

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

WE said they would say it and try to do it—and do it, if labor lets them get away with it. Now they have begun to say it, try it and try to get away with it.

What's it all about? Some time ago, we began to push the idea that this country was going to get into an armament expenditure orgy and that its first effect would be to "insure national defense" at the expense of the social-security measures, meager tho they be. Well, here it is. The United States Chamber of Commerce has fired the first shot—and it has been well-aimed. Its committee on federal finance has just proclaimed: "If increased armament expenditures become indispensable, they should not operate to increase the total of the budget but should be offset by reduction of other expenditures."

And by "other expenditures" is meant what? To pose this question is to answer it.

However, there is something else that must be said about this whole question of military preparedness. Rearmament means much more than getting bigger and more deadly guns, ships and planes. Rearmament also has sinister social and political implications. We are living in days when the line of demarcation between preparing for peace and preparing for war has practically vanished. Under such circumstances, rearmament carries with it the introduction of martial law into all civil and economic relations. This spells totalitarianism.

A FATAL PATH

THE Communist Party of France, fresh from its victory of having helped put Daladier in power, is continuing to tread a fatal path. In the course of the fever-heat discussion of the decree laws, Leader Thorez came forward with the following dazzling idea: "Decree laws? Yes. First tell us for what foreign policy you want such decree laws." Well, nothing more contemptuous of the French workers interests could be concocted by anyone. In other words, if Reynaud, another reactionary white-haired boy of Stalin in France, were to be a little less friendly to German imperialism and a little more ready to use Thorez and his friends as patriotism-drummers, the C.P. would bless the decree laws.

In line with this rank desertion of the most elementary interests of the workers is the double-crossing of the colonial peoples by the Stalin agency in France. At a time when the giant imperialist powers are fighting for a redistribution and redivision of the loot they have plundered at the expense of the colonial peoples, the French C.P. rushes into the fray with the pronouncement that "democratic France will guide the colonial peoples in the path of social justice and liberty."

Is it any wonder, then, that the German and Italian fascists are able to make such headway, thru the cheapest demagoguery, amongst the colonial masses oppressed by French and British imperialism? In the same light, it is significant that in making arrests over the

(Continued on Page 2)

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 51.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1938.

5c a Copy

JUST ASKIN'



Ray in The Kansas City Star

High Court Rules Edison Subject to Wagner Act

But Hits NLRB On Voiding AFL Union Agreement

The United States Supreme Court last week handed down a decision in the Consolidated Edison case that is likely to prove of far-reaching importance for the future of labor relations in this country. The case came before the high court on appeal by the company and the A. F. of L. electrical workers union, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, against the decision of the N.L.R.B. invalidating the collective agreement concluded between Consolidated Edison and the A. F. of L. union on the ground that it had been entered into without regard to the wishes of the employees and as a result of improper employer influence. The C.I.O. radio and electrical workers union had made the original complaint to the board.

The major issue before the tribunal was whether public utilities operating within a state can be classed under interstate commerce. The Supreme Court decided that, on the ground of "undisputed and impressive evidence of the dependence of foreign and interstate commerce on the continuity of the service," the Consolidated Edison is subject to the Wagner Act and therefore to the jurisdiction of the N.L.R.B. This is undoubtedly an important victory for the board in its efforts to protect the right of

collective bargaining. The implications extend even beyond the Wagner Act for, if utility companies such as Consolidated Edison are in interstate commerce, they are

(Continued on Page 2)

Yezhov, Head of G.P.U., Removed

Nikolai Yezhov, Soviet Commissar of Internal Affairs and therefore head of the G.P.U. was summarily removed from those posts last week, allegedly at his "own request." He was replaced by Lorenti Berya, a Georgian official.

As head of the G.P.U., Yezhov was Stalin's right-hand man in carrying out the endless blood-purge that has hung like a nightmare over the Soviet Union since 1934. He was the object of the most fulsome flattery in the Stalinist press in the U.S.S.R. and abroad. Now the purge has reached him too. It is only a matter of time before he will be arrested as a "traitor," imprisoned and executed.

The downfall of Yezhov is a striking indication of the constant narrowing of the base of the Stalin bureaucratic regime as it approaches its end.

M-Day and After

"LAWS have been drawn up, 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.' . . . Let us not deceive ourselves. Let us not say, these powers that we propose to grant to a single man will be politely handed back when the war is over, as a matter of course."—George Fielding Eliot, "The Defense of America," Harper's Magazine, December 1938.

U.S. Opens Big Drive at Lima

Wall St. Imperialism Plans To Tighten Hold Over Latin America

Under cover of a fine-sounding program of "continental solidarity" and the "cooperation of the Americas for peace and democracy," leaders of the American delegation opened their campaign last week at the eighth Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru, to strengthen the economic and political control of United States imperialism over Latin America. The immediate enemy is obviously the "dictator countries," particularly Germany and Japan, whose economic penetration of the South American markets has Wall Street considerably worried; in the background, however, there is also Great Britain as a serious rival.

The tangible results of the conference are not likely to be very impressive because of the tangled clash of conflicting interests, particularly the opposition of "native" capitalist interests to Wall Street control and domination. And the bitter hostility to "Yankee" imperialism is as strong as ever among the masses of the people in Latin America. Nevertheless, thru behind-the-scenes negotiations and financial and economic arrangements, the United States is expected to strengthen its position considerably.

As the conference opened last week, two events took place that are certain to cast their shadow over its proceedings. Chile, it was semi-officially announced, would press for the adoption, as an accepted part of the international law of the Americas, of the principle that, in case of confiscation or expropriation of property (such as took place in regard to oil lands in Mexico recently), any recourse to

Daladier Wins In French Chamber

Shifts To Right Support; Strain In Berlin-Rome Axis Indicated

Altho the socialists and communists stood solidly against him, Premier Daladier won a vote of confidence in the French Chamber of Deputies last week by 315 to 241. The vote followed an excited debate over the domestic and foreign policies of the government, especially the decree-laws and the crushing of the general strike by military and police force.

Daladier's victory in the Chamber was the result of a long-expected political shift breaking the alliance of his Radical-Socialist party with the socialist-communist Left and making a block instead with the forces of the Center and Right. That the Radical-Socialists were looking towards, and laying the basis for, some such shift even while they were actively participating in the Popular Front, was pointed out by this paper more than once in the past two years.

The vote of confidence gave the appearance of parliamentary sanction not merely to the dictatorial decree laws and to the suppression of the general strike but also to Daladier's reactionary parliamentary program as a whole. In his address to the Chamber, the Premier concentrated particularly in an attack upon the Communist Party and some action against this party is expected in the near future.

Daladier's own political course is not entirely clear. He may go on with his 74-vote margin, adjourn parliament and continue to rule by decree. Or he may reorganize his Cabinet by including some of the parties upon which he now depends. Or he may dissolve the Chamber and have new elections. The likelihood seems to be that the first course will be adopted. There is some talk, however, that the cabinet will be "reinforced" by a prominent military figure. Daladier's relations with the General

(Continued on Page 2)

force on the part of foreign governments in behalf of their nationals is to be barred. Foreign concerns are to have the same rights as, and no more than, the "native" concerns, that is, the right of appeal to the courts of the country expropriating their property. Altho this is presumably part of the Roosevelt "good-neighbor" policy, there is marked hesitancy in American quarters to adopt this principle officially.

The second event was the arrangement of a big \$25,000,000 barter deal in oil between Mexico and Germany, the oil, it is understood, going to the German navy. The virtual boycott of Mexican oil declared by Great Britain and the United States since the expropriations, has forced Mexico to deal with the "aggressor powers." The whole situation is bound to prove very embarrassing at Lima.

SMASH ANTI-SEMITISM

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, Speaker

Mass Meeting, Wednesday Dec. 14—8 P. M.
Capitol Hotel, 8th Avenue and 50th Street

PROCEEDS FOR REFUGEES

At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1)
Daladier-inspired riots in Tunis, the French police did not take into custody Italian imperialism's agents but "an Italian anarchist who had arrived in Tunis recently from Spain and the secretary of the C.P. of the Tunisian capital." This is gratitude and brotherly love for you!

LOOKING TO 1940

ALL the indications, at this moment, tend to point to the fact that in the 1940 presidential campaign there will be no third liberal party. It appears that President Roosevelt has definitely given up two ideas in his political strategy for 1940. First, the idea that there is to be a third party in the coming campaign; secondly, the notion that he is able to wipe out the Garner-Farley campaign.

What does all this mean? Obviously, such strategy entails shifting rightward and a better cemented partnership between the liberal and conservative wings of the Democratic party. It is also clear that the Republican party does not expect to have smooth sailing in the coming presidential contest. The Republican party moguls have not yet been able to hammer out even the slightest approach to a national program distinct from and, even in the eyes of their own immediate followers, preferable to the platform on which the Democratic party will seek to continue its hold on the government machinery.

We must not forget that the less liberal and more conservative Democrats will have to go along, to a greater extent than they like, with the record of their party and hence with Roosevelt in order to secure reelection. Likewise, we should not overlook the fact that events of recent years have left an indelible imprint on the political policies and life of the land. Even if there should be elected in 1940 a Republican President supported by a Republican Senate and House, the country could not be subjected to any very serious change of politico-economic policy.

In one sense, we can compare the present American trends with those of England about a quarter of a century ago. The Conservative party, following the Lloyd George Liberal administration, did not break with the social legislation program and the general economic policies inherited from its predecessors. It must be emphasized that, while it is entirely possible and in many respects even probable for us to be hit by a wave of reaction in the coming months, and certainly in the coming years,

Court Rules On Edison

(Continued from Page 1)

also subject to the wage-hour law and similar federal social legislation.

On the other issues involved, also of great importance, the Supreme Court decided against the N.L.R.B. It ruled that the board had gone beyond its powers in invalidating the A. F. of L.-Consolidated Edison agreement. This ruling it made first on procedural grounds, that the board had not granted the parties involved an adequate chance to present their case, and secondly on the ground that the Wagner Act gives the board "no express authority to invalidate contracts with independent labor organizations." No evidence was produced, the court contended, to show that the A. F. of L. contract was the result of employer coercion. The agreement was therefore declared to be valid as far as it covers members of the A. F. of L. union; the court agreed with the board in denying the A. F. of L. union the status of an exclusive bargaining agency.

Included in the majority opinion is an attempt at the limitation of the conception of employer coercion. According to the court, "it cannot be said to be an unfair labor practice for the employer merely to express preference of one organization over the other, by reason of the former's announced policies." A doctrine such as this, permitting the employer to "express preference," may very easily prove to be an entering wedge for all sorts of disguised forms of employer coercion to the point even of virtually nullifying the intent of the Wagner Act.

The majority opinion, constituting the decision, was read by Chief Justice Hughes and was completely supported by Justices Brandeis, Stone and Robert. Justices Reed and Black were for sustaining the board in every respect. Justices Butler and McReynolds, on the other hand, wanted the board to be rebuffed in every particular.

yet there is little likelihood of going backwards completely.

Of course, two factors are always at hand that would change things fundamentally: these are war and the drive to prepare for war, which in itself entails the systematic, though gradual, "fascization" of government and economic machinery. Dec. 7, 1938.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

WHAT'S UP?

JAY LOVESTONE, Thursday, Dec. 15, 6:15 p. m.—on "From the Peaks of Prosperity to the Depths of Depression—Problems of the New Unionism—sitdown strike, economic crisis, defeat in "little steel," Stalinist disruption conflicts in the C.I.O., U.A.W., I.L.G.W.U., etc."

WILL HERBERG, Monday, Dec. 19, 7:00 p. m.—on "Fascist and Soviet Totalitarianism."

LEWIS COREY, Tuesday, Dec. 20, 8:45 p. m.—on "Is America Different?"

Single admission 25 cents
All lectures at the INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

Hurry Up on That \$3,500

\$1,500 Mark Passed But Broader, Quicker Response Needed for Drive

THE Special Press Fund, to pay the extra publication costs of a bigger Workers Age and a new theoretical journal, is moving beyond the \$1,500 mark.

Answers to our appeal are coming in from all over the country, expressing widespread interest and cooperation. But the answer are still limited to a small proportion of our readers, members and sympathizers. A larger response, and a quicker response, is necessary to raise the \$3,500 needed to carry out our tasks.

You must agree that the tasks we have set are vital—to rebuild our press and organization as a step toward rebuilding socialism. You must agree that the crisis of the times places these tasks upon us. And it is up to all of us to make our contribution toward the fulfillment of those tasks.

Think what a new socialist press will mean in recreating faith in socialism and in enrolling new members in that small but mighty group which is wholeheartedly devoted to socialism.

Others want more material on the unemployed and W.P.A., while a number of answers suggest more popular evaluation of current problems.

DALADIER CARRIES

(Continued from Page 1)

Staff and the top army clique have always been particularly close.

Last week, also, France and Germany signed a so-called "peace" pact along the lines of the Chamberlain-Hitler pact on the morrow of Munich. Special importance was attached to this otherwise almost meaningless ritual by the fact that it took place at the very time that the Italian clamor for French territory—Nice, Savoy, Corsica, Tunisia, Djibouti—was reaching its high point. Mussolini was understood to have demanded of Hitler some sign of solidarity, which has not been forthcoming so far. On the contrary, von Ribbentrop is reported to have assured Daladier and Bonnet that Germany would never go to war to help Italy seize the French possessions. In the controlled German press, the attitude towards Daladier was extremely "cordial," while little mention was made of the Italian agitation. A straining of the Berlin-Rome axis, never very firm despite all fiery declarations, was reported to be taking place.

BOSTON

George F. Miles

Labor Editor, Workers Age will speak on

"WHITHER AMERICAN LABOR?"

Sunday, December 18, at 3:30 P. M.

RITZ PLAZA HALL 218 Huntington Avenue Boston, Mass.

sending your contribution NOW to the \$3,500 Special Fund for a new socialist press!

NOT only is money coming in, but answers to the questionnaire we sent to our readers to find out what they would like to see especially in our new press.

All the answers agree that a new socialist press is necessary. A resounding YES answers our question of whether or not we should have a bigger Workers Age and a theoretical journal.

Practically all the answers to our questionnaire agree that the bigger Workers Age should be made appealing, using cartoons and pictures and popular articles to reach a larger mass audience. They want articles on farmers, cooperatives and white-collar workers, and more material on the youth and its special problems and movement.

Others want more material on the unemployed and W.P.A., while a number of answers suggest more popular evaluation of current problems.

There is also general agreement among the answers to our questionnaire that more articles should appear in the Age on various industries,

GOING BEYOND

Let's Go to \$2,000 This Week

The \$3,500 Drive for a new Socialist press is moving to a new peak. But quick action is necessary to get the full amount by January 1.

\$3,500 Needed Now

For a Bigger

WORKERS AGE

and a

Theoretical Journal

Armed with these new weapons, we will be infinitely more effective in the struggle to recreate Marxism and rebuild socialism—in the fight against capitalism, war and fascism.

Every dollar secured in this drive will be earmarked to insure publication for one year of the bigger Workers Age and the new theoretical journal. After one year, they should become self-supporting!

Give! Give to build a new socialist press, realistically, intelligently, uncompromisingly devoted to socialism and the struggle for socialism!

Fill out—and Mail at Once!

SPECIAL PRESS FUND, WORKERS AGE 131 West 33rd Street, New York City

Yes, I agree with you: we need a bigger Workers Age and a theoretical journal. I, too, want to help. Enclosed find \$ _____ as my contribution to the Special Press Fund of \$3,500.

Name _____ City _____ Address _____

Elections In Wisconsin

Why LaFollette Was Defeated; New Tasks and Problems

By RICHARD HUNT

(Richard Hunt is the pen-name of a high officer of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation of Wisconsin. —Editor.)

Madison, Wis.

THE result of the election in Wisconsin was influenced primarily by the people wanting a change. It was a bad day for the "ins." To explain away the defeat that lightly, however, would be begging the question. There are many other reasons why LaFollette and the Progressive administration was crushed so badly.

Shift Mostly Agricultural

Complete reports show that LaFollette and the state officers were defeated by more than 150,000 votes. Two years ago, these same state officials were elected with a plurality of over 200,000. The shift of votes took place mainly in the agricultural sections. In the state legislature, the former majority in the lower house (100 members) was cut to 31 members, and the former majority in the upper house (33 members) was cut to eleven. It may be added here that, where the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation is strong, we not only held our own but increased the legislative representation. Of the seven Progressive congressmen, two were reelected, these two coming from the section of the state where the Farmers Union is strong.

The campaign waged by the Republicans put most of its stress on the plight of the farmer. For the last half year, every newspaper in the state, with the exception of two or three labor papers, carried front-page feature stories three to four times weekly telling the farmers that some of their leaders who had been friendly towards labor had sold them down the river. Article after article was written to prove that the farmer has nothing in common with organized labor and that the coalition which has been brought about by the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation was engineered by "labor dictators" who intended to use the farmers for their selfish ends. An "agricultural council" was revived which claimed thirty cooperatives and other groups as its affiliates and spoke of 80,000 members. This council was given a semblance of respectability and official character thru the listing on its letterhead of various state departments, such as the Department of Agriculture and Markets and the University College of Agriculture, as ex-officio member organizations.

"The significance to labor of this problem (of rearmament.—W. H.) appears in the simple fact that every workman engaged in the construction of armaments must be provided with the necessities of life by the labor of those who are engaged in productive enterprises. . . . I predict that the working men and women of the world will not forever be content to stand by while civilized living is being sacrificed on the altar of armaments. No longer will they be willing to forge the means of their own enslavement and their own destruction."

Republican Bid For Farmer Vote

This council cleverly timed a state-wide conference to take place three weeks before the final election. The main speakers were well-known reactionaries, while the resolutions which were passed criticized the New Deal, the national and state labor-relations acts, wages-and-hours legislation and other social-security measures. In fact, the three-day conference spent little time on a constructive program and most of its time on the passing of resolutions demanding that labor unions be curbed. These resolutions were suspiciously identical with the kind one would expect from the open-shop division of the National Manufacturers Association. Every newspaper in the state gave this conference eight-column headlines for a number of days. We suspect the former president of the University of Wisconsin, Glenn Frank, now chairman of the National Republican Program Committee, to have had a hand in this.

Of course, we know the Republicans will not do much to change the conditions the farmers find themselves in. Farmers lent willing

ears to the Republicans because the prices they have been getting for their commodities in Wisconsin are from 15% to 20% less than a year ago; taxes have not decreased but have increased; and, regardless of the amount of educational work which has been carried on, the farmer continues to be unwilling to accept the theory that he can only prosper when the worker in the city have money to pay a decent price for the things the farmer produces. To the farmer it appears that most New Deal legislation is aimed primarily to help labor to his disadvantage.

Attitude Of Labor

Labor did not vote either Republican or Democratic. But, on the other hand, neither did it enthusiastically support the LaFollette administration. Labor has become somewhat dissatisfied with Governor LaFollette as its leaders were seldom consulted in any of the Governor's ambitious schemes. In the appointments to the various boards, the recommendations of

the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor were often ignored. In the selection of commissioners, judges and others, the Governor often went against the recommendations of the organized labor movement. Consequently, organized labor did not go into the campaign as enthusiastically as it did two years ago.

The Governor's attempt to organize a new party nationally alienated many Roosevelt liberals. In a series of radio speeches made before the eventual declaration of the organization of the National Progressives, Incorporated, the Governor denounced Roosevelt as having failed to solve the depression and recommended that some sort of unspecified change be made. When he finally organized the new national movement, it was not without a lot of fascist-like trappings and vague statements about the failure of "socialistic" and "communist" "experiments."

Militant farmer-labor leaders adopted the policy of watchful boards, the recommendations of

The "Fourth" New Deal

"Continental Defense" Keynote Of Roosevelt Policy

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from the last issue)

FOR this the Administration has a theory, a theory borrowed directly from the "dictator countries." The cardinal principle of the old New Deal was recovery thru increasing consumers purchasing power by extensive governmental "spending"; the cardinal principle of the newest New Deal is already becoming recovery thru rearmament. Let us set the wheels of industry going, let us take up the heavy slack in employment, by feeding billions to the armaments industries and their affiliates. It is hardly necessary for us to emphasize that this whole idea is a fatal delusion, that it is thoroughly unsound economically, that it can lead only to utter economic ruin if it does not drive us into a war before that. Who has more eloquently pointed out the suicidal folly of "armaments economics" than former Assistant Secretary of Labor McGrady did last year in Geneva or President Roosevelt himself two years ago at Buenos Aires? Declared Mr. McGrady at the International Labor Office conference in June 1937:

"The significance to labor of this problem (of rearmament.—W. H.) appears in the simple fact that every workman engaged in the construction of armaments must be provided with the necessities of life by the labor of those who are engaged in productive enterprises. . . . I predict that the working men and women of the world will not forever be content to stand by while civilized living is being sacrificed on the altar of armaments. No longer will they be willing to forge the means of their own enslavement and their own destruction."

Republican Bid For Farmer Vote

This council cleverly timed a state-wide conference to take place three weeks before the final election. The main speakers were well-known reactionaries, while the resolutions which were passed criticized the New Deal, the national and state labor-relations acts, wages-and-hours legislation and other social-security measures. In fact, the three-day conference spent little time on a constructive program and most of its time on the passing of resolutions demanding that labor unions be curbed. These resolutions were suspiciously identical with the kind one would expect from the open-shop division of the National Manufacturers Association. Every newspaper in the state gave this conference eight-column headlines for a number of days. We suspect the former president of the University of Wisconsin, Glenn Frank, now chairman of the National Republican Program Committee, to have had a hand in this.

Of course, we know the Republicans will not do much to change the conditions the farmers find themselves in. Farmers lent willing

People for Freeing Mooney

THE big majority of the American people are in favor of freedom for Tom Mooney, a recent survey conducted by Dr. Gallup's Institute of Public Opinion shows. Of every 100 asked the key question, "Would you like to see the new governor of California free Tom Mooney?", 85 knew about the Mooney case and had formed an opinion. Of these, two-thirds declared that they would like to see Mooney freed. The figures are: for freedom—66%; against—34%.

It is significant that the freedom-for-Mooney sentiment is far more widespread among Democrats than among Republicans. Of the Democrats, 74% were in favor and 26% against; but among Republicans, only 49% were in favor and 51% against.

The next move is now up to Governor Olson. He won his election on a pledge to liberate Mooney. When he takes office on January 3, his first task will be to redeem his pledge.

Profit-Share Racket

Workers Want Good Wages Not Tricky Schemes

By WILLIAM MUNGER

DETROIT, Mich. THERE is much discussion in the public press about profit-sharing plans offered by corporations. The position of the United Automobile Workers of America regarding any such schemes is very clear.

In general, it may be stated that the U.A.W. does not look with a great deal of favor upon profit-sharing plans in the auto industry. The tendency is for such plans to bring with them an unsatisfactory approach to the question of wages. A psychology is built up with the implication that corporations are giving something to the workers which the workers are not properly entitled to merely by virtue of the labor they perform—which, of course, is not the case at all. Such a belief tends to create a paternalistic relationship between the employer and the employee which, in our estimation, is undesirable and not in keeping with the general principles of collective bargaining and mutual dealing.

Such plans further furnish a

necessarily mean also preparation of the totalitarian regime that modern war requires. The May bill and similar measures, widely regarded as a veritable "blueprint for fascism," will now come to occupy a more central place in the Administration program than they have done hitherto.

New Political Alignment

The significant changes in the character of the New Deal naturally reach out into the sphere of politics and political relations as well. On the basis of the subordination of everything to the paramount issue of "national defense," it will not be difficult for the Administration to make its peace with big business. "Business will cooperate for obvious reasons," Mr. Krock assures us. And Paul Y. Anderson, in a recent article in the Nation, points out that the ordinary foam at the mouth at the very thought of W.P.A. or P. W.A. will enthusiastically welcome large-scale expenditures for armaments and "defense." On this basis, a "national front," embracing the war-mongers of all parties, may well be built up. It is my opinion that the slogan of "national unity" will play a big role in the Fourth New Deal in the effort to mobilize the broadest public support for the Administration's foreign and "defense" policies and to suppress all criticism of these policies as "unpatriotic" and "disruptive." The setback that the White House suffered in the recent elections will naturally serve as a spur in this direction.

The Administration is going to avoid any showdown on its (Continued on Page 3)

basis for the employer, or agents of the employer, to propagandize workers against the union on the grounds that the activities of the union will tend to prevent the profit as it would otherwise. Hence, responsibility for poor profits is placed upon the union and employees are urged to soft-pedal any demands they wish to make upon the company on the grounds that it may jeopardize the possibility of receiving a share of the profits at the end of the year. Thus, employees may be inveigled out of fighting to attain advantages at the moment with the bait of receiving greater compensations at some future time. Inasmuch as the actual payment to the employees of a share in the profits may depend upon circumstances entirely unforeseen, the employees may be left holding the bag at the end of the year and receive neither the gains for which they had asked nor the share of profits which they anticipated.

The U.A.W. would distinctly not be in favor of a profit-sharing plan which involved any decrease in wage rates. The amount of profits in the automobile industry are known to fluctuate from many millions one year to an actual loss the next, so any profit-sharing plan would be strictly a gamble for the employee.

The union is opposed to withholding a certain portion of employees earnings in prosperous times for the purpose of distributing it to them in slack periods or to disabled or old employees. The question of unemployment insurance or compensation for disabilities is a social problem and should be handled thru appropriate legislation which places the burden of providing the necessary funds upon industry and the government. There is no gain to the employee in subsidizing out of his own slender income the faulty or obsolete employment policies of corporations for which he is not responsible. Nothing is gained for the worker by reducing his standard of living at present for the purpose of providing a meager pittance to keep him from starvation in his old age or when he is unemployed or disabled.

Adequate Wages There is no substitute for payment of adequate wages to employees and the providing of a regular income. Efforts should be made to elevate standards of living and improving working conditions on the basis of mutual cooperation thru collective bargaining rather than to lean upon promises to employees by the employers. There is no short-cut to the establishment of proper labor relations thru any panacea.

(William Munger is research director of the United Automobile Workers of America. The article appeared in the December 3 issue of the U.A.W. paper.—Editor.)

(3) "Continental Defense," in the Nation of November 26, 1938.

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Pub. Ass'n. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$0.60 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00; Canada \$1.50 per year. Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LACKAWANNA 4-5282.

Vol. 7. December 17, 1938 No. 51

STALIN AND THE REFUGEES

EVEN those of us who had mighty few illusions left about the Stalinist regime in Russia must have been shocked at the incredible attitude adopted by the Soviet government on the refugee question. Even from Stalin something better, something more in harmony with Soviet Russia's traditions and proclaimed principles, might have been expected.

In effect, the Soviet government has refused to open its doors to the victims of the anti-Semitic pogroms in Germany or to any group of them, however selected. For two weeks, the Soviet press kept silent on the dreadful happenings in Hitler Germany. And then, when it finally did speak up on November 27, it concentrated its efforts, aside from some general expressions of indignation, upon criticizing the migration of the Jews from Germany as a "solution" of the problem. But no offer of a refuge, no extension of asylum!

It would be utterly futile, not to say distasteful, to attempt to go into the so-called "explanations" offered by the Stalinist press in Russia and abroad for this shocking attitude; they are no more than rotten excuses for what is clearly felt to be beyond possibility of reasonable justification. The Soviet Constitution does not provide an exact category under which the victims of Nazi terror might be classed, we are told, and Stalin would, of course, never dream of violating the constitution! This is obviously a contemptible evasion, besides placing that much-vaunted constitution itself in a rather unfavorable light. Among the refugees, there might be some Nazi spies, we are warned. Why not, then, admit Jewish children made destitute and homeless by the pogroms? Surely, the ridiculous "spy" argument does not hold in their case. But the Jewish victims of Nazi oppression, being largely of middle-class background, would not "fit" into Russian conditions. Thus is a mountain made out of less than a molehill. A few thousand Jews, we are asked to believe, would constitute a grave problem of "adjustment" in a country of 180,000,000 twenty years after the revolution! And then there is the brilliant contention that the emigration of the Jews from Germany is not a "real solution" of the "Jewish question." Until such a "solution" is discovered, presumably, no effort must be made to ease the sufferings of the wretched victims of Nazi barbarism.

All this miserable squirming, all these rotten twists and turns, add up to just one thing: Stalin simply doesn't want to let the German Jews into the Soviet Union. Apparently, political conditions in Russia have reached the point where any foreigners, even refugees from Nazi Germany and therefore presumably ready to accept anything if only allowed to live in peace, are a "dangerous" element and must therefore be excluded. Let us not forget that well over half of the Austrian socialists, admitted into Russia after the Vienna struggles in February 1934, have already felt the heavy hand of the G. P. U., while others preferred to return to Schuschnigg Austria rather than remain in Stalinist Russia. However that may be, the fact itself is clear: The doors of the Soviet Union are barred to people seeking refuge from fascist persecution.

And this in the Russia of Lenin, this in the Russia of the socialist revolution! This in the Russia that, in earlier and far more difficult days, was proud of serving as a haven for the victims of reactionary persecution the world over! Here we have a measure of the degradation that Soviet Russia has suffered at Stalin's hands.

From the Kremlin the corruption spreads to all of the Stalinist organizations in every part of the world, the United States included. Immediately following the outbreak of the pogroms in Germany, the Daily Worker repeatedly urged the opening of the doors of this country to the refugees, at least some relaxation of the rigid immigration laws. Then the word came from Moscow and everything changed overnight. Appeals for a haven in this country suddenly ceased, to be replaced by some

The Stalinist Mafia

G.P.U. Conspiracy to Have Former C.P. Leader Deported

By: JOSEPH ZACK

(We publish below Joseph Zack's own story of the Stalinist-State Department attempt to bring about his deportation. Joseph Zack, it will be recalled, is a veteran of the American labor and communist movements and was a high official in the Communist Party trade-union department for many years before his break with the party in 1934.—Editor.)

THE development of the Communist Party as a police agency was openly proclaimed at its last convention in the all-embracing formula, which pledges the party "to cooperate with the government to the utmost for the suppression by legal means of all parties, groups, cliques, etc., who seek to undermine or subvert the democratic institutions of the U. S." (read, of American capitalism —J. Z.)

Stalinist Stool-Pigeons

This obliges every party member to become an informer and undercover agent who, thru the intermediary of the party, cooperates with the police against all those that are considered enemies. Like all formulas, this one, too, is stressed and applied according to the political moment. Important to note here is that the party has in its degeneration reached the stage of offering itself as a reactionary police force publicly. The above resolution speaks only of cooperation with the government by "legal means" but, as the Juliet Stuart Poyntz disappearance and the theft of Lovestone's papers show, illegal means are by no means excluded. The whole situation is well illustrated in my case, where the G.P.U. experts of the Communist Party are still cooperating with the government.

Here, in brief, are the facts of my case. In 1922, I was arrested in connection with the Michigan criminal-syndicalism cases, which also involved C. E. Ruthenberg and William Z. Foster. Like most of the others, I was held under \$10,000 bail—plus \$1,000 deportation bail. The deportation charge was on the ground of the alleged uncertainty of my nationality status. The case dragged on till 1933. By that time (1930), my mother, due to a severe illness, took steps to clarify my status as

nebulous scheme of an "international conference," at a time when all considerations of humanity demand immediate action. Stalin bars German refugee Jews from Russia for his own "good reasons"; the American Communist Party not only approves and attempts to justify this shameful action but also refuses to support any effort to win a haven for the Jews in this country. The American Communist Party is today AGAINST the movement to open the doors of this country to Hitler's victims! This is a literal fact. In the New York Teachers Union, the Stalinist leaders actually denounced a proposal to call upon Washington to let down the bars to refugees, who they did not dare to vote against in the showdown. The same was the case in certain branches of the A.L.P. and in other organizations. The meaning is plain.

The mask is off. These people, who pretend to be the chosen apostles of democracy, are no more than a servile tool of Stalinist totalitarianism, for whom nothing is too vile to perform on command. Let the universal indignation and contempt of all decent people overwhelm these creatures to whom the promptings of socialism and humanity are as nothing compared to the dictates of the reactionary bureaucracy holding sway in the Kremlin.

regards to birthplace. She had come to the United States with her husband prior to the 1893 economic crisis and here I was born. But, having found things here extremely hard, she returned to Slovakia, taking me with her at the age of two. The available proofs of this were submitted and the deportation proceedings were dropped in February 1934. The city of Scranton confirmed my birth registration and does so to this very day. In 1931, the State Department had occasion to confirm my status, when it moved to have me released from arrest in Venezuela, where I had fallen into the clutches of the Gomez dictatorship while travelling in South America.

Now, of course, Browder and Hathaway and other C.P. leaders knew all this as well as I know it. But they were out to get me. In 1934, because of increasing disagreements with the party line, I broke with the C.P. So I was put high up on the list of victims. In 1936, they got their chance. In that year, having learned that my wife—who had insisted on following me to Russia with our child in 1928 and had remained there after I returned—had "disappeared" from the state farm at which she worked in the Crimea, I addressed a letter to her to see what would happen.

Thru G.P.U. Channels

The G.P.U. forwarded the letter and obtained from her a dictated statement to the effect that she would not have anything to do with me any longer, because I had "betrayed" the movement, etc. The letter arrived here thru G.P.U. channels and was dropped into my mail box by one of the G.P.U. agents. The condition of the letter was instructive, particularly that of the envelope.

It was cut open with a pair of scissors. The postage stamps had been lifted to see whether a secret message was concealed underneath and the cancellation postmark was half erased to obliterate the location of her imprisonment. Inside, the letter itself also omitted mentioning the location from which it was written. Thus Stalin's over-zealous G.P.U. minions confirmed what I had already known of her imprisonment in reprisal for my leaving the party in the United States.

I sent the letter to the State Department in Washington and asked it to intervene on behalf of my son, a native American born in New York, held in Russia together with my wife. Months passed before there was any response, and then it was not on behalf of my family but in the form of proceedings against me! The result was a deportation warrant against me, which is still in effect and on which I am being held on \$500 bail, furnished by the Civil Liberties Union, which is also taking up the case of my family in Russia.

Why this sudden attempt to deport me—to where only God knows now; after the Munich settlement? Thru authoritative government sources, I have been informed that the Stalinist G.P.U. was behind the whole move from the beginning. It very obligingly supplied the State and Labor Departments with a whole file of my writings and articles, including those during the time I was in the Communist Party, to prove that I was an "undesirable," being a revolutionist. More than that. I was also informed, and was allowed to see the documents, that two well-known Communist Party members had supplied affidavits to the government authorities to bring about my deportation. In a number of other ways, too, the

(Continued on Page 5)

Talking It Over:

History Happens to All

By Bertram D. Wolfe

MY publishers complain that they are not selling books. Since the Munich crisis, people have sat with ear glued to radio and eye to newspaper, too restless, too excited, too uneasy to break open more solid works. History moves rapidly, and with apparently fateful inexorability towards fearful climaxes. Men and women in isolation shake their heads bewildered at the daily budget of shocks in the morning's news; regard each other with scared faces, too frightened to formulate their thoughts; do not even dare ask themselves what can be done to stop the juggernaut which threatens to overwhelm the world.

Yet books are more important than ever now, to aid in interpreting the headlines, to help in reading between the lines of print, to give understanding of what can, what should, what must be done. Books—the right ones, of course—such works as are not only organizers of thought but organizers as well of the actions of great masses of men—and such journals of honest and thoroughgoing interpretation as this one, assume an importance that may well prove decisive in determining the fate of man. The idea, provided it takes possession of masses, becomes itself a mighty material force.

"HISTORY," it has been obvious, happens to us all. Wars are no longer the concern merely of dynasties and men-at-arms. Price levels, money rates, production figures, are no more the exclusive affair of money-changer, merchant and manufacturer. Modern wars and depressions are totalitarian: the rural cottage, the urban tenement, the unfortified town, are all included in their scope. A line dips on a production chart and a million men and their women and children are condemned to starve. A color area enlarges or contracts on the cartographer's map and a million more are uprooted from their homes, dumped across frontiers, driven up and back across the surface of the inhospitable earth. A finger points at a speck upon the map, and, on the morrow, a town's buildings are in ruins, its streets piled up with dead, and men and women and children wander bewildered and homeless not knowing where to turn.

Assuredly, history happens to us all. No one is exempt. Yet it happens differently to three different categories of men. There are those to whom it happens, and they do not even know what struck them nor why. Their fate is subhuman, like that of animals; their bewilderment, their anguish, their unconsolable misery are unrelieved by even a gleam of comprehension. Next, there are those who at least understand in some fashion what is happening to them. Small consolation; yet a jobless man who comprehends that it is not his own "shiftlessness" and "lack of ambition" but a vast socially-caused depression which determines his joblessness, is at least saved in his self-respect, helped by the knowledge that he is one of millions in a similar plight, and already on the road to sensing a remedy. Finally, there are those who attain to that higher level of comprehension which not only knows what is happening and why but understands as well what to do about it. These make up the highest level of our class and species: not mere victims nor mere comprehenders, but active and conscious makers of the history of their time. It is these men and women who make up the body of militant trade unionists and still more the membership of such organizations as the Independent Labor League.

Why this sudden attempt to deport me—to where only God knows now; after the Munich settlement? Thru authoritative government sources, I have been informed that the Stalinist G.P.U. was behind the whole move from the beginning. It very obligingly supplied the State and Labor Departments with a whole file of my writings and articles, including those during the time I was in the Communist Party, to prove that I was an "undesirable," being a revolutionist. More than that. I was also informed, and was allowed to see the documents, that two well-known Communist Party members had supplied affidavits to the government authorities to bring about my deportation. In a number of other ways, too, the

ALONE and in isolation man is a poor feeble creature to face the overwhelming natural and social forces which beset him. He can only wring his hands in anguish, gaze at wife or friend in scared surmise, give vent to his fears in vain prayers or empty curses. But so soon as he unites with like-minded fellow-men, his whole potential changes—understanding deepens, will revives, hope elevates his head, courage straightens out his spine, determination causes his fist to clench; his strength is multiplied manifold, incalculably; he feels within his grasp the possibility of altering and determining his own fate. That is the real meaning of the existence, the real privilege of membership in the Independent Labor League whose paper you now hold in your hand. Twist and wriggle and evade as you will, history happens to you as it does to us all.

(Continued on Page 5)

BOOKS

FOUR WAYS OF PHILOSOPHY, by Irwin Edman, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1937.

THIS volume is a penetrating study of what the author calls the four basic and recurrent types of philosophic belief: philosophy as "logical faith," as "mystical insight," as "social criticism," as "nature understood." To an extent, the lines of demarcation overlap, of course. But, roughly speaking, the first two come under the general heading of philosophical idealism, with its distrust of and attempted escape, thru transcendence, from nature and society; whereas the latter two, with their realistic acceptance of nature as it is, with their courageous facing of the facts of social existence, with their healthy and abiding feeling that the elusive ideal of the philosopher, the "Good Life," is impossible without a humane and just organization of society, come under the "tough-minded," roughly materialistic strain in philosophic thought. It goes without saying that Edman finds himself in the latter camp.

The author is impatient with the trivial web-spinning of the Ivory Tower characteristic of so much philosophizing, past as well as contemporary:

"Philosophy... become more trivial than chess or anagrams or bridge!... The technicality of philosophers is largely a technicality of words... So far as the crucial human issues of the world today are concerned, the questions with which the philosopher deals are purely verbal questions. The philosopher is, in sum, the least attractive inhabitant of the Ivory Tower..."

Yet, on the other hand, he clearly realizes that philosophies are significant of their times and that they often consciously or unconsciously reflect social attitudes:

"In retrospect, the philosophies of a period... seem curiously close to the prevailing social movements and moral crises of their times... The history of philosophy is thus in no small part the history of social criticism, most often deliberate, or social rationalization, often unconscious. All thinkers... are, often willfully and unconsciously, the spokesmen of different classes..."

From the vantage point of a healthy naturalism, Edman submits the pretensions of philosophic idealism to a trenchant criticism, destroys its metaphysical position, unmasks its basic anti-rationalism ("the validity and actuality of a knowledge that comes neither from the senses nor from reason"), its escapism ("In decaying communities, the impassioned poets of thought have fled to the eternal, to God, to the Good, to the Mystic Rose"), its unholy alliance with mysticism and religion ("In idealism, at the summit of its dialectic, logic and worship become one... Philosophy, at the hands of idealists, becomes the handmaiden to religion and the traditional moralities associated with it...").

"The life of reason is simply life understanding its own conditions," says Edman quite correctly, in beginning the positive elucidation of his own nature-materialistic position. "Naturalism, or philosophy as nature understood, has refused to seek causes or powers beyond the circle of observable relations or events. It has eschewed supernaturalism. It has refused to believe that nature was a veil of something beyond nature. It has insisted that nature itself could be understood... [It has manifested] a faith in the unity of nature or substance, of which all life is a derivation, upon which all

Local 22 Hits WPA Cuts

Zimmerman Protests Slashes, Demands More Relief

New York City PROTESTING emphatically against cuts in W.P.A. expenditures and employment as disastrous for the workers and a menace to recovery, Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., sent a telegram last week to President Franklin D. Roosevelt

urging that there should be an increase, and not a decrease, in government efforts to provide work for the millions of unemployed who want work and need work. Speaking in the name of 30,000 organized workers, Zimmerman's telegram conveys "the great uneasiness of labor over the prospect of drastic cuts in W.P.A. expenditures and employment," and continues:

"The cuts are being justified on the ground that W.P.A. employment must drop as private employment increases thru business recovery. But you, yourself, Mr. President, have pointed out that reemployment lags behind the upward trend of business revival. Nor would the rehiring of several million workers materially lessen the need for W.P.A. since only one out of every four unemployed but employable workers eager to work are on the W.P.A. rolls. And there is no evidence what-

ever that the new recovery movement will be able to provide work for the ten to twelve million unemployed. "Drastic cuts in W.P.A. would be a terrifying tragedy to the men, women and children whose slender hopes of living depend on W.P.A. employment. But it would also be a tragedy for millions of other people, as curtailment of W.P.A. employment would undermine the recovery that is now slowly developing. When the recovery moved to higher levels in 1936, drastic cuts in W.P.A. began; and in 1937 the great decline in government spending on income-creating projects was the most important factor in bringing about the sharpest and most rapid recession in our history. "Labor is anxious to avoid the tragic experience of 1936-37. There should be no decrease in the efforts of government—rather a planned increase of those efforts—to make possible the provision of work for the millions of our unemployed who want work and need work."

Zimmerman's protest is an expression of the deep concern felt by organized labor over the problem of W.P.A. and unemployment. Similar protests should be made by all labor unions thruout the country.

"Even were it granted, however, that a revolution were inevitable, a revolution is not in itself a classless society." He points to the purges in Russia and concludes: "The philosopher will remain the critic of institutions in terms of what they contribute or fail to contribute to the flowering of the spirit in men." The warning is in order, and the test justified whether it is made by the philosopher or by the ordinary mortal. Soviet Russia, as it finds itself today, can hardly pass that test. The socialist movement must learn from the Russian experiences to eliminate those attitudes, organizational methods, and the like, which have resulted in the crushing instead of the flowering of the human spirit.

I have allowed the author to speak for himself, for obvious reasons. This is only a small sample of a book of more varied riches than the lack of space allows me to treat adequately. I might mention the beautiful, poetic language, the wisdom and broad tolerance—yet, without the stubborn, tough-mindedness in matters of principle. Only a fine and courageous spirit could have written such a book. As far as this reviewer is concerned, it is one of the most significant books of the times.

JIM CORK.

Shop Early—and Shop Well

"SHOP EARLY" is the slogan these days, and a very sensible slogan it is. The early shopper gets first choice and avoids the last-minute rush.

Here's your chance to shop early and shop well—at the big Bazaar, running from December 15 thru December 18, at Rivera Hall, 131 West 33rd Street. The Bazaar is arranged by the Independent Labor Institute for the benefit of the German refugees.

By shopping on the opening night, Thursday, December 15, you will get the cream of the crop: dresses, toys, knitted-wear, novelties, a variety of miscellaneous articles for household and personal use, every item marked way below store prices.

As for the supper, we have provisions for that as well. Our chef will be on hand with his delicious roasts and side-dishes. Boy, oh boy! Admission to the Bazaar, except Saturday evening, is free. Yes, free—with no strings attached.

The Fourth New Deal

(Continued from Page 3)

domestic policies, the well-informed United States News reports in its November 21 issue, but it will seek a showdown on foreign policy. "Little patience," we are told, will be shown with the "isolationists" and "pacifists." From this at least two conclusions may be drawn. In the first place, a concerted drive will be launched to work up a jingoistic lynch-spirit against the anti-war movement in this country. In the second place, taking advantage of the highly charged atmosphere, a White House-sponsored drive will be made not only to administer a death-blow to the war-referendum idea but also to gut the Neutrality Act by giving the President "discretionary" power to name the "aggressor." In this respect as well, the next session of Congress is bound to be decisive.

On Two Planes

It is obvious that the Fourth New Deal differs markedly from its predecessors, but it is after all an outgrowth of them. From the very beginning, the New Deal Administration has, to a degree, Clapham's striking characterization of pre-war Lloyd George liberalism, "lived and worked on two planes—the public plane of social reform and the hidden plane of a possible war." Hitherto, the dominant note has been social reform, yet even this social reform was not altogether unconnected with preparation for the "possible war." Today, the "hidden plane of a possible war," no longer hidden, has emerged uppermost: it is the plane of the Fourth New Deal.

(4) J. H. Clapham: An Economic History of Modern Britain (1938).

History Happens to All

(Continued from Page 4)

Surely—else you would not be a reader of this paper—surely you are not on that lowest subhuman level of those whom history "happens to" and they know not what has hit them. Likely you belong to that second group of those who rise to the level of comprehension of the forces that shape our age. Why not, reader, take the next step, the step that brings you into the ranks of the conscious, collective makers of the history of our time? We need you, for only by your entrance and those you in turn will bring with you do we gain in strength for our huge tasks. And you need us, for alone you must realize that you are as naught. Why not avail yourself of the in-

The Masses Want Peace!

"WHEN F. D. R. sits down at his White House desk Tuesday and reaches for the budget estimates prepared by army and navy experts who have figured the cost of the New Deal's armament program, the President will hear some unpleasant news.

"It is this: With bewildering swiftness a powerful opposition has been built up in the Congress which convenes next January against F. D. R.'s broad policy of foreign relations; against voting for defense appropriations unless there is assurance America will continue to play a lone hand in world politics; against F. D. R.'s idea of 'continental-solidarity' military strategy. . . .

"What has happened is that the gentlemen who will make up the 76th Congress of the United States have begun to pour into the Capital. And they are shouting loudly along Pennsylvania Avenue the sentiments of the folk back home. If the boys vote as they now talk, there will be a great reversal in the political dope sheets."—John O'Donnell in the New York Daily News, December 5, 1938.

itation? It is extended in comradeship and the strong stress of mutual need. History happens to you anyhow. Why not help to make it happen right?

The Stalinist Mafia

(Continued from Page 4)

Stalinist G.P.U. showed its hand in the proceedings.

There is still a stranger aspect to the situation. Three months ago, largely for sentimental reasons, I requested the State Department to return to me my wife's letter with the envelope, and imagine my surprise when upon receiving it, it came minus the postage stamps and with the cancellation postmark completely obliterated chemically and then scraped with a fine, sharp instrument! The work of the G.P.U. was completed by the State Department.

What they have done to my wife and child in Russia, I can only too well imagine. What they are trying to do to me is obvious. What protection can any one have against Stalin's Mafia, even in this country?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE

Bazaar and Dance

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

Proceeds to aid German Refugees

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

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

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

The I.L.L.A. at Work

by D. Benjamin

NEW LEAFLET ON FRENCH CRISIS

TEN THOUSAND copies of a leaflet entitled "Fascism Over France?" have just been published by the I.L.L.A. Over 5,000 copies have already been ordered by New York branches for distribution in the needles-trade market, at meetings of transport workers, teachers, pressers and milliners. Only those branches that act fast will be able to secure what remains at \$2 per thousand.

NEW YORK MEMBERSHIP MEETING

On Wednesday, November 30, there took place an important membership meeting of the New York organization to hear a report by Will Herberg on the situation in the C.I.O., bringing before the membership for consideration the standpoint of the National Council on this question. Ben Lifshitz made a sub-report on the C.I.O. convention. Due to the lateness of the hour, discussion was postponed until a second meeting, which was called for Friday, December 9, 8 p.m., at Rivera Hall. This second meeting was devoted entirely to discussion by the membership, with summaries by the reporters.

The evaluation of the recent elections and the present political situation in the country by the National Council has been reported to the various branch meetings of the New York organization, with discussion by the membership of the branches.

TORONTO MASS MEETING

Jay Lovestone spoke before a crowd of over 300 workers at a meeting arranged by the Toronto organization of the I.L.L.A. on the subject "Between Two Wars." The three hundred who came despite a strong blizzard were very enthusiastic about the talk. The Toronto district of the I.L.L.A. discussed, at a membership meeting attended by Lovestone, plans for future work.

PHILADELPHIA ACTIVITIES

The Philadelphia city committee is sending delegates to a conference being held jointly with the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party to work out plans for united action against the persecution of minorities in Germany.

The forum of the Philadelphia Progressive Labor Institute on December 4, with D. Benjamin speaking on "Europe Today," brought forth good response and many questions from the audience regarding the political developments now taking place in Europe.

The preceding evening a successful party had been held by the Philadelphia organization.

RECRUITING

The New York cloakmakers branch has shown that it takes seriously the National Council appeal to intensify recruiting by bringing in five new members at its last meeting. Our members in the New York toy industry held a special meeting with sympathizers, at which D. Benjamin spoke on "What the I.L.L.A. Stands For," with the result that some joined immediately and others indicated their intention of doing so in the near future. Other branches and sub-divisions of the organization should follow these good examples.

BAZAAR FOR GERMAN REFUGEES

Rooms are stacked full with material for the bazaar beginning Thursday evening, December 15. Special commendation must be given to the members and friends

in dress, fur, knitgoods and toy industries for their splendid cooperation. Preparations are being speeded up for a bazaar that promises to offer real bargains, and at the same time, net a significant sum for the benefit of German refugees. It is not too late to bring in donations. The committee in charge of the Bazaar Dance scheduled for Saturday, December 17, has also issued an appeal for food, drinks, cakes, etc., that can be used that evening, as well as during the Bazaar as a whole. Thousands of throwaways are available for distribution. Please come and get them, as well as tickets for the dance.

SOCIAL SEASON IS ON!

On practically every Saturday evening one can come to Rivera Hall and find himself in a dance or entertainment. On Saturday evening, December 3, the dress-makers held a successful dance. On Saturday evening, December 10, it was the turn of the Youth Section. On Saturday evening, Dec. 17, the Bazaar has its plans already mapped out. And now we are told the Press Fund Committee has plans for New Year's Eve, December 31.

The Elections In Wisconsin

(Continued from Page 3)

waiting before committing themselves to the new national movement. As far as we know, Governor LaFollette consulted no outstanding liberal leaders before his announcement of the third party.

During the past half-year, it was quite evident that the Governor had begun to follow a more conciliatory attitude toward the conservative middle classes. He began seeing more people who had never been identified with the Progressive movement "and he neglected those who had given years to the Progressive cause. The new philosophy seemed to be that a Stalwart in the bush was worth more than nine Progressives in the hand" (quotation from the leading Progressive editor in the state). The special session of the legislature in the fall of 1937 was run single-handedly by the Governor. He issued the ultimatum to the Progressives that the work had to be done in a specified time and that no amendments or additions could be made. All these things combined to leave the campaign without the usual fight and fire which have marked Progressive elections in the past.

For The Future

The Progressive movement in Wisconsin was more or less a one-man affair up to the formation of the Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation. The Governor did not join the Federation, as he opposed the clause on "production for use." The future of the movement, however, does not appear discouraging. Many Farmer-Labor leaders and thousands of rank and filers are willing to rebuild a state political movement along democratic lines. In doing so, we will not make the mistake apparently made by the old-line Progressives, namely, that what the people want is a shift to the right. The unemployment situation, as well as the farm problem, cannot be met by going further to the right but definitely to the left. This policy will be our guide in our reorganization work.

SUBSCRIBE TO THE WORKERS AGE

Knitgoods Union Proud of Its Record

Progressive Administration Has Built Strong, Democratic Organization

By PAUL TAUBER

(Paul Tauber is an active and leading member of the New York Knitgoods Workers Union, I.L.G.W.U. Another article of his on the knitgoods situation will appear in a forthcoming issue of this paper.—Editor.)

IN the Daily Worker of December 1, there appeared an article by Joe Rappaport under the following six-column headline: "Lovestoneism—the Answer to Why the Organization of the Knitgoods Industry is Lagging in the New York Area." The writer of the article claims that the national office of the I.L.G.W.U. has been successful in the organization of the knitgoods industry outside of the New York area but the New York knitgoods union has failed in this task due to the existence of "Lovestone influences" in its ranks. Is there any truth to this claim?

Services Out-Of-Town And In New York

Before turning our attention to the situation in New York, let us examine the facts concerning the organization of the out-of-town knitgoods workers. Have we of New York at all participated in the organization of the out-of-town locals and what value did the national office of the I.L.G.W.U. place on these contributions? To mention just a few facts in evidence. Jesse Lane, former educational director of the New York knitgoods union, was appointed by the I.L.G.W.U. to the position of manager of the Massachusetts knitgoods local. Mort Goodman has contributed his services as organizer in the building of the Philadelphia knitgoods local. Anne Ramsey, a member of our New York local, has been appointed and has very successfully served as educational director of the Rhode Island section of the I.L.G.W.U.

In the strike struggles in Cleveland and Massachusetts, the national office has utilized E. J. DeLeo, one of the New York business agents, in a leading capacity. Our New York local has assisted with financial, organizational and moral support, as well as with valuable advice in the organization of the out-of-town knitgoods locals. Rappaport is simply manufacturing his "facts" in a desperate attempt to make a case against the "Lovestoneites" and then to charge the New York local administration with being under "Lovestoneite influence."

What are the facts about organization activities in the New York area? Our union has conducted hundreds of strikes, spent tens of thousands of dollars in organization work and organized thousands of workers into our union. This was done during a period of deep crisis and extended unemployment in the industry. The high mortality rate among both the open as well as unionized shops—due to the depression, contractor-jobber relations as well as the constant introduction of new machines—added further difficulties to the completion of the organization of the unorganized. This phase of our union activity is continually kept in the forefront and has the support of our union membership, as is evidenced by the militant mass picket lines which characterize our strikes. The claim of the Communist Party elements that they are barred from organization activity is mere demagoguery. To the appeal of the union for their participation in organization activities, one of their leaders answered as follows: "You can't use our hands without our heads." However, when they were given the opportunity to lead and Rappaport was placed as union organizer, he utilized his position more diligent-

ly for his political and factional purposes than for bringing the unorganized knitgoods workers into the union.

Real Democracy Prevails

No amount of slander by these elements about "lack of democracy" in our union can blur the following facts. Our union brings all policies for the approval of the knitgood workers at regularly held membership meetings at which every member can get the floor to express his opinion. The decision of the majority of the union membership becomes the policy of the union. Detailed financial reports are submitted quarterly for the approval of the membership. The New York knitgoods workers have in the past five years eloquently expressed their confidence in the progressive administration of our union by reelecting the entire Progressive slate in every election held in our local. The knitgoods workers know that it was the Progressive administration which unified the four different unions in the field into the present knitgoods union. It was this administration which rallied the entire union membership and successfully defeated the vicious onslaught of the employers in 1936 in their desperate attempt to destroy our organization. Our union has been successful in maintaining and improving the conditions of the knitgoods workers altho for the past three years our industry has been going thru a deep crisis and has suffered greatly

from lack of work. The strength of our union and the excellent morale of our membership were best proven at the expiration of our union agreement in July 1938. The employers conceded the demands of our union without a general strike because they knew the knitgoods workers were solidly behind their union and were prepared to strike if necessary.

Always On The Lookout

Our union is forever on the lookout to utilize every opportunity to serve the knitgoods workers. In the last general stoppage, our union raised the wages of the knitgoods workers by thousands of dollars. This fall season, when the sweater section of our industry showed a pick-up, our union placed close to a thousand permanently unemployed workers on jobs. The knitgoods employers were made to understand that they must live up to signed agreements. Those who attempted to make deals with some backward workers were discovered, compelled to pay all the back wages and heavy fines besides. The knitgoods workers are fully justified in the confidence they have in their union leadership.

In the general labor movement, our union is known for its advocacy of progressive policies and its moral and financial support of embattled labor, both in this country and internationally.

In the A.L.P., our union is recognized for its active participation in all its campaigns.

Who Are "Racketeers"?

Cafeteria Union Progressives Issue Open Letter

(We publish below a declaration in the form of an open letter to the union administration issued by the United Progressive Group of the Cafeteria Workers Union Local 302, A. F. of L. The statement first appeared in the December 1938 issue of The Spotlight, the official paper of the group.—Editor.)

WITH the approach of the election of officers in our local, we notice that you have begun to make demagogic attacks on "racketeering." Kramberg at one meeting and Bary at another have raised the cry: "Save the union from the racketeers!"

We ask you: Who are the racketeers? Who are the allies of the racketeers? Who has supported and defended the racketeers?

Do you refer to John Williams, who to this day is still a member of the union?

Do you refer to Bob Stanley, appointed by your clique as a business agent over the protest of the membership?

Do you refer to your "comrade" Harry Leiben, who in addition to framing up and beating up workers in his territory, has now been found to be making "side-money" by installing cigarette machines in the shops under his jurisdiction?

Do you refer to your "comrade" Arthur Bary, who acted as the "secretary" of the "Defense Committee" for the indicted racketeers?

Do you refer to your own corrupt clique who spent \$20,000 of union funds in defense of the racketeers?

Do you refer to your "comrade" Jay Rubin, who was mainly responsible for the building of the Metropolitan Racketeering Association; who declared that "if we build the Metropolitan, we will smash the United and by smashing the United we will smash injunctions"? And was it an accident that the day after the "settlement" of the Sherman strike, the bronze buzzard, symbol of the Metropolitan Asso-

ciation, appeared in all of their stores! We ask you, Messrs Kramberg, Rubin, Bary and Company, do you seriously pretend to come before the membership as fighters against racketeering—you, who made a deal with Pincus-Epstein-Coulcher-Williams and their racketeering Metropolitan Association, by which you were taken into Local 302 and given jobs, in return for supporting those rats in union clothing and defending them when they were exposed?

When your clique rebuilds the bosses association, under the name of "Affiliated Restaurants," is that the racketeering you want to fight?

When your "comrade," Jay Rubin, makes a deal with the bosses association to accept an "arbitration board," which is the first step toward the open shop, six months before it was made known even to leading committees of the union, and your clique then proceeds to jam it down the throats of the membership, is that the racketeering you want to fight?

When you engage in the criminal adventurism of calling a premature strike in the Horn and Hardart chain in the hope of getting support from the bosses association, who expected thus to force the Automats into the Association, is that the racketeering you want to fight?

The policy of the racketeers was collaboration, hand in hand, with the bosses, behind the back of the union at the expense of the membership. We charge that your clique continues the policy of collaboration with the bosses, against the interests of the membership.

Gentlemen of the "Rank-and-File" clique! What have you to say? We challenge you to a debate before the membership of the union. We challenge Sam Kramberg to debate our candidate for general secretary-treasurer, Larry Phillips, on these charges, and on our program for the union!