At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone —

WALTER Lippmann seems to be worried. He is not sure whether the sweet words recently exchanged in wholesale between the New Deal and big business will come to anything.

It is a fact that Roosevelt's Temporary National Economic Committee and the National Association of Manufacturers have issued declarations of policy that are not at all far apart. While there is a certain amount of jockeying and manouvering within the ruling class, yet it must be stated emphatically that not since the balmy honeymoon days of the New Deal has there been as little cause for difference between the huge business setups and the Roosevelt Administration. Why is this so?

First of all, few of the big-money men will challenge the general course of economic policy being pursued today by the President in order to stabilize American capitalism. Then, all domestic policy is nowadays inextricably bound up with foreign policy. And, in the realm of foreign policy, there is total agreement on essentials amon' ir ruling class. One need but loo. at the composite authoritative delegation Washington rushed to Lima. What is more immediately important to labor is that with eyes being increasingly focused on the 1940 contest, the New Dealers are going to go beyond gestures in their appeasement of those who count and do the counting in the arena of dollars and dividends.

ROOSEVELT AND **BIG BUSINESS**

THIS same high-priced and venerated mouthpiece of the "have" class and voluble spokes-man of "things-as-they-are" has his own explanation of what he hopes will be a true trend to peace between Roosevelt and the bigbusiness barons. Says Lippmann: "It is the widespread realization among American progressives that, after all the indictments of capitalism have been drawn up, the capitalist system is indissolubly bound up with democracy and human freedom." Regretfully, we must admit that more workers believe this today than, let us say, five years ago.

Blame for this costly illusion must be shared by the "socialist" reformers who have rendered consistent yeoman service to the capitalist parliamentary fraud mis-named "democracy" and by the Stalin regime with its brutalities and totalitarian excrescences inside the U.S.S.R. and its idolization of Agent Thorez saluting the strikebreaking French army, with Messenger Browder shrieking for "national security" and "our" interests in China and Latin America, with Stalin murdering not only dearest friends but even anonymous acquaintances, it is infinitely more difficulty to "sell" the Soviet Union despite the fact that it is still the land of the October Revolution and that it can show impressive economic and cultural progress.

However, Walter Lippmann deliberately or otherwise does confuse issues, terms and ideas. Capitalism and communism are different social systems, while capitalism and fascism are not. It's like adding cows to automobiles. Fascism is but a form of state rule employed to stabilize capitalist economy, while communism is the stage beyond socialism which has completely

(Continued on Page 2)

Workers Ag

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 52.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1938.

5с а Сору

Labor Act to 'Revised'

Barkley Sees Little New Legislation But Big "Revision" Of Old

The next session of Congress will undertake little new in the way of progressive legislation but will be concerned mostly with "revising" existing legislation, Senator Alben W. Barkley, the Senate majority leader, ventured to predict last week after a two-hour luncheon-conference with President Roosevelt. The Wagner Act was placed first on the list for "revision."

Senator Barkley also indicated that an effort would be made to put over the new armament program with as little new legislation as possible. The plans for naval expansion might be included under legislation passed at the last session. Additional legislation for aviation would, however, be brought up, he said. It was clear that the attempt to reduce new armaments legislation to a minimum, was due to the widespread opposition to the big armaments program both among the people and the new Congress. The Administration will therefore try to put over its plans with the least possible consideration by Congress.

The apparent approval given by the Administration to the bigbusiness campaign to draw the teeth of the Wagner Act by means of "amendments," is arousing grave concern in the labor movement, especially in the C.I.O.

(Read the article, "The Next Congress and the New Deal," by Robert Walters on page 3.—Editor.)

Daladier Presents Huge Arms Budget

A budget which provides for the spending of over a billion dollars on armaments was submitted to the French parliament last week by Premier Daladier. At the same time, Foreign Minister Bonnet stated that the government would "delay" ratification of the so-called Syrian "independence" treaty as "endangering French interests in the Mediterranean." This meant, it was understood, that France would utilize its League of Nations manthe fetish of capitalist "democra- date to assume full control of Syria cy" in the rest of the world. With and scrap all promises of independence made in recent years. The treaty, already ratified by Syria, gave Syria its own president, parliament and native administration, altho it was to remain more or less as a French protectorate.

The armaments budget, it was officially announced, would amount to 65% of the estimated income for 1939 or 85% of the actual 1938 government income.

(Read the article, "France Faces Sharp Crisis," by Michel Collinet on page 3.—Editor.)

SIGNS OF THE TIMES

"A super-film now in the works at Hollywood is called 'Invasion' with its plot based on an imaginary attack on North America by a foreign power."-News item.

"The Life More Abundant"

GRIM Strugg.

place in Portland,

hetween Oregon, recently, between poverty-stricken 'chunkers,' who search the garbage dump for salable items, and relief recipients who have been doing the same thing. 'chunkers' insist that people with incomes be barred from competition; they further assert that garbage collectors are examining their loads and removing their meager pickings."-News item.

Nazis Plan Attack On Soviet Ukraine

Hitler Confers With Czarist Pretender For German Puppet State; Invasion Set For Next Spring

of the Soviet Ukraine early next Spring loomed large last week as it became known that Grand Duke Vladimir Cyrilovich, the Czarist pretender to the non-existent throne of Russia, was to visit Adolf Hitler in Berlin in a few days to discuss the "future of the Ukraine."

Reports in Paris indicate that

The threat of a German invasion | vigorous efforts are being made by German agents in trans-Carpathian Ukraine to recruit a "volunteer corps" of anti-Soviet Ukrainians to be used against Soviet Ukraine, together with similar bodies made up of White Russian and Ukrainian emigres in Germany and elsewhere. The reports also stress that the "volunteer" bands are being mobilized and trained by German officers and that they have been promised support by German aviation for an expeditionary force to invade Soviet Ukraine thru Ukrainian territory

> In Nazi circles, there is talk of having Vladimir proclaimed "Emperor of all the Russias" on two conditions that will guarantee complete control by Germany. The first is that Vladimir's brother-inlaw, Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, second son of the former German Crown Prince, assume the regency until Vladimir comes of age; the second is that a "reliable" pro-German hetman, or chief, be appointed for the Ukraine. Thus, it is felt, German domination would be completely assured.

in Rumania and Poland.

The report is that the Nazi-Russian monarchist invasion is planned for next Spring, with the expectation that the first stages of the campaign will be over by June, when a German-controlled puppet state in the Ukraine is to be set up. Of course, this would involve a preliminary campaign to get control of Rumania, both for its resources and as a corridor to the Ukraine. Preparations for this move have

been under way in Germany for several years already. In various parts of the Reich, recruiting and training camps were established as far back as 1935 for a "Ukrainian Legion." In Breslau, an Orthodox religious academy and several seminaries have existed for three years for the training of Ukrainian priests. A major objective in Nazi diplomacy in the past few years has been to obtain the assurance from England and France of a free hand to the East when Germany should decide to take action against Soviet Russia. Now that Anglo-French diplomacy is definitely committed to a policy of "appeasement," which means no interference with German aggression eastward, now that the Soviet pacts with Czechoslovakia and France are dead letters, now that Soviet Russia is virtually isolated and its defensive powers are considerably weakened by the Stalinist blood-purges and the disorganization and demoralization following in their train, Hitler has apparently decided that the time for action is near at hand. It is understood that "conciliatory gestures" made in recent months by Moscow looking towards a Russo-German "understanding," were summarily rejected by Berlin.

The plans of Hitler Germany for an attack on the Soviet Union with the purpose of restoring capitalism as well as a Nazi-dominated Czarist monarchy in Russia, are a grave threat to the masses of the people in every country of the (Continued on Page 2)

On Intervention at Lima

Plan Backed By Chile, Mexico, Argentina Killed

U.S. Blocks Proposed Ban

Attempts on the part of Chile, | ships-was no more than a cover Mexico and Argentina to have the eighth Pan-American Conference ban any diplomatic or armed intervention on behalf of the foreign owners of property expropriated by any Latin American country were blocked last week by United States pressure as the sessions at Lima went into the second stage. It was decided to refer this vitally important proposal for "expert study" until 1943.

As the conference got under way, it became clearer than ever that the Roosevelt-Hull program of the of the "continental solidarity" fascism-of the 21 states represented at Lima all but five or six with Germany. Nevertheless, it is are dictatorships or semi-dictator-

ism over Latin America. The American delegation has so far succeeded in getting at least surface agreement on some economic measures, notably on a resolution "pledging" the end of all restrictions on trade other than tariffs, such as quotas, embargos, exchange control, import licenses and other recent devices which have been used with advantage by Germany and Japan. How far this 'pledge" will mean anything in reality, is very uncertain. Already American democracies" against Brazil is understood to be negotiating a new barter agreement

(Continued on Page 5)

for an effort to extend and tighten

the hold of United States imperial-

OPEN THE DOORS TO THE REFUGEES



-From I. R. A. Bulletin

Beware of Eden!

It was Anthony Eden who sponsored the shameful "non-

intervention" farce that is slowly strangling Loyalist Spain. It

was Anthony Eden who engineered and defended the capitulation

to Italian fascist imperialism in the Ethiopian crisis when it came

to a showdown on sanctions. It was Anthony Eden who initiated

the policy of "appeasing" the dictators, even tho he could not

see eye to eye with Prime Minister Chamberlain on ways and

tion," often ludicrous in its insincerity. Never once did Eden or any

of his political friends in the House of Commons vote against

Chamberlain, not even after Munich. The glib, fine-sounding

And now Anthony Eden is here. In whose name? Representing

"While Mr. Eden is not a minister at present, he is going to

whom? On November 30, Lord Halifax, British Foreign Secre-

the United States with the fullest assent and approbation of the

government. I have no doubt that his visit will be extremely

valuable for the establishment of the same contacts that Lord

Chamberlain government. The reference to Lord Runciman only

"sell" an Anglo-American (war) alliance to the American people,

who are traditionally and instinctively hostile to any such idea.

Anthony Eden's visit this year is but the forerunner of the visit

of the King and Queen next year. British imperialism is de-

termined to put over this far-reaching diplomatic manouver and

FDR "Learns"

statements. But neither will any

tors who heard them. Here is a

(Continued on Page 5)

It is plain: Anthony Eden is here for and on behalf of the

Anthony Eden is here as part of a well-planned campaign to

tary, declared in the House of Lords:

Runciman was able to make in 1935."

adds to the sinister aspects of the situation.

phrases falling so easily from his lips never found any counter-

Then Anthony Eden went into opposition, a mock "opposi-

Glance

(Continued from Page 1) abolished and replaced capitalism In stressing this, one need not for geois property system remains and so do the basic class relationsof exploiter and exploited.

SEARCHLIGHT ON THE CONCRETE

WE are tempted to turn the searchlight on the concrete conditions under which millions of American "democrats" live and enjoy their freedom. Here is some light on the darker and more stark and not as they are advertised or editorialized by the sages of the printer's ink column.

A recent survey made by the U. S. Housing Authority of five million residential buildings and eight million households in 204 localities, covering more than half standing to-date—and much more write a series of articles evaluof the urban families of the country. reveals that:

1. Over a million homes are located in 840,000 buildings which have "such serious structural defects that they are unsafe or absolutely unfit for use."

2. Approximately every fifth home in the United States has no private bathing facilities and nearly as many "do not have private indoor water-closets."

3. "About 850,000 families are doubled up—that is, are sharing their homes with other families.' 4. Well over one and a quarter

million homes are crowded-"that is, have more than one person per We advise Americans visiting Europe to keep these figures in mind the next time they boast about our bathtubs and sewers. And Mr. Lippmann and his craft we and the forces of progress all along take the liberty of reminding that the National Health Survey has made some startling discoveries as efficient in the world. The Amerto the freedom-in-fact enjoyed by ican coal-digger has the highest the millions in the low and lower- output. But-the fatal accident

income groups. Thus, too great import cannot be attached by serious students of social relations to the following findings of this survey: "Persons in relief and the low-income families suffer a greater per-capits volume of disability than persons in families with higher incomes. . . . Members of families on relief suffer more than two and one half times as much disability (i.e., two and a half times as many days of disability each year) as those in families with annual incomes of \$5,000 or

WHO TAKE

A our readers with so many small part of the landscape of figures we take the chance of look- freedom and democracy for labor ing a wee bit more on the plus in the mightiest and most civilized and minus side of this "freedom." American miners are the most Dec. 16. 1938.

At First Preview of the New Age

New Features, Wide Labor Coverage Included in Editorial Board Plans

By M. S. MAUTNER

portant effects the fascist form of have given us many suggestions, capitalist dictatorship has on the thru the questionnaires, as to what machinery of production and ex- you would like to see in the new change. The fundamentally bour- Workers Age. This preview shouldn't, and musn't, stop you from helping to build up the fund, or thinking up (and carrying out) new ideas—but, with only two weeks to go to the new Workers Age, we want you to know how plans are shaping up. Just this glimpse we hope will be sufficient ncentive to you and your friends to give the last final push to put the Special Press Fund Drive over the top. More than that, we expect that many of you will want to ly real side of things as they are of getting this paper regularly by subscribing now.

Newspaper Size

The seven-column, newspaperbesides. A full page, for example, ating the present problems of the will be devoted to trade-union C.I.O. And more to come. news, reports and articles from all sections of the United States. And, | Well, we won't offer you a "line" returning as a permanent feature on the cinema, but we do intend to will be George F. Miles's "Trade keep you informed on, at least, the Jnion Notes," which has proved it- entertainment value of the current

Nazis Plan Invasion

(Continued from Page 1)

world, the United States included. For, despite the crimes of the reactionary Stalinist regime, Russia remains a symbol and stronghold of feature "Twenty Five Years Ago." working-class revolution against capitalism, and the overthrow of your copy of the Age, which of to the labor movement, socialism Jim Cork.

rate is higher in American coal mines than in those of any other country but Japan.

Between 1927 and 1935, fatalities American coal pits averaged 4.27 per thousand man-years of exposure to risk. Japan did a bit worse with an average of 4.32. However, Belgium reduced its mine accident rate to 1.18, France to 1.01, Netherlands to 0.92. Great Britain to 1.34, Australia to 0.84 and even India to 1.18.

These International Labor Office figures are more drab and spell even more dreariness in life. Those of us who have seen the faces of the wives and children of entombed miners during an explosion could ▲ ND at the risk of depressing call up pictures that make up a no

A Question on Socialism

New York City. repudiated the "withering away" of the state. (November 27), I came upon I think, therefore, that the Age this enclosed article appearing on should take upon itself the task of the editorial page. (The article discussing the theories of these deals with Stalin's new pronounce- groups. It would also aid those of ments on the "withering away of us who have not had as much tha state."-Editor.) May I suggest | background as we would like, in a thoro examination of this subject obtaining a clearer conception of in the Age?

The essence of this article has long been used by opponents as an argument against socialism. I see

socialism.

(This problem, together with a now that these opponents have number of related questions, will be been joined by Stalin and the Rus-sian Communist Party which, ac-cording to Harold Denny, have also this paper.—Editor.)

YOU have already contributed, readers that they will be seeing the dential hopefuls. Special surveys L or are about to contribute, to real thing, we have already ar- are being prepared to deal with a moment overlook the very important effects the fascist form of have given us many suggestions, picture coverage of the labor lems of such key industries as auto, movement here and abroad.

> columns of both Jay Lovestone and Bertram D. Wolfe will be continued and expanded. Special correspondents from the field will give you permanent coverage of such important centers of the labor strugele in the United States as Michican, New England, the West Coast Chicago, St. Louis and Washington. Foreign news, in the form of articles, will come directly from the country they deal with; during the month, we will have articles from and about England, France, Germany, etc. Lyman Fraser has promised to keep our readers well informed on the important changes taking place in American industry and what they mean to the labor movement-as, for example, what size Workers Age will have all that the new Dupont textile means to has given the Age its prestige and the industry. Will Herberg will

> > Will you be going to the movies?

Special Features

Want to know how like the Wilson war preparations of 1914 of 1939? Then follow the weekly

When you're finished reading he Soviet government would mean | course gets first choice, then you'll

paper-size Age will be given over Letters to the Editor section. Only and personally. informative and educational you can fill that. naterial. We are already contac-

self so valuable a guide to active ting writers to give our readers trade unionists. To assure our the lowdown on the 1940 presisteel, garments, etc. - problems faced by the unions and problems The well-established and popular which trade unionism may not be able to solve. Special attention will be given by the editors to the systematic presentation of material on social, political and economic aspects of capitalist exploitation and its effects on the working class

and the people as a whole. To give full emphasis to so many of the important big problems and tasks that face the labor movement, special issues are planned The first of these will be a special issue on the government's rearma-January 14.

The new Workers Age will never be without an article on the fundamental questions of socialist thought. At any rate—at least not eignty in this country. . . . for the first twenty-six issues or so, when a thorogoing but simple survey of the principles of socialism will be conducted by your present correspondent. By the way, talk to them of further sacrifice? you can clip this series and make They have seen in both France and your own pamphlet—or wait till England that, when well-fed genit's issued in pamphlet form after-

This paper we are planning, of which you have been given a very sketchy idea, is going to be your paper. Not merely in that the editorial board and others write for are the Roosevelt war preparations you, but in that you will write much of it yourself. If it is to be up-to-the-minute in labor news and moods, if it is to really give the "flavor" of the kind of Workers Age we want, then you must conan immense strengthening of the want to read a book. And for a sider yourself a member of the powers of reaction and fascism guide, we heartily recommend the writing staff. We want your torial board is convinced, we have everywhere and a staggering blow new Books column, to be edited by stories, your articles—and we all the right in the world to ask Much of the additional space and criticisms, for which we are sell, to spread, and to support, which will be available in the news- going to make "gangway" in a financially, politically, morally

Sacrifice for What?

By JAY FRANKLIN

(The following paragraphs are from an article by Jay Franklin in the New York Post of December 13.—

A NTHONY Eden's speech before the National Association of Manufacturers sounded like a pep-talk in a beleaguered fortress. The gist of what England's former Foreign Secretary had to say was that democracy was threatened by dictatorship and that it could be defended only by heavy sacrifies.

By some strange insensitivity, eminent Britons seem to possess an unparalleled knack for selecting the wrong American bed-fellows. When the Duke of Windsor planned to visit this country, he proposed to do so under the auspices of a man ment program, probably out deeply disliked by organized labor. Eden's first American incarnation is as guest of the Manufacturers Association, the bedrock of conservative resistance to popular sover-

Our people are already making harsh sacrifies in waste, insecurity and malnutrition, in order to preserve the forms of democracy. Why fice, it generally means sacrifice of labor standards and security in the name of national defense. of Eden wants to save democracy, let him return to England and help lead the fight there for a standard of national well-being which will raise the people of rich and powerful England to the level of the Danes or Swedes. As for us, we can solve our own problems if we do not let ourselves be enticed from the program of reform at home by the siren song of "democracy" abroad.

want your comments, suggestions you to contribute, to subscribe, to Now, about the theoretical

For this Workers Age, the edi- journal . . . well, next week then.

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Next Congress And New Deal

Wage-Hour Law, Wagner Act and W.P.A. Under Fire

By ROBERT WALTERS

T is now already accepted as an bobyious fact that the next Congress will be concerned largely with the problem of "continental defense" and related issues. The Administration's foreign policy and rearmament will cast their dark shadow over the whole Congressional session and will vastly influence legislation of every sort Furthermore, in view of the considerable access of strength of the conservative, anti-Administration forces in Congress in the recent elections, there is likelihood that virtually every piece of past New Deal legislation will come under hostile scrutiny. There are already enough straws in the wind to indicate the general prospects for the

New Social Legislation

Obviously, there will be no new social legislation of an important character pushed by the Administration. Not only does the Fourth New Deal (rearmament and "continental defense") imply the softpedalling of the earlier Roosevelt liberalism in domestic policy but the atmosphere of the new Congress will ardly be very hospitable to any re im ideas. The federalreorganization project, very far from a liberal measure, will presumably reappear, but probably in such a form as to be rather more acceptable to conservative opinion On the whole, the chief problem is the next session of Congress will be that of legislation already on be that of legislation already on the books but now again threatened by both the hostility of the conservatives and the sudden readiness of the Administration to sacrifice everything for the sake of its foreign policy and rearmament program

The offensive of reaction will hardly be aimed at repealing any important pieces of legislation. Rather will it be directed at amendment that will cripple under the guise of revising.

"Safe" Legislation

Of course, not all New Deal legislation is under fire from the right. No suggestion has yet been heard that the banking legislation of the past four years should be modified. Nor is it anywhere suggested that the S.E.C. should be stripped of its authority and the law it administers seriously amended. Even the die-hards in financial circles have come to recognize that as aids to the stabilization of the existing economic order, these New Deal measures have their merits. They are already pretty definitely part of the system.

C.C.C., except to militarize them, perhaps, or against the National Youth Administration, except possibly to cut appropriations somewhat. The New Deal agricultural program, on the other hand, is in such an awful mess that the Administration itself will have to do some pretty thoro "revising," al- three groups since 1936, according tho it is not certain whether new to the Institute: legislation will be necessary.

The housing program and the P.W.A. are worth too many dollars to business men for the opposition to attack them. What will happen will very likely be some form of siphoning off of funds for armament purposes. The T.V.A., also, is so important for "national defense" and has justified itself so thoroly in terms that big business can ungation."

measure. Federal social-security is by 17%. It is this middle-income titude toward it.

cepted principle, endorsed by all varieties of Republicans as it is by all types of Democrats. Criticism has been heard and will continue to be heard of the huge reserve fund built up by the act. There is some prospect for modification in this repect. But, as far as the benefits of the act are concerned, there is every likelihood that they will be extended rather than curtailed. Very probably, Republicans will be among those who will push this move. There is almost universal demand for larger old-age pensions, more adequate unemployment insurance, more aid to dependents, health insurance and the like. The sudden growth of the Townsend and other pension movements is clear enough evidence of this. Many of the Republicans in the last campaign ardently wooed these elements and now they are demanding liberalization of the social-security law partly as a concession to and partly in order to head off these crackpot schemes. And the Democrats are not likely to be far behind.

already a well-established and ac-

Wage-Hour Law, Wagner Act And

faces real difficulties. But even (Continued on Page 4)

The Fair Labor Standards Act

here there is no open demand for repeal. More likely the attempt will be made to cripple the wage-

Anthony Eden is playing the part assigned to him. The American people will do well to beware of Anthony Eden. the emissary of the Tory Foreign Office!

Labor Must Go Beyond New Deal to Head Off Fascism

By ALBERT EASTON

its relief program is proving to be roughly, of persons earning bean important factor in the undoing tween \$20 and \$40 weekly or its of the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party. Every relief dollar spent by the Administration has a positive and negative pole in the election magnetic field. The positive pole has attracted and held millions of relief recipients, as is shown by the surveys of the Institute of Public Opinion. According to Dr. George Gallup, director of the Institute, a recent survey showed that the big bulk of the relief vote was still where it was in 1932, in 1934 and 1936the negative pole of the relief to the Gallup survey: Nor is it likely that any serious move will be made against the C.C.C., except to militarize them, with most of the people.

Decline Of President's Political Strength

Here is the way the President's strength has declined within these

1936 Today **42 2**8 Upper-income group 76 73

Middle-income group Lower-income group

It will be noted that the lowerincome group hardly changed from extent of 33% of their 1936 vote perity.

The Social Security Act is at and the middle-income group 5. The President's "interference" least as safe as any New Deal reduced its vote for the President with business and his "hostile" at- sive person can possibly criticize

■ States has been talking group that is most numerous and with a good deal of freedom to decisive in the elections. It THE very success of the New contains almost half of the total about his armament plans, the Deal in winning votes thru voting population and is made up, dangers which menace the hemisphere and related subjects. Of course, visitors to the President equivalent. It includes the bulk of are not supposed to publish his

Marks Social Decay From Nazis

skilled labor and many farmreasonable man expect that they owners and small shopkeepers. will fail to talk among their inti-Above them are the higher- mates of their Presidential chats. salaried employees, the employers And so what the President has been and business men and professional saying has become known. Some by 30%, while the graded taxes people. Below them are the poor of the things he has been saying and those actually on relief. have frightened some of the visi-

the white-collar workers, much of

Reasons For The Shifts

sample. To one group he said: Now let us examine the reasons Armament is not only necessary for the shifts in the various income | but it will create widespread emwith President Roosevelt. On the groups, as given in the survey. In ployment. Look at Germany. There other hand, the upper-income the order of their frequency, the is not an idle man in Germany. and middle-income voters were reasons that rank-and-file voters They are at work in the armament undeniably repelled this year by give for their shift are, according industries. I report this from the

cially in the numerous direct taxes which are extremely unpopular would not be critical of this spendwould not be critical of this spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washwould not be critical of this spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washin spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washin spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washin spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washin spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washin spendin my many years of the light of reinstituting piecewatching public affairs in Washin spendin spending "if it had brought results," but these voters argue that the most in the New Person T. Flynn stopped after years of bitter strugthese voters argue that the most in the New Republic, December 14, recent business slump is evidence 1938. that "spending doesn't work."

2. A general feeling that Roose velt "has had his chance" to restore prosperity and make needed re- including its handling of sit-down punishment up to six months imforms, and that "there needs to be strikes. a change."

policies have been too dictatorial. for turning against the Admini-Specific policies mentioned are the stration. Almost one-fourth of all class to increase wholesale prices party "purge," the proposal to rethe shift voters mention it, and it as much as they desire. organize the Supreme Court and is particularly prominent in the the plan to readjust the executive comments of persons in the upperdepartments.

4. The belief that the New Deal program has proved "impractical."

A NTHONY EDEN is now visiting the United States, parading as the shining knight of "peace and democracy." It is neces-Behind the General Strike sary for the American people to understand the true character of this Sir Galahad, his background, his record and his mission.

By MICHEL COLLINET

(Michel Collinet is a member of he Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France.—Editor.)

France Faces

Sharp Crisis

Paris, France

RENCH capitalism has thrown off the mask. The government off the mask. The government of Daladier and Paul Reynaud has drawn up a plan of so-called "financial stabilization," which not only destroys the social conquests of 1936, but enhances the misery of all the working masses of the

Paul Reynaud has not even attempted to hide the aim which he s pursuing. "The capitalist regime being what it is, in order to function its laws must be obeyed. They are: profit-making, free, unrestricted exploitation of markets, and the stimulation of competition. It is impossible to run capitalism at a loss." Thus spoke M. Reynaud.

The problem which French capitalism is facing is twofold: on the one hand, to consolidate its profits, and, on the other, to place the burden of rearmament on the backs of the working classes.

Capitalist Sabotage

Since the Popular Front government was formed, French capitalism has sabotaged production and has placed its liquid capital and its gold reserves in foreign banks -British, American and Dutch. Production is 20% below 1930, and eighty billion francs have been sent out of the country. At the rate of 20 francs to the dollar, which is the average rate during the last three years, this corresponds to \$400,000,000!

The tactic of Paul Reynaud is to give "confidence" to the capitalists in order that capital should return to the country to be invested anew 66TTHE President of the United at a profit, and his method is to destroy what remains of the social laws, to increase the cost of living, and to transfer the taxes on to

the backs of the workers. Paul Reynaud has instituted a new method of taxation, namely a levy of 2% applied exclusively to wages, without any abatement for very small incomes. This has to be paid by the unemployed worker as well as by the small shopkeeper. In addition to this, the income

tax on small incomes is increased diminished. Thus, a worker earning \$325 per year has his tax multiplied by 13; a worker earning \$650 per year has his tax doubled; while the tax on an income of \$15,000 is diminished by 10%, and

on an income of \$150,000 by 15%! At the same time, Revnaud's scheme destroys the 40-hour week, lips of responsible men who heard replacing it by the 48 or 50-hour

Any action against this increasing of the length of working hours by the strike weapon, or even a 6. The New Deal's labor policy, simple verbal protest, is liable to prisonment. Parallel with this piti-Government spending seems to less suppression of the workers 3. Belief that the President's be the most common reason given rights, complete freedom is given

The Daladier government has income and middle-income groups. struck a blow at all the social Here we have an aspect of the classes which obtain their living its strong support of President that the President has been unable fatal contradiction of the New as wage earners, industrial workderstand, that it faces little danger Roosevelt, while the upper-income to keep us "promises" of a bal- Deal policy. Roosevelt's chief claim ers, peasants, lower civil servants, except some sniping and "investi- group deserted Roosevelt to the anced budget and general pros- to the support of the people rests artisans, small shopkeepers, etc., in upon his huge expenditures for the interests of the capitalist class various types of relief. No progres- as such.

As a result of this, discontent

(Continued on Page 5)

▲ CCORDING to the Daily Worker of December 7 A the National Committee of the Communist Party, at its recent meeting, came out in favor of a heavy armaments program for the United States on the ground that "only American arms can prevent the Americas from being conquered by the Rome-Berlin-Tokio alliance."

This is hardly a startling departure for the American Stalinists, whose chauvinism has been growing at a terrific pace during the last two years. Nor would there be any point in our attempting to reason with these people or attempt to recall them to the principles and ideals they have so shamelessly betrayed. But, since there are a number of sincere liberals and anti-fascists who share these views, we would like to bring forward the following notorious facts that are surely of the most direct relevance:

Less than a year ago, the socialists and communists of Czechoslovakia were falling head over heels in their enthusiasm to vote for armaments and the military budget on the ground that a well-armed Czechoslovakia would be a powerful bulwark against German fascism. Today, these very arms for which they voted are being used to suppress them along with every vestige of freedom in the Hitlerized Czech state.

Less than six months ago, the socialists and communists of France were among the loudest supporters of the government's armament and militarization program on the ground that a "strong France" was necessary to preserve democracy against the fascist threat. Today, these very arms for which they voted are being used to break strikes, to suppress labor, to bolster up the regime of decree-law; tomorrow, they will be used to suppress the Communist Party. hamstring the unions, usher in fascism on the French model.

Now we are asked to support the Administration's gigantic rearmament plan in order to protect the Americas from the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis. Is there not every reason to fear that tomorrow these very same arms, for which we are urged to vote today, will be used as they are now being used in Czechoslovakia and France? Is American democracy any more sacred and inviolable than French or Czechish democracy? Have we already forgotten the "punitive expedition" against Sandino in Nicaragua? Have we already forgotten the "battle of Camp Anacostia" under President Hoover? Have we already forgotten the bloody role of federal troops and state militia in American labor struggles? Mr. Roosevelt, we are assured, would never permit such outrages. Maybe so and maybe not. But Mr. Roosevelt will not remain in the White House forever. And even Mr. Roosevelt's most devout worshippers must feel a little uncertain about the future.

The moral is: Under present-day conditions, you cannot trust any capitalist government with arms. no matter how "liberal" and "democratic" it may be. The only reliable defense against the onslaught of fascist aggressors, the only reliable defense of the nd democratic rights of the masses, is a powerful labor movement and a militant labor-farmer government out to destroy the twin evils of capitalism and imperialism. Only such a government can the people afford to trust with arms.

Towards Labor Unity

T Stockton, Cal., delegates from thirty-five A unions of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the railroad brotherhoods met recently to establish what is probably the country's first "United Labor Council." Considerable criticism of the top leadership of both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. was voiced because of their failure to do anything to unite the divided ranks of labor.

What happened at Stockton appears to be an indication not only that the sentiment for unity is stirring among the rank and file of organized labor but also that some sections of the rank and file are growing impatient and are moving to take action on

The idea of "united labor councils" established locally and regionally wherever circumstances permit,

Arms for What?

Administration Beating Drums in Full-Sized War Scare

(These paragraphs are from the New | trol and to prevent house-cleaning. Republic of November 23, 1938.-

▲ MERICA is evidently in for a full-sized war scare. In Washngton, drums are being thumped n the effort to frighten us out of our wits about the imminent danger invasion—or something—by Germany and Italy and perhaps Japan. There is talk of increasing our air force to 10,000 planes, a figure which seems on its face fantastically large, especially in view of the rapid technological obolescence of airplanes.

Even more disturbing are reports of vast internal expenditures of dubious value that are to be made on the ground of "national defense." The plan is to ladle out several hundred million dollars to the private utilities on the ground that we must have electric power to defend ourselves. An even larger sum is to be given to the railroads up their mismanaged systems? on a similar plea. In both cases, Before we start to subsidize government money will apparently thousands of factories on practice be used to fend off badly needed orders, hadn't we better decide how bankruptcy and reorganization, to big our army should be and where cover up past sins of banker con- it is to be used?

Another huge expenditure will be made under the War Department's long cherished industrial-mobilization scheme: "educational orders' will be given to several thousand factories to produce one or two samples each of the products they will be asked to turn out in case of war. This plan assumes, of course, a vast American army of several million men; as Major G

F. Eliot has pointed out, such an

army is no part of the actual de-

fense of our shores, which is a job

for the navy. The War Depart-

ment scheme contemplates huge

military operations at a distance -perhaps in Asia or Europe. It might be well for a few questions to be asked in the next session of Congress. Does the national defense really require turnning over huge sums to the public utilities and the railroads to bolster

Congress and New Deal

(Continued from Page 3) hour law by amendments, some to ocrats materializes, W.P.A. will postpone the advent of the 40-cent inimum, others to open wide gaps exemptions, still others to hamper enforcement. It may even come to the point where adequate approoriations will be denied for effecive enforcement.

But the real offensive will come against the Wagner Act and the W.P.A. The Wagner Act is under the concentrated fire of big business, which is determined to gut it if it does nothing else at the ession. Certain short-sighted leaders of the A. F. of L. have also oined the attack, with a series of ger and ever bigger armaments. mendments questionable in them- with little regard for consequences selves and certain to open the door in terms of relief and social welto the complete nullification of the act. If the reactionaries have their fensive against the wage-hour law, way, it would be a veritable disaster to the organized labor move- Never was the need for unity and ment. Unfortunately, it seems that the Administration is ready to the ranks of labor as great as it is agree to certain "reasonable" mod- today! ifications of the Wagner Act, which in the end would probably add up more or less to what the reactionaries want.

At the present moment, the W.P.A. faces a double danger: the tendency to pipe off relief funds for war purposes and the efforts of the Republicans and conservative Democrats to dismantle the whole work-relief system by what they call "turning it over to the states." The charge that the W.P.A. is really one huge patronage maine is also certain to

From a legislative point of view. the W.P.A. is very vulnerable. All that is necessary is merely to refuse adequate appropriations for it. In both Senate and House, the appropriations committees are packed with southern Tories thru the operations of the seniority rule. If the expected coalition between

is a very good one and is thoroly in line with the policy of united labor action that this paper has been urging for so long. Such councils can certainly help to unify the efforts of organized labor on a local scale; they may also become a strong stimulus to the achievement of unity on a national scale. And that is the really important thing. If stirrings at the "grass roots," such as at Stockton, can serve to spur the early resumption of peace negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., they will

Republicans and conservative Demreally be up against it. Of course, some sort of relief system is already a permanent feature of our present social order but there is a the W.P.A., with all its shortcomings, and a dole system on a socalled "subsistence" basis.

Up To Labor

The next session of Congress, therefore, is bound to be of immense significance to the labor movement. On the one side, an Administration-inspired drive for big-"revisions" that would amount fare. On the other side, a reactionary, anti-Administration ofthe Wagner Act and the W.P.A. a militant independent policy in

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Talking It Over:

The Reader Speaks Up

=By Bertram D. Wolfe===

TIHIS column, tho only a few weeks old, is already ceasing to be a monologue. An increasing stream of letters have made the writer feel (with warm satisfaction) that he is really "Talking It Over" with the readers of the Workers Age. A number of letters have come in-and are still coming in -dealing with the column of November 26 on anti-Semitism and with the two discussions of Angelica Balahanoff's book. Unfortunately, the Age as it is at present is not big enough to give space to all these interesting contributions from readers. If we manage to raise the \$3,500 for which we are now appealing, the New Year will see a new Age. newspager size, with one-third more space. which will allow for this column being somewhat larger and for a whole section devoted to letters from our readers. Nothing so increases the value of a workers paper as to have hundreds of correspondents in all fields write in, making the paper truly their voice and enriching it with their views and experiences. I take this bit of space, therefore, to urge our correspondents to continue to write letters to us and to urge every worker who can afford it to send in during the next two weeks or so, besides letters, a \$1. \$5 or \$10 bill as a Christmas present to all the readers of the Age-it's a non-profit paper and belongs to the labor movement and its readers—so that we can really enlarge the paper f he New

To show what we are missing by our present lack of space, I am turning the rest of this week's column vast amount of difference between to one of our readers, Frank D. Slocum, who sent in the following interesting letter on December 6:

> "There is a human streak in your writing, the lack of which in many radicals has sometimes repelled me, and in recent times nauseated me with its hypocritical appeals to a humanity for which they have previously expressed only contempt.

> "There is also an integrity in the intellectual position of the Workers Age, to which I have paid my respects. I am not in total agreement with it; unfortunately, I am not in total agreement with any party. And it is in a sense a misfortune not to be able to be in full agreement with any party. 'Life in a great cause is robbed of its personal futility,' writes Angelica Balabanoff in her book. On the other hand, it is true that that same life is sometimes robbed of its integrity and that is one thing I am not prepared yet to sacrifice.

"Excuse this unintended lengthy prologue to the matter I intended to write you about. However, if it saves any misunderstanding about the question I am offering to your consideration, it may not be entirely out of place.

"There are two aspects of anti-Semitism. There s the anti-Semitism of the gentile competitor, which s only one, tho the worst, of the unfair practises on which capitalism lives. There is the anti-Semitism of the gentile worker. Unjust as it is, it does arise from a sort of honest ignorance. To this latter form. we must oppose enlightenment not merely futile denunciation. If these people are enlightened, may they not be turned against capitalism? For they are not rival capitalists but victims of capitalism; it is only because of ignorance and confusion that they are driven to anti-Semitism. To such a worker it may be shown that, if he is exploited by a Jewish capitalist, it is not because of the latter's Jewishness but because of his 'capitalist-ness.' Ask him if the worker who suffer under a Christian capitalist blames Christianity or capitalism. To him may be pointed out that Christ himself did not denounce capitalist practises more strongly than Isaiah and other Jewish prophets-consequently, that neither Christian nor Jewish capitalists are acting as Jews or Christians but that both are acting as capitalists. There's the enemy!

"There are two ways of meeting a potentially destructive force: one, to build a dam to block it and the other, to build a channel to divert it to useful purposes. I am only writing to ask if it is possible to divert at least part of the rising tide of anti-Semitism in this way, whether it is not possible to win those who are today anti-Semitic to anti-capitalism and in this way to advance the cause of a workers world."

Sudden Ending Of Struggle Brings Compromise Pact

By JACK RYAN

Sydney, Australia. October 24, 1938. AFTER five weeks, the miners strike is over. This is probably a record for miners general strikes in Australia, the previous strike of 1929-30 having lasted for over a year. One does not, of course, judge the outcome of strikes by their duration, but past history proves that the miners are capable of protracted struggles when nec-

It is all the more surprising, therefore, that the recently concluded fight ended so suddenly with disappointing results.

As I said in an earlier report the strike opened under auspicious circumstances—coal stocks were low; the miners had the assured support of all sections of the labor movement: there were no other major industrial conflicts to split financial support, and the miners leaders had chosen their own time and issues for striking.

There was a hundred percent response to the call-out and financial support was rolling in gratifyingly with promise of much better results when the slow-moving tradeunion machinery functioned prop-

Nevertheless, the strike was called off without any definite or clear-cut gains for the men. Just when the rail vays had announced the curtain ... t of train services population, even in certain reac- portant section of the bourgeoisie wing to shortage of coal, when shipping and industrial enterprises were on the verge of suspending operations, the conservative New South Wales government convened a conference and a settlement was from a long slumber and is oragreed upon.

ganizing a great campaign against pression will fall upon the trade-Daladier. Serious disorganization union militants, and, in the com-The Miners Federation is officered by some Communist Party exists in the ranks of the Radical members. Consequently the C.P. party and the Republican-Socialist organ greeted the terms of settleparty, which support the government as an outstanding victory, but ment. The Communist Party, which one looks in vain for reasons for helped to put Daladier in office, but such jubilation.

In regard to safety in mines, the the Munich agreement, is now government has promised to deal using these new decrees as a prewith the matter in "due course"; pensions for old miners will receive the favorable consideration of the government and the question of the thirty-hour week and minor matters will be referred to the Arbitration Court with an assurance of an early hearing.

Nothing very definite-merely promises to give early attention favorable consideration and so on The sort of terms that reactionary trade-union leaders have grasped time and time again with infinitesimal results for the workers.

The Miners Federation was the one big union in Australia that had in recent years spurned the vigor-destroying jurisdiction of the Arbitration Court. Falling back on

U. S. BLOCKS BAN ON INTERVENTION evident object of forcing the

expected that the United States will make important headway at the conference from an economi and financial standpoint. But there is very little chance

for any political or military al- ers whom they had previously led liance, however loose, altho this into action. was high up on the program of the United States delegation. Aside from the pressure of America's imperialist rivals. there is to reduce the strike to one day of the keen memory of the aggres- platonic protest and prohibited the sions committed by Wall Street im- occupation of the works. Taking perialism not so long ago and the advantage of this weakness, the strong possibility of their recur- government at once requisitioned fence at any time. Washington's the railways and the public works. hostile attitude on the Mexican oil In protest, the railway workers and land expropriations and on the decided to go to work and there proposed ban on diplomatic inter- to commence a "stay-in" strike. vention on behalf of foreign prop- The French working class was erty owners, is certainly far from ready for the struggle, altho all reassuring. In fact, some Argen- believe that the decision to call a tine delegates even suggested that, general strike was very much too should a resolution against "ag- late. gressors" be adopted, the United States would have to be included It may be that the government will among these aggressors.

by the miners leaders that they were assured of victory on the hours question but that the govthe court award the decision to W.P.A. and the rest of the relief ing this rumor, the judge who would ordinarily hear the case im- has to accept permanent unemploymediately refused to adjudicate. It looks as though little can be expected from the court.

file, but the miners were quite the

reverse from that. It was inferred

All thru the negotiations coal-owners remained aloof, refusing to state whether they approved of the terms of settlement or not. Eventually they graciously consented to permit the miners to resume work, on pre-strike conditions, provided an assurance was naturally means that those who occur in future. The required as- who have to bear the increased surance was given.

So the miners general strike, which had all the possibilities of a that, the New Deal offers no hope splendid victory, has ended in an whatever of a brighter future and

laborate with the government.

The official French Socialist

which has been hostile to him since

The working class, whose very

conditions of existence are direct-

y threatened, is regrouping its

forces after the series of defeats

which it has suffered during the

At the recent congress of the

General Confederation of Labor

C.G.T.) at Nantes, the appeal for

general strike was launched by

the revolutionary minority, led by

Gilbert Serret. This appeal awaken-

ed an instant response, and on

Tuesday, November 22, the Na-

tional Committee of the C.G.T.

Immediately afterwards, at the

ty, partial strikes broke out among

went so far as to disavow the strik-

Daladier's Measures

The trade-union leaders wanted

There are several possibilities.

resign, and that a new govern-

and in the Paris district, with the and state debts.

leaders of the unions on strike crushed by it!"

adopted it.

text to obtain its revenge.

Popular Front government.

Australian Mine Strike | Huge Disemployment Marks Social Decay

the court may be justified by a Labor Must Go Beyond New Deal to Head Off Fascism leadership leading a demoralized and virtually defeated rank and

(Continued from Page 3) the Administration for having tackled this formidable task. Nor can anyone disagree with Harry ment and relief only if one accepts capitalism as everlasting. The Roosevelt Administration does accept and defend capitalism as the best of all possible systems. It, therefore, must also accept responsibility for the worst

WORKERS AGE

features of capitalism in decline -permanent unemployment and chronic depression. This in itself tax burden, directly or indirectly. become restive. But more than

able to this solution.

If the Daladier government does

take place, as the measures of re-

bative state of the French workers

today, the fight will be continued

right on after the general strike.

civil strife, and none can see what

The French Socialist Workers

and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.)

called the workers to follow with

discipline the orders of the C.G.T.

and to continue the struggle inside

the workshops as a measure of

solidarity with the victims of the

brutal oppression of the govern-

ment and the capitalist class. The

P.S.O.P. called for the formation

of local committees of support and

for the creation of groups of work-

ers defense against police provoca

The P.S.O.P., in a manifesto

published on the eve of the strike

warned the workers against the

government of "national unity"

with socialist participation. To-

would make the workers support

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the final result will be.

(Continued from Page 3) | ment of so-called "national recon-

general in all sections of the ciliation" will be formed. An im-

tionary associations, such as the as well as the reformist leaders,

war veterans, who refuse to col- socialist and Stalinist, are favor

Party (S.F.I.O.) has awakened not resign, a terrible struggle will

instigation of the Communist Par- ly like the preceding governments,

he metal workers in the North the terrible burden of rearmament

responsibility. In face, however, of of the French working class. To-

JUST OUT!

the brutal reaction of the Daladier day, the P.S.O.P. proclaims to the

inglorious compromise. in spite of all expenditures, it has

been utterly unable to bring about any lasting recovery. It should, however, be stressed that the huge governmental expenditures have helped to prevent an even ernment was desirous of having Hopkins when he maintains that worse decline. In fact, the most recent depression coincided with preserve appearances. Upon read- program have become a permanent and was partly caused by the Windsor, for the trade between the feature of American life. But one cutting down of relief expenditures That is why it has been quite proper for the labor movement to support the progressive aspects of the New Deal spending policy.

Since the New Deal cannot possibly overcome the economic crisis by spending itself out of it, any more than the Republicans could by modifying the New Deal they could not possibly abandon the relief program as such), the given that local strikes would not are not beneficiaries of relief but Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party could hardly have escaped the defeat it met in the recent elec-

Big Business Benefits Most Not only have the middle-income

the New Deal "lending-and-spend-France Faces Sharp Crisis ing" program but they have also dominions. failed to benefit from it indirectly, as big business has. The Annalist. in its issue of June 3, 1938, put the matter quite plainly: "One may | England since 1860, which marked hazard the guess, furthermore, that this apparent decline in the earning power of American in- and free trade in Great Britain. dustry has fallen with particular The great depression reversed the hardship on small business. This is direction of commercial policy particularly ironital in view of both in the United States and in the solicitude which the present England. Administration has professed for the underdog. Nevertheless, there est significance of American tariff seems to be considerable evidence, at least with respect to some of The Trade Agreements Act of 1934 the largest individual corporations brought a change both in the for which figures are available, tariff-making and in its objectives. that it is the large business units The new purpose is to enlarge France will be in the throes of that not only have been the rather than to restrict the volume ultimate beneficiaries of the present Administration's profligate increased costs by some means or

Beyond The New Deal

It will be readily seen that the causes for the political shift away of the trade agreement with the from the New Deal are largely of United Kingdom involves complex an economic character. The wide and conflicting local and special inspread discontent with the system terests in the United Kingdom and of permanent unemployment and its self-governing dominions, as permanent relief gives rise, well as in the United States. The especially among the middle class, outcome, however, depends not to a mood that is increasingly only upon the relative strength receptive to fascist demagogy, and effectiveness of each of these Herein lies the real danger of organized interests. It is perhaps vain hopes of reliance upon a fascism, which no amount of primarily a political question and abstract talk about democracy can a problem of foreign policy. morrow such a government, exacthelp. Only if the middle-class masses are offered a real and genuine way out of their plight in the crisis can they be prevented from succumbing to an American The crisis which is opening may C.G.T. committee to accept the be decisive for the political destiny brand of fascism.

New Deal is experiencing among to its slaves within their slavery, government, which evacuated the workers: "Overthrow the capitalworks by force, the communist ist regime. If not, you will be should serve as a warning to the sink into such a state that it has labor movement that mere to feed them instead of being fed adherence to and support of the by them." New Deal cannot ultimately save the country from fascism. Only if labor offers a program going beyond the New Deal, and its narrow capitalistic horizon, a program in the direction of socialism, can it hope to win big sections of the middle class to its side. American capitalism is hopelessly caught in the predicament long ago forecast by Marx in the Communist Manifesto in these bitterly prophetic words: "The modern laborer ... instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it be-

comes evident that the bourgeois is

unfit any longer to be the ruling

OUR TRADE WITH BRITAIN. Bases for a Reciprocal Tariff Agreement, by Percy Wells Bidwell. Council on Foreign Relations, New York. 1938.

TT would seem that the Anglo-American trade agreement should have received at least as much attention as the abandoned two countries affects directly or indirectly most of the American people. But actually, very little seems to be known about our trade with Britain. The publication of this volume is designed to acquaint the most interested sections of the population with the facts.

The facts are striking and significant. The author points out that policies (and it is obvious that the United Kingdom is America's best customer and that 47,000,000 Britishers regularly spend as much for American goods as the 1000 million persons who inhabit the continent of Asia. It is particulary the producers of cotton, tobacco, wheat, rice, pork and fruits who depend on their English markets. while the country's great manugroups not benefited directly from facturing industries rely on imports from British colonies and

In this volume, Professor Bidwell traces the conflicting tariff policies of the United States and a turning point for both countries -toward protectionism in America

The author holds that the greatpolicy today is in its new direction. of international exchanges.

In this study, Professor Bidwell spending and lending but also have examines American and English shown an amazing ability to offset commercial policies, present and past, analyzes the trade between the two countries, and suggests the bases for a reciprocal tariff agree-

He believes that the negotiation

class in society and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is The decline of support which the incapable of assuring an existence

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UAW Victory on

Union's WPA Department Stops Discrimination on Detroit Work Relief

By HOWARD JOHNSON

Detroit, Mich. A T a citywide delegate body meeting held in Mechanics Hall, Detroit, on Thursday, December 8, 1938, the stewards there representing the W.P.A. Department of the United Automobile Workers of America took a strike vote which passed unanimously. A strike committee was elected, with Alexander McKay as chairman. A whole series of grievances had arisen thru the anti-union attitude of supervisors on the projects and the Wayne County administration's attempt to renege on the agreements made with the W.P.A. Department of the U.A.W.

The following day, Friday, De cember 9, a continual stream of union members flowed into the union's W.P.A. Department headquarters in the Hofmann Building, with grievances relating solely to discrimination against union members by the supervisory force in the field. Incidentally, it might be well to add that the dilatory tactics pursued by the Stalinist-controlled Executive Board of the U.A.W. have had much to do with the anti-union attitude strongly expressed by the W.P.A. administration in Wayne County and the supervisors in the field. These people seemed to think that the W.P.A. Department of the union was on the way out. Rumors that the Board was going to liquidate the department, coupled with the fact that the Board had laid off organizers and office staff and reduced the department's staff to three paid members, did much to create in the minds of the local W.P.A. administration and the supervisors the idea that the union's W.P.A. setup was really slipping and had become a thing of the past. Well, if anything was needed to dissipate that idea, it was supplied by the rank and file organized into the W.P.A. Department.

Mood Of The Stewards

The strike vote which was taken on Thursday, December 8, was preceded by a discussion which was a clear indication to those who were present what the thoughts and the temper of the stewards were. On Friday afternoon, a spontaneous delegation invaded the G. A. R. Building, the headquarters of District 4 W.P.A. in Michigan. The delegation proceeded to the office of Mr. A. Selman, the director of personnel, and announced that they were there for a showdown and demanded that Max Barton, director of District 4, be sent for. Mr. Selman stalled and informed the delegation that Mr. Barton was not in the building but was home sick. Paul Silver, who headed the delegation, announced that they were there to stay until Barton appeared and he was unanimously supported by the entire delegation. After considerable argument, it was announced that Max Barton would be there at 6:30 p.m. and, in the meantime, President Homer Martin of the U.A.W., having been informed of the situation, had signified his willingness to attend the conference, thereby proving in an unmistakable manner that the W.P.A Department had the full backing of President Martin. When President Martin arrived, he was given a

rousing reception.

The W.P.A. officials looked kind of subdued. Richard T. Leonard, director of the W.P.A. Department of the U.A.W., opened the conference and pointed out what had led up to the necessity of this meeting. George Edwards, director for Detroit W.P.A. Department of the U.A.W., supported Leonard and detailed the acts of discrimination and cited the cases of a dozen or more chief stewards who had been

completed, President Martin clearly indicated that changes in the local W.P.A. administration policy were necessary, and finally a meeting was arranged for the following morning (Saturday) at 11 a.m. at which a representative of Louis Nims, state administrator, would be present with full powers to act, together with Mr. Selman, director of personnel for Wayne County, who would also have full power to act for Mr. Barton, director for District 4. The next morning a picket line of four deep was thrown around the entire building just before the conference started. Leonard and Edwards spoke to the pickets from a window in front of the G.A.R. building and letters were read from the locals in Derit pledging their aid to their brothers on W.P.A. The conference started at 11 a.m. and sat for fourteen hours and, at the termination of that time, the men went home tired but happy, knowing that they had achieved what they had set out to do. Practically every problem was solved. The chief stewards fired were reinstated, and a new agreement reached with regard to stewards who will now be able to function and not be operating un-

has been the case hitherto.

The cases of O. McGauley and James Duffey were also acted upon. McGauley, an assistant district superintendent, and Duffey, a supervisor, who were union-conscious and who had been discriminated against and fired because they were willing to cooperate with the union, will be reinstated within ten days and will not be discriminated against in the future.

A Good Job Done

To sum up, a good job was done. The loyal stewards who have been operating under a terrific handicap to hold the organization together are to be congratulated. We were victorious and the next meeting of the stewards on December 22 should be a gala affair.. What was accomplished should and will give the W.P.A. Department of the union new life and the drive is on now to weld the workers on W.P.A. into a solid, militant organization, bound to make itself felt both economically and politically. The stewards can return to their jobs now and point with pride to the fact that the organization is vital and alive and that it has the backing of the U.A.W. and its progressive presder the shadow of a quit-slip as ident, Homer Martin.

Progressive Furriers Bare Stalinist Control of Union

(We publish below a statement is- | had made a mistake or somebody sued as an open letter to the delegates of the Joint Council of the New York furriers union by the United Progressive Furriers .- Editor.)

New York City.

THREE months ago we were called to your Grievance Board. We were placed under charges because we dared to issue leaflets and literature during the last election campaign in the union. We realize that the charges as a whole were cooked up as the opening gun in a crusade to eliminate the opposition. For three long months we have waited for a decision on the so-called "charges." Three months is a long time to wait for a decision and we have waited in vain.

Burocratic Persecution

We asked the Joint Council when we appeared before it to have a committee of the New York labor movement investigate the entire matter and pass judgment. You refused to turn the question over to a committee. You decided instead to try us before your own Grievance Board. When the Grievance Board called us, we appeared. Our union membership books were taken away. After hearing the case in as burocratic a manner as a machine-packed Grievance Board can function, that Board decided exactly nothing. The reasons why are only too obvious. The members of the Grievance Board are not free to think for themselves and are not free to make decisions. The Gold administration forbids the Grievance Board to have their own

You, who are Council delegates, are well aware of the fact that the Grievance Board made no decision and decided instead to bring the matter before the Council as a whole. Surely, one would think, the Joint Council, as a responsible body, would have the power to make a decision. And so you did. At that time, you did make a decision to throw out the entire case with a "warning" and return our union books. You acted so in order to save the face of the administration, but, no sooner was that decifired. When our case had been sion made, then you found out you it is theoretically supposed to be.

had found that out for you. It was plain to all that the real boss of the union is the Communist Party. The Communist Party had decided to continue the crusade against the opposition and ignored your decision. Our union books were not returned. The letters which were to have gone out to the defendants dropping the entire matter, was not sent out. Instead, members of the opposition have been called to the Grievance Board again and again. New cases on new trumpedup charges were made. Some of us have already been called to the Grievance Board five and six times.

Council delegates: What is the object of all this? Why do you permit a foreign outside force to nullify decisions of the Council and persecute members of the union? Or is it perhaps because the interests of the Gold administration require destruction of the opposition to prevent them from ever again challenging the machine's control of the union in future elec-

Why Keep Quiet?

We realize that a majority of you are no more than mere yesmen, who ask no questions and carry out orders. We also know that are some do have a mind of their own. Why do you keep quiet? You all know that the Council decided to throw out the case and give us back our union books. Does nobody even ask a question? Sisters and brothers, council delegates: We are goodstanding members of the union and demand that you carry out your own decision. We demand that our books be returned and the whole farcical case be thrown out. We demand that we have a right to participate in elections, a right to issue campaign literature. We even have a right to demand that the campaign literature of the administration be more responsible, less slanderous than was the case in the last election. We demand this in the name of union democracy. This is not asking too much. It is not too much to ask that our Joint Council behave like an independent executive body of the organization

Youth Anti-War Group In National Conference

Students Fight Jingo Armaments Drive of A.S.U.

By JOE ELWOOD

New York City URING the Christmas week the American campus will witness the definite split between "collective-security" jingoes and the genuine anti-war forces in the student movement. The American Student Union is deliberately holding its convention in New York City, where pro-"collective security" sentiment is most prevalent. Its sessions will be opened with a typical Stalinist rally at the Hip-

After a year of political frustration and diversion into the fields of jitterbuggery, the A.S.U. has even dropped all mention of the present war danger and the antiwar struggle. All that the Stalinists have to offer the student youth in this critical period of world affairs is the proposal that the students "cooperate with faculty and administration in rendering our colleges and schools more sensitive instruments in the service of American democracy and human needs.'

Now that Earl Browder has of-

ficially given his blessing to the big-armaments program, it is pretty plain what the A.S.U. will do at the Christmas convention. It will probably endorse the Administration's war program hook, line and sinker and become the most jingoistic recruiting agency on the

Realizing the significance of what is happening in the student movement, the Youth Committee Against War is calling a conference at Columbus, Ohio, for the same week. This National Youth Anti-War Congress, called under the slogan "Youth Challenges the War-Makers," will mark the formation of a new center to which all the anti-war elements among the young workers and students may rally. The false pretensions of the A.S.U. of being a "united-front" organization will thereby thoroly exposed.

The call to the Columbus conference is signed by 56 prominent youth and trade-union leaders. Over 500 delegates are expected to attend.

Nice Work!

ROM the December 5 issue of Still Better Times, a publication of the Social Service Employees Union, United Office and Professional Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate:

"Tell it [your grievance] in a confidential and straightforward fashion to the grievance committee of the union. Maybe it won't seem so unjust after you have gotten it off your chest in an orderly way. Or maybe you will discover to your surprise that a dozen of your fellow-workers have the same complaints to make. In the latter case, the committee will take it up in friendly discussion with the administrators and you may wake up to find your grievance has been rectified overnight. Maybe you might discover that the administration is even more eager to remedy the situation than you are.'

Now isn't that sweet! The only question we would like to ask: Is this "union" supposed to represent the employees or the administration? Is it supposed to be a labor organization or a company-union outfit?

Yes, you've guessed it. It's a Stalinist-controlled union!

Fur Progressives Hold Swell Affair

By B. B.

New York City.

O^N Saturday, December 3, the progressive furriers of New York gathered in the Jewish Trade Union Center to take part in a social affair arranged by the United Progressive Furriers.

Amongst the speakers who addressed the gathering were Nathan Kramer, progressive candidate for secretary-treasurer in the last elections, also chairman of the affair; B. Baraz, candidate for assistantmanager in the last elections, toastmaster of the evening; and Sam Glassman, candidate for manager and standard-bearer of the progressive ticket in the last elections. Mr. Sorkin and Mr. Winnick, men well-known to the furriers, also addressed the gathering.

Splendid talks were delivered by Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union; Anne Gould, of the progressives in the United Office and Professional Workers Union; John Tazis, of the opposition group in the Greek furworkers union; and David Shartzberg, of the Brooklyn Painters District Council No. 18.

All speakers emphasized the importance of carrying on the fight for democracy in the unions and for cleasing the unions of Stalinist domination.

"proletarian supper" served. There was a very attractive concert in which participated Miss Rothenberg in Jewish folksongs, with her brother, George at the piano; A. Glanzman in improvisations with Mary Baraz at the piano and also in solos from Schubert and Mozart.

The executive of the United Progressive Furriers expressed its thanks and appreciation to all who participated in the affair and helped to make it the success it was, and also to the arrangements committee, consisting of Mrs. B. Cohen, Lena Greenberg, Lena and Celia Rabinowitz, Sarah Gross and Sarah Werbin.

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