Mexican table with a large assortment of attractive novelties. All articles will be sold at half

DANCE on Saturday evening, December 17 at 8:30 P. M. Fine music - games - refreshments.

Elections in Connecticut

McLevy Vote Marks Important Political Shift

working. These curious operations

netted the neat sum of \$330,000. In

addition, funds were being illegal-

professional lobbyists and state

ing transactions between 1930-35

the revelation of the inner work-

ings of the two-party machine in

the state legislature, which forced

ventures. The other scandal in-

volved the state highway depart-

ment in the misuse of the \$20,-

000,000 fund for the construction

of the Merritt Parkway, linking

By ART STONE

Hartford, Conn. THE recent election in Connec- ly paid out of the city treasury to L ticut was in many ways really the most interesting legislators with the purpose of oband significant of all the New taining the Waterbury extra ap-England political shows. The les- propriations out of the state funds. sons that it has taught and the And, to top it all, the most improblems that it has raised have portant books and vouchers coverin the main been misinterpreted by the interested parties, and par- and the warrant books for 1936 and ticularly by large sections of the 1937 were stolen from the city labor movement. The outcome has records. An additional result was left all parties, even the victors, in a state of confusion and uncertainty; old standards of political wisdom have been assailed, poli- the resignation of some of the tical fences have been scattered on leading political figures in both all sides and a continual chorus of parties on charges ranging from whys and wherefores have been lobbying to outright stealing of flowing from the newspapers to state funds for personal business explain the results. The reason? A third party threat has appeared on the horizon!

Victory By Default

As in every other New England New York and Massachusetts with state, the Republicans have won a 1 ninety-mile thru traffic highdecisive hold on the political ma- way. In this connection, faulty conchinery of Connecticut, as well as struction of bridges and roads, exon its Congressional representa- cessive payments for land acquired tion. But, in many respects, it ap- for the project brokerage fees for pears to be a victory by default. In the deals being split by politicians an off-year election that saw the and real-estate agents on the inappearance at the polls of the side, short deliveries of goods and largest number of voters ever to services contracted for, and in genparticipate in a state election as eral a hotbed of small and large such, particularly workers from corruptions in the department, were the factory towns, the Republicans revealed. Into this mess, McLevy were barely able to squeeze their rode, flying the white banner of ticket into office by margins of honest, cheap and efficient govern-2,000 to 15,000 votes out of a total ment. He campaigned on the basis ticket did not pay much attention the votes drawn by the third party, ministration of the city of Bridge- in the main, the labor organizathe right-wing Socialist Party, port. His appeal was largely per- tions of the state backed the Deheaded by Jasper McLevy, would sonal, since he did not have an mocratic, and to a lesser extent, cialist Party organizing any seriway. In the two key sectors of the part of the state outside his home state political domain, the McLevy socialists cut deep into the vote of both the Republicans and Democrats, but more deeply and decisively into that of the Democratic party. In the four biggest cities in the state, usually predominantly Democratic, McLevy picked up over 50,000 new votes of a total of 200,-000 cast outdrawing the Republican margin over the Republicans from 70,000 in 1936 to 35,000 in 1938. sonalities involved.

Meaning Of McLevy Vote

\$1.25

by Lewis Corey Listed at \$2.50

Workers Age Bookshop 131 West 33rd Street

The Road to Fascism Whom Does He

Main Enemy is Reactionary Forces at Home

By D. BENJAMIN

(Concluded from the last issue)

country of Leon Blum, Thorez their respective Internationals and Daladier—once the boast of the have learned nothing from Hitler socialists and the pride of the com- and 1933. munists. France, in its own pecu- In the period before and during liar way, is travelling fast towards the Munich pact, the press and fascism. The danger there is thru radio were censored, and public the gradual establishment of a mi- meetings on foreign policy (the litary-totalitarian regime. Much most important question of the water has already flowed under day) were banned. This was the the bridge. Without calling or con- fruit of the "democracy" which had sulting the Chamber of Deputies, received the enthusiastic and un-Daladier came to terms with Hit- reserved support of the French ler and accepted the Munich pact. communists and socialists. As long This cannot by any stretch of the as those parties thought that such imagination be called a matter of methods were being used or might small significance. It involved a be used to advance a policy they change of fundamental policy for believed in-a war of "demo-France. In the recent days of crisis cracies" against Germany—they that involved the very question of were satisfied and went along. war. Daladier and his inside cabinet acted on their own. Parliamentary institutions counted for as little there as in Hitler Germany. True, but that is a strategy employed in fascist countries as well.

sulting the Chamber of Deputies that party for adoption: out even without consulting the fact that McLevy outran the rest of his ticket by over 100,000 votes. former head of the Labor Depart- a military regime—D.B.) ment, Frossard. Just as in the days preceding Hitler, when But there is another side of this Bruening, von Schleicher and von election that should not be over-Papen ruled thru the power of looked. True it is that the McLevy emergency decrees, so we see the same trend in France today, with of over 600,000. In every case, of his record for honesty in the ad- to the demands of labor, and that Daladier obtaining similar powers over economy and finance, without the Communist Party or the Sohave changed the results the other organized political machine in any the Republican ticket. Still, the ous mass resistance to such a development. Only the new socialist

tators in three or four years.

Rearmament Is Unsound

Economics

fortunately available. The matter

has come up before. In June 1937,

party, the French Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of Marceau Pivert, called for such action. The ET us consider France, the C.P. and S.P. of France and

The Daladier Program

Not long after, we see the Radical-Socialist Party (the real boss the Chamber was called upon to at all times in the People's Front) ratify after the deed was done, at its congress declaring for a "government of national safety" and for a "steered economy." In The 40-hour law was abrogated fact, the following program was by Daladier, not only without con- submitted to the recent congress of

1. Reinforcement of national de Cabinet member involved, the fense (greater militarization and 2. Inviolability of private pro

3. Maintenance of public order

(a warning against strikes.—D.B.) 4. Defense of the middle classes (an obvious attempt to play up to this social group for reactionary purposes.—D.B.) 5. Development of production

(abrogation of the 40-hour law, speed-up, compulsory labor.—D.B.) 6. Adaptation of social reforms to the life of the nation (obviously y, a formula for the liquidation of social reforms.—D.B.)

7. Strict budgetary equilibrium cutting of social services and greater taxation of the poor.—D.

This is the program proposed by the ruling party in a country (Continued on Page 6)

International Labor Office Conference at Geneva, said, speaking for Mr. Roosevelt: "The significance to labor of this problem appears in the simple fact that every workman engaged in the construction of armaments must be provided with the necessities of life by the laproductive enterprises. . . . I preconclusively that the country is men of the world will not forever more than ever in danger from be content to stand by while civilforeign attack; they will get up ized living is being sacrificed on war scares as they have subven- the altar of armaments. No longer tioned them in the past. They will will they be willing to forge the strike the patriotic note and de- means of their own enslavement mand that they be supported in their own destruction." But I their entirely unselfish desire to safeguard the country from foreign Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. attack. Already it is reported Speaking at Buenos Aires on Defrom Washington that the Ad- cember 1, 1936, only two years ago, ministration has decided on a fleet he said that employment given by large enough to defeat single- armament work "is false employhanded the combined armadas of ment, it builds no permanent struc-Japan, Germany and Italy. When ture and creates no consumers' we have reached that point we goods for the maintenance of a shall be told that we shall have to lasting prosperity. We know that have a fleet large enough to defeat nations guilty of these follies in-Japan, Germany and Italy, plus evitably face the day either when England and perhaps France. For, their weapons of destruction must if things drift as they are now be used against their neighbors or drifting in Europe, France and when an unsound economy, like a England will be vassals of the dictators in three or four years.

Well, which is it to be, Mr. Roosevelt: the sound position taken at Buenos Aires two years ago, or the present misleading appeal to

(The above article appeared in the Edward F. McGrady, Assistant Nation of November 19, where Os-Secretary of Labor, representing wald Garrison Villard has a regular the American government at the page.—Editor.)

the manufacturers and business

The answer to rearmament as a men of the country for an "un-

means of restoring prosperity is sound economy"?

'Recovery' Thru Rearmament

(Continued on Page 5)

one cast outdrawing the Republican party and cutting the Democratic OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD work on battleships and cruisers merely create profits for the muni-HAVE been much interested in larger scale, throwing in five bilnew program comes to an end, we And in the six small, predomi- the intimations coming from lion dollars to put men to work shall have them howling for more nantly Republican, cities surround- Hyde Park during Mr. Roosevelt's again? It is fascinatingly easy, guns and more ships and more aming the four big Democratic stay there that the new armament isn't it? I have no doubt it sounds munition and more poison gas and strongholds, McLevy picked up program which is to cost us a mere so to the average person who does more airplanes and all the rest. 14.000 new votes out of a total of trifle of five billion dollars is to be not stop to think, who is ignorant They will rush to Washington 53.000 cast, again outdrawing the sold to the American people as an- of economics and may really be tearing their hair and ask a future Democratic party and cutting its other way of bringing back pro- seriously alarmed lest the all-con- President and a future Congress in vote from 25,000 in 1936 to 14,000 sperity. By indirect quotation we quering Hitler fly innumerable men heaven's name not to throw all bor of those who are engaged in in 1938. In these two areas, it can are told that the Chief Executive is in planes across the Atlantic to their people out of employment and be seen from mere numerical tabu- grasping at this form of public ex- burn Washington and steal all our back on the dole. They will prove dict that the working men and wolation where the election was won penditure in order to take a lot gold. and lost, especially when one re- more men off the dole, which in members that the smaller towns turn will sell the preparedness idea thruout New England are typically to the American business man. Al-Republican. However, the mere ready I have seen echoes of this enumeration of the results does not | in articles forecasting business outgive any true picture of the at- look for 1939. There the armament mosphere in which the election was program is solemnly listed as one contested or of the issues and per- of the factors that will make for better business in the months t come. Precisely as has happened in England, the story goes, our fac-The McLevy vote was an expres- tories will hum with making more

Imitating Hitler

sion of the desire of the people of guns, more shells, more airplanes, the state as a whole for clean, honest government; it was essentially the result of a muckraking crusade conducted by McLevy against the corruption of the two old parties. The Democratic party of the state has been involved in two major political scandals, in-In other words, we are to imitate volving the misappropriation of Adolf Hitler. It was easy for Hitmillions of dollars. In the Water- ler to wipe out the army of six milbury scandal, a Republican con- lion unemployed which he found troller, inadvertently elected by a when he took office. He put every few votes with an otherwise solid- able-bodied boy in a work camp for ly Democratic city administration, six months. He built an army of a sensationally revealed that the million men, increased his navy. former controller, a Democrat, had and put at least two million to paid claims before they were ap- work in armament factories and on proved by the Board of Finance, fortifications. Why shouldn't we do added new items to bills passed by the same? Our voluntary work the same board and paid wages in camps have helped a lot. Our navy considerable sums to people not yards are already humming with

Why not whoop it up on a still a false prosperity, and when the

Well, the difficulty of it, aside from any question of national defense, is that it is based on utterly false economics and will not make for permanent prosperity but

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Vol. 7.

December 3, 1938

THE P.O.U.M. TRIAL

WE publish on another part of this page a special report by John McNair, British I.L.P. leader, on the extraordinary outcome of the trial, held recently at Barcelona, of the members of the P.O.U.M. Executive.

The prosecution was forced to withdraw its two main charges, those charges that had been spread far and wide by the pen-prostitutes of the Stalinist and near-Stalinist press-the accusations of espionage and desertion. In its verdict, the court acknowledged the P.O.U.M.ists to be "sincere anti-fascists" and scouted the very notion of any connection between them and the fascist enemy. A more complete vindication could hardly be conceived!

Those of the P.O.U.M. leaders who were convicted were found guilty of participating in the Barcelona events of May 1937, that is, of standing shoulder to shoulder with the Barcelona workers in a defensive struggle against the onslaught of reaction. Of such "guilt." they may well be proud!

For the vindication of the P.O.U.M. leaders, we have to thank primarily the solidarity and support of the labor movement in England and France. Outstanding trade-union and socialist leaders in those countries as well as in the United States made it quite clear that they would not tolerate the reenactment of another "Moscow trial" on the soil of Loyalist Spain. Tribute must also be paid to Largo Caballero, Luis Araquistain and the other Spanish socialist leaders, who courageously spoke up in defense of the honor of the P.O.U.M. under the most difficult conditions. Nor would this triumph of justice have been possible had not the masses of the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., the great Spanish trade-union federations, made it plain exactly where their confidence and sympathies were.

But where does all this leave the Stalinist poisonpen artists? That the P.O.U.M. is a "Trotskyistfascist" organization, "working hand in hand with the Gestapo," has for a year and a half been a cardinal point in Stalinist propaganda. "Charges" have been deliberately concocted, "evidence" brazenly manufactured out of the thin air, and given worldwide currency in thousands of columns of newspaper space and thousands of copies of pamphlets. And now, the P.O.U.M. stands vindicated of these "charges" and the "evidence" itself is thrown out by the court, by a court of the Negrin government. What will the Stalinists do now? Will they withdraw their shameless slanders against the P.O.U.M.? Will they even mention the judgment of the court, the action of the prosecutor, in their press? Or will they—as we have every reason to believe—continue their poison-pen campaign despite everything that has happened?

Heading for a Showdown

THE United States News of November 21 contains the following significant report from Washington:

"The White House intends to defer showdowns with Congress on basic questions of domestic policy but to press for showdowns, if necessary, on questions of foreign policy. Rebuffs to Germany and armaments plans were decided on with that purpose. Little patience will be shown with isolationist or pacifist sentiment."

These words should serve as a warning and a challenge to the masses of the people of this country. The cards are on the table. The main concern of the Administration has now definitely become a "strong" foreign policy (under the alternative slogans of "quarantining the aggressors" and "continental solidarity"), war and war preparations. Even the nation-wide upsurge of sympathy for the persecuted Jews in Germany is being misused to that end. For the sake of this war program, the liberal objectives of the New Deal in domestic af-

The Administration intends to show "little patience," we are told, with "isolationist" and to effective expression.

reaction all along the line!

fairs are to be systematically scuttled. In a word.

P.O.U.M. Vindicated

Prosecution Is Forced to Drop Its Main Accusations

By JOHN McNAIR

WE are now able to give our London, England. readers the full facts about the recent trial in Barcelona of the Executive members of the P.O.U.M. We do this with impartiality, because we have always been convinced of the absolute innocence of our comrades and now the judgment confirms this confidence.

There were two important accusations, namely, espionage and desertion. There was also the charge supply of heavy artillery and air-of fomenting the trouble during planes. The P.O.U.M. members sertion. There was also the charge the May Days in Barcelona.

The Charge Of Espionage

It can be said finally and definitely that the accusation of espionage was found to have not the shadow of justification. The famous locument "N" was shown up as a proven forgery. The experts who examined it at the request of the 29th Division was disbanded by the court were unanimous in their

When the prosecution was called pon to produce further proofs of espionage, they brought forward photographs of aerodromes which were found in the possession of some of the prisoners. These photographs were examined and declared by the competent military authorties to be part of the collection of photographs which are given course of training when they events in Barcelona. vere arrested.

The final "proof" adduced by he police was a letter written by Arquer to a section of the P.O U.M. Division at the front, suggesting that, in order to increase their military efficiency, they adopt the phalange formation. Because the word "phalange" is the same word as is used by the Spanish fascist troops, the "Phalangists," this letter was said by the police to e a proof of espionage. It was aughed out of court. It is precisey the same as if a letter advocating the formation of "shock' because Hitler's best boys are called "Shock Troopers"!

And these were the only 'proofs." The whole calumnious campaign which has raged for fteen months, stating that the and Mussolini, was based on this collection of absurdities. These are the "proofs" which have been used the charge of espionage was immediately and finally abandoned.

We wonder if the Daily Worker tion. and Humanite will print this? And yet it is the truth.

The Charge Of Desertion The second accusation was that the 29th Division (P.O.U.M.) deserted the front during May and WORKERS AGE

June 1937. During the cross-examination, this charge had been so riddled as to be practically untenable. During the closing days of the trial, two facts were brought out which utterly destroyed it:

1. The commanding officer of the

pacifist" sentiment, that is, with the anti-war sentiment so widespread thruout the country. But perhaps the masses of the people will have something to say about that on their own account; perhaps they on their part will show "little patience" with an Administration that seems intent on driving them into another bloody catastrophe. It is the mission of the Keep America Out of War movement to bring this authentic voice of the people

army in Aragon, General Pozas had publicly complimented the 29th Division in June 1937, on its part in the operations round Huesca. 2. During the fighting round Huesca, in June 1937, more than the 29th Division were killed. The whole country round Huesca right up to the Jaca road was conquered by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and P.O.U.M

The town of Huesca could have been taken if there had been a were fighting with rusty machine guns and old rifles. The lives of the workers were being poured out in the fight against the key position of the whole Saragossa front. And during this time, the burocrats in Barcelona were concocting their lies about desertion. It is a bitter commentary that only when the government and the fragments sent to other parts of the front. Huesca and take the town of Lerida.

The charge of desertion was dropped by the prosecution.

We cannot stress too strongly the importance of the abandonment of these two charges. It is

The Barcelona May Days

For having taken their stand beside their fellows, the Barcelona workers, against the police aggresernment and of having endeavored to impose their social conception.'

We know now the truth of the Barcelona May Days. We know that the workers made a desperate of Barcelona, including the C.N.T. the U.G.T., together with the P.O. U.M., made a stand for the maintenance of the conquests of the revolution, for those conquests which had beaten fascism wherever

cia and Bilbao. the forces of the counter-revolu-

(Read the editorial on this page.-Ed.)

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One Woman's Life

—By Bertram D. Wolfe──

ANGELICA BALABANOFF'S autobiography ("My Life as a Rebel," Harpers, 1938) is a must book for all who would understand our times. 600 of the P.O.U.M. members in It is moving in that generous proportion in which the truth of today beggars the imagination of the work of fiction. (What villain of the romantic novel can compete with her intimate, Benito Mussolini? What dramatist's imagination rival the deeds and the staging of a Hitler? What year's output of pleasant murder entertainment supply as much mystery and intrigue, or as many corpses, as the Stalin purges? What tale of wandering and suffering equal the mass misery and migration of the modern Jew?) It is tragic in the large sense of great tragedy, for the fate of its protagonist involves the most fundamental human issues, becomes symbolic of the fate of the race.

A N autobiography must first of all be honest. Who will accept the judgments and accounts did Franco break thru from of an individual who does not honestly present himself when writing of his own thoughts and deeds? Here the honesty is not of the painstaking variety, but unconscious, like the honesty of one to whom it does not occur that it makes any sense, that there is even any possibility, of being otherwise. It is the now proved that the whole cam- honesty of one, who, having graduated from a Belpaign against the P.O.U.M. was gian People's University and come out a socialist, to all young aviators for their based on a political motive. The is impelled to ask herself: "What would have hapcourse of training. Some of the only accusation retained was that pened had I first entered some university where prisoners were actually following of having participated in the May these subjects were taught by the most noted defenders of the status-quo?"—and who, to answer this question to her own satisfaction, spends her next two years in such a university. He who has never felt this doubt and been willing to test it-be it said in passing-may become a good formula-parrot, a Red sion on May 3 to May 7, the lead- church-member, a band-wagon climber, but never a ers of the P.O.U.M. were "con- Marxist thinker nor one to face successfully new victed of rebellion against the gov- situations where the old litany can no longer be

After honesty, the quality which must be demanded of the autobiographer is the ability to enlist our sympathy or some other intense emotion. This resistance against the police forces. Angelica Balabanoff does, not deliberately but be-We know that 95% of the workers cause she cannot help it: she is a lovable and warmly human character whose depth of feeling troops were evidence of espionage and F.A.L., the Left socialists of makes the characters live, the events stir, the words glow. Sentiment is both her strength and her weakness. Speaking personally, I have latterly acquired more respect for men and women of feeling after seeing how head without heart has so often they had been effectively in opera- borne itself. Yet, heart without head has doubtless P.O.U.M. was in the pay of Franco tion, in Madrid, Barcelona, Valen- committed great blunders. In Angelica's case, the mind is too often swayed by the feelings and her We see now that the P.O.U.M. judgment proves unequal at times to the problems alone has been signalled out as the presented to it. Her heart, overruling her head, to malign the best fighters in the victims of the police persecution. caused her to rehabilitate Mussolini and give him Spanish working class. When the Their leaders have been sent to the benefit of all too many doubts thru numerous vidence was examined at the trial, prison because, at the testing time, years, until the evil that she knew was at the core they were with the workers against of his character did its irreparable damage. It is this overpowering sentiment which makes her incapable of understanding, tho she respects it, the intellect of the greatest man who moves thru these pages-Lenin. For better or for worse, her sentiment colors all her judgments, sometimes deepening, sometimes distorting them, and imparting to all the pages of the work its peculiar warmth.

A third requirement of autobiography is that its 'hero" should have done and experienced significant things. And surely, Angelica Balabanoff is one of the significant figures of our generation. Born in pre-war Czarist Russia in a well-to-do family, it is with no self-conscious sense of sacrifice that she abandons a life of luxury for poverty, exile and struggle. Rather does she feel simple gratitude towards the ideas and the movement which widen her horizon, deepen her understanding, add greater significance to her crowded days, give her an avenue of escape from the narrow circle of futility, callousness and ignoble meanness of the life of a woman of her class and times. It never occurs to her to ask what she has "given up," for she is so full of what she has gained.

This "going to the people" makes her a symbol of the dying Russian Narodniki movement. What she finds in the mass movement links her up with modern scientific and revolutionary socialism. Its

(Continued on Page 5)

The I.L.L.A. at Work

____ by D. Benjamin ____

MORE ON THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING

THE recent meeting of the Naa vigorous answer to the growing In all New York branches discusmenace of reaction and war thru sions are now under way on the certain definite moves for expansion. Among the decisions were:

(1) Publication of a bigger Workers Age in newspaper size; (2) issuance of a bimonthly theoretical journal; (3) raising of a Special Press Fund of \$3,500 to insure the carrying out of the plans for expansion; (4) a special National Council committee to be in charge of this drive and the National Council members in each city to analysis of capitalism and a statebe responsible for the conduct of the drive in their localities; (5) issuance of special leaflets on labor unity, independent labor political evaluation of the C.I.O. and a action, war, etc., as well as a re- study of American labor problems cruiting leaflet ("Why Every Mili- by a leader of the British I.L.P. tant Worker Should Join the I.L. L.A."); (6) every city organization of the I L.L.A. to hold regular public meetings and forums in the next period of time; (7) recruiting on the basis of our constructive Front policy. work in, and contributions to, the labor movement: and (8) an appeal to subscribers and readers of the Workers Age, as well as to all sympathizers of the I.L.L.A., to join the organization.

At the same time, decisions were made to improve the functioning of

the organization. All branches are asked to discuss and carry out the decisions outlined here. National Council members should be asked to make reports, if they have not already done so. Advantage should also be taken of George F. Miles's tour for this purpose. The National Organization Department should be kept informed of all plans and activities. In New York City, a general

membership meeting is scheduled

a bigger

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THEORETICAL

J O U R N A L

GIVE YOUR ANSWER

for Wednesday evening, November 30, 8:15 p. m., at which Will Herberg will report on the situation in the C.I.O. in connection with the resolution adopted at the recent tional Council decided to give session of the National Council. evaluation of the political situation n the light of the elections.

PAMPHLETS

FOR the next period of time, branches should concentrate branches should concentrate on the sale of the following pamph-

1. "New Frontiers for American Labor," by Jay Lovestone. — An ment of our basic principles.

2. "Challenge of American Labor," by Robert Edwards. - An

3. "People's Front Illusion," by Jay Lovestone.-Of great current significance in view of what has happened and is happening in Europe as a result of the People's

vishes to announce a special offer of Lewis Corey's book, "The Crisisof the Middle Class," for 49 cents. Branches ordering 10 or more change their minds. copies may secure it at 40 cents

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A Soviet-German Pact? | Elections in

Duranty Articles Raise Question Of Stalin Poicy

pleases to write as the semi-official pokeman of the Stalinist burocray in the Kremlin. That is, of urally gives an authoritative color opinions" he gives voice to are either an expression of Stalinist centers around the clash between oclicy or else a sort of trial-balloon sent out either to test or to impress powers. It is a mistake to think foreign opinion.

In this light, two articles by merican press, are of first-rate ignificance. The first was pubished in the New York Times of October 11 and deals with the posibility of Soviet-German rapprochement. Declares Duranty:

"There remains a possibilitydo not say probability-which makes the present leaders of France and Britain sleep uneasily at night; namely, a Russo-German rapprochement—cooperation instead of war. When you come down to brass tacks, there is no obstacle now to Russo-German friendshipwhich Bismarck advocated The Workers Age Bookshop strongly—save Hitler's fanatic trouble or fish in troubled waters. fury against what he calls 'Jewish-

> fate of France and the British bilities that are ahead." Empire.'

tensification of anti-foreign sentiment and of the cruel campaign WALTER Duranty may write against all who do not accept the Kremlin's voice as the voice of God."

The second article is a dispatch to the New York Times on Novemourse, universally known and na- ber 4. Here Duranty continues the same theme from another angle. everything Duranty writes. The It is a mistake, he says, to conceive that international conflict the fascist and the democratic that fascism, especially German fascism, is an aggressor and a Duranty, published recently in the menace to peace. That may have been true once but not any longer. "Europe still thinks in pre-Munich terms," Duranty chides. What Germany is doing is merely effecting a "clearance of the post-Versailles rubbish." Actually, it is contributing to peace:

"By allowing Hungary to recover by the Vienna award such towns and communications as Ruthenia possesses, the Germans have effectively neutralized that potentially trouble-making country. Which is immensely significant because it appears to mean that Gerso many no longer wishes to make "Until Munich, the threat of war

Bolshevism.' But Herr Hitler is and war's alarm and what has not immortal and dictators can now become the 'racket' of stirring up national minorities to seek self-"Suppose Hitler declines to im- determination were among Chanitate Napoleon by washing his cellor Hitler's major cards in the armies against winter, typhus, and international game. But Munich mud, backed by tanks and guns changed all that and suddenly and airplanes of a self-supporting transformed Germany from a industry. Suppose Herr Hitler pre- 'have-not' power, which has noth- lieutenants of the Democratic parfers the iron and coal of Alsace- ing to lose by strife and confusion ty in the ranks of labor. Labor's orraine to the distant riches of and much to gain, to a 'have' pow- Non-Partisan League and certain Russia's Donetz Basin. There is no er, which needs time and tranquilreason to believe that Russia would I'ty to digest and develop not mereefuse collaboration with Germany ly what has already been swalor shed tears over the ultimate lowed, but the far greater possi-

Such a turn of policy, adds Du- no other is the meaning of the munist Party was called into the ranty, "will probably mean an in- Ruthenian settlement. It declares state at the last moment to warn to those who have ears to hear that Germany wants peace." Is Duranty speaking for the

Kremlin? Do his remarks foreshadow another shift in Soviet diplomacy and therefore of Comintern policy?

One Woman's Life

(Continued from Page 4) three main streams were the German, the Latin and the Russian: in her person, in her Russian birth, in her studies in Germany and Bel- purpose of laying the foundation gium, in her activities in Italy, she of a state labor party. The lessons

of all three. She introduces us to the pre-war giants—Bebel, Adler, Jaures, Pleknahoff, Luxemburg—carries us to the meetings of the Second International Executive, of which she became a member, recounts the tragedy of its failure.

The most important movement n the war-time world is the movement to continue the strug- narrow base, will be swamped in gle against war after it has begun. the deluge the regular presidential-It was at Zimmerwald the daring band of revolutionary fighters against war first came together. Angelica became the secretary of the Zimmerwarld conference.

The post-war world oscillates in its earliest heroic days, gives between the poles of fascism and communism: she it was who picked social mechanism which determined the neurotic, diseased Mussolini out the rise of Stalinism to power and of the gutter, restored a confidence its degeneration into the regime of which became egomania, watched the Italian socialist movement Thus her life is at the very center meet defeat, and she it is who of the life of our times, and this continues to lead its struggle to- gives her book its significace.

She became the first secretary of the Communist International, par- appear in next week's column, "Talkticipated in the Russian revolution ing It Over."—Editor.)

Connecticut

(Continued from Page 3) workers in the large industrial centers came out in support of McLevy. They remembered what their leaders wanted them to forget nomentarily: that the Democratic Governor Cross had been one of the first to come out in condemnation of the sit-down strike, using the state militia to break the strike of the Electric Boat workers; that the same Governor Cross had used the state militia unsparingly to break the strikes of the textile workers; and finally that, under his rule, the leaders of the truck-drivers strike had been railroaded to jail on charges of conspiracy, deriving from an ancient, unused law especially resurrected for the occasion. The Republican party was and is in no wise different, so that in reality the popular revolt was the sign of a drive away from the two old parties, a sign that the workers and the small niddle class thought that the

ecessary reforms could not be ac-

omplished from within the ranks

of the old parties. And that is the

nain significance of the elections,

olding out, as it does, the pos-

sibility of a real development along

the path of independent labor

olitical action. By now, it should be axiomatic n the labor movement that wherever reactionary policies are advocated in the ranks of the working lass, the Stalinites are particularly active. In this recent campaign. they played the role of special C.I.O. unions, in both of which came out with what amounted to a blank-check indorsement of the Democratic machine. Robert Minor And the summary: "That and of the central office of the Comthe workers of the dire consequences of voting for McLevy and against the Democratic machine. The workers, however, paid little heed to these fake prophets. And now, after the elections, the Stalinites are conducting an "educational" campaign to lead the workers back into the Democratic fold and away from any "dangerous thoughts" of independent action.

The proper slogan for the imnediate future should be the organization of the unions for the becomes a symbolic meeting-place of the past election should be drawn and the limitations of the McLevy party as a suitable expression of working-class political action should be pointed out. At the same time, it should be made clear that the labor party is essentially a federative party, and that in such a party the McLevy socialists must have an outstanding place if they wish to participate. which, as was pointed out, has a

> insight into the psychological and one-man rule and bloody purge.

(The conclusion of this review will

ANSWER THIS CALL TO BUILD OUR PRESS!

Unions and Wage Law

the editorial page of the November 15 issue of Justice, official paper of the I.L.G.W.U.—Editor.)

THE reception accorded the Fair Labor Standards Act proves that the country was ready for it.

It will, doubtless, take more than a few weeks to make the new law click on all cylinders. "Rugged individualists" here and there, will probably make efforts to dodge enforcement. Instances of defiance of the wage-hour law, as of the old N.R.A., especially in the hardboiled low-pay areas, will not be

Revulsion against sweatshop pay and sweatshop hours, largely responsible for the enactment of the act, however, appears to have sunk deep. Along with it, there has come the acceptance of the basic idea that penury pay is incompatible with purchasing power. Added pay to millions of underprivileged wage earners is bound to become quickly converted into added buying.

A "look at the record" will re- and social lot.

(The article below is taken from | veal that it was trade-union effort largely that has been responsible for the crusade against sweatshop work terms. Our own union, it is generally known, has been in the van of this campaign, employing methods of both organization and education to combat the sweatshop and to fasten the eyes of the general community on its revolting effects.

It is no less obvious that the role of the trade unions in this eradication drive on the sweatshop does not end with the passage of this act. Within the frame of the new law, thru their spokesmen on the various industry committees put into being by the wages and-hours act, the unions will, of course, continue to push ahead for better pay in the shortest possible time. The campaign for the unionization of the millions still outside the protective wing of the labor movement, nevertheless, will proceed unabated. It still is the most logical and most effective weapon in the hands of those who toil for a living to improve their economic

The Road to Fascism

Reactionary Forces At Home Are The Main Enemy

(Continued from Page 3) where practically half of the national income is devoted to armament and government expenditures. No less than in fascist countries, we have here an armament economy, which for its consummation requires an increasingly military regime. In order to "preserve democracy," totalitarianism is being established; in order to "fight Nazism," fascism is gradually being brought into existence. And for the "defense of private property," whether it be in France or Germany, French capitalism follows the example of German capitalism.

Can there be any doubt as to the form of government or character of regime that will be set up by French capitalism in case of war?

It is no wonder that the Manchester Guardian of October 7 reports that parliamentary government is increasingly regarded as "unnecessary" in France, and that the New Stateman confirms general reports of a drift in France towards military dictatorship. In France, "stern disciplinary measures are announced against men in state-controlled aircraft and other factories working for the national defense who refuse to work a 45hour week instead of a 40-hour week. Such men will be summarily discharged, and agitators and propagandists will be subject to prosecution under the penal code" (London Daily Telegraph, October 24).

Along The Same Lines In England must recognize that their chief

Similar developments are taking place in Britain. Chamberlain acted without consulting Parliament on the Czechoslovak question. Here, too, Parliament was called only after the accomplished fact. During that period, there was a censorship over the radio to make sure that the government policy would not be interfered with in any way. Pressure was brought to bear on the press, so as to be sure that the "correct" slant was given on events. Even Churchill warned, in his speech in Parliament on the Munich pact, that England would soon face a lightsout and totalitarian regime and questioned whether criticism of government policy would be permitted at all in the coming days. In England, it was common knowledge that an inner cabinet of four really ruled. The fact of the matter is that this group was but a

committee for the real rulers-the banking, oil, steel and chemical magnates represented in the Cliveden set-who pulled the strings and who had direct emissaries in Germany during this entire period -at Nuremberg as well as at Berchtesgaden, at Godesberg as well as at Munich.

Now there is increasing talk of "national registration" and conscription as well as of further intensification of rearmament. This may mean the institution of a military regime even before war is declared. And this in a country where the traditional policy has always been against conscription. New times, new methods. Totalitarianism has become the style of capitalism nowadays.

As far as its imperial regime is concerned, Great Britain does not have much to learn from Hitler Germany. Out of a population of four million in Kenya, there are 75.000 political prisoners in jail; in Sierra Leone, out of a population of one million, 80,000 are in prison because of political activities. And are the laws in South Africa against more than five assembling, requiring passes of various sorts for the natives, declaring trade unions for the Negroes illegal, essentially different from what is to be found in Hitler-land?

The Main Enemy Is At Home!

The workers thruout the capitalist sector of the world, whether it be in "democratic" or fascist lands.

DANCE

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SATURDAY EVE., DEC. 3

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C.I.O. Speeds **South Drive**

Convention Plans To Hold **Special Conference** For Campaign

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Plans to speed up the organizing drive of C.I.O. unions in the South were laid at the C.I.O. convention here which called for a conference to be held in the near future for the purpose of launching a joint campaign.

"Substantial beginnings in the organization of labor on an industrial basis in southern states have already been made by the C.I.O. in textile, coal, the maritime industries and other fields," resolution passed unanimously by the delegates declared.

"Nevertheless, the main task of opening many communities in such states to unionism and the firm establishment of civil liberties and the rights of labor in such communities has yet to be accomolished."

The southern organizing campaign resolution as passed embodied the contents of resolutions submitted by eight affiliated local unions and councils in the South. and asked the executive officers of the C.I.O. to call a conference of representatives of all C.I.O. unions "interested in organization in the South for the purpose of laying plans for and launching a joint campaign of organization in that

Assail Poll Tax

Another resolution dealing with the problems of C.I.O. unions in the South was passed unanimously. This dealt with the poll tax in southern states, which in certain sections has virtually disfranchised the working population.

"We Southerners used to ask for a job and a house to live in, and as long as we were doing that, the employer was very well satisfied," said Delegate Peel of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee.

"When we began to ask for wages, when we began to ask for better conditions of employment they began organizing citizen committees, vigilantes and everything

Roy Lawrence, southern director for the T.W.O.C., pointed out that the southern workers want organization.

President Dalrymple of the United Rubber Workers told of the difficulty in organizing workers at the Goodyear plant in Gadsden, Alubama, while Burt Nelson of

enemy is their own ruling class. The enemy, in the first instance, is at home. Most important is it for working classes in the "democratic" countries not to be blinded by the democratic institutions of government but to be on the watch for the development of fascist manifestations therein. Fascism is entering thru the front door as well as thru the back door. German and Italian fascism must be fought, but so must developing Czechoslovakia, as well as the beginning of such trends in the United States.

Nor must we expect fascism to develop in each country on the basis of a general pattern or blueprint. It has an exceptional manifestation and development in each country. This we must take cognizance of, if we are to be able to identify the enemy in order to fight it. In the democratic-turning-intofascist countries, the working class has a double j b-fighting the developing fascism and capitalism of its own country, while helping the struggle against fascist regimes abroad. But the main enemy is at

Harry Bridges At Work

66THE presence of these 📕 medieval measures (anti-union referendum proposals.—Editor) on the ballot was largely the work of such vigilante elements as the Associated Farmers, but organized labor must share the blame. Public sentiment on the coast was embittered by the disruptive and costly battle between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. For this condition, Dave Beck and his red-handed 'goon squads' were mainly responsible, and a leader with the skill and tact of Phil Murray or Sidney Hillman would have quickly made use of the opportunity to turn public sympathy to the C.I.O. The inflammatory utterances of Harry Bridges succeeded only in evoking the curse, 'A plague on both your houses!"—Paul Y. Anderson, in the Nation of November 19, 1938.

the longshoremen's union warned that the "longer we put it off, the longer we hesitate, the tougher it will get down there, because, in the South, we have the people who are willing today to bring fascism on the backs of the American people in order to keep what they have."

Knitgoods Union Hits Violations

Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, complained last week to Administrator Elmer F. Andrews that the federal Fair Labor Standards Act was being violated in the knitted outerwear in-

The union official charged that nearly 20.000 home-workers in the metropolitan area are receiving as little as 7 cents an hour in violation of the 25-cent hourly minimum established by the wages-and-hours

Mr. Nelson stated that he received daily scores of complaints from home-workers, especially on infants wear, that they were not receiving the minimum. He added that the child-labor provisions of the law were also being violated Mr. Nelson stated that he believed that there was a deliberate effort in the knitted-outerwear industry to disregard the minimum-wage provisions of the act until such time as an exemption might be obtained from its provisions.

All workers in the industry were advised to report violations and the union is planning a demostration against all houses guilty of alleged violations.

The Knitgoods Workers Union, in attempting to establish a higher minimum wage for the knittedouterwear industry, has petitioned in the Komsolmolskaya Pravda, Administrator Andrews to exclude fascism in France, England and the industry from the general textile industry.

Urge State Wage Law

Labor Legislation Confab Drafts Model Bill For Wide Coverage

Washington, D. C.

Broader wages and work week legislation to cover all workers, under a series of state laws. was raised as the objective of a group of federal and state officials meeting here last week.

The main classes of workers affected would be farm and domestic workers, not covered by present federal laws.

The goal was set at a meeting in Washington of the Fifth National Conference on Labor Legislation. A committee recommended to the conference that "specific labor laws, such as hours, workmen's compensation, wage collection and child labor, should cover all workers, and that coverage should be extended as rapidly as possible."

Early application of state minimum-wage laws to domestic servants was urged, with provision for higher pay for overtime. Special efforts were suggested to overcome opposition to extension of labor laws to the domestic services.

States were urged to begin now to experiment with setting mininum wage rates for farm labor, where the law permits. The conference cited what it called the "successful experience" of the Farm Security Administration and other government agencies in setting standards for agricultural workers.

A model wage and hour law, designed to complement the federal law, was drafted by the conference for submission to the states. This would exempt the same groups of employees as under the federal law, but the committee drafting it recommended that its scope be extended as rapidly as possible.

The conference heard a letter from President Roosevelt commending it on its work; a statement by Elmer F. Andrews, Fair Labor Standards Administrator, asking state cooperation in application of the law he administers; and an address by Labor Secretary Perkins on the work of the conferences.

Soviet Youth Chiefs Are Purged Again

The five principal leaders of the Young Communist League of the Union were summarily removed last week by the Stalin officialdom, according to reports in the Soviet press. Alexander V. Kosaryev, the head of the youth league, was included. It is rumored that imprisonment followed shortly after the removal.

The Kosaryev leadership had recently been installed i Young Communist League to take the place of a perviously purged group, which in turn had replaced a former leadership. An editorial commenting on the removals, declared the purge to be one of "indefinite duration."

Detroit

Detroit

AMERICAN LABOR LOOKS AHEAD

A review of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. and prospects for labor unity

By GEORGE F. MILES Labor Editor, Workers Age

at DOTY HALL, 8647 Woodward

LECTURE Sunday, Dec. 11, 2:30 p.m.

DANCE and SOCIAL Saturday, Dec. 10, 8 p.m.

Lecture 20c; Dance 25c; Combination Ticket 40c Independent Labor League of America