

Coming:
RECREATING SOCIALISM
By LEWIS COREY

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Behind the Headlines:

After Six Momentous Months

By JAY LOVESTONE

THE first six months of world warfare have been confusing, enervating, costly—in short, anything but decisive. In a military sense, the Stalin-Hitler block undoubtedly has had the better of it. Poland is gone; Finland is going; the initiative is still with the German-Russian combination. Today, no one talks of the Polish Corridor or Danzig. Stalin Russia—Hitler's de-facto military ally—while far from thru in Finland, has, at a terrible cost, been able to crack the Mannerheim Line.

Political import must be attached to the fact that the war's most spectacular naval combat was fought off the coast of Uruguay rather than in European waters. But the only significant and continuous naval fighting has been primarily in the North Sea via submarine and mine warfare. The Allies boast that they have done away with two-thirds of the pre-war Nazi submarines. The Hitler counter-boast is that Germany has sent to the bottom about 1,250,000 tons of Allied and neutral shipping. Here we should not overlook the more than a million tons of produce—contraband imports—stopped and seized by British and French naval controls. This has been a major blow to Germany.

Yet we must state that too many people have underestimated the extent to which Stalin has been able to help Hitler weaken the efficacy of the Allied blockade. Germany's economic and industrial preparedness for this war and the extent and possibility of Russian material assistance to the Nazi Reich have likewise been minimized, deliberately or otherwise.

Within six months, the pattern of world-wide economic chaos has been extended and much aggravated; the pace of economic suicide has been terrifically accelerated. The blockade, submarine and mine warfare, and embittered cut-throat competition to grab Germany's momentarily lost markets, the plans for intensified competition with the United States, have not only served to undermine immediately the present economic system but also to prepare the ground for acutest devaluating post-war derangements and collapse. The situation is all the more grave since neither side is as financially well-off today as it was twenty-five years ago. This explains, in part, the why and wherefore of the comparative paucity of European war purchases since September in the American market. While there has been a rather modest rise in demand for some manufactured goods, there has been an accompanying fall in the foreign purchasing of American farm products—except cotton and lard. To preserve its dwindling foreign-exchange, Britain has withdrawn from the U. S. tobacco market. The expected war fillip to reemployment in our country has met the fate of a bright bubble. January saw our army of jobless grow by a million. Furthermore, in a number of European countries, there has been a marked increase in the number of unemployed because the lack of "real" fighting—destructive warfare—on the western front has drawn them neither into war industries nor the trenches.

Higher taxes, lower wages, and longer hours have been the order of the day. Then, nothing could be more meaningful than the following conclusion arrived at by the London Economist (Jan. 20, 1940): "Wholesale prices, as measured by the Economist index, rose by 31% between August 30, 1939 and January 16, 1940, compared with an increase of only 7.6% during the first four months of the last war. In the last war, indeed, fifteen months passed before the Economist index had risen by as much as during the first four months of the present war." As the above-indicated commercial war will spread and intensify, the likelihood of totalitarian reorganization of economic life will be tremendously increased. This will pose the gravest problems and dangers for the workers of all lands.

The fact that the first phase of the world war has been so largely economic has not prevented a rapid deterioration of democratic rights. In this respect, France has been particularly guilty. Not even non-belligerent America has been exempt from the accelerated trend towards totalitarian tyranny. The amateurish "social workers" and half-baked reformers infesting the New Deal set-up have—as exemplified by Thurman Arnold's attack on the trade unions—launched an onslaught against organized labor that threatens to rob the working class of the fruits of fifty years of struggle against government regimentation and state strangulation. None can deny that the world-wide sweep of reaction has been much stimulated by the disastrous foreign policy pursued by the Stalin regime in recent years.

All too sad and all too true is the fact that world labor is shot to pieces. Except for the International Workers Front Against War and the organizations affiliated to the International Revolutionary Marxist Center there has been no coordinated international propaganda—let alone action—against the present imperialist conflict. On the contrary, with the immeasurable help of Stalinism, Nazi imperialism has been able to distort and disrupt the genuine fight against imperialist war. We need but recall the recent demagogic perversion of revolutionary phrases and slogans by the Nazi chieftain, Dr. Ley, in behalf of the German imperialist war objectives. Here is an additional factor dimming disastrously the prospect of an early cessation of hostilities.

What's ahead? It is folly to assume that Britain has already succeeded in maneuvering Italian fascism into becoming a fighter for democracy of the Franco-British brand. Mussolini is today in no position to participate in a major war. At the moment, Germany does not need Italian man-power and finds greater value in Italy as a mere vehicle for supplies denied her by the blockade. What is more, Italy is at least as profoundly disturbed by the great massing of Allied military forces in the Near East as by Russian encroachments in the Balkans. There are many reasons why the Allies cannot pay Italian imperialism the price that Hitler could and might.

It would be nonsense to speak with certainty about heavy mass fighting on the western front in the coming weeks. The Allies are not yet ready. France cannot afford to lose another million in dead—the likely cost of an attempt to storm the Siegfried Line. Nor need Germany hurry to risk such disastrous consequences as would be entailed in a frontal assault on the Maginot Line. Hitler can afford to wait longer than most "experts" realize. We should rather expect a monstrous German aerial assault on Allied and neutral shipping in a desperate effort to smash British economic life. Such a move would hasten a counter thrust by the French and British air-fleet against the Ruhr and other German industrial centers. These combats might well serve as preliminaries to the prociated deadly Blitzkrieg on land—thru the preparatory economic weakening of the contestants.

But just now it appears that the most serious and significant negotiations and moves are afoot to attack Germany from the rear—that is, thru an assault on Soviet Russia. The dangers confronting the U.S.S.R.—dangers in no small measure flowing from Stalin's foreign policy—have not been as acute in two decades. Most outspoken and energetic in the drive to Balkanize the U.S.S.R., to rip Russia to pieces, is an important clique of French militarists headed by General Weygand who commands close to half a million troops in the Near East. Recent weeks have seen this trend develop in England to substantial proportions. Even in the United States, where there is a desire to see a strong Russia as a counter-balance to Japan, this anti-Russian crusade is making headway. The Stalin butchery of Finland has done more than provide the handy fuel for starting such a conflagration against the Russian people. It is for this reason that Turkey's latest declaration for peace with Russia must not be taken too seriously. There is no small likelihood that this was merely a Turkish maneuver, a bargaining maneuver by Turkey which demands Soviet Armenia, the Caucasus, and other concessions as the price of active military partnership. In parenthesis, it must be recognized that the Allies had rendered far more substantial aid to Finland than is officially admitted. Also, there are good reasons to suspect that the British

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Labor Pacts to Be Signed, Court Rules

Circuit Court Maintains Wagner Act Requires Employers to Sign Contracts

New York City.

The Wagner Act requires an employer to put into written form any agreement that may be reached thru collective bargaining with his employees, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals here ruled last week. This decision was directly opposed to a ruling made by the federal circuit court in Chicago on January 9, in the Inland Steel Company case. The Chicago decision was unanimous, but in the New York decision Judge Harrie B. Chase dissented from the opinion of Judges Learned Hand and Charles E. Clark.

The court's ruling last week upheld an order in which the National Labor Relations Board directed the Art Metals Construction Company to accept Local 1,569 of the International Association of Machinists as the representative of production and maintenance employees in its plants at Jamestown, N. Y.

Negotiations between the company and the union broke down on July 24, 1937, admittedly because of the company's opposition to a written agreement. Judge Learned Hand, in the prevailing opinion, narrowed the point at issue to whether such a refusal of written contract amounted to a "refusal to bargain collectively within Section 8(5) of the act."

Judge Hand quoted the employer's contention that the necessity of a written contract would deprive him of "that absolute freedom in negotiation which he had at common law, and which Congress meant to preserve to him," and went on:

"But he is no longer wholly free anyway; before the act he was not obliged to bargain with his employees collectively; he was at liberty to refuse to negotiate with them at all, or otherwise than severally."

"The act impaired that freedom; it meant to give to the employees whatever advantage they would get from collective pressure upon their employer; and the question here is what are the fair implications of that grant."

"They should include whatever is reasonably appropriate to protect it, and no one can dispute that a permanent memorial of any negotiation which results in a bargain is not only appropriate but practically necessary to its preservation."

"It is the merest casuistry to argue that the promisor's freedom

to contract includes the opportunity to put in jeopardy the ascertainment of what he has agreed to do, or indeed whether he agreed to anything at all.

"The freedom reserved to the employer is freedom to refuse concessions in working conditions to his employees and to exact concessions from them; it is not the freedom, once they have in fact agreed upon those conditions, to compromise the value of the whole proceeding and probably make it nugatory."

Judge Chase disagreed with this, asserting that nothing in the Wagner Act specified that any agreement need be reached at all or that the agreement, if reached, must be put in written form.

Judge Hand struck out the words "cease and desist" from the part of the Board's order in which the company was enjoined from unfair labor practices in the future. He agreed with the company's plea that the words implied unfairly that the company had been guilty of such acts in the past. Judge Chase agreed with this point, but Judge Clark wrote a brief dissenting opinion on that subject alone. He said that striking out the words served as a fruitless attempt to restore a dignity that had been tarnished by the company's attitude toward collective bargaining.

National Labor Relations Board officials in Washington expressed the belief that the decision in the Art Metal Construction Company case would provide a Supreme Court test on the controverted "signed contract" issue about which dispute centered during the 1937 "Little Steel" strike.

The Inland Steel Company case has not been appealed to the Supreme Court because of extraneous issues—including the question whether Trial Examiner Charles A. Wood gave the company a fair and impartial hearing.

Board attorneys believe that the Art Metals case, or the H. J. Heinz Company case now pending in the Circuit Court at Pittsburgh, will provide a better test.

Navy Spending Record High, Despite Cuts

Billion and Third Demanded For Next Year Only Start Of Fantastic Program

Washington, D. C.

The cut of \$111,699,699 in the naval supply bill made by the House Appropriations Committee is a drop in the bucket compared to the whole budget passed for this item. The decrease is more apparent than real when considered with relation to possible future additions later on.

The cut was instituted in the regular annual supply bill for the navy which originally called for over a billion dollars. Its reduction to \$966,772,878 will leave the navy plenty of funds to maneuver with.

The real significance of the navy budget is in the items voted for an expansion program. The navy requested a grant of about one and one-third billion dollars to cover a long-range program. The Appropriations Committee, however, thought a two-year plan of sufficient duration and voted \$655,000,000 for that period of time. This is to cover construction of 21 new fighting ships, 22 auxiliary vessels, and 1,011 airplanes.

The navy will probably not feel too badly over this turn of events as it knows that if it received the one and one-third billion dollars, it couldn't have used a major portion of that money anyway. It takes shipyards and related equipment to build battleships, and there aren't enough of them in this country to build up to the original amount demanded. The shipyards will find themselves taxed to capacity filling the orders voted by the Appropriations Committee.

The navy therefore must be very well pleased with the action, especially when it knows that in two years it can approach Congress again for more and higher appropriations. In the end, if present opinion prevails, the navy will eventually receive more than the one and one-third billion dollars it originally asked for.

Unless a Congress is elected that is more interested in feeding the unemployed than in building fancy warships at 40 to 60 million dollars per ship that become obsolete after several Summers, the billion and a third asked for by the Navy Department may be only a beginning.

Feeling Against War Involvement Grows in U.S.A.

New York City.

The trend of public opinion shows a sharp decline in the number of voters in the United States who believe this country should take up arms against Germany even if the Allied powers are losing, according to the results of a survey of the American Institute of Public Opinion made public last week.

The report of the Institute, of which Dr. George Gallup is director, follows:

"Three times since hostilities began, the Institute has measured sentiment on the issue. The trend shows a sharp decline in the number of voters who believe the United States should take up arms against Germany if the Allies are losing.

"Whereas more than two-fifths of voters advocated this action the first week of the war, only about one-fifth favor it today.

"The trend is as follows in the Institute's three separate surveys:

"If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe to fight?"

	Yes	No
Last September	44%	56%
Last October	29	71
Today	23	77

"The decline is not due to any decrease in American sympathy for the Allied cause, for Institute surveys find the majority wants the Allies to win. The decline is, rather, another indication of the deepseated (Continued on Page 2)

Welles Talks With Mussolini, Hitler

Delivers Secret Roosevelt Message to Duce, Russians Reach Gates of Viborg

The main development in the European war situation last week—the twenty-sixth week, marking the end of the sixth month, of the war—was the visit of Sumner Welles, American Under-Secretary of State, at Rome and Berlin on a secret mission from the President of the United States. All Europe speculated on the nature of Welles' conferences with Mussolini and Hitler and wondered what he would have to tell Daladier and Chamberlain when he reached Paris and London on the second half of his trip.

The American envoy made his first official stop at Rome where he delivered to the Duce a signed letter from President Roosevelt, the contents of which were not made public either in Europe or America. The delivery of the letter was followed by long talks with Mussolini and Foreign Minister Ciano. On his trip to Italy, the not at his meetings with the spokesmen of the Italian government, Welles was accompanied by Myron Taylor, President Roosevelt's envoy to the Vatican.

From Rome, Sumner Welles went to Berlin where he had conferences with Chancellor Hitler, Foreign Minister von Ribbentrop and Field Marshal Goering. Aside from a report that Hitler complained of Amer-

ica's "one-sided neutrality" favorable to the Allies and repeated Germany's so-called "peace" terms, no word of what happened at these sessions was permitted to leak out.

From Germany, Welles will proceed to France via Switzerland and then to England. From London, he is expected to return to Rome for a final discussion with Mussolini.

Informed quarters were of the opinion that President Roosevelt's letter to Mussolini and Mr. Welles' remarks were directed primarily towards prevailing upon the Italian dictator, as the head of the leading European neutral state, to back the President's plan so that the American proposals would come to the belligerents, especially to Germany, as sponsored jointly by Roosevelt and Mussolini. There were no indications as to whether Welles' approach to the Duce had met with any success.

As to the nature of Under-Secretary Welles' mission in general, no thing occurred last week to make that any clearer. No one believed that Welles was in Europe merely to gather information, as the President had suggested. Observers thought that the ulterior purpose of the mission was either to prepare the ground for more active American intervention on the side of the

es or to bring about a realignment of European powers in the form of a four-power alliance (England, France, Germany, Italy), backed by the United States, against Russia. The latter would, of course, involve a quick peace in the present European conflict.

While the general European war continued inactive last week, at least as far as the western front was concerned, the other war, the Russian invasion of Finland, in its thirteenth week, was at its most intense stage this far. The Russians, after two weeks of slow but steady advance, were at the gates of Viipuri (Viborg), which had been reduced to a mass of ruins by continuous bombardment. The Finns were planning the abandonment of the city, an important railroad center, and the reconstruction of their defense lines further inland in western Karelia.

In Washington, the House of Representatives followed the Senate in approving the so-called Finnish loan bill. The Export-Import Bank was authorized to allocate \$200,000,000 credit to Finland for the purchase of "non-military" supplies. Although the purchase of airplanes was permitted under this provision, it seemed unlikely that Finland would be able to obtain many in America because all priorities for unfilled orders were held by the Allies, who were reluctant to yield any share to the Helsinki government.

Tension in the Balkans, the Near East and the Baltic did not abate last week. Rumania, in particular, was understood to be confronted with a Reich offer to "guarantee" her borders in exchange for big increases in raw material shipments to the Nazis, but was believed unlikely to agree, at least for the moment.

India Congress Bars Aid to England in War

Patna, India. A strong resolution dissociating the Indian people from the European war and holding out the threat of a civil-disobedience campaign in an effort to achieve complete independence for India, was adopted last week by the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress here.

The resolution asked the Congress to authorize the All-India Congress Committee and Working Committee to take all steps to implement the resolution as they felt necessary.

The preamble of the resolution said recent pronouncements on behalf of the British government demonstrated that Great Britain was carrying on the war for imperialistic ends. In the circumstances, the Congress could not be a party to the war. Therefore it "disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for purposes of war. Congressmen and those under Congress influence cannot help with men, money or material."

There has been a steady increase of militant anti-war, anti-British sentiment in Congress circles in recent months and a corresponding decline in the influence of the right-wing "moderate" elements around Gandhi, although not in that of Gandhi himself. It is suggested by some observers that the resolution had to be framed in very sharp terms if the "moderates" were not to be routed.

Preview of War Profits

REPORTS of last quarter earnings (1939) of leading steel companies, made public recently, indicate who will pocket a big portion of the profits when the real war boom that American business has been anticipating arrives. Quarterly earnings in steel during the first six months of the war show increases from 100% to 2,000%, over the corresponding period in 1938. The no real war boom has arrived, war profits are already trickling into the same old pools.

United States Steel Corporation	Net profit 1939	\$41,226,039
" " final quarter 1939		28,835,282
" " final quarter 1938		4,394,454
National Steel Corporation	Net profit 1939	\$12,581,636
" " final quarter 1939		5,292,331
" " final quarter 1938		2,753,157
Inland Steel Corporation	Net profit 1939	\$10,947,251
" " final quarter 1939		4,574,441
" " final quarter 1938		1,759,785
Republic Steel Corporation	Net profit 1939	\$10,671,343
" " final quarter 1939		6,772,593
" " final quarter 1938		308,612
Wheeling Steel Corporation	Net profit 1939	\$ 5,560,755
" " final quarter 1939		2,152,452
" " final quarter 1938		1,042,153

Congress Delays Vital Bills in Budget Fight

Threat to Wage-Hour Act, Walsh-Healy Amendments Among Big Labor Issues

Washington, D. C.

Consideration by the House of Representatives of appropriations for the next fiscal year is sidetracking for the moment action on important labor measures now before Congress.

While final decision on appropriations will affect the fate of such items as W.P.A., housing, national health, etc., since the size of the funds eventually voted for them will determine their effectiveness, there are other matters of prime importance waiting action upon the disposal of the 1941 budget.

Foremost among these are amendments introduced to weaken the Wage-Hour Act. All of them are introduced at the behest of anti-labor interests and intended to exempt large groups of workers from its provisions and to increase weekly hours while lowering minimum rates.

Labor is girding itself in earnest for this stage in the fight to protect the Wage-Hour Act from emasculation.

Also waiting its turn is the important coal-mine health and safety bill. This bill provides that the Secretary of the Interior make annual inspection of coal mines to investigate health and safety conditions. The Secretary is ordered to make annual reports covering the results of his investigations and to make recommendations for the advancement of health and safety in coal mines and to introduce such measures at government expense.

If this bill is passed, it will save the lives of hundreds of coal miners annually who are now sacrificed be-

JAY LOVESTONE

will speak on

"What Has Happened to the Russian Revolution?"

FRIDAY EVENING
MARCH 15, - 8 P. M.

Parlor A, Bradford Hotel
Boston, Mass.
Admission: 25 cents.

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Progressive Dressmakers Issue Program for Elections

(We publish below the program of the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., presented as the platform of this group for the union elections towards the end of March. We include the sections devoted to trade problems because we feel that, despite their special character, they have a general interest for trade unionists.)

NEVER was a spirit of constructive progressivism so vital to the labor movement and to our own union as it is today. Never were militant policies, forward-looking leadership and the spirit of unity and solidarity so necessary as at the present moment.

Labor is divided against itself in a bitter civil war; its economic power undermined its political power reduced as a result of this dissension. Forces of reaction are mobilizing for attack all along the line, hoping to take advantage of the cleavage to rob the workers of the gains of many years of struggle. Unemployment is still above the ten million mark, but W.P.A. and relief are being slashed to the bone. In the face of this threatening situation, labor is unable to protect itself effectively because its own ranks are divided, because friendly public opinion is alienated, because as a result of division and dissension a certain spirit of discouragement and apathy is becoming widespread.

Economic conditions in our own industry are also very bad and the pressure of the employers is growing more intense. In fact, the dress industry is now entering its third critical year, a year in which conditions have become increasingly worse. Unemployment has mounted and seasons have shrunk, resulting

Progressive Dressmakers Stand for:

1. A constructive policy to maintain and improve the economic conditions of the dressmakers.
2. The preservation of the New York market—all work in union shops.
3. Unity in the ranks of our union and in the ranks of labor.
4. Aggressive leadership free from outside political domination.
5. The reelection of the Progressive Slate headed by Manager Charles S. Zimmerman.

in a decline of average yearly earnings. The responsibility for this critical situation rests not only with the general depression throughout the country, but also with the unceasing efforts of out-of-town markets to increase production under lower standards. Many chiseling New York jobbers are trying to run away from the city and to produce out of town under sub-standard, open-shop conditions, thus undermining standards all around. In many centers, large cotton and rayon shops are beginning to manufacture regular dresses, in destructive, unfair competition with the unionized dress industry. It is from this standpoint and with this purpose that we propose the following program:

1. Main Industrial Problems

The main industrial problem facing us today is to keep the work in union shops. Large plants throughout the country, especially in the Midwest and South, which formerly produced shirts and cotton house-dresses, have turned to the production of dresses and are threatening to take away work from union shops.

This is particularly true in the cheaper lines. It is necessary to stop the spread of open-shop centers out of town producing under sub-standard conditions. Our union has carried on a determined campaign to halt this destructive tendency. We raised the issue in the Joint Board and before our General Executive Board. The International has now initiated an extensive nation-wide drive to unionize all these open-shop centers. Dress production must be kept under strict union control.

The situation is a serious one. Under the Progressive Administration, our union has already done a great deal to arrest the dangerous trends in the industry. But the work has only just begun. To carry it forward, our union needs the continuation of the same vigilant leadership, the same militant policies and constructive program; above all, we need unity in our ranks.

OUT-OF-TOWN WE PROPOSE THE MARKETS

We propose the continuation of a persistent, determined national effort to bring unionism and union standards to every center where garments are being produced. Work must be kept in union shops for union workers. Intensified, incessant organization activities must be carried on to prevent chiseling jobbers from escaping union control. The so-called cotton-garment shops producing silk or rayon dresses in competition with the regular silk-dress industry must be unionized and unfair competition eliminated. In addition, all agreements in the dress market throughout the country must be coordinated.

The Joint Board has taken steps to guarantee the strict enforcement of union conditions in the out of town union shops. The International has granted our Joint Board the right to maintain investigators in out-of-town territories. This was done in order to secure uniformity in the enforcement of the agreement, as well as to safeguard the right of out-of-town union workers to their proper share of work. In this way, we will eliminate competition between out-of-town union shops and New York union shops.

TRUCKMEN We made a strong endeavor during the past year to bring the truckmen within the fold of the union. An agreement arrived at with the trucking associations has so far been hampered by all sorts of shady devices.

We must push forward our campaign for unionization and adherence to union contracts by the truckmen, and we must prevent them from acting as agents for runaway chiseling jobbers.

PRICE SETTLEMENTS

Our system of price settlements has been vastly improved in the past three years. Central settlement headquarters and the settling of prices on jobbers premises have become a recognized institution. We are still handicapped, however, by the lack of a definite schedule to serve as a standard for settlement. This results in numerous complaints and grievances against decisions by the impartial adjusters. The only remedy is a standard schedule for the industry. Such a schedule however, can be introduced only at a time when industrial conditions are more favorable. We must make every effort to

lishing our dues payments on the basis of earnings.

RACIAL DIS-CRIMINATION Our union must be on guard against every form of racial discrimination on the part of employers in the trade. No employer must be permitted to discriminate against a worker simply because he is Negro or Jewish or Spanish or of any other nationality. Every worker is entitled to equal consideration without regard to race, color or nationality. A properly functioning Labor Bureau will certainly help to achieve such equal treatment.

W.P.A. AND UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Our industry is faced with a severe problem of unemployment and unemployment relief. Our union has succeeded in obtaining a W.P.A. project for its members on which several hundred dressmakers have been employed for the past two years. We have also raised a considerable sum of money which is being distributed to needy members. While we cannot as a union, under the present economic system, eliminate or solve the problem of unemployment, we shall continue to spare no effort to place on jobs as many unemployed workers as possible, and to assist them financially. We shall continue our fight for the liberalization of the unemployment-insurance law and press for additional W.P.A. jobs and more adequate relief allowances.

THIRTY-HOUR WEEK

Thousands of dressmakers are still unemployed. The industry is unable to absorb them under the present scale of hours. Furthermore, the industry has been expanded in many centers where longer hours are still the rule. To relieve this situation, to make it possible to reemploy the unemployed workers in the industry, it will be necessary to strive to introduce the thirty-hour week on a national scale.

(The next and concluding installment of this program will deal with organizational problems and problems of the general labor movement.—Editor)

Labor and the Government:

NLRB Polls Show Rising Trend Against Unionism

By J. ELWOOD

THE results of employees elections conducted under the auspices of the National Labor Relations Board in January are of great significance for the whole labor movement, particularly for the following facts: The total number of elections exceeded that in any previous month. Unions were rejected in a larger proportion of the total number of elections than in any previous month during the life of the Wagner Act.

The votes cast against all unions represented a larger proportion of the total votes than in any previous month.

C.I.O. UNIONS POLLED A SMALLER PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL VOTES THAN IN ANY MONTH SINCE 1938.

Of the 45,210 votes cast in 143 elections in January, 20,277, or 47% were cast against all unions. This result is accounted for, to some degree, by the election conducted in the Endicott-Johnson shoe factories, in which 12,698 votes out of 15,312 were cast against the participating unions. But even if this election is excluded, the proportion of the votes against all unions amounted to 25% of the total, which is larger than for any month since 1938.

The results are even more striking when we realize that C.I.O. unions polled 21% of the total vote, A. F. of L. 17%, independent unions 15%, and no unions at all 47%.

After examining these figures, can anyone deny that the internecine warfare in the ranks of labor has been the greatest factor in shifting the sentiment of unorganized workers from general friendliness to the organized labor movement to hostility and anti-unionism? The Labor Board figures are a warning and a challenge to the entire labor movement.

A.F.L. BACKS WALSH-HEALEY AMENDMENT

It is gratifying to note that the A. F. of L.'s recommendations to the present session of Congress include complete endorsement of Senator Walsh's amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act which was passed

Altmeyer Urges Social Security Law Reforms

SIX changes, aiming to liberalize the unemployment-compensation laws of the states, were proposed last week by Arthur J. Altmeyer, chairman of the Social Security Board. In the Board's bulletin he said:

The waiting period could be reduced to one week. The minimum benefits payment could be raised to at least \$5 a week in all states.

The weekly benefit rate could be increased, and the maximum raised to at least \$20 a week.

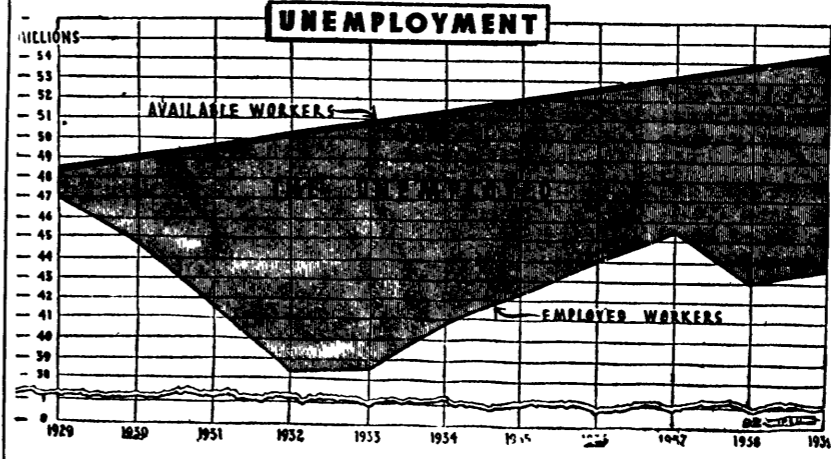
The duration of benefits could be lengthened; in states with sufficient funds benefits could be paid for a uniform maximum period of sixteen weeks to all eligible claimants.

Benefits for partial unemployment could be paid in all states.

The eligibility and disqualification provisions of state laws could be simplified so as to permit more prompt payment of benefits.

Mr. Altmeyer said the suggested standards were not to be considered ideal, "but rather suggestions which may be immediately and practically considered." States with sufficient reserves and current income may well consider making their benefits still more adequate, he added.

Summarizing the Board's recommendations, Mr. Altmeyer stated: "The only permanent long-range program on the statute books which attempts to cope with the problem of unemployment is the federal-state system of employment security embodied in the social-security program. It is imperative, therefore, that we strengthen and improve this permanent part of our program. We must continue not only to improve our techniques and administration but also to enlarge the scope of our operations."



THIS chart, published in the Economic Outlook, the C.I.O.'s new monthly survey of business conditions, pictures the nation's No. 1 problem, unemployment, in all its gravity. The top line, marked "Available Workers," indicates the regularly increasing working force of the country. The lower line, marked "Employed Workers," indicates how many workers were actually employed each year. The black gap between the two lines shows the nation's unemployed, never below 10 million in the course of the last decade. In 1929, 47 out of 48.5 million available workers had jobs. Today, only 43.5 out of 54.5 million who want jobs are at work.

How Much Longer...?

(This is an editorial that appeared in the Labor Herald, official publication of the Central Labor Union (A. F. of L.) of Kansas City, Mo.—Editor)

IN a recent election in the Endicott-Johnson shoe manufacturing plant to see which union should represent the employees in bargaining for wages and working conditions, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. representatives waged a vigorous and bitter campaign about the merits and demerits of the respective organizations, and evidently, judging by results of the election, they must have done a good job in convincing the employees of this plant that a terrible organization the A. F. of L. or C.I.O. really was, as the employees voted almost five to one in favor of no union at all to represent them. What a pity. Had there been no division in the labor movement, there probably would be more than fifteen thousand new shoe workers in one solid labor movement. We would like to know how much longer is the rank and file of organized labor going to put up with this squabble of the higher ups in our movement.

Building Bosses Group Praise CIO Dualists

New York City.

THE employers in the construction industry, if not the workers, are beginning to appreciate the beauties of the C.I.O.'s new dual-union outfit in this field, the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee. Some weeks ago, we carried in these columns an account of the "sympathetic" attitude of the New Jersey contractors association to the C.I.O. The New York building-trades bosses are not very far behind.

News and Opinion, publication of the Building Trades Employers Association, deals with the question in its current issue and strongly hints that the A. F. of L. Building Trades Council had better watch its step.

"Members of the B.T.E.A. engaged in work outside Manhattan may expect visits by C.I.O. organizers seeking to have them sign agreements of various kinds," the publication says. "Contractors have been so approached in January with a proposition that C.I.O. mechanics in every trade including truckmen could be furnished. Several thousand men were alleged to be immediately available."

"The contract offered included a stipulation for check-off of dues and assessments by the employer, hiring thru the union, a straight 8-hour day at \$9 for all skilled trades, the privilege of using a mechanic on any work and freedom from jurisdictional disputes. Shift work is also permitted."

"This is indeed a proposition for employers suffering under a 6-hour, \$12-day and jurisdictional troubles." The C.I.O. organizers, it is said, show a willingness to change some clauses objected to by contractors. The publication adds:

"It seems a pity that these solutions of building labor difficulties are offered to employers by outsiders because of competitive union rivalry, and not thru an honest, logical analysis of the situation by those with whom we now have agreements."

That hint to the A. F. of L. is followed up by a suggestion that some blanket agreement idea "could well be an excellent measure" for the A. F. of L. Council to adopt.

No wonder the employers are so enthusiastic about the C.I.O. dual union. Well they might be with the C.I.O. offering to undercut the A. F. of L. in hours and wages and thus help them smash the union standards in the construction industry. Where the A. F. of L. demands and gets 6 hours and \$12 a day, the C.I.O. dual outfit is ready to sign up under an 8-hour, \$9 a day contract, and to make "adjustments" required by the contractors into the bargain!

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C.P. Fur Union Clique Suspends Six Progressives

New York City.

THE Stalinist officials of the New York Furriers Union struck savagely at the progressives in its ranks last week by suspending six leading furriers for two years and fining them \$25 each. The six progressives, Benjamin Baraz, Sam Glassman, Nathan Kramer, Ben Antonov, Michael Intrator and Sam Kass, are men of various political affiliations and views, all active, devoted unionists well-known and popular among the furriers.

The "crime" of the progressives was their sharp, uncompromising criticism of the misdeeds of the Stalinist Gold-Potash administration of the Furriers Union. Organized in the United Progressive Furriers, they waged a determined struggle to save the Furriers Union by bringing about a change of administration and breaking the control of the Communist Party over it. They made a deep impression among the rank and file of the union and their leaflets and appeals were widely read and taken very seriously by the furriers. Despite the crude trickery of the administration, candidates of the United Progressive Furriers made a remarkable showing in union elections.

When all its persecution and abuse seemed to have no effect, the Gold-Potash administration decided to take drastic action to crush the progressive movement. On flimsy charges, the progressive leaders were brought to trial. They demanded an impartial committee of the labor movement to hear the case. This was refused and without even the formality of a trial and investigation, the Stalinist grievance board issued its verdict.

The grievance board made it known that if any of the accused would "confess" and "repent," they would get "consideration." Needless to say, the progressives spurned such advances.

Under the decision of the grievance board, the six progressive leaders are forbidden to come to union meetings or participate in elections for two years. There is also every indication that they will be persecuted on the job. At the recent local meetings of the cutters and operators, Irving Potash, the Stalinist manager of the Joint Council, called on the workers to refuse to work with the progressives in the shop. Winogradsky, the assistant-manager, threatened expulsions.

The progressives have made it clear that they will not be cowed or terrorized. They are determined to go on with their constructive work on behalf of the furriers. Upon being informed of the action of the grievance board, they immediately called upon the American Civil Liberties Union for assistance. They are taking measures to bring their case before the entire labor movement of this city.

Here's What They Say:

John Nevin Sayre, Editor, Fellowship:
"I am enthusiastic about this new book... brilliant in exposition, telling in wording... A campaign Bible of peace for the 1940 election... A grand job..."

Gerry Allard, Editor, Socialist Call:
"Well-rounded... packed with vital information... a valuable contribution... should be placed in the hands of hundreds of thousands of people."

John Dewey:
"You have rendered a public service in publishing Thomas and Wolfe's 'Keep America Out of War.'"

Ernest L. Meyer, New York Post:
"Lucidly and with impressive weight of reason, Norman Thomas and Bertram D. Wolfe establish the case for non-interventionists..."

Senator Arthur L. Capper of Kansas:
"Informative and decidedly stimulating."

Ferdinand Lundberg:
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Lovestone to Speak at Tremont A.L.P. Forum

New York City.

JAY Lovestone will speak at the forum of the Tremont American Labor Party Club, 1955 Southern Boulevard, on Tuesday evening, March 12, 8.30 P. M. The subject under discussion will be "New Frontiers For Labor."

Acknowledgements...

WE acknowledge with much thanks contributions from the following New York furriers:

Abe Master
George Weiss
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S. Kass
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Sarah Gross
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Does Fascism Menace America?

Fascism 'from Above' in U.S.

By WILL HERBERG

IN the earlier articles of this series, I discussed the problem of fascism in America from the point of view of the rise of a fascist mass movement led by panacea-mongering demagogues, a movement of the type that brought Hitler and Mussolini to power. But fascism may come "from above" as well as "from below"; that is, a totalitarian regime may be brought into being not so much thru the triumph of an oppositional lower-class movement as thru the systematic manipulations of the powers-that-be within the old state. The road to fascism "from above" lies wide open in the United States.

Road to Fascism Thru War

It is a road that leads thru war and war preparations. If fascism is a real and imminent danger today, it is the fascism that will emerge as soon as this country is involved in another war. The essential feature of fascism as a regime (tho not as a movement) is the authoritarian regimentation of national life within the framework of the capitalist order. That is exactly what we will have once the United States is plunged into another world war. This is not speculation or surmise; it is not even a forecast. It is the statement of a fact so obvious that it is taken for granted by all competent authorities on the subject. Indeed, laws have already been drafted, the so-called "M-Day laws," "laws which require only the insertion of a date and a few details, to be presented to a Congress fired with the war spirit, perhaps blinded by war hysteria, laws which would take away the rights and liberties of every American citizen and convert this country in a single day into a totalitarian dictatorship, under the sole control of the President, for the duration of the 'emergency'."

For war today is totalitarian and demands a totalitarian regime if it is to be waged effectively. "The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war. . . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free." The regime of such an "immense camp" will be an all-pervasive military dictatorship indistinguishable in its operations from fascism.

In the white heat of war frenzy, an authoritarian war dictatorship in this country will naturally tend to bolster up its totalitarian regimentation of national life by suffusing it with the ideology and emotional fervor characteristic of fascism, in this case derived from a mystical nationalism along the lines of traditional "100% Americanism," such as we have described in earlier articles. The dark, unreasoning hates and prejudices, submerged today and only half avowed even by those who share them, will then come to the surface and be granted an honored place in the new "patriotism."

After the War—What Then?

But the war will not last forever—we are reminded—and when the war is over, the whole authoritarian set-up will be dismantled and we will return to our democratic ways. After all, isn't this what happened after the last war?

A case could be made for the contention that our democracy has never been quite the same since the World War, that it still bears the scars of the Wilson-Palmer-Burleson regime. But that is not the point. The point is that 1940 is not 1917. Twenty-three years ago, when this country entered the World War, American capitalism was still in a healthy, flourishing condition; it still possessed the inner strength not merely to keep itself going but to develop and expand to new levels.

1 "The Defense of America," by George Fielding Elliot, in Harpers Magazine, December 1938. 2 "Labor in Wartime," by Frieda Wunderlich, an article in the symposium, "War In Our Time"

Today, our economy is in permanent crisis; it looks back to ten years of severe depression, interrupted here and there by a certain revival, quickly followed by recession. Private investment, the very spring of the capitalist system, has dried up. More than ten million men and women are unemployed. Capitalism no longer possesses the inner strength to keep going, not to speak of expanding; it is a machine that has run down. Only continuous governmental intervention and control, on an ever-increasing scale, can keep it in operation at all. Only the systematic restriction of the freedom of action of the laboring masses can maintain any sort of equilibrium, temporary and precarious at best.

Thus, inherent in the very nature of our present-day economy are powerful drives towards a totalitarian set-up, towards an authoritarian regimentation of national life. Once war comes and establishes such a regime in the form of a military dictatorship, it is utterly fantastic to expect it to be dismantled just as soon as hostilities are over. It will be altogether too essential for the preservation of capitalism to admit of any such possibility. No; once war comes and with it military dictatorship turning into fascism, it will be here to stay!

War and War Preparations

But even this is not the whole story. For modern war begins to exert its effect on the economic, social and political life of the community long before the first shot is fired. In other words, the coming war casts its dread shadow before it—and that shadow is war preparations. In war preparations, both material and moral, the full-fledged totalitarianism and reaction of the war to come are already implicit, coming to expression according to the drive of circumstances.

The mobilization of all phases of economic life for preparation for war implies the extension of authoritarian governmental control to the point where it shades off into the war regime itself. Rearmament means the "regulation" of labor for uninterrupted production and efficiency only to a less degree than actual war. And the whipping up of a jingoistic hysteria, which is essential part of war preparations, is obviously a foreshadowing and preliminary stage of the orgy of frantic emotionalism that comes with war.

Perhaps all this is not yet so obvious in America today altho the keen observer will not miss the signs. But look at France. Under cover first of preparing for a "war of defense against the dictators" and then of "winning the war," an authoritarian, dictatorial regime is being erected before our very eyes in that country. Similar trends are not to be overlooked in England. And America is no exception, at least not in this respect.

On the contrary, the trend towards authoritarianism may find the ground already prepared for it as a result of recent institutional developments in the United States. Nowhere, outside of the avowed dictatorships, has the Executive attained such power as in the United States; nowhere have the traditional democratic processes of government been as thoroughly replaced in the actual work of running the country by administrative buros or quasi-judicial agencies, appointive in character and only remotely responsible to the people, even in the limited sense in which present-day parliamentary institutions make for such responsibility. In short, some of the essential machinery of an authoritarian regime is already at hand in the United States, not to speak of the full-fledged apparatus of military dictatorship to be erected in war time along the lines of the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

(This is the sixth article in the series by Will Herberg on "Fascism in America." The final article will appear in the next issue.—Editor)

3 In this connection, Eliot Janeway's article, "England Moves Toward Fascism," in the January 1939 issue of Harper's Magazine is very instructive.

Foreign War As A Way Out of Domestic Crisis

By JOHN T. FLYNN

I have been assured lately by more than one horrified person that it is a dreadful attack upon human nature to suppose that any man would drag a country into war just to cover up political mistakes or political futility. It does sound dreadful when we put it that way. But we must remember that the human mind is a very queer instrument, that it is wondrously able to turn out for us conclusions suitable to our purposes, well supplied with right-ous rationalizations.

Carl Sandburg, in "The War Years," his final contribution to the Lincoln story, tells an amazing story of Secretary of State William H. Seward. He was not a monster. He was one of New York's great statesmen. There are statues to him in many places. A month after Lincoln's inauguration, he sent a private memorandum to Lincoln. He lamented in this that thirty days after the inauguration Lincoln had no set policy. The Union was falling apart, yet nothing seemed to be under way to save it.

It was a great domestic crisis and Seward offered some suggestions for dealing with it. Chiefly, they were that the issue should be turned to one of "union" instead of "slavery," and that the whole thing should be turned from a "domestic" to a "foreign" one. He proposed that Lincoln should call Spain and France to terms about certain disagreements in South America; that he should make demands upon England, France and Russia; that he should send agents to Mexico, Central and South America to rouse the people, there to a unity of action against European intervention. And if France and Spain did not come to immediate terms, Lincoln should declare war on them.

That was Seward's neat little way of taking the mind of the South and North off their domestic troubles. Seward was capable of thinking of such a thing. He was capable of proposing it to Lincoln. And the world does not look upon him as a deep-dyed villain. He doubtless thought it a patriotic thing—he could work himself up to thinking that because he didn't know what to do about the problems that faced him at home. The alternative was to face resolutely the issue of six states which had already seceded. A nice convenient war with France and Spain would, he believed, be a happy escape. War has been the escape of many a bewildered statesman from Pericles to Seward. It has not yet outlived that usefulness. We do not turn to war now to escape. But we do turn to war alarms and to the expenditure of billions for war preparations.

(These paragraphs are from the New Republic, January 15, 1940.—Editor.)

latter would not first submit his talk for approval and censorship?"

We say we are against government action because depriving these organizations (fascists, Christian Fronters, and what not) of rights may be only an excuse and a beginning for depriving genuine progressive, labor and radical organizations of their rights. Yet, in the same breath, we berate the pre-fascist democracies of Germany and Spain because government action was not taken in suppression of fascist leagues in those countries. Is it a case of chronic oppositionism—of damned if you do and damned if you don't?

In order to circumvent this seeming contradiction, the traditional position of the communist movement became a sort of pseudo-class position, which in reality was an anti-democratic position. Communists were for extension of civil liberties to those playing a progressive role (who turned out to be only themselves) and against it for those playing a reactionary role. Thus, Earl Browder did not call for the dissolution of the Dies Committee; he merely protested that he was a good American patriot and supporter of the war aims of the Roosevelt Administration, and that Dies should investigate and arrest those who were preparing to sabotage the next American war, such as Homer Martin!

Those who had little or no scruples about the suppression of the German-American Bund, Father Coughlin, the Christian Front and their ilk, have somehow drawn the line when it came to the Communist Party. Here it is a little difficult to realize just why. The reasoning is of so varied a nature that it seems to come after the conclusion, not leading to it. We are told that the C.P. is a part of the labor movement, and action taken against it would have repercussions against a number of bona-fide unions. This is undoubtedly true; yet, while labor in isolated sections may suffer, labor as a whole stands to gain by the removal of a force that is alien, that reacts not to the interests of the American workers in any remote way, but under the direct orders of a foreign government, a force that is now using all its efforts toward a victory for Hitler in the present imperialist war.

We are told that an anti-Stalinist drive will go much further. This is probably a more valid argument. Certainly, the antics of a Dies are testimony in that direction. But the same is true of anti-Coughlin action. This is an easy problem for reactionaries of all kinds, whether Stalinists or fascists, because they are simply for the suppression of all sorts of liberties for everyone

French Socialists Tell Of War Conditions

Military Dictatorship Rules "Democracy"

(The following very revealing extracts of letters from French socialist and trade-union militants are taken from the January 1940 issue of the Bulletin of the International Workers Front Against War.—Editor.)

Report from Paris:

PRICES are rising terrifically. The price of second-class butter, which was 30 francs a kilogram last week, has jumped up to 32 francs 80 centimes. Milk has gone up again by another 10 centimes, and is now 2.10 francs a litre. The price of meat has gone up 7 francs a kilogram. Nowadays, we have no meat on Mondays, no beef on Tuesdays and Fridays. There is no coffee. . . .

The man in the street is commenting bitterly on the last speech of the Minister of Finance; Paul Reynaud has again asked Frenchmen to make sacrifices. It seems that we must not buy things, but must give our money to buy armaments. The old posters are still pasted on the walls all over the streets saying: "Buy, in that way we will win the war!" This hardly seems logical. . . .

We see many workers, very active in the movement, while they are on leave. They all come from very dangerous sections of the front. One of them spent 45 days in "no mans land" and there he met other workers like himself, and some of the Spanish militia men too. . . . We have noticed that militants even tho they are highly skilled in the metal trades have not been able to get licenses to do factory work. But, on the other hand, we know many active fascists and members of the Croix de Feu who were easily able to obtain these permits.

Letter from Tours:

This war will not last as long as the preceding one. Strange things are happening that we did not know about before. For example, the men on leave told me that when the colders have some demands to formulate or some claims to make in the name of the majority of a company, petitions are passed around and then presented to the colonel. This happens particularly on the subject of leaves, which are granted too slowly, according to the men. This is a very strange thing. Perhaps we will soon see delegates in each military formation. The fellow who gave me these details gave me others, which, however, I cannot repeat to you, as "enemy eyes" might see all this. The soldier who told me all this is a peasant lad, very calm and stolid, and I believe every word he told me. I am also certain that he was expressing the thoughts of all the men of his company, perhaps even of his regiment.

The general population has regained its calm, after the excitement of air-raid warnings of September, warnings which are becoming less and less frequent, on the other hand, the shortage of certain foodstuffs, the delay in distribution and the overwhelming increase in taxation, are having and will continue to have a very bad effect on the morale of the population. The authorities are now trying to keep up morale by propagandizing the school teachers in all the villages. It is done in this way: Military envoys are sent around the country on the pretense of distributing completely unimportant circulars. They meet the teachers personally and then give them a well-prepared little talk. . . .

We don't know anything. I beg pardon, we know that military expenditure alone for this year will amount to about 220 billion francs. This calculation is based on the fact that a sum of 55 billion francs was asked for the first quarter, and even this is but a rather timid start, and we will surely do much better during the following quarters. With a little effort, we might even be able to reach one billion francs a day. (This is the figure that was officially admitted as correct in Paris Sour.) But this is nothing, and anyway the problem of expense never was an obstacle to the continuation of a war.

There is a shortage of coffee and of oil, which is causing lines to form before every grocery store. I don't remember anything of that kind ever happening in 1914. But if the prohibition of some meats on Monday and of all meats on Friday is accepted with little criticism, on the other hand, the sight of lines of housewives waiting for their quart of coffee and their quart of a litre of oil surprises and upsets everybody. We think that such measures except themselves. It is an easy problem for Roger Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union; they are in favor of all sorts of liberties to everyone. They want the Ford worker to have a right to organize, and Henry Ford to have the freedom of speech and press to convince him not to organize—altho convince here means coerce. A third group of non-Stalinist left wingers regard with some favor, or at least will not protest, action against Ford and Coughlin and Kuhn, but raise their eyebrows in horror at the thought of including the equally repugnant Browder in this category. I for one cannot find that any of these people have found a solution to the problem.

Empire Resources Vital Support to Allies in War

By J. CORK

IF the present war in Europe is long-drawn-out, and there is every likelihood that it will be such, then the economic resources available to the warring sides are likely to prove decisive in settling the issue of the conflict. The superiority of the Allies in this respect, an advantage that will grow weightier with the passage of time, rests very largely on their Far Eastern colonies. In the last war, the contributions of these colonies in materials, man-power and finances was a very important element in the final success of the Allies. With the possible exception of India, this vast potential of support for the Allies is again fully accessible, with hardly any significant change in the offing.

FOOD-STUFF RESOURCES

The range of food-stuffs available to the Allies from their Pacific possessions are impressive. Four important grains, Australia is one of the leading wheat-producing countries in the world and French Indo-China occupies a comparable position in rice. In meats, there are Australian beef, and New Zealand mutton, in addition to pork and rabbit in smaller quantities. Canned milk, butter and cheese and sugar are available from Australia, New Zealand, Indo-China and the Fiji Islands. Fruits, canned, dried and fresh, are available in great abundance—apples, pears, peaches, apricots, prunes, raisins, currants and the citrus fruits, with canned jam in addition.

As suppliers of important raw materials, the colonies in the Pacific will prove no less valuable. Australia is the greatest wool-producing country in the world. British Malaya is one of the two greatest rubber producers in the

(Continued on Page 4)

as contributions. Also, he has to pay 18 francs a day for food and housing, which he doesn't use. Every day, old workers of 60, 65 and over come to the factory. They have been requisitioned and are forced, under penalty of fines, to work at least 50% of the work-day and to produce until they are exhausted. All lay-offs as punishments are avoided; instead of being laid off, the worker is punished by getting only half his pay for a day or two. Here is another example among many thousands: A worker, who had an argument about his pay, left work after 16 hours, instead of the 18 hours he was supposed to work, in order to go and get some information. He was immediately reported to the labor inspector and dragged before the military tribunal. This man was wounded in the last war, has a military decoration and was pensioned at 65% for loss of one eye. He has seven children; one of his sons and his son-in-law are in the front-line trenches. He is also a very good worker. Result: two months in prison and 100 francs fine, the sentence being suspended because of his excellent record.

Here is another example: Soldiers are forbidden to go into the cafes during certain times of the day. At the counter of a cafe, one of the patrons comments on this rule in the following manner: "Daladier does this just to annoy the soldiers." This remark is reported, and the unfortunate worker is condemned to six months in prison! This is the state we have reached. A fine outlook for the future. . . .

The Reality Behind the "War for Democracy"

SDF Writer Forced to Admit Imperialism

By D. GRAHAM

A MORE enthusiastic supporter of the Allied powers than the Social Democratic Federation's organ, the New Leader, is hard to find. To the New Leader, it is a war for democracy, self-determination of small nations, and the destruction of fascism. Boundless scorn is heaped upon those who would dare characterize it as a war for imperialist aims, and who advocate a policy of keeping America out of war. The following report dealing with France's war aims, recently published in Dick Reynard's New Leader column, entitled "Workers 'Abroad,'" is of unusual significance, coming as it does from a pro-Ally source.

"War aims of the political parties, in synthesis, are a system of organized international security, but not without 'material guarantees,' and a restoration of the Rhine frontier of 1792, which was denied France in 1919."

"A system of organized international security" means a strengthened League of Nations under French and British domination. But this is not enough. "Material guarantees" are necessary—the seizure by France of German territory extending to the Rhine, which grab was too raw even for the imperialists gathered in Versailles in 1919. If there were any doubt as to the imperialist ob-

jectives of the Daladier regime, we can thank the New Leader for erasing them from our mind. Hitlerism is a product of Versailles. Daladier is now planning a new, a super-Versailles.

Reynard reports further: "The independence of Austria, Czechia and Poland are promised; Czech and Polish governments have already been recognized in Paris and London while, according to some reports, the Daladier government has made the unfortunate choice of backing efforts by former Vice-Chancellor Prince Ernst Ruediger von Stahremberg to form an Austrian Legion. This work could have been given to Julius Deutsch, former socialist Austrian War Minister, now in Paris."

So, the war for "self-determination" promises the restoration of Austria under the leadership of the fascist von Stahremberg, who drowned the socialist movement of Austria in a sea of blood! It is no wonder that even the New Leader must finally voice a faint protest. It is indeed pathetic. How can the Allied governments expect the workers of France or England or America to die with enthusiasm in the new imperialist slaughter if they are told so brutally and so undiplomatically that one of its chief aims is the restoration of Austria under the fascist domination of none other than Prince Ernst Ruediger von Stahremberg? We thought this was a war for democracy!

Books

by Jim Cork MATTER AND LIGHT, THE NEW PHYSICS, by Louis de Broglie, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1939.

THE nature of light, still remains the chief unsolved problem of contemporary theoretical physics. Sometimes light seems to act like a particle (like a bullet shot out of a gun) and sometimes it seems to act like a wave. On this basis, ever since Newton, two theories have vied with each other in an attempt to explain phenomena involving light, the corpuscular theory and the wave theory. Certain phenomena of the propagation of light can be equally well explained by either theory, phenomena of reflection or refraction, for instance. But other sets of phenomena can be explained by only one theory and not the other. For years, the world's leading physicists have been searching for some all-embracing theory which could contain within itself both of these seemingly contradictory aspects of light and consequently be adequate to explain all phenomena. So far, these efforts have not been completely successful though many serious attempts have been made, which, inspiring research along definite lines, have pushed back the frontiers of physical knowledge.

The author of this book, one of the most distinguished of living physicists, can definitely be called the father of one of the chief attempts made to get physics out of its impasse. Some sixteen or seventeen years ago, he constructed a new mechanics, called Wave Mechanics, which has had a very fruitful effect on the development of physical theory and research. This theory assumes that the wave-and-particle behavior of light are two different aspects of the same underlying reality. It assumes that particles are universally associated with waves. No more does it consider material particles, like electrons and protons, in isolation. The motion of the particle is connected with and inferred from the motion of wave in space. The two are bound up

Civil Liberty Problem Has Puzzling Aspects

Shall We Fight for the Rights of Fascists?

By EDWARD SAGARIN

(We invite our reader to comment in letters or articles on the problems raised in this article.—Editor)

IN this article, I do not propose to offer any solution to the problem of civil liberties for totalitarians, for those who would use these liberties, and do, to spread such views as may give rise to anti-Semitic, terroristic or fascist outbreaks.

I wish to pose the problem in its complexity, in its seeming contradictions, for hitherto it has been answered by terse epigrams which may have stated a point of view but proved nothing.

together and are dealt with simultaneously. In other words, light doesn't act sometimes like a wave and sometimes like a particle; it always acts like both at once. With this as a guiding principle, Broglie, and his many followers, attempted to solve old puzzles, as well as new ones that were continually cropping up. Success, he concludes today, after many years, has only been partial. "There is at present no final solution for the problem of bringing about a reconciliation." It has turned out that the new wave theory has not been able to do what an adequate theory should be able to—define the motion of a particle and be able to indicate its position. "As we go still more deeply into the problem, we realize that the concept of waves does not enable us to define the motion of the individual associated corpuscles. . . . It is not always possible to assign an exactly defined position within the wave to the corpuscle. . . ."

Discussion of such matters brings the author quite naturally to a consideration of the problem of determinism. Here he takes a sort of middle position between the strict determinists and the extreme

It is very popular to stand for civil liberties; yet even among the most partisan advocates of what this term is supposed to imply, few are consistent in wishing it to apply to everyone. Recently, the American Civil Liberties Union, which can hardly be classified as friendly to anti-union, open-shop legislation, protested against the infringement of Henry Ford's right to freedom of press because Ford has been forbidden to express his views (such as they are!) on union organization to his employees.

Radicals and liberals of all shades of opinions will loudly proclaim that they are for freedom of the air and opposed to censorship on the part of a broadcasting company that happens to own and control an outlet for expression; yet who among them offered to picket Radio Station WMCA in behalf of Father Coughlin when the dangerous, anti-Semitic and semi-fascist propaganda of the radio priest was banned because the

indeterminists. The agreeing with the implications of Heisenberg's Principle of Uncertainty, which posits indeterminacy in nature on the basis of the impossibility of simultaneously determining the position and velocity of a particle, he regards it as a limitation of, rather than a destructive blow to, determinism. "It is certain that [determinism] contains part of the truth, since if it were completely wrong, there would be no order or regularity in physical phenomena, and no scientific knowledge of them could exist." However, he is worried by the same type of doubt in regard to determinism which has afflicted many a scientist these past number of years. "Does it leave its rightful place to that teleological activity which is manifested in living nature? Again does it give its due to the spirit and its manifestation in the world of actuality?"

Reviewed by J. CORK

Workers Age

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THIS MEANS TOTALITARIANISM

LABOR seems to be in for a plague of government mediation and arbitration schemes. Last week, we commented on the relatively mild and harmless plan of Senator Wagner for a new federal mediation set-up. Following hard upon the heels of the Wagner bill comes a proposal introduced into the House of Representatives by Howard W. Smith, head of the House committee investigating the National Labor Relations Board. The Smith bill, really drafted by the notorious Charles G. Wood, a former conciliation commissioner of the Department of Labor, pretends to be an amendment to the N.L.R.B., and indeed it does have a thing or two to say about appropriate bargaining units and the like. But, in its main contents, it is a measure providing for one of the most vicious systems of compulsory mediation and arbitration yet devised.

Under the Smith-Wood bill, it would be "the duty" of the employer, union representatives and unorganized employees engaged in a dispute that might result in a strike or lockout to notify the five-man National Labor Relations Commission. In addition, the matter might be brought before the commission by state, county, or community officials or by "any person representing the public." Upon the receipt of such notification, the commission would try to conciliate the dispute. If no settlement was reached, the commission would propose arbitration by a state board or a board selected by the parties concerned. If either of the parties would not agree to submit their dispute to arbitration or refused to accept the award, the commission would hold its own public investigation, ascertain the facts as to "the cause of the strike and find which of the parties thereto is most responsible or blameworthy for its existence or continuance and forthwith publish its findings and recommend what the parties should do to compose the controversy."

The Smith-Wood bill further provides for a ten-day obligatory "waiting period," that is, it prescribes that before a strike is called, "notice of such intention" must be given "at least ten days before giving effect" to it.

The Smith-Wood bill would also gravely restrict labor's right to strike. This would be done by adding a clause to the strike section in the National Labor Relations Act which now states: "Nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike." The new proposal would add the following: "Provided that the employees or their representatives have diligently endeavored to cooperate with the National Labor Relations Commission in an endeavor to adjust disputes before resorting to such right."

It is hardly necessary to comment on this outrageous piece of proposed legislation or to explain in any detail how menacing it is to the labor movement. Its own wording does that plainly enough.

The New York Post is entirely correct when it says: "The idea that the government supervise the settlement of labor disputes and that submission to a Labor Commission's decision be mandatory is a basic tenet of totalitarianism." The trend towards governmental mediation and arbitration, semi-voluntary or entirely compulsory, is a trend towards totalitarianism.

A CHALLENGE TO DECENT UNIONISM

THE suspension of the six progressive furriers by the Stalinist administration of the New York Furriers Union is a challenge to every union man and woman of this city. It is a challenge to decent, democratic unionism, for it is in the name of unionism that the little Stalin of the Furriers Joint Council are carrying thru their "purge."

Six veteran members of the Furriers Union, known to every furrier as loyal, devoted, active union men, are suspended for two years, fined \$25, and threatened in their livelihood. For what? For what dreadful crimes? No overt acts damaging to the union are even charged against them. The only ground for the measures taken against the six progressives is their opposition to the administration, their determination to agitate among the workers until the Furriers Union is freed of its Stalinist blight, until it becomes again a union responsible to its membership instead of a political auxiliary responsible to the little Kremlin on 13th Street.

With hardly any regard to the forms of union legality, Gold and Potash, on instruction from their masters, have begun a "purge" in the Furriers Union. Like the dictators in Moscow and Berlin, whom they take as their models, they are determined to root out all opposition, to stifle every voice of protest and criticism, to maintain themselves in power at all costs. Demagoguery, trickery, persecution and crooked elections have evidently proved insufficient, and so they are turning to outright "police" measures in true totalitarian style.

But Gold and Potash, despite their high-and-mighty pretensions, fortunately have no Gestapo or G.P.U. at their command. They can fret and fume, roar and threaten, have their puppet tribunal issue suspensions and fines, but they can't throw their opposition into secret dungeons or line them up against the wall to be shot. And the progressives are not the men to be silenced by terror; Gold and Potash ought to know that. The progressives will continue their fight against all odds and difficulties until the petty tyrants are ousted, the dead hand of Stalinism removed, and the furriers able to breathe freely once again.

But it is the affair not only of the furriers; the entire labor movement is concerned. The corruption of totalitarianism spreads quickly and is deadly in its effects. The labor movement cannot afford to allow a branch office of the Stalin-Hitler dictatorship to be established in its midst and to operate with impunity. Every decent, self-respecting trade unionist has the duty of coming to the support of the progressives in the Furriers Union.

AFTER SIX MOMENTOUS MONTHS

(Continued from Page 1)

and French are seeking to cook up something with Japan in order to get the Nipponese into a full war on the Soviet Union. It is said that the two "democracies" are offering Japan the Soviet maritime provinces, Outer Mongolia, recognition of Manchukuo, and some "peace" in China—provided the Nipponese imperialists do not disturb the British, French and Dutch prize possessions in the Far East. But it is easier for the Allied general staffs to plan than to achieve a dismemberment of Russia as a preliminary to a dismemberment of Germany. This is true despite the disastrous effects of Stalinism on every phase of Soviet life. And much as we believe that the Stalin regime is a plague to the Soviet masses, we reject unreservedly and should resist unhesitatingly all such attempts against the U.S.S.R.

We do not challenge the conclusion that a victory of Hitler imperialism would plunge the world into darkness. But we do refuse to run away from the equally inescapable conclusion that a victory for Allied imperialism will also bring us a darker and more reactionary world than we have yet seen. Nor is Welles a messenger and champion of peace. At best, Welles is only preparing the ground for Roosevelt's utilizing the disheartening international situation for his 1940 campaign plans. This "peace" trip may even serve to facilitate some counter-moves against the powerful sentiment for keeping the U. S. out of the conflagration.

The sole hope for a genuine non-imperialist peace lies in the regeneration and reconstruction of the international labor movement. Such a peace would be a socialist peace and would save the world from devastation and savagery. The general features of such a peace have been indicated in the recent declaration of the International Workers Front Against War. Towards this end, the most urgent tasks for us in the United States are: to keep out of the war so as to save some important section of the world from the tidal waves of totalitarianism and to do our all to help rebuild and reunify on a sounder basis the international labor and socialist movements. American labor could render no higher or more urgent service to itself or to humanity as a whole.

THE NEW LEADER

THE PAPER OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

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BRITISH and GERMAN SOCIALISTS JOIN WITH COMRADES of TWELVE COUNTRIES in LEAD AGAINST WAR

WE can now report that representatives of the Independent Socialist Parties associated with the International Workers Front Against War have held consultations in Brussels, Geneva, Stockholm and Washington and have signed the Declaration which we print below and planned to be the indispensable instrument of the united action of the workers of the twelve countries mentioned in the Declaration. It will be seen that twelve countries are represented, including Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The Declaration is signed by the following organizations in Africa and the West Indies:

1. The second World War is an Imperialist War, just as was the War of 1914-1918. It is not a war of ideologies, nor a war between democracy and fascism nor a national war of independence. It is nothing but a bloody episode in the death struggle for world domination between German and British Imperialism (with its satellite French Imperialism) which has been going on since the beginning of the century. Anglo-French Imperialism and German Imperialism share responsibility for the outbreak of War.
2. The principal enemy of the workers in the belligerent countries is at home. This is true in the so-called democratic countries as in the Fascist States.
3. The workers must oppose war credits and fight vigorously against national unity.
4. They must carry on the class struggle in every aspect, including the defense of the immediate interests of the working masses in their standards of living and in their liberties both at the front and at home. They must carry on this struggle until the great goal is achieved—the transformation of Capitalism into Socialism.
5. Their aim must be not military defeat, but the winning of Workers' Power and Socialism. They must develop their class struggle regardless of national consequences. The workers of all countries must be able to count on each other pursuing tactics which are appropriate for their countries.
6. The working class must support by all appropriate methods the national and social emancipation of the colonial peoples oppressed by British and French Imperialism. The colonial peoples themselves must utilize the war to win their independence.
7. The working class must fight for peace and with this object should collaborate with all pacifists who prove their firm opposition to war and national unity. The workers must not regard, however, that the fight for peace without socialist action, however result in a genuine peace. The workers organizations shall not bear the responsibility for a new Versailles or for a new Munich. Peace requires the destruction of all Imperialisms, the overthrow of the Capitalist system and the construction of the Socialist United States of Europe.
8. The Second and Third Internationals, both bankrupt accomplices of the Imperialist bandits, have become obstacles which must be swept away by the workers in order to build up themselves the indispensable instrument of their emancipation, the Revolutionary Socialist International.

Within six months it will be May Day, the day of struggle of the International Working Class. Keep it in mind. Be Ready!

We reproduce here most of the front page of the December 22, 1939 issue of the New Leader, official paper of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. With the courage born of socialist conviction, the I.L.P. makes public and takes official responsibility for the revolutionary anti-war program of the International Workers Front Against War.

Letters From Our Readers:

On the Fascist Regime

New York City. The phrases, "national-socialism" (Germany) and "national-syndicalism" (Italy), for all their absurdity, just about characterize the essential features of the official fascist philosophy. Fused with these main ingredients are a contempt and hatred for democracy, an exaltation of the principle of authoritarianism, and bitter hostility to genuine socialism and the independent labor movement.

3. Emotional hates. Official fascist ideology would be a poor and weak thing, indeed, if it were not charged with the powerful emotions that fascism knows so well how to arouse and exploit. These emotions, these hates, follow along the lines of the nationalist-racialist faith of fascism and therefore generally assume the character of a bitter anti-foreignism, a bitter anti-Semitism. It is these burning emotional hates that supply the motive power behind the drive of fascist dynamism.

Neither fascism nor totalitarianism are terms descriptive of an economic order; they characterize a political regime or governmental system. The economic system prevailing under fascism is a "controlled" capitalism, with the controls in the hands of the state bureaucracy who manipulate them in order to achieve ends of economic, political or military character. By and large, the existing fascist economies have long since become war and armaments economies. But all this is by no means peculiar to fascism. Capitalism today is everywhere a "controlled" capitalism, and increasingly a war capitalism. An objective examination might show that there is at least as much governmental intervention and control in certain branches of the American economy as there is in Germany. At any rate, it is clear that this trend towards governmental intervention and control, this trend towards "economic regimentation," is inherent in the capitalist system at its present stage of development. The most that can be said is that this universal tendency is more sharply, more openly, more bureaucratically, and above all more "ideologically," expressed under fascism.

The Editor Replies:

THREE basic features characterize fascism as a governmental regime:

1. Totalitarian dictatorship. "Everything by the state and thru the state, nothing outside the state" is the fundamental maxim of totalitarianism. The state, absolutely supreme, maintains a rigid control of all economic and social life. All public organizations and institutions are "coordinated" as instruments of this supreme state. Naturally, all individual rights, civil and political liberties, are extinguished; all independent labor organization and activity, just as all independent organization and activity in general, are suppressed. The state is the Great Leviathan swallowing everything.

Political power is wielded by an all-powerful bureaucracy, which indeed is vested with a monopoly of all political legality and political rights. This authoritarian regime maintains itself in power by the expert use of the sword and the symbol. High-powered organized propaganda, skillful social and national demagoguery, the empty forms of popular rule (plebiscites) and the Leader cult are among the ideological instruments of fascist rule. Among material instruments the greatest reliance is put on military-police terror and on a far-flung system of espionage and informing that penetrates into every nook and cranny of social life.

But the fascist regime, precisely because it is totalitarian, possesses another instrument of power which other types of state can wield only to a very limited degree. This is the network of state-dominated mass organizations reaching into every sphere of social life and serving as pipe-lines or channels for official espionage and propaganda. We still have only a faint notion of how effective this form of social control may really be.

2. Official doctrine and ideology. Totalitarian dictatorship alone is not yet fascism, or rather no fascist regime can maintain itself in so incomplete a form. Fascism as a movement and a regime requires an official doctrine and ideology, an official philosophy in terms of which everything acquires meaning. This, too, is a distinguishing mark of fascism, for the more conventional types of state either formally renounce or are unable to establish any official ideology, for which they are heaped with scorn by the apostles of totalitarianism.

The actual ideology of any particular fascism naturally takes its specific form, color and content from the particular circumstances under which it develops, but at bottom it is generally an inflamed nationalism or racialism combined with sham "radicalism" of one sort or another.

Nine Million Dead or Wounded!

WHILE we marvel and rejoice at the relative bloodlessness of the war on the western front let us not forget that for nearly three years a war has been raging in the Far East, bloody beyond description. Here is the dreadful balance sheet of that war for the thirty-one months between July 1937 and February 1940:

CHINA:	
Killed	1,600,000
Wounded	4,800,000
Civilian dead	2,000,000

JAPAN:	
Killed	120,000
Wounded	360,000

Nearly nine million dead or wounded! And the statistics are from Japanese sources, so that Japanese losses have probably been much larger than the figures indicate.

teachers local of New York City offering to have its members, who were victims of a W.P.A. lay-off, continue working on the job without pay. Forced labor is bad enough, but forced labor without any payment whatsoever is something even Roosevelt's Administration didn't get around to. This Stalinist outfit was one of the first unions in history to beg its employer for a 100% wage-cut. But greater love has no man than a Stalinist for the W.P.A.; when the "line" is changed by Moscow, nothing can compete with his abuse.

Trotskyites Good Disciples of Stalin

Editor, Workers Age: I HAVE just been reading the February 1940 issue of the New Internationalist, the theoretical journal of the Trotsky group (Socialist Workers Party). It is all devoted to the "Russian question." As far as the main "arguments" of the Trotskyites in whitewashing the Stalin invasion of Finland are concerned, they have already been fully treated in the Age. But I want to call your attention to two things that struck me in reading this magazine that show how thoroughly steeped in Stalinism the Trotskyites are in their organizational methods and outlook:

1. It is well known that the Trotskyites are sharply divided on the "Russian question." Shachtman and Burnham are against the position of the "majority" represented by Jim Cannon, which is a position of capitulation to Stalinism. Yet, all two editors of the New Internationalist, not a word of their viewpoint is allowed to seep thru its pages. Every word in the February issue is written from the "majority" viewpoint.—the editorial (Who wrote it? Certainly not Shachtman or Burnham, the editors?), a speech by Cannon, an article by Trotsky, a resolution of the S.W.P. Talk about "monolithism," about totalitarian "concoction"! What have the Trotskyites got to learn from Stalinism in this respect?

2. In Cannon's speech, reprinted in this issue, there is the following paragraph: "Why is it so difficult for some of our friends, including those who are very well educated in the formal sense, to understand the Russian question? I am very much afraid it is because they do not think in terms

Maybe You Think We're A Little Bit Off—But...

AREN'T we a bit of all right, tho? We've stood the test and can now guarantee (skeptics, please note) that when we—you know who we mean—administer this country's affairs, we'll do right by you!

What makes us so cocksure? Well, it's this-a-way. We've proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that when we have a good thing, we know it, appreciate it, and share it. If you were present at last Saturday night's concert (February 24th at Steinway Hall), sponsored by the Independent Labor Institute, you will understand what we're driving at. Weren't you pleased with yourselves at the tremendous capacity you have for enjoyment, and with the artists who afforded you such pleasure?

You found the Trio Moderne as fine, as inspiring, as "wish-fulfilling" a trio of young, gifted musicians as you could possibly hope for. You responded to the warm, imaginative, admirable piano solos of Louis Polansky.

Everybody is responsive to Negro spirituals, but when these spirituals are sung and played by Laura Duncan and Albert Moss, they take on added significance. But confess, did you expect to be as thrilled as you were when you heard their rendition of that magnificent, stirring anti-lynching song, "Strange Fruit"—a song that should be made to ring through the length and breadth of this land?

Words are beginning to fail us—they're so inadequate. Tell us frankly, did you ever suspect that dancing could do to you what Soledad Morales did? Talk about being transported to a world of life-worth-living, beauty—everything nice—without having to go thru centuries of fighting for it! It was all handed down to you in the person of one of the most magnetic, fascinating dance personalities it has been our good fortune to see. Her accompanists at the piano and guitar, Senor Emilio de la Torre and Senor Villarin respectively, were grand!

You know now that there can't be too much of a good thing. You demonstrated it last Saturday night when you took Eva Ortega to your bosom. She was the last performing artist, but if it were up to you, you'd still be at the concert, ignoring your applause-swollen palms, demanding that she go on with her vast repertory of the most engaging songs in French, Italian, Mexican and American. They were most delightful as rendered by her.

We're all excited about this and a couple of previous affairs and are rarin' to go. You just watch the Workers Age for further announcements of our standard of entertainment.

Rift Between Hillman And Lewis Widens

Amalgamated Head Resents Lewis's Methods

(Continued from Page 1) Deal newspapermen and legislators here is any indication of the way the wind is blowing. The A.Y.C. did about as poor a public-relations job for itself while holding its rally here recently as could have been imagined by the Marx Brothers in their wildest dreams. The Communist Party captured it and then gave it to John L. Whether he and Labor's Non-Partisan League will use it is open to grave question. It is known that E. L. Oliver strenuously opposes playing with the freak. Some New Dealers want to clean up the mess and work with a different kind of youth movement; others would like to put the whole idea as far from their minds as possible.

NO EMBARGO ON JAPAN It seems improbable that the United States will place an embargo on shipments to Japan. The Vandenberg viewpoint has been accepted by Hull and F.D.R. It is interesting to note that on the question of a "firm" but not too provocative policy in the Far East there seems to be complete agreement between the two political parties. The government is determined to keep an imperialist finger in the Oriental pie. This is fundamental in all of the talk about "saving China." The fact that American Christian missionary activities have boomed in China and failed, relatively, in Japan helps sugar coat this game of power-politics.

G.O.P. PROGRAM REPORT The Glenn Frank Republican report has surprised New Dealers and reactionary Republicans. Most New Dealers welcome it and say: "Frank thinks he can run a New Deal better than Franklin." The third-termers predict that this kind of liberalized platform would be easier to beat than any other. They fear that the Pews and the Brickers will consign this study to the ash can and write their own platform. In general, the reaction here is that this report, coming officially from the Republican party, attests the remarkable changes that have taken place in the American political scene since 1929.

REFERENCES ON THE WELLES MISSION The Keep America Out of War movement here is divided in opinion on the question of the wisdom of backing F.D.R. on current peace moves in Europe. Welles's trip to Europe is feared by some as another Colonel House jaunt; Fred Libby and his group highly approve the action.

Aside from this difference of opinion, I can report that the of struggle. It is strikingly evident that the workers, especially the more experienced workers, who have taken part in trade unions, strikes, etc., understand the Russian question much better than the more educated scholastics.

This is obviously aimed at Burnham, who has the "misfortune" of being educated. What is this kind of a slur but the old Stalinist demagoguery contrasting the virtuous, clear-sighted "proletarian elements" to the wicked, confused "intellectuals"? It is the same kind of rotten, unprincipled demagoguery, make no mistake about it!

I remember seeing in the Age Trotskyism characterized as "inverted, frustrated Stalinism." Believe me, this is 100% correct.

MAN-POWER AND FINANCES As to assistance in man-power, there is being followed a plan different from the one pursued in the last war. Only the lesser part will be sent directly to the theater of war in Europe. Troops from India are already in France. Most troops are being maintained in their respective colonial centers for regional protection, including themselves as well as adjacent colonies from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean.

Certain of the British and French possessions are likely to figure as aids in finances. Australia, for instance, has already announced the raising of a \$40,000,000 war loan. Other colonies may be expected to follow according to their strength.

It can thus be seen that with resources in food, raw materials, minerals, man-power and finances, the Far Eastern possessions of the Allies will prove a tower of strength if the war is of long duration.