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# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### CONFLICT IN THE WORLD MARKET

BY NO stretch of calculation can one exaggerate the intensity of the present conflict in the world market. The Lima Conference, important as it was, marked but a single round in the combat. Here the giant imperialist powers—the United States, England and Germany—were the chief antagonists. Ideology was not involved, except as a means of camouflage.

Let the London Economist (December 10, 1938) bear witness to what we say: "It is almost a self-evident truth that the old technique of commercial treaties and tariff adjustments is unavailing against the ingenuity of the German devices. New methods are required."

It is in this "spirit of the era" that the House of Commons is now considering a proposal to have the Export Credit Guarantee Department enlarge both the variety and scale of its activities. In the last twelve years, this Department has helped in financing no less than 900 million dollars of British exports. Of marked significance is the fact that one-fourth of this sum was involved in the last twelve months. Very correctly, the London Economist comments: "There is a very direct parallel between measures of this nature and the more familiar forms of rearmament." In their sane moments, few would deny that funds expended on export subsidies are less a sheer waste than cash invested in submarines.

No wonder that, in his discussion of this bill in the House of Commons, Oliver Stanley, president of the Board of Trade, summed up his argument by reciting the British imperialist battle-cry of sixty years ago: "We don't want to fight, but by jingo, if we do, we've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too."

Wall Street imperialism is not asleep in preparing for a battle-royal in defense of its "own democracy." According to the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the first nine months of 1938 saw the first major setback in the upward movement of American exports in the last five years.

### "THE BANK ALWAYS WINS!"

IN the growing volume of talk and in the declining quality of thought on the nature and future of parliamentary democracy, some fundamentals are overlooked and some essentials are confused.

Too often do experts and devotees confound specific democratic rights won by the masses thru years of struggle with the system of capitalist "democracy" itself. In many instances, such rights have been won only after bitter conflict with the "democratic" ruling clique—and against the whole so-called "democratic" system. Nowadays, it has also become fashionable in too many circles to forget that the state is much more than the occasionally elected government officials. The churches and the banks, for instance, are vital parts of the power machinery employed by the employing class to insure its domination and privileges. These are two anti-democratic institutions that are organic parts of capitalist "democracy."

The French Republic affords strong confirmation of our thesis. In the last decade, France has had 28 governments. Perhaps this is what prompted the late Franklin-Bouillon to compare the French government to a flower: "Its life is so short." To the superficial observer, this frequency of change in government might appear as proof final that France is a living, responsive democracy. In reality, nothing could be further from the truth. Thru its power to veto the emergency funds that a government can draw, the Bank of France can determine the life of every French government. This is precisely what has been happening in France since Napoleonic days. If and when this Bank says "no," out goes a government. When Daladier removed Jouhaux from the Directorate of the Bank of France after the recent general strike, it was more a move to hold up this symbol of power to French labor than to punish the head of the C.G.T. As an individual voter in this powerful bank directorate, Jouhaux was impotent.

This reveals the real meaning of what has come to be an adage in French politics: "France votes left, but is governed right. France has its heart on the left side, but its pocketbook on the right." That is why sober students of statecraft have time and again told us: "The Bank of France always wins."

### A SIGNIFICANT APPOINTMENT

APPOINTMENTS to high office at the hands of President Roosevelt are no matters of chance or slipshod practise. Such appointments have meaning for the voters as well as content for their recipients.

Hence we look askance at Roosevelt's appointment of Colonel F. C. Harrington, a regular army officer, as chief of the W.P.A. To us, this is more than a straw in the wind. An army man in full charge of relief is more than an ordinary gesture of friendship for biggest business. It is a sign of the new times to be ushered in gradually by Roosevelt, beginning with his forthcoming message.

It is symbolic that a military man should be put in charge of this department precisely at a moment when our inadequate social security is being seriously endangered by a campaign for "more adequate national defense."

And the new Colonel Administrator of the W.P.A. was frank enough to declare the moment he took over the Hopkins post, that "money must go to real needy and they must give their best work." His cry that there must be "no politics in disbursing" is merely an echo of the demands of the reactionary opponents of federal government aid to the millions displaced by capitalist industry itself.

Watch Harrington—and Roosevelt.

## Roosevelt Boosts Armaments Program

### UAW Head Blasts Anti-Semitism

#### Says Race Prejudice Aids Union Smashing

Labor Must Fight Efforts To Sow Seeds Of Intolerance And Bigotry In The United States

By HOMER MARTIN

(These paragraphs are from a radio address delivered by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, on December 10, 1938.—Editor.)

ALL of us who live in the United States and who are familiar with its history, perhaps sometimes do not realize the value of living in a country which has been relatively free from intolerance and racial prejudice.

To most of us, tolerance of those who differ from us in religious beliefs or ancestry is a matter of course, perhaps because America is so much an immigrant nation, made up of an amalgamation of hundreds of nationalities from every corner of the earth. There is no one who, in looking back over the history of his family, does not have to say: "My grandfather or great-grandfather came over from Europe in this year



HOMER MARTIN

or that year." If there is any place on earth where it has been demonstrated that nationalism and racial intolerance are completely unjustified and without basis, it is the United States. To most of us, then, what has been happening in Europe recently is a source of amazement. The violent hatreds, leading to unheard-of brutalities by the dictator countries causes us to shudder. To think that mankind of any section of the world could degenerate to such levels!

#### Sowing Seeds Of Fascism

It is all the more amazing, then, when we find in this country, particularly in the last few weeks, a series of attempts to sow the seeds of intolerance and racial hatreds in the minds of American citizens. What is so desirable about the mass executions, the concentration camps and all the other forms of prejudice in action that we, in this country, should seek to adopt and imitate? The spreading of prejudice and intolerance might be more understandable, altho no more excusable, if it came from some ignorant and backward person prevented by circumstances from being familiar with the traditions of American democracy; but, when the fountain stream of this un-American and dangerous propaganda comes from one who is educated and presumably intelligent, who has had advantages of culture and who by profession ought to be more concerned with promoting the brotherhood of man, we are truly amazed.

Under the dictatorships of Europe, where every avenue of publicity and every source of information has become merely a funnel thru which to pour falsehoods and deceptive propaganda into the minds of the citizens, we expect demagogic appeals to prejudice, fictitious arguments and manufactured evidence, because, if the truth were known, it would shake to the core the rotten super-structure of totalitarianism.

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### "Land of Equality"

TWO newspaper reports appearing in the metropolitan press on the same day last week:

I.

BRENDA FRAZIER, 18, society's latest "glamor girl," "came out" last night in a party at the Ritz-Carlton that set her back anywhere between \$30,000 and \$50,000... Brenda "came out" in a practically solid gold setting. The ballroom had been pointedly decorated in massed gold flower arrangements... The color tone was significant as Miss Frazier is truly a gilt-edged social security, having received a hand-me-down of \$3,000,000 from her paternal grandmother and a mere change purse of \$800,000 from her father.

II.

NORMA MILLES, 12, was taken to St. John's Hospital yesterday in a serious condition as a result of long-continued undernourishment. "It's plain starvation," the doctor said.

Her father, John Milles, 51, an unemployed carpenter, explained that he had been on W.P.A. until some months ago when he accepted a temporary outside job. When that job was over, he found he couldn't get back on W.P.A. "We gave Norma everything we had," he insisted, "but she kept sinking. She couldn't go to school all last week before the holidays." There are two other children, younger than Norma, in the Milles family. Mrs. Milles died four years ago.

### Asks 13,000 New Planes For War

Federal Youth Aid Turned To Militarist Purposes; Opposition Is Expected As Congress Convenes

The whole country was shocked last week at an authorized report from Washington that President Roosevelt was planning to ask for 10,000 new planes in his message to Congress on January 4. On the very same day, it was announced by J. W. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education, that more than 7,000 young men were being trained in government-aided vocational schools to become aviation mechanics. It was also said that the President intended to ask Congress to permit the training of 20,000 young men as aviation pilots thru the facilities of the N.Y.A.

These reports confirmed previous indications that the Administration super-armaments program would run far ahead of even the highest previous estimates. In financial terms, it will mean an armaments budget vastly bigger than anything yet seen in times of peace, bound to cut in very considerably on social-welfare expenditures such as relief, W.P.A., housing and the like.

If the President does ask for 10,000 planes, it will bring the total of new planes up to 13,000, for 3,000 were authorized some months ago. Of course, 13,000 planes mean that the other parts of the armament program will be on a correspondingly gigantic scale. It is expected that the President will ask for considerable naval expansion as well as for measures to make possible the raising of an army of millions. In the face of a program such as this, all of the Administration's talk of the "defense of our shores" is shown up as mere camouflage. As recently as last October, Major General Henry H. Arnold, chief of the air corps, regarded 2,320 planes for the army "a very good figure as things now stand." For both the army and navy, the New York Times survey (Dec. 18, 1938) urged a maximum of 6,000 planes, while Major George Fielding Eliot in his recent book, "The Ramparts We Watch," put the figure a trifle lower. The President's program has any meaning at all only if what is contemplated is America's involvement in a foreign war somewhere in Asia or Europe. This has obviously been the direction of the Administration's foreign policy in the last year and a half.

With the new session about to open, it was clear that the President's war-preparations program would meet with considerable questioning and opposition in Congress, altho its passage is regarded as very probable.

(Read the editorial, "A Race Against Disaster," on page 4.—Ed.)

### ASU Convention Takes Open Pro-War Stand

Student Group Endorses Arms Plan

To anyone concerned about the future of the American youth in the present period of impending war, the fourth annual convention of the American Student Union, held during the Christmas week, at the College of the City of New York, was a truly sad affair. Especially was this so to those who had participated in its formation as a militant anti-war organization and then saw it follow the logic of the "collective-security" delusion until today it stands as a jingo pro-war organization, advocating an "adequate defense" program.

The convention was held in New York, where the Young Communist League leadership could cover up the decline in membership with Y.C.L. and stooge delegates. The A.S.U.'s own figures state that of the 600 delegates 450 or 75% were from New York. (Actually no more than 450 delegates participated in the convention.) The convention was characterized by its utterly tame spirit and lack of discussion, except for the occasions when the Y.C.L. sharpshooters went to work on the anti-war minority.

The discussion on political program was thoroughly dominated by Mrs. McAllister, the main speaker, a member of the National Committee of the Democratic party. The one mention of independent labor action was sneered at by a large number of delegates, many of whom participated in the Democratic party's election campaign in November, and for whose political ambitions the A.S.U. will probably serve as a stepping-stone.

The main work of the convention

was the third session, devoted to the formulation of a "peace" resolution, but which actually rallied the delegates to a program of preparedness for war. The "peace" discussion was concerned to a large degree with what kind of navy is needed, how many battleships, and how the war against the "fascist aggressors" should be conducted, etc. Typical of the jingo atmosphere were the remarks of the delegates. Said a delegate from Chicago: "So what if armaments are used to extend our commerce? We need our commerce... We need an offensive army to defend ourselves." Another delegate from New York: "Let's not kid ourselves. We're going to eventually need an army to fight for our country."

The remarks of Howard Lee, southern secretary of the A.S.U., smirked of Goering's "Guns Not Butter" slogan. He said: "The people of the South need homes and schools, but they prefer battleships because of the world situation. Today, we need battleships instead!"

The "peace" resolution adopted embodies the Stalinist "collective-security" war program. The prediction of the anti-war forces at the 1937 convention, then denied by the Stalinist leadership, that "collective

(Continued on Page 2)

### Steel Workers Face Job Loss

New Mill Processes Throw Thousands Out Of Work As SWOC Fights Cuts

Pittsburgh, Pa. The pinch of the new high-speed steel mills clamped down last week on 2,200 workers of the McKeesport Tin Plate Co., as they faced the ultimatum: "Take a wage-cut or no jobs for the new year." The cuts demanded ranged from 6% to 25%.

Harold Ruttenberg, research director for the C.I.O.'s Steel Workers Organizing Committee, explained the situation frankly to a mass meeting of the workers and their families on December 22.

The speaker told the workers that the same situation faced the employees of many other steel concerns, with the introduction of multi-million dollar mills like the recently dedicated \$60,000,000 Irvin Works, of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corp.

Mr. Ruttenberg told his listeners, "is taking your jobs. By the end of 1939, it alone will have replaced between 15,000 and 16,000 workers." The \$250,000,000 McKeesport Co. ranks fourth among producers of tin plate in America and third among metal container producers. It was the first of its size to notify the

union it intended to cancel its labor contract unless a lower wage scale could be set. The plant normally employs about 3,000 steel workers, but recently 800 men were laid off.

Mr. Ruttenberg told the audience it was up to them to make the decision, altho his organization was strongly against accepting wage reductions.

The labor leader said the C.I.O. would swing behind the workers if they refused to accept the cut, but warned he did not believe they could hope to retain their present jobs as long as two years, even with a cut.

Mr. Ruttenberg said he had studied the new and old mills and found that the McKeesport type of mill required 120 "hand operations" to a box (100 pounds) of tin plate, while in the Irvin works "they use electric buttons so that ten or eleven operations are all that are necessary."

After listening to the labor leaders the crowd shouted approval of a motion to reject the wage cut.

The action was not binding on the union's negotiation committee, which for is empowered to accept the company's proposal. However, members of the committee, privately, told newsmen they were opposed to acceptance of the cut.

### NEXT WEEK

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on

### REARMAMENT

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## Coster-Musica: The One That Didn't Get Away

Gigantic Swindle Part of Private Profit Pattern of Economic Set-up

THE whole country is still in a daze at the flood of revelations in the Coster-Musica scandal. A vast financial structure reared on nothing but a monumental fraud. Warehouses and stocks of goods that never existed manipulated to extract millions. Entire business departments engaged in wholly imaginary activities making tremendous profits. An old-established, respectable drug firm, McKesson and Robbins, involved in gun-running and other illicit trading. And this entire gigantic swindle operated over a long period of time by a family of ex-convicts who had calmly assumed the character of conservative, conventional business men of the "best type," admired and respected by all "right-thinking citizens."

How could such things happen? Does not a development of this sort cast a lurid light on our entire economic system, a system in which a Coster-Musica could thrive and carry on his fantastic activities for years without let or hindrance? Remember, it is no hole-in-the-corner confidence game that is involved, but big-business operations of the most imposing character. Coster-Musica's associates in his shady business dealings were eminent merchants, bankers and financiers. In Coster-Musica's service as professional lobbyist was Harry MacKenzie, long the chief lieutenant of Connecticut's late Republican boss, John Henry Roraback. Working for Coster-Musica as paid "lecturer" for an anti-chain store bill in which he was

interested was Wright Patman, Democratic Congressman from Texas. And, of course, Coster-Musica and his accomplice brothers were all highly-honored and respectable citizens, solid conservatives, irreproachable church members, pillars of society.

How could a racket of this sort be so well geared into our business system that for years it could proceed smoothly and successfully without a hitch? The answer is that our business system itself is just one gigantic racket operating on principles at bottom not so very different from those that guided Coster-Musica in his exploits.

Our business system is based on the profit motive. Big business is there to make profit without regard to the needs of the people, the welfare of the masses, ethical standards or anything else. Of course, you must try not to run afoul of the law too openly—but short of that, anything goes! Is it any wonder that the Coster-Musica swindle could fit in nicely in such a system?

Did Coster-Musica juggle fictitious assets, stocks and properties in his far-flung business enterprises? But that's the essence of high finance, with its stock flotations, market manipulations, holding companies, pyramided credit devices and the like. Coster-Musica was merely a dabbler in these mystic arts compared to the big shots on Wall Street, or to the Krugers and the Insulls.

Did Coster-Musica coin profits out

### THE UNDERWORLD MEETS WALL ST.



F. Donald Coster-Philip Musica (left), shortly before he committed suicide. With him are: (right) his brother, George Musica, alias George Dietrich, assistant-treasurer of McKesson and Robbins; and Samuel Reich, their attorney.

# UAW Girds Against International Board Faction Moves

## STRIKERS CHOOSE JAIL INSTEAD OF BAIL



Entering the Woodbury county jail are some of the 39 strikers from the Swift and Co. packing plant at Sioux City, Iowa. The men, indicted for their strike activities at this plant, marched in a body to the jail rather than raise \$124,000 in bail.

## Paterson Progressives In Fight to Save Union

### Imposed Stalinist Leaders Without Knowledge of Industry

By SILK WORKER

Paterson, N. J. THE great promise of the C.I.O. was met by the Paterson silk workers with a certain air of expectation. So many great movements had come to Paterson in the past to lift the silk workers out of the cellar of industrial life, each leaving them in conditions, if not the same, perhaps even a little worse than before. However, with much enthusiasm and pledges of support from all sides, another silk campaign was begun.

Offices were opened, all existing locals gave up their charters and every effort was bent toward the success of the T.W.O.C. Communists, socialists (Old Guard and "Militants"), Lovestonites, Trotskyites and conservatives, all were united in the campaign—so much so that the Stalinist press published an article congratulating the Communist Party of Paterson on the successful united front of communists with an Old Guard socialist, Aaron Sawicky, and the "Lovestonites," Meyer Laks and Meyer Chanatzky.

#### The Strike and Settlement

A strike was called and was settled with the same outward unity, although there was some resentment against the terms of the agreement. This was explained, however, by the leadership as the first agreement in an attempt to stabilize a chaotic industry. That the terms of the agreement as to working conditions were pretty bad is evident, inasmuch as it established the worst features already in existence (the six-loom system) as union conditions. However, the workers did gain union recognition and with the growth of the organization, it was hoped that power would come to stabilize the industry and control the stretchout.

In the meantime, Irving Abramson, a New York lawyer, appointed by Sidney Hillman before the strike to direct the Paterson campaign, was encountering many difficulties. Accepted by all factions at the beginning, he soon became identified with the Stalinists who soon became his only support in the Executive Board. For, although the active people in the union presented to the outside world a solid front supporting all T.W.O.C. policies, in the policy-making councils there were many disagreements between the old, experienced silk workers and Abramson, who had the power of the T.W.O.C. but lacked a knowledge of the industry and its conditions.

However, the agreement was accepted by the workers and they were sent back to work. The job of policing the agreement became a tremendous task, as practically every manufacturer chose, as the agree-

#### French Socialists Back Armaments

(Continued from Page 1)

Blum policy would lead straight to war. But against the majority standpoint, the Faure tendency had nothing to offer but the old pacifist phrases, which, for a section of the party leadership, really masked an "appeasement" policy. No genuinely socialist position was presented, although sentiment for it was probably to be found among the large number of abstentions. On this question as on others, the revolutionary socialist position is represented by the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party of France, headed by Marceau Pivert.

Under pressure from the great bulk of the delegates, Leon Blum withdrew a resolution he had introduced urging cooperation with the Communist Party. The relation between the two parties are now severely strained.

ment specified he could, to start a six-loom system, and the minimums called for in the agreement were impossible to enforce because the methods by which they were to be arrived at, according to the agreement, could not work in practice. This, too, contributed to a growing unrest among the union members.

#### Stalinists Begin To Intrigue

Nevertheless, there were as yet no open breaks and it was not until the Stalinists began to call their caucuses that trouble began. At one of the first of their caucuses, it was decided that, inasmuch as two of the organizers had refused to make a donation to the Daily Worker, they were to be the first objects of attack. Two weeks later, one of these, Aaron Sawicky, was laid off by Abramson on the excuse of "economy." The Executive Board, at its next meeting, decided officially to request Abramson to reinstate Sawicky. Abramson refused on the basis that this would be a "slap in the face for him" and appealed to the Progressives supporting Sawicky not to start any factional disputes in the union. It was suggested at this meeting by the Progressives that the Executive Board outlaw all caucus meetings. Abramson and the Stalinists, speaking in the name of "democracy," opposed this. Such remained the condition for some months, a definite cleavage with some sharp clashes at membership meetings and Abramson so completely ignoring the Executive Board that finally most of its members did not even come to meetings and only with an effort could the Stalinists muster a quorum when they wanted to "rubber-stamp" some decision made by Abramson.

The agreement was to expire in September and soon it became necessary to plan for a new one. Membership meetings were held and Abramson proposed that the first demand be for a check-off. The workers, however, already disturbed by the high-handed methods of Abramson and his crew of organizers, did not want to entrust to them the power a check-off system would bring. The Progressives altho in principle not against a check-off, felt that the opposition to it was a protest against the administration and not against the check-off at all. At the meetings, on the question of wages, they proposed a rate of \$1.25 per 100M picks. It took three meetings before Abramson and the Stalinists put over their proposition of a check-off and a price of \$1.15 per 100M as a rock-bottom price, with once again the unenforceable minimum of \$18 per week. This was, it should be understood, after the first agreement had given the workers \$1.20 per 100M picks.

A strike was called and after one day had passed, Abramson came in with the proposal that it be settled for \$1.12 per 100M, this time garnished with another so-called "absolute minimum" of \$14. The strike meeting of about 800 members voted almost unanimously against the entire proposition reaffirming their stand on the \$1.15 per 100M without regard for "minimums." There are three different groups of manufacturers in Paterson and four days later, after two of these groups had been settled satisfactorily, at a meeting of about 60 members, Abramson put over the agreement for \$1.12. This left only a few shops unsettled, which worked on a particular type of work. Abramson had promised the workers in these shops that they would not go back to work on any greater load than they had come out (four looms) and these bosses were insisting on a six-loom system.

#### Dictatorship On A Rampage

It was because of one of these shops that the entire situation was brought to a head and the latest chapter in the development of dictatorship in the union was begun. A meeting of silk workers was called by the Progressives to raise financial support for one of these shops, which was still on strike. However, between the calling of the meeting and the day it took place, the shop was settled. The meeting was presided over by Meyer Chanatzky, president of the union local, and he explained the reason for calling the meeting and the fact that the shop was settled. It was decided that the floor be thrown open for discussion on general conditions in the union. All of the grievances of the preceding year and particularly the strike settlement and the growing tendency toward a "one-man" union, were brought out. After much discussion, it was decided that a committee be elected to appeal to the New Jersey State Joint Board, to Carl Holderman, the regional director, and to the national office of the T.W.O.C.,

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if necessary, for the following reforms: (1) election of business agents; and (2) recognition of the Executive Board as head of the union between membership meetings. These two points had been decisions of the membership meetings for almost a year but had been ignored, as were all others.

(Concluded in the next issue)

## Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

REVOLT against Stalinist domination continues to break out, in the A. F. of L. as well as in the C.I.O. Last week, New York had its attention drawn to the misdeeds of the Stalinites in locals of the American Federation of Teachers, an A. F. of L. affiliate. In a public statement, Dr. John L. Childs of Teachers College, Columbia University, described his own experiences and the experiences of other genuinely liberal, pro-labor members of the A.F.T. locals, the College Teachers Union, under Stalinist control. Decisions were generally taken, he said, "in sectarian caucuses, not in the assembly. . . . The favored interests of the Stalinist group would always emerge in frequently wholly irrelevant resolutions." The Stalinist policy, he emphasized, was "to destroy what it could not control."

When he expressed dissatisfaction with the way the union was being run, he was told to go and straighten the matter out—that is, discuss the affairs of the union with Earl Browder and Clarence Hathaway!

Dr. Childs's disclosures were confirmed and extended by Dr. George S. Counts, Edmund De S. Brunner, Harold Rugg and others from Teachers College. As a result of his experiences, Dr. Childs resigned from the union. Dr. Counts, on the other hand, declared that he would remain in the union to fight to eliminate the "evils and abuses."

#### CHRISTMAS SPIRIT

THE Grievance Board of the Joint Council, reads a letter from the New York furriers union to B. Baraz, leader of the progressive opposition to Stalinist domination in that union, "have therefore found you guilty of the grave and serious charges made against you. Your accusations constituted unwarranted and malicious slander, which cannot be tolerated by any responsible labor organization. . . . In accordance with our International Constitution, you are therefore to be fined, suspended or expelled for your misconduct, your slanders and anti-union behavior. Our united union. . . will, however, postpone and suspend such disciplinary action against you, subject to your future behavior." Such display of tacit tolerance is really amazing, coming as it does from a leadership which did not shrink from using the black-jack and the knife against its opponents in the union. But the light begins to dawn when we note that the charges against Brother Baraz are confined to the use of the phrase "embezzlement of funds" in one of the leaflets issued in the recent election campaign. Baraz and the

## Battle Lines Forming As "Peace Pact" Shows Colors

By GEORGE F. MILES

AT a meeting I addressed recently in St. Louis, Mo., Delmond Garst, International Board member of the United Automobile Workers of America, arose to say that the internal situation in the U.A.W. left absolutely nothing to be desired, that the "peace" plan rammed down the throat of the union by a weakened International Board, was receiving the unanimous approval of the membership, and that peace and harmony ruled where factionalism and disruption had held sway.

Needless to say, I was more than skeptical about the accuracy of this pastoral but, after covering the entire mid-western automobile area and discussing with workers in the most important auto-producing centers, I am convinced that those who continue to prattle about or believe in the "peace and harmony" which supposedly reigns in the union are living in a fool's paradise and are due for a very severe jolt.

If any single fact were needed to prove this conclusion, then the recent controversy over the appointment of the vice-presidents was it. But as dramatic as this clash may have been, it is but a superficial manifestation of a much deeper crisis which has held the U.A.W. in grip and continues to do so now.

#### Impact Of "Peace"

Regardless of how loudly C.I.O. spokesmen may have raged against the "factionalists" who stirred up resistance to their proposed "peace" plan calling for the reinstatement of the expelled Stalinists and their stooges and handing over the autonomy of the U.A.W. to a C.I.O. committee, they were perfectly well aware that the articulate sections of the membership had expressed themselves against the "peace" plan. C.I.O. leaders counted on the prestige of the C.I.O. to offset the pressure from the ranks against the pact. They also counted on the weakness, inexperience, vanity and careerism of some on the Board. In both cases, they were not altogether wrong.

A majority of the Board was

manufactured, the pact was approved, the Stalinists were reinstated and the organization robbed of its autonomy. The membership received the pact in silence, interpreted as assent by the C.I.O. It was really speechless amazement at the capitulation and collapse of their leadership.

Very much depended upon the policies and activities of the International Board. In the absence of any organized opposition on a national scale and the weariness of the membership with faction fighting in the organization, a constructive, union-building program could easily have carried the membership forward, could have rallied the organization to new accomplishments. But precisely this program was not forthcoming. Instead, the International Board, under the protection of the C.I.O., entered upon a course of factional manipulation, political purges, organizational gerrymandering and restriction of union activities which branded it as a narrow faction and not a union leadership. Its almost religious abstinence from guidance and leadership on the economic problems which faced the union, out of fear of placing itself on the spot, increased the gap between it and the membership. It is difficult to find another union in the country in which the leadership is held in such low regard, unless it be the National Maritime Union.

#### Ferment In Ranks

In a negative sense, the accomplishments of the Board are truly phenomenal. It decided to stop publication of the union's paper, ostensibly for reasons of "economy," but really for its own factional ends. It is said in union ranks that only after President Martin threatened to take the issue to the ranks did the C.I.O. representatives force the Board to reverse itself.

Similarly, there are few today who believe that the purge of active workers in the union was due to the need of ousting the "Lovestonites" from political control. The list of victims includes: Eve Stone, Francis Henson, Elmer Davis, Morris Silverman, Tucker P. Smith, Ed Bishop, Eunice Crooks, Pete Wells, George Stafford and Zygmund Dobzynski. Of these, only one is identified with the Independent Labor League of America, Tucker Smith, whose personal sympathies were with Martin, is a leading member of the Socialist Party which, in the state of Michigan, has worked overtime to assist the Stalinists in their drive for control. None of the rest are identified with any workers political organization, with the possible exception of Mr. Henson, who has expressed his sympathies for the policies of the I.L.L.A. on the trade-union field.

#### Purge Against Progressives

But there is one thing that does unite all the above into one grouping and that is their active support of the progressive policies of President Martin. It is for this reason and no other that these people had to go. And, for the same reason, Research Director William Munger is on the list to go.

In flagrant violation of the twenty-point program which all Board members signed and ostensibly agreed with, the Board not only discontinued all of the anti-war activities in which Tucker Smith was engaged and which represented the policy of the union but also, without any new statement of policy, permitted its vice-president, Richard Frankenstein, to serve as a vice-president of the Stalinist-dominated American League for Peace and Democracy. This latter body is an outright pro-war organization hiding under the garb of "peace and democracy." (U.A.W. members will remember that the "unity" caucus conducted its most vicious union-busting activities under the slogan of "unity and democracy.")

The decision of the Board to give the reinstated officers full back-pay for the time they were under suspension violated the C.I.O. pact which reinstated them. In addition, it also indicated that the Board members were completely out of touch with the mood of the membership or they would never have

#### TRUE OR FALSE

IN a recent test of strength in Local 202 of the Teamsters Union, the administration forces pushed over the Stalinist-inspired opposition slate to the tune of more than 4 to 1, which is as it should be. But there are some ugly rumors going the rounds. Is it true that business agents collected dues-books from workers prior to the elections on the promise that these would be "fixed up," and returned these same due-books after the elections, "fixed up" indeed as far as dues stamps go, but also stamped in the book was the word "VOTED"? Is that true?

#### DIVINE RIGHT

"YOU set in motion," says a priest to a young miner, "huge electric dynamos, which in turn could set in motion millions of workers, who could produce so much of everything that the whole nation could be happy and prosperous. My son, that is the will of God. And that is also the desire and aim of your divinely inspired leader and champion, John L. Lewis."—Excerpt from the December 15 issue of the United Mine Workers Journal.

## The I.L.L.A. At Work

by D. Benjamin

#### YOUTH SECTION IN ACTION

THE Youth Section of the I.L.L.A. was quite busy during the Christmas holidays. Delegates from various parts of the country were sent to the National Conference of the Youth Committee Against War held at Columbus, Ohio, recently. Twenty-five hundred copies of a special leaflet entitled "Convention—For What?" were distributed to delegates and members attending the convention of the pro-war American Students Union in New York City last week. Special arrangements were made for selling the December issue of the Youth Frontier and distributing other material to the delegates attending the sessions of the both conventions.

A plan of action was adopted by the youth branches in New York City at a recent joint membership meeting. The Bronx Youth Branch has already started to put some of the plans into effect. A discussion circle was organized to discuss problems of socialism. The first session was held recently with D. Benjamin speaking on "Why Socialism?"

#### CLEVELAND

OUR branch in Cleveland reports an active discussion circle under way. Such topics as "Results of the Elections," "Implications of the New Deal," "New Problems of American Labor," have been taken up.

Members of the Cleveland branch have been working to interest local labor leaders and organizations in the campaign to aid the victims of German Nazism and to open the doors of the United States to the refugees.

#### NEEDLE TRADES BRANCHES

A LEAFLET against the huge armament program of the Roosevelt Administration was issued last week jointly by the New York Dressmakers Branches of the I.L.L.A.

## A.S.U. Convention Takes Open Pro-War Stand

(Continued from Page 1) In answering the opposition aroused by this section of the resolution, Joe Lash, national secretary, said: "Wouldn't you want to be a pilot? . . . Think of how exciting it is!"

The old voices raised against war came from delegates who are also members of the Youth Committee Against War. The splendid work of Robin Myers, observer for the Y.C.A.W., must be mentioned.

In the course of the nomination of a southern vice-chairman, the Jim-Crow spirit manifested by a majority of the convention reared its head. In answer to several indignant Negro delegates, Frances Jones of Bernet College said: "You cannot build the A.S.U. on the basis of interracial cooperation. It cannot be done."

So do we witness the end of the American Student Union as a progressive anti-war organization, led on its path by the Young Communist League. Born in 1935 in the spirit of militancy, it died in 1937 in the spirit of reaction. This year's convention should prove to all doubters that it has become a recruiting agency for the New Deal's preparedness drive. In the United States, the Youth Committee Against War stands forth as the only anti-war youth organization of students and workers.

L.A. and the Socialist Party. Four thousand of these were distributed in the New York dress market.

New members are being taken in by the New York Dressmakers Branch, with prospects for still more in the future. But in this regard, the Cloakmakers Branch of New York takes first prize. Eight new members have come into this latter division within a very short period.

#### NEW WORKERS AGE DRIVE

MORE and more answers continue to come in on the questionnaire sent to readers of the Workers Age. The onward march toward \$3,500, the minimum sum required to publish the new Workers Age and the theoretical magazine, has reached the \$2,300 mark. Detroit has pledged \$110. Philadelphia has paid \$110 in cash on a pledge of \$250. Pittsburgh has sent in \$18. All members of the I.L.L.A., all readers of the Workers Age, are asked to rush in their contributions. The sum of \$3,500 must be reached by January 15 if the plans are to be fully put into effect. Most important—say it with cash.

#### PLANS FOR THIS COLUMN

IN this new Workers Age it is the plan of this column not only to give brief, itemized accounts of some of the activities carried on by the I.L.L.A. in various parts of the country but also to discuss certain important organizational problems confronting the I.L.L.A. We want the members and branches throughout the country to make this column their own by sending in items and reports as well as brief discussion articles dealing with various organizational questions and steps that should be taken to improve the functioning of the organization. We are glad to report that the Detroit and Chicago branches of the I.L.L.A. have already appointed special correspondents for this column.

part of the N.Y.A. program." In answer to the question, "What will you do if you are a pilot?" the resolution reads: "I will fly to the front and fight for the defense of our country. . . . Think of how exciting it is!"

The old voices raised against war came from delegates who are also members of the Youth Committee Against War. The splendid work of Robin Myers, observer for the Y.C.A.W., must be mentioned.

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#### Men of England

*MEN* of England, wherefore plow  
For the lords who lay ye low?  
Wherefore weave with toil and care  
The rich robes your tyrants wear?

Wherefore feed, and clothe, and save,  
From the cradle to the grave,  
Those ungrateful drones who would  
Drain your sweat—nay, drink your blood!

Wherefore, Bees of England, forge  
Many a weapon, chain and scourge,  
That these stingless drones may spoil  
The forced produce of your toil?

Have ye leisure, comfort, calm,  
Shelter, food, love's gentle balm  
Or what is it ye buy so dear  
With your pain and with your fear?

The seed ye sow, another reaps;  
The wealth ye find, another keeps;  
The robes ye weave, another wears;  
The arms ye forge, another bears.

Sow seed—but let no tyrant reap;  
Find wealth—let no impostor heap;  
Weave robes—let no idler wear;  
Forge arms—in your defense to bear.

Shrink to your cellars, holes, and cells;  
In halls ye deck, another dwells.  
Why shake the chains ye wrought? Ye see  
The steel ye tempered glance on ye.

With plow and spade, and hoe and loom,  
Trace your grave and build you tomb,  
And weave your winding-sheet, fair England be your wimpled're.

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

**DRESSMAKERS FORUM**  
1330 Wilkins Ave., Bronx  
**SUNDAY, JAN. 8**  
**11:00 A. M.**  
**Ben Lifschitz**  
Speaks in Jewish on  
**A.F.L. and C.I.O.—**  
**What Next?**  
Admission Free  
Auspices:  
**Dressmakers Branch, I.L.L.A.**

We Can Use Our Labor and Resources

300 Billion Wasted In Depression

By LYMAN FRASER

THE waste of labor and productive resources thru unemployment is the most tragic, and the most idiotic, spectacle of our age.

It is a spectacle unknown in other times and other places. Among the people of the middle ages or among primitive tribes, there might be need because of insufficient productive capacity, or because of war, pestilence or natural catastrophes.

But consider the millions of unemployed today. They include clothing workers and steel workers and automobile workers and building workers and scores of other occupations capable of producing useful goods that the people need.

There are the millions of workers, eager and able to work. There are the plants and the mines now operating part-time, operating far below their capacity to produce. And there are the raw materials, yielded up by our abundant natural resources.

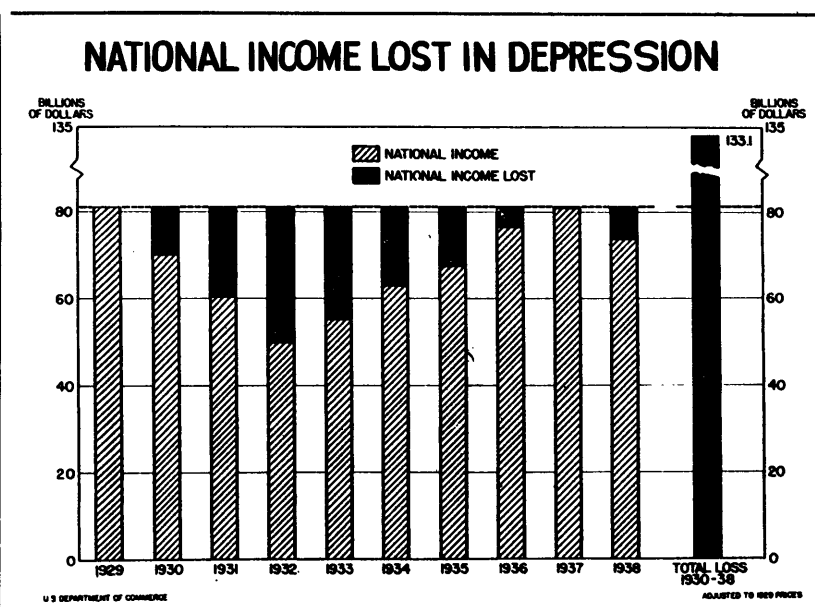
Yes, there they are, what the economists call the "factors of production," unemployed and unable to combine and produce useful goods and services because of a fatal defect in the capitalist set-up.

Witchcraft Of Capitalism It is sheer idiocy, this unemployment of available labor and resources. The common-sense thing to do is to bring together the unemployed labor, factories and raw materials, to brush aside whatever stands in the way of using all our productive resources all the time.

Nor are the unemployed alone punished by that witchcraft. For the resulting economic losses, in terms of additional goods and services that might be produced, are enormous and lower the standards of living of the great masses of the people.

Coster-Musica (Continued from Page 1) the concern became known to him. Mr. Michaels, an eminently respectable business man, explains that it was just an arrangement to "lighten the debt burden."

The whole system is rotten thru and thru because it is a system driven by the mad thirst for private profit. In such a system, anything can happen—and does. If the Coster-Musica scandal teaches us anything, it all, it teaches us that we never have a decent, honest economic and social order worthy of civilized human beings until the capitalist system of production for profit gives way to the socialist system of production for use!



According to this chart, which graphically pictures the estimates of Isador Lubin, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, there was a loss during the years 1930-38 of \$133 billion in the national income...

It is now more than nine years since prosperity broke down in 1929. During those nine years, a large proportion of our capacity to produce has lain unused; the short-lived prosperity of 1936-37 was well below the productive levels of 1929, with an unused productive capacity of 40% and about 10,000,000 workers unemployed.

According to Isador Lubin, of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the cost to the American people of nine years of depressed economic activity is \$133 billion (1929 prices) of goods and services that might have been produced.

That is truly an enormous economic waste. But even these figures really underestimate the waste: 1. Dr. Lubin makes his calculation on the basis of "maintaining" the 1929 national income during the following nine years. But that makes no allowance for an increasing national income as a result of the increase in productivity...

2. There is another underestimate in Dr. Lubin's calculation. Unused capacity to produce is not confined to depression; it is a fact in the most piping years of prosperity—capitalism is never able to use all its existing productive resources and labor. In 1929, there was an unused capacity to produce of 20% of which might have added \$15 billion to the national income.

3. The capitalist witchcraft that produces unused capacity is always at work. It is working during prosperity years; it is most malevolent during the depression years. Thus, during the past nine years, there has been an economic waste of over \$300 billion as a result of capitalist inability to use all the available productive resources and labor.

End of Capitalism Only Way Out

years. And more important still, it will continue to work during the years ahead. An increase of unused capacity to produce, that is, the waste of labor and resources, is the most definite expression of capitalism today.

Recovery is slowly moving toward prosperity, with little increase, however, in employment. No one believes that in the next year or two prosperity will go much beyond the levels of 1936-37, when there were over 8,000,000 unemployed and probably 40% unused capacity.

But it is precisely this witchcraft of our generation, economically, is one of putting all our available labor and resources to work producing the goods and services that our people need. There can be no prosperity, there can be no improvement in mass living standards, there can be no peace until that problem is solved.

It is idiotic and tragic, this unemployment in the midst of ample means of working, this scarcity in the midst of potential abundance. Let there be work! And let nothing stand in the way of providing work.

Purger Purged

Stalinist Slanderer of POUM in GPU Clutch

FROM a Moscow dispatch in the New York Times of December 27, 1938, we learn that Mikhail Koltsov, chief journalistic spokesman of the Stalin regime, is now under arrest, the latest victim of the purge that he himself glorified only yesterday.

Mikhail Koltsov was until recently Pravda's special correspondent in Loyalist Spain. As such, he set the pace for the world Stalinist press in unscrupulous slander of the revolutionary sections of the Spanish working class, the P.O.U.M., the Left socialists and the C.N.T.

At the height of the campaign, hardly a week would pass without two or three of his hysterical outbursts appearing in the Daily Worker, where he was lauded to the skies in the peculiarly disgusting manner characteristic of the Stalinist press.

Now the G.P.U. purge has reached him. It will soon be "revealed" that Koltsov performed his horrid acts of "treason" precisely at the time when he was penning his impudent diatribes against the P.O.U.M.

We can think of no better obituary for Mikhail Koltsov—for it is only a matter of days before he will need one—than the paragraphs we devoted to him at the height of his fame and power. From the Workers Age of October 23, 1937, we reprint: "WHO IS MIKHAIL KOLTISOV?"

legislation: Either the organization of the great mass-production industries the only way they could possibly be organized, that is, along industrial lines—or else stagnation and death thru dry-rot! The C.I.O. was born out of this alternative. Its historical mission was to draw the labor movement out of the hopeless craft-unionist rut and to set it on the new road of industrial organization, even though it might be necessary to break thru the framework of the A. F. of L. to do so.

The convention of the C.I.O. at Pittsburgh just about three years later was living proof that this mission had already been very largely accomplished. In this very short period of time as such things are measured, industrial unionism had been transformed from a "radical" idea into the standard form of organization for the most decisive sections of American industry.

Decades Of Development In Three Years So rapidly have these things happened that it is sometimes hard for us to realize exactly what it is that has happened. At the Pittsburgh convention, there were represented for the first time in our history great labor organizations in the steel, automobile, rubber and electrical-appliance industries, recognized by and under contractual relations with the biggest and most powerful industrial concerns in the country.

Nor have the effects of this tremendous upsurge been limited to the immediate objectives of the C.I.O. or even to its own ranks. It has brought with it a new spirit of collective self-reliance and militancy among the workers, organized and unorganized, A. F. of L. and C.I.O., that has made itself felt on every front of the labor struggle.

In short, thru the C.I.O. the American labor movement has succeeded in rising to a new and higher level of class organization. Whatever the coming years may hold in store, this great achievement is already an historical fact and all future development will have to take it as its point of departure.

BOOKS of the Age

by Jim Cork

GOLIATH, THE MARCH OF FASCISM, by G. A. Borgese. The Viking Press, New York, 1938.

IT is the author's intention to analyze Italian fascism not merely in its own terms and meaning but in the light of its "debt" to Italian history and culture. Going as far back as Dante, Borgese roams far afield amongst Italian poets, novelists, statesmen, politicians, and the like, looking for the ideological thread supposed to bind fascism with its ancestral past.

It is easy to see why this book has drawn such hosannas of praise in spite of its great and obvious defects. The work of an outstanding literary critic, possessing an encyclopaedic knowledge of Italian history and culture, and an unusual master of language, the book abounds in miniature masterpieces of literary criticism, of individual portraits, of historical description, in language beautiful, witty or vitriolically sarcastic as the case may be.

These defects have their common root in the author's fundamental outlook. Borgese is a liberal, his philosophy idealist, his values spiritual. His idealist outlook affects his analysis thruout. Social, economic and class factors are continuously and consistently minimized, whether dealing with a person, a nation, a culture or an historical phenomenon like fascism.

To what utterly fantastic conclusions this type of idealist analysis can lead is evident in Borgese's exploration of the rise and nature of fascism. Quite consistently again, he pooh-poos such trivialities as social, economic and class factors: "It is now sufficiently clear that the social and economic factors and results which have accompanied the rise of fascism explain it as little as the mushrooms crowding at the foot of the tree or the mistletoe clambering on its branches explains the tree itself."

After this brilliant hit, one is prepared for the "real" solution, for a more flexible and broader conception of fascism than the narrow "class-struggle" type. And we get it with a vengeance: "Fascism remains what it is, an outburst of emotionalism and pseudo-intellectualism thoroly irrational in nature."

After this arduous excavation of all the buried past of history and culture, we get this. Verily the mountain labored and brought forth a titmouse! I suppose the projected cure for fascism ought to be to psychoanalyze it away. It would be quite a logical proposal in the light of the above diagnosis of the disease.

For Marxism and socialism, the author saves his choicest bits, his sharpest bon-mots. He literally froths at the mouth at times: "Marxian mythology... common misery with a beast king... German-Jewish tutors of deformed adolescence (this in an 'anti-fascist'... J. C.)... intellectual drunkards... romantic cloud-gatherers... group resentments with eagerness for cataclysms unparalleled. Inflamed by the grandeur of Napoleonic or Prussian militarism..."

As for the class struggle, there just ain't no such animal. It was merely an imposition on history and the innocent and peaceful bourgeoisie by the fiendish Marxists: "No victorious resistance could be expected from the so-called proletariat since no such thing exists as the resolute dualism of warring classes... Capitalism and the bourgeoisie, which therefore had lacked any definite class consciousness (1), now, spurred by Marxism, hurriedly donned an armour fit to match the challenge and turned from conservatism to aggression."

Mazzini, the nineteenth-century apostle of nationalism, a convinced anti-socialist, and Woodrow Wilson, whose monument is the Versailles treaty, are the sources and fountain-heads of Borgese's ideals. Naturally, he has no real message for a world facing the alternative of fascism or socialism. His is a voice from a vacuum. —JIM CORK

The CIO—From Atlantic City to Pittsburgh Convention Reflected Achievements and Dangers

By WILL HERBERG

(This is the first of a series of articles by Will Herberg on the C.I.O. today. These articles will discuss its past achievements and present position and policies as well those fundamental problems the failure to solve which are largely responsible for the present crisis in the C.I.O.—unity, democracy and Stalinism.—Editor.)

THE convention of the C.I.O. that took place at Pittsburgh some weeks ago will undoubtedly go down in history as one of the most significant labor gatherings in recent decades. But it was significant much more for the vital idea it embodied than for anything positive it actually accomplished or for any evidence it gave of far-sighted, constructive vision.

The idea was industrial unionism. For years it was obvious to all with eyes to see that industrial unionism was the only organizational strategy that could adequately meet the challenge of the new industrial conditions. Large-scale mass production, made possible by the technological developments of the last half-century, was rapidly destroying the basis and justification that craft unionism had once had as the standard form of labor organization.

The tightening overhead control of industry by powerful financial groups was making necessary a greater consolidation and solidarity in the ranks of labor. Everything pointed to industrial unionism as the way out.

The Alternative Before Labor Yet, thru all these years, industrial unionism as a standard form of organization remained no more than an idea ardently advocated by the "radicals" in the labor movement. Craft fetishism, buttressed by the vested interests of control, held full sway in the American Federation of Labor. As a result, the labor movement was becoming ever more impotent in a situation that demanded ever greater vigor, aggressiveness and power. In fact, the labor movement was in real danger of shriveling up into a few traditional societies maintaining an uncertain existence in some sheltered spots away from the main flow of American industrial life.

The alternative was plain, made even plainer by the new opportunities for trade-union expansion under the early New Deal legislation: Either the organization of the great mass-production industries the only way they could possibly be organized, that is, along industrial lines—or else stagnation and death thru dry-rot!

The Pittsburgh convention reflected the strength and vitality of the industrial-union movement; but it reflected also the utter inadequacy of the top leadership of the C.I.O., its tragic failure to measure up to the great responsibilities falling upon it. The crisis in which the C.I.O. finds itself today is a crisis that emanates from the very top ranks of the organization.

Next article: "Democracy and Reform in the C.I.O."

Next article: "Democracy and Reform in the C.I.O."

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 12th ELLEN WARD "The Lima Conference" Admission Free Questions and Discussion RIVERA HALL, 131 W. 33 St. 8:30 P. M.

HIGH-RANKING insiders at W.P.A. are saying privately that an even chance exists that this program of work relief will gradually be liquidated over the next year. —United States News, Dec. 27, 1938.

