

JAY LOVESTONE
"The C.I.O. and A. F. of L."
Wed. Feb. 15 (See Page 2)

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

HITLER'S REICHSTAG ADDRESS

THE last speech of Hitler to which the world has been subjected did not in itself reveal the next Nazi imperialist move. It was sweeping enough, sufficiently abusive, and so all-inclusive as to hide imperialist Germany's next step and, at the same time, lend a feeling of false satisfaction to his opponents. The latter would be running into a fool's paradise if they were to arrive at the conclusion that the international situation is now more favorable because Hitler sprang no bomb-shell.

On the surface, it would appear that Hitler's Point No. 1 on the 1939 agenda is a demand for the return of colonies. We adhere to the conclusion we have arrived at during the Godesburg-Munich days: Unless Stalin is able to arrive at some arrangement or truce with Hitler very soon, Germany will begin a military-economic march eastward. The Reichswehr does not have to move thru Poland in order to strike at Soviet Ukraine. At least, it doesn't have to begin with this step. There is no untray more easily conquerable than Rumania, either thru corruption or military subjection. Once this conquest is achieved, then the U.S.S.R. is attacked via the Dniester and the Black Sea. Here the U.S.S.R. would be more vulnerable than on the Polish frontier. Undoubtedly, Colonel Beck and Hitler could arrive at some agreement whereby, at least for the present, Polish West Ukraine would not be attacked. However, here it is only a matter of time. If Hitler should ever succeed in his venture against Soviet Ukraine, then not only would Polish Ukraine be finished, but Poland itself would be totally at the mercy of German military might.

But from the speech of Hitler we are able to deduce that the Nazi dictator is thinking more than thrice before trying to push his head into the huge Russian pillow. We are convinced that at best Hitler here would score a Pyrrhic victory. More than that, no one can exclude the probability of Hitler breaking his neck more directly in his attempt at such an exploit in the East—even the Stalin has bled the Red Army pretty white thru his fatal purges.

There is another angle to the whole situation. No unusual vehemence characterized Hitler's diatribes against Bolshevism; in fact, the entire effusion here has a stench of staleness about it. This may well suggest that there may be under way negotiations between Hitler-Germany and Stalin-Russia towards establishing some modus-vivendi between the two. A truce with Nazi Germany would be of great aid to Soviet military and economic conditions, particularly in view of the dreadful damage inflicted on both by Stalin within the last three years.

Finally, from Hitler's speech it is evident that the area of possible concessions available to the so-called "democratic" imperialist powers in their dealings with Hitler has narrowed considerably. France and England have no more Austrias and Czechoslovakias to sacrifice in the interest of a breathing-spell for themselves. This means that no one should overlook the accelerating tempo with which the trend towards a head-on collision amongst the giant imperialist powers is developing.

GOOD COMMON SENSE

THE advocates of the People's Front in England have just been dealt a smashing defeat thru the rejection by the Labor Party of this suicidal policy. Arthur Greenwood, Labor Party leader, rendered a real service to the British working class when he spoke so clearly against the People's Front and said:

"When I hear about the Popular Front, I wonder whether most of the people who are talking that way were nurtured in working-class homes and whether they appreciate that there can be no freedom apart from treading the path of nationalization, public ownership and control. The people who are talking about a Popular Front are defeatists; they have an inferiority complex and they think we are not as good as other people. They think that, if we enroll Mr. Winston Churchill and his son-in-law, if we have the assistance of the Liberal party and of those weak waverers in the Tory party who never vote with us, there will be an enormous intellectual strength added to the labor movement. I have a strong dislike for people who are so weak in their loyalty to the movement as to think that we need such intellectual and spiritual guidance."

The Churchills, the Lloyd Georges and the Edens are very anxious to defend the British Empire, which contains several hundred million people living under a virtual fascist system. Stalin and his firm are also anxious to defend this Empire against the menace of German imperialism. We repeat for the nth time that this is a struggle between brigands and high-jackers. It is not insignificant that the Edens, the Lloyd Georges, the Churchills and their Stalinite allies in England are so busy defending British imperialist hegemony that they have no time or desire to say a word about the desperate economic plight of large sections of the British working class. For instance, in so prosperous an area as Bristol, we find that out of 100,000 working-class families, 21,000 have a hard struggle to make ends meet, 11,000 are actually in poverty, and over 12,000 families would be below the poverty line without some public assistance.

NEW DEAL SPENDING

THE intellectual moguls of big business and government are now engaged in some fratricidal strife over the effect of New Deal policies on the flow of capital. Many Wall Street spokesmen are still of the opinion that none of the Roosevelt measures is today necessary for stabilizing and perpetuating the capitalist system in the United States. We think they are dead wrong in this conclusion. We believe that Mr. Joseph G. Keenan, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, hit the nail on the head when he told the National Democratic Club's New York Forum the other day that: "Private business cannot make profits if we attempt to balance the budget at our present level of national income . . . It is the blunt truth that in our mature (should be decadent—J. L.) economic system, private money will not take risks unless public investment, thru government, goes ahead to take the first risks."

The primary motive of the Roosevelt reform and recovery programs has been and can only continue to be the maximum utilization of government resources to stabilize and perpetuate the present system of capitalist ownership and private profit.

"Land of Opportunity"

TESTIFYING before the Temporary National Economic Committee, the so-called "monopoly-investigation" committee, Statistician Willard Thorp, a Dun and Bradstreet man, staggered the committee's imagination with a recital of how few corporations control the bulk of employment and production in many great industries:

INDUSTRY	NO. OF COMPANIES	% CONTROL
Aluminum	1	100
Corn binders	4	100
Plate glass	2	95
Corn planters	6	91
Can	3	90
Automobile	3	86
Cigarettes	3	80
Copper	4	78
Lead	4	60
Steel	3	60
Whiskey	4	58
Zinc	4	43
Cement	5	40
Coal	4	10

"Corporations with less than \$50,000 total assets accounted for over half the number of all corporations but only 1.4% of total assets," Mr. Thorp explained. "At the other end of the scale, corporations with over \$50,000,000, accounting for only 0.2% of the number, controlled over half of total assets for all corporations." And 6% of all corporations own 86% of all assets.

Pres. Roosevelt Admits War Alliance

Croppers Ask Federal Aid

500,000 Tenant Farmers Driven Off Land

The increased use of mechanical tractors and cultivators and the government's limitation-of-acreage program have displaced from the land more than 500,000 southern sharecroppers in the last few years, it was estimated by H. L. Mitchell.

Mr. Mitchell is executive secretary of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, an affiliate of the C.I.O., and he spoke of conditions among the workers at the Workers' Defense League headquarters. He said that he and the union's vice president, the Rev. Owen H. Whitfield, would go to Washington to ask the Farm Security Administration for permanent aid measures in behalf of the 1,500 sharecroppers who took part in a recent demonstration.

Mr. Mitchell said the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Agriculture were investigating charges of violation of civil liberties as a result of the Sikeston incident.

A. F. L. Executive Council Meets

Green Sees Improved Unity Situation

A "psychological" improvement in the prospects for labor peace was registered by William Green, president of the A. F. of L., at the opening of the Winter session of the Federation's Executive Council, meeting at Miami last week. By "psychological," Mr. Green explained he meant the growing feeling among leaders of both organizations that a settlement bringing an end to the civil war in labor's ranks should be pressed to a conclusion as early as possible. The "mechanical" side of the situation, however, Mr. Green asserted, was becoming more difficult in view of the increasing number of points of jurisdictional conflict between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L.

The Executive Council reiterated its hostility to Labor's Non-Partisan League, not merely because the latter runs counter to the traditional

A. F. of L. principle of political "non-partisanship" or because it is "dominated" by John L. Lewis but also because of its recent decision to admit non-labor elements into its ranks. In addition, the Council expressed opposition to the Lewis plan of entering the 1940 primaries in order to "capture" them for the New Deal.

The Council decided to launch a campaign against the tide of anti-labor legislation on the West Coast.

One of the main subjects for discussion at the Council meeting, which will probably continue for two weeks, will be the proposed amendments to the Wagner Act made public by the A. F. of L. a few days ago. The Council is also expected to consider improvement in the Fair Labor Standards Act and to declare for the continuation of the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee.

President Paves Road to War

"Those who wish to confer on the Executive a wide discretion to embargo commodities during the course of a foreign war, may well observe how the Executive discretion was employed in 1914-17.

"It is not necessary to emphasize the fact that scarcely a ton of cargo left an American port from 1915 to 1917 without control of a British agent.

"And we need merely call attention to the submission of the United States to the impositions of the British 'Black List,' which prevented an American citizen from trading with Germans, or even with Chileans in Chile, if their names had been placed on the British 'Black List'—this at a time when Canada refused to submit to such a 'Black List' and freely sent shipments to those very firms!"—"Neutrality for the United States," by Borchart and Lage.

Is Supporting Anglo-French Line-Up

Demands That Congress Should Stop Criticizing His Foreign Policy

Addressing a secret conference of the Senate Military Affairs Committee at the White House last week, President Roosevelt told how, by the exercise of his arbitrary power as Chief Executive and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, he was lining up the United States in a war alliance with the so-called "democratic" powers of Europe. This nation, he said, must protect Great Britain and France against the threats of dictators and back them up with the industrial strength of the United States. France, he maintained, was our real "defense frontier."

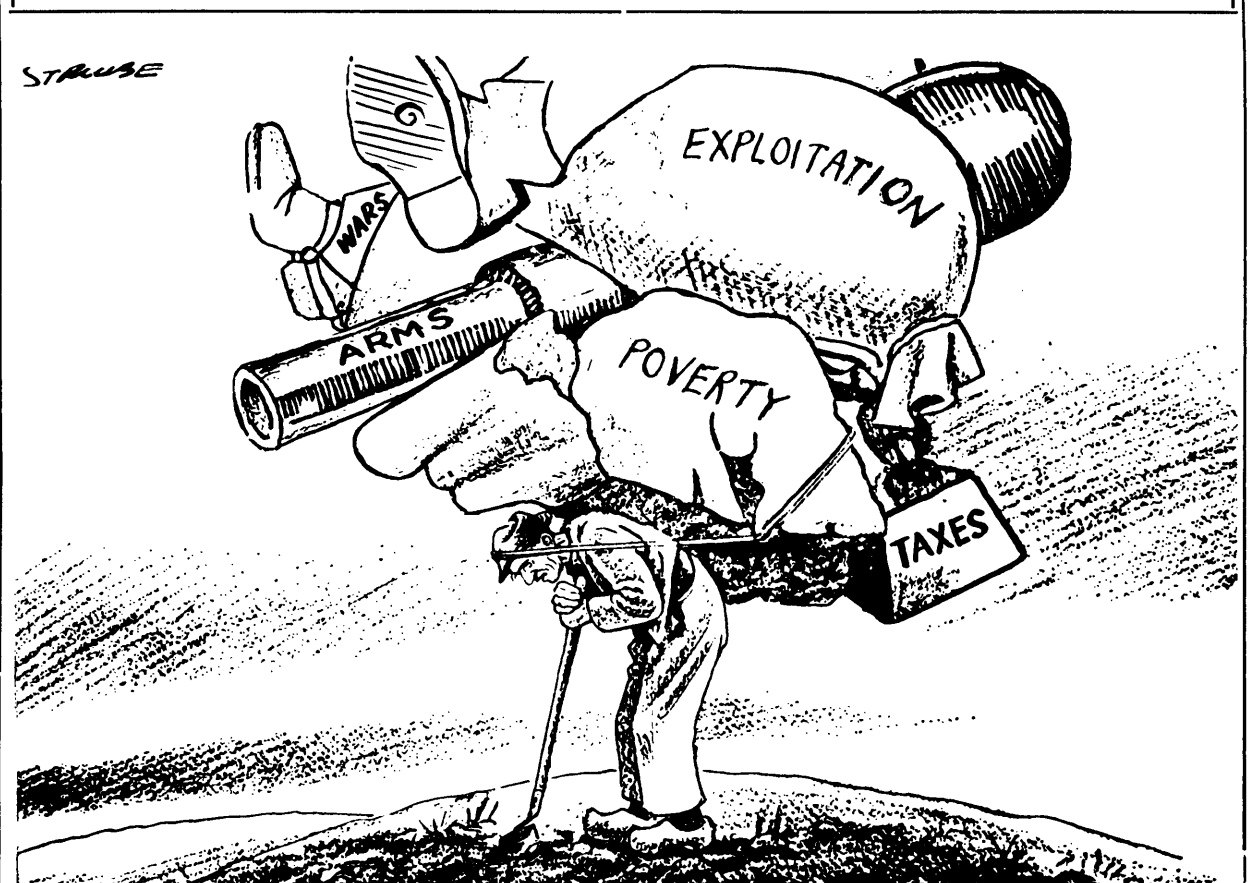
The White House conference was called ostensibly to explain away the reported revelation of American military secrets and sale of army airplanes to France. The President took advantage of the opportunity to make another effort to "sell" his foreign policy of entangling war alliances with European powers.

Roosevelt linked up his program of European involvement with the drive American business interests are making to capture South American trade. "We haven't got that trade—we've got to get it in whatever way we can," the President was quoted as saying.

The Chief Executive presented an "alarming" picture of the world situation and justified the Anglo-French "appeasement" policy, exemplified at Munich, on the pretext that England and France were not sufficiently armed to stand up against Hitler. As a matter of fact, it is well known that the real reason for Munich was the fear of Anglo-French imperialism that "chaos" (social revolution) might result in Europe and in the colonies in case of war, especially should the Hitler regime fall.

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAN WITH THE HOE



What Would Soviet-Nazi Pact Bring?

ACCORDING to an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow, published in the New York World-Telegram of January 31 under the heading, "Moscow Newspaper Hints at Reich-Soviet Accord," the official Stalinist newspaper, Pravda, "quoted without comment the suggestion in the London News Chronicle that it would be 'extremely unwise to suppose that the existing discord between Moscow and Berlin will necessarily remain an unchangeable factor of international policy.' The fact that Pravda failed to reject indignantly the suggestion of a possible Soviet-German rapprochement," the A.P. dispatch continues, "increased its significance."

Thus the talk of a Soviet-Nazi rapprochement, heard with increasing frequency in recent months, approaches one step nearer to official confirmation. When Pravda can reprint such a story without comment, when the entire Soviet press can keep discreetly silent about Hitler's Reichstag address, something is obviously up. We do not know whether a definite Soviet-German understanding or pact will emerge from the present situation but we do know that the elements of such an understanding are there and that informal negotiations have been under way for some time. These facts, certainly, can no longer be denied or ignored.

We are not among those who judge diplomatic alignments by internal regimes or so-called "ideological" tendencies. As far as we are concerned a Soviet alliance with imperialist Germany is, in itself, no better and no worse than a Soviet alliance with imperialist Britain, imperialist France or imperialist America, even though the first is a fascist power and the others are "democratic" powers. It all depends on circumstances.

The chief significance of such a shift in Soviet foreign policy would lie in its probable repercussions in the international labor movement. For the last several years, following the twisted logic of the Soviet attempt to "woo the democracies," the Stalinists have been preaching the gospel of Popular Frontism and "collective security," based on the alleged "peace-loving" character of the "democratic" imperialisms in contrast to the warlike aggressiveness of the fascist powers. Under orders from the ruling clique in the Kremlin, they have been ready and eager to sacrifice the

most vital interests of the masses, to play the game of capitalist reaction, to whoop it up for militarism and armaments in true jingo fashion. This is the meaning of the present Stalinist "party line"—abject subservience to the "democratic" imperialists at home and abroad, even at the cost of spreading demoralization, confusion and paralysis in the ranks of labor.

And now Stalin is preparing to make a round-about-face in his foreign policy, in the name of which all of these atrocities have been justified. What is going to happen to the doctrine of the "concerted front of the democratic powers against fascist aggression" once the Soviet Union completes its alliance with Nazi Germany? What is going to happen to the theory of the Popular Front once the "democratic" elements at home, just as the "democratic" powers abroad, are no longer looked upon as allies of Soviet Russia? Inevitably, the whole miserable system of Popular Frontism will collapse like a rotten, worm-eaten structure, leaving a nauseating stench behind it.

What will follow? What unprincipled concoction of treacherous phrases and demagogic slogans will make up the new Stalinist "party line" as the instrument of the new Soviet foreign policy? Perhaps the exclusion of German Jewish refugees from Russia, as "explained" and justified in the world Stalinist press, is an indication of the direction in which things will go under the new dispensation. One thing is clear at any rate: Once the new "party line" is decreed in Moscow, it will be taken up by the "coordinated" cliques of Stalinist henchmen in the various countries and injected by them into the labor movement with the same unscrupulousness and the same disregard of consequences that marked the ultra-leftist dual unionism of 1929-1935 and the Popular Frontism of recent years.

American labor must be on the watch against the new maneuvers and intrigues that are sure to come with the new "party line," when that is decreed from Moscow. It must protect itself against disruption and demoralization engineered by elements utterly alien to its problems and interests. It must act now if it is to forestall the great damage that is bound to come when the Stalinists begin operating with their new line.

Job Loss Held Permanent

"Normal" Recovery To Leave Millions Idle

From 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 persons available for industrial jobs will still be unemployed by private industry in 1940 if there is only a "normal recovery" from the 1937-38 decline, it was indicated last week in an article in the January issue of 'The Agricultural Situation,' published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. It was written by L. H. Bean, economic adviser of the A.A. A. Full employment, Mr. Bean said, will require a much more sustained and more rapid recovery than the country has ever known.

Projecting the course of industrial production over the next three years on the basis of previous recoveries akin to that following the recent depression, Mr. Bean said that if it follows the typical cycle it will go about 20% greater than the present level by the Spring of 1940.

But full employment, he adds, would call for a 50% increase. Under such conditions consumer expenditures for food were estimated at \$5,000,000,000 to \$6,000,000,000 greater, with probably half of the increase passed on to farmers.

Mr. Bean estimated that total non-farm employment in the Spring of 1940 would be about 37,000,000 persons, or about the same number that were employed at the 1929 peak. The 5,000,000 he expects to be still unemployed, he added, represent the increase in the working population since 1929.

Thus, he concluded that solution of the problem would require "a more prolonged and more rapid recovery than has ever before been known, even when private capital was floating freely into new enterprises."

Poverty Breeds Illness, Limits Medical Care

Relief Families Especially Hard Hit

Lack of income is shown to be the chief factor limiting a dequate medical care, in a pamphlet "Who Can Afford Health?," released recently by the Public Affairs Committee. The pamphlet, prepared by Beulah Amidon, summarizes graphically the findings of the National Health Survey, which investigated health conditions of 700,000 families in 19 states.

Families on relief are shown to have almost half again as many acute illnesses and twice as many chronic illnesses as families with incomes of over \$3,000 a year. Also the poor are sick more frequently, and remain sick longer, they receive much less medical attention. Almost twice as many illnesses in relief families are unattended by physicians as among families with an income of \$3,000 or more. Higher-income families had 46% more medical service for each attended illness than had families on relief.

"To state the problem in its simplest terms," the author concludes, "health today is to a very large extent a purchasable commodity, available to the well-to-do and the rich, often beyond the reach of the low-income wage earners and their dependents. It is not that the doctors of the poor are necessarily inferior doctors. Often the same

physician treats both the rich and the poor. But many families hesitate to seek skilled medical advice because they cannot afford to pay for it. . . .

"In the United States today, 40,000,000 persons—one-third of the population—live in families with incomes under \$800 a year. Studies of current living costs make clear that, when the average family of four is supported by this sum, life is lived at an emergency level. If sickness strikes, doctor bills and medicines mean 'cutting down' on food, clothing, or shelter. . . .

"These low-income families are trapped in a vicious circle—their poverty frequently cutting them off from adequate medical care, their ill-health reducing their earning capacity and their standard of living. It becomes increasingly clear that sickness is a hazard, like death or unemployment, with which the individual cannot cope alone. The cost of illness, like the cost of death, can be budgeted only by a large group. If medical care is to be made available to all families at costs they can afford, the costs must be spread among groups of people or over periods of time." Some plan of "socialized medicine" is the only way out.

Real Facts Behind the 'Bennett-Martin Plot' Frame-Up

By GEORGE F. MILES

THE air is full of hysterical shrieks about a "conspiracy" between Harry Bennett of Ford's and Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers. To believe John L. Lewis, Sidney Hillman, Phil Murray and their hundreds of \$10-a-day-plus-expense men who have now ceased their ordinary duties of unionizing the unorganized for the extraordinary duty of disorganizing the organized ranks of the U.A.W., the whole dramatic struggle in the U.A.W. almost from its inception as a union, boils down to the discovery that President Homer Martin is a "company unionist," a party to a "conspiracy" intended to turn the U.A.W. into a "company union dominated by Henry Ford."

FACTS MEAN NOTHING

Stalinist stooges by inclination or ineptness will no more question the validity of this "conspiracy" charge than they did the "reason trials" in Moscow. From them no critical evaluation is to be expected. Nor can we expect more from such organs of Stalinized "liberalism" as the Nation and the New Republic. Without the slightest attempt at independent investigation, these will all readily accept the amazing charges of "company unionism" or "Coughlinism." That President Martin made radio broadcasts in which he sharply condemned not only the anti-Semitic outbursts of the radio priest but his entire philosophy, counts for naught with these people. The Stalinist press yells "Coughlinism" or "company unionism" and the professional "liberals" answer with a lusty: Aye, aye, sir!

But there is an increasingly large body of thinking men and women who have learned to be skeptical and critical of the methods of Stalinism and its "liberal" fellow-travelers. They are not so glib as to swallow outright, with any investigation or thought, such outrageous charges against so sterling a labor leader as President Martin has proven himself to be.

Before getting to the facts of the so-called Bennett-Martin "conspiracy," it is well to note a few preliminary considerations which have a great bearing on the entire situation. First, it is well to remember

Detroit, Mich.

Charles Madden, member of the International Board of the United Automobile Workers of America, has joined the Martin forces because he has come to realize that the big production centers like Flint, Pontiac, Saginaw and the rest of Michigan are predominantly pro-Martin in sentiment.

that this cry of conspiracy comes, not during a period of normal, peaceful life of the organization, but rather as a climax to a period of turbulent factionalism, the like of which has never been witnessed in American trade-union life. During heated factional struggles, things are said and charges made which will hardly stand up when examined in cold blood and with an unbiased eye.

No less important is the second consideration. The factional opponents of Mr. Martin had under consideration several methods of striking at him. Like professional assassins, they weighed the merits of each, rejecting the issue of alleged opposition to the C.I.O. and "conspiring with John P. Frey" to take the U.A.W. into the A. F. of L., rejecting the charge of "dictatorial rule" to be leveled against Martin; finally choosing the slander of "conspiracy with Ford," probably on advice from their elders, because it offered a possibility of inciting sections of the membership against President Martin on a "trade issue" (damaging the interests of the Ford workers) and casting in on general sentiment against company unionism.

That the "Bennett-Martin conspiracy" was a last-minute choice is borne out by an interview of a reporter of the Detroit Times with the then secretary-treasurer of the union, George Addes. At that time, January 5, 1939, the Stalinists were

still of the opinion, tho they were fully cognizant of the Ford negotiations, that the issue of dictatorial rule would be best for them. The following excerpts from this interview make this quite clear:

"U.A.W. opponents of President Homer Martin will ask the union's executive board at its February meeting to replace him by a three-man board, shearing him of all powers and perhaps causing him to resign, it was learned today.

"The plans were formulated in a two-hour meeting yesterday in the office of George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer. Present, in addition to Addes, were Vice Presidents Ed Hall, Walter N. Wells. . . .

"If the anti-Martinites are successful in replacing him by a three-man board, observers said Martin could do one of three things:

"1. Get mad and quit.

"2. Sit around doing nothing but draw his salary until the next general convention in August.

"3. Make a speaking tour of the country, stirring up opposition to the rule of the three-man board.

"If Martin takes the last course, impeachment proceedings could be started against him, the anti-Martin faction stated."

In other words, the sudden outcry of "conspiracy" did not come about because the "perfidious" role of President Martin had suddenly revealed itself to an astonished International Executive Board. The issue was chosen after due deliberation and with malice aforethought because it was thought to lend itself to popular exploitation.

AFRAID OF THE FORD WORKERS

Still a third consideration which determined that the "Bennett-Martin conspiracy" was to be the fighting "issue," revolved around the prospects for the emergency convention, which all parties knew to be coming. The very talk, continued for several months, of negotiations with the Ford Company was in itself a source of encouragement to Ford workers and already resulted in significant organizational gains.

The possibility of any type of understanding with Ford, prior to the convention, and the mass influx of Ford workers threw fear into the hearts of the anti-Martin faction. To assure themselves of a fighting chance against Martin, the organization of any large numbers of Ford workers had to be halted. The "conspiracy" drive was intended to serve that purpose as well.

This may sound like a very complicated scheme but it is nevertheless no more and no less than fact. In a recent report on the automobile situation drafted by Ben Fisher for the Socialist Auto League in Detroit, precisely this fact is emphasized. Mr. Fisher discusses approvingly the reason for and the implications of the decisions of the International Board regulating the Cleveland convention and finally concludes with the following significant remark: "The Ford local, being six months old, has its per-capita computed only for this brief period and therefore IF 50,000 OR 70,000 FORD WORKERS WERE SENT INTO THE U.A.W. THEY COULD CONSTITUTE A DETERMINING FACTOR" (My emphasis—G.F.M.).

It must be noted that the Michigan socialists are operating in close collaboration with the Stalinists and in fact are vying with them in their slanders against President Martin and his supporters in the union.

These are the considerations which determined the choice of issue for the Stalinists and their allies. Their goal was to bring about a situation where "impeachment proceedings could be started against him (Martin)." The particular strategy for bringing this about was of secondary importance. No one newer better than the anti-Martin faction of the International Board that, from the standpoint of validity, they had little to choose from on any issue, since all were purely fictitious.

(A second article by George F. Miles on the "Martin-Bennett conspiracy" will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

Rank and File Revolt Rises In Hotel Worker Union

Recent Agreement With Association Ignores Job Security

By JOHN COOK

THE Hotel Men's Association of New York City, one of the toughest anti-union organizations in the country, has had to fight quite a few stubborn battles with organized labor in the past. Despite the militancy and determination of the culinary workers, this association generally succeeded, with all the resources and finances of Wall Street banks at its command, in defeating the workers.

WHY THIS AGREEMENT?

This was especially true of the last great hotel strike of 1934. How is it, then, that this notoriously anti-union organization now concludes an agreement with the A. F. of L. union, the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, without a struggle? There are three fundamental reasons for the strange action of the Hotel Men's Association of New York City: (1) the upholding of the Wagner Labor Act by the Supreme Court and the so-called "Little Wagner Act" of New York State; (2) the enthusiasm of the hotel workers for organization, especially since the organization by the C.I.O. of the automobile and steel industries; (3) the coming World's Fair in New York City in 1939, when the hotels expect to have a bumper year of business, making the hotel men determined to have no labor trouble during the World's Fair in New York.

Having all this under consideration, the Hotel Men's Association, after getting assurances that the Stalinist union leadership of J. Rubin

Association and the Hotel Council went on for almost a year with the Association stalling and evading. But this came to a head when the workers of the McAlpin Hotel staged a spontaneous stoppage, forcing the issue for an early agreement. After quite a few stormy meetings on the question of signing an agreement with the union pertaining to hours and wages, the Hotel Association split in two. Those who were in favor of signing up with the union remained in the Hotel Association, and those in opposition formed the new Hotel League of New York City.

THE "FAMOUS" AGREEMENT

There are two points of special interest in this new agreement: The agreement is signed for three years, up to January 1942. The only benefit the workers get out of the agreement is an increase of one to two dollars, according to M. Obermeyer himself, writing in the Catering Industry Employee, organ of the International Hotel Union.

Hold your breath, fellow-workers, here she comes! Paragraph 14 of the agreement: "Right to hire, lay off, discharge, etc. a. The employer shall have the sole right to direct and control its employees. The union agrees that the employer shall have the right to engage its new employees from whatever source it finds desirable, provided, however, that within 15 days after the employer has engaged a new employee, said new employee shall make application for membership in the union and shall be permitted to



JAY RUBIN Hotel Union Official Being Fought by Rank and File

away the job security of its members to the employers. For once the worker will look up to his employer for his security on the job and the union is unable to protect him, then the union becomes superfluous and unnecessary. The Stalinists are notoriously "liberal" with the security of the workers' jobs. In Cafeteria Local 302, the Stalinists introduced what is known as an arbitration board. Before this arbitration board, discharged employees have to appear for justice. But the workers very seldom get any justice. An attempt was made to introduce this system in Local 16, but the workers overwhelmingly defeat it.

ARBITRATION IN FOOD INDUSTRY

One has to know the peculiarity of the industry in regard to arbitration to understand why an arbitration board is neither practical nor beneficial to the culinary workers. In any other industry, the board might be able to arbitrate on the fitness of the worker by examining his produced article; the dress or the coat can be "arbitrated" because they are tangible objects. But how can anyone arbitrate something intangible like behavior, etiquette, courtesy, etc.? Hundreds of reasons arise every day in the restaurants and hotels for dispute and arbitration. The headwaiters can find reasons and faults to fire the most perfect of waiters. You can be fired for not saying "thank you" to the guest loud enough when receiving the tip. You can be fired for giving "unsatisfactory" answers to provocative guests. A frame-up by the employer is easy. For all these reasons, the culinary unions that are interested in protecting their workers have usually given their bosses two weeks trial period. During this period, the boss has the right to change the workers as he sees fit, but after the trial period is over, the worker is sure that he has a job on which he can depend to support his family.

No union of the culinary industry ever dared to entrust the security of its members jobs to any impartial arbitrator, not even the racketeers. Only the Stalinists were capable of this new concession to the employers and in this case, they have gone as far as not even contesting the decision of the bosses in regard to discharging of workers. M. Obermeyer, in his article in the January issue of the Catering Industry Employee, states that the union gained the "union shop" tho not the closed shop. Now we have a new word coined. Never before was an open shop called a "union shop."

(Concluded in the Next Issue)

RADIO ARTISTS VOTE FOR STRIKE



Chicago local of the American Federation of Radio Artists, an A. F. of L. affiliate, approves plan for a nation-wide strike against radio advertising agencies.

and M. Obermeyer operating under the direction of E. Flore, International president, thru his stooge, Mike Gariga, was harmless and "responsible," Mr. Tolson, president of the Hotel Association, signed an agreement which was actually a commitment that the hotels were willing to abide by the Wagner Act. This preliminary so-called agreement, signed last March, agreed to recognize and deal with the Hotel Council of the union when and if the said council succeeded in organizing the majority of the employees of its member hotels.

With this vague agreement, the Hotel Association was assured that no "irresponsible" trade union would enter the field to organize the hotels in New York City, while the Hotel Association itself gave nothing and promised nothing to the Hotel Council. When this agreement was signed, very few workers were organized by the Hotel Council. The council, meanwhile, utilized this agreement to enroll a few thousand hotel workers in its affiliated unions, Culinary Workers, Local 6, Electrical Workers Local 3, Service Employees Local 32A, Operating Engineers Local 94-94A, and the Firemen and Oilers Local 56.

Negotiations between the Hotel

continue to work upon condition that the said employee become a union member in good standing. The employer shall have the right to lay off, promote, transfer, or discharge any employee and the employer's decision shall not be subject to contest or review.

Now, according to this paragraph, the union has no right to close its books and control its membership. The employer has the right to get its new employees from "any source"; that source may be a scab-holding agency. The union cannot object to or stop anyone from becoming a member of the union as long as the employer hires him.

This, coupled with the right of the employer to hire and fire without any contest by the union or review, completes the picture and gives you a vivid idea of the sell-out by the Stalinists of Local 6 in conjunction with the bureaucrats of 32A, Local 3 (Electrical Workers) and the whole leadership of the Hotel Council.

THE CHECK-OFF AND SECURITY

The Stalinists, knowing damn well that such an agreement would never be supported by the rank and file in the hotels, made sure that they would be able to survive the sell-out by inserting in the agreement the check-off system. According to this check-off system, the dues are to be taken from the pay envelopes of the hotel employees. The union officials don't have to be bothered with collecting dues. Thus, the chains are fastened right on the hands of the employees.

The employer gets his right to hire and fire, the union gets the dues and both the union and the boss are satisfied, while the worker is sacrificed in the bargain. No union has a right to collect dues from its membership that sells

Dressmakers Adopt Militant Program

\$150,000 Unemployment Fund Is Voted

By F. L.

A PROGRAM of planned activities for the coming season, proposed by Charles S. Zimmerman in the name of the union's executive board, was overwhelmingly accepted at a series of overflow membership meetings of Dressmakers Union, Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., held during the week of January 30.

The membership meetings specifically adopted the following two proposals by an almost unanimous vote:

To raise a fund of \$150,000 for unemployment relief thru an assessment of 10% on the earnings of all members (including officers of the union) for two weeks during the height of the season.

To postpone the elections for officers of Local 22 until next year, in accordance with the postponement of elections for delegates to the I.L.G.W.U. convention.

PROGRAM OF ACTIVITY

Besides these two points, the program of activities, which had previously been unanimously adopted by the Executive Board of Local 22, included the following proposals:

Immediate abolition of all week-work in accordance with the new agreement.

Consolidation of machinery for price settlements into one central department for better coordination and prompt settlements and to make considerable savings in the budget.

Immediate introduction of a schedule on all lines.

Initiation of a campaign by the Dressmakers Joint Board to organize all open jobbers who have started business around 35th Street and are now operating on an open-shop basis, sending their work either out-of-town or to some racketeering open shops in Brooklyn.

The Dressmakers Joint Board to take up with the International the establishment of unified control over out-of-town shops working for New York jobbers.

Elimination of the trucking problem by taking the trucking local into the Joint Board.

Initiation of a huge drive by the International to organize all cotton-garment shops competing with the dress industry.

Immediate establishment of the Labor bureau provided for in the new agreement.

The organization in all locals of

the Joint Board of rank-and-file committees of active members to aid in carrying out the program of planned activities.

There was hearty agreement with all points of the program, the sentiment being one of getting into immediate action by mobilizing all the active forces of the union.

DEMAGOGUES SHOWN UP

There was some attempt at demagogic criticism by so-called "left wing" (Stalinist) spokesmen, who had no program of their own but who tried to create "issues" that did not exist in reality. The burden of their criticism was that the Local 22 administration had not shown "enough force and energy" in the past in solving the union's problem and that they, the "left wing" would see to it that the new program was carried out by their own "independent action," if necessary.

These "left wingers" were effectively answered by progressive spokesmen, including Minnie Lurye and Murray Gross. Zimmerman showed the demagogic character of the "left" arguments—and, he pointed out, demagoguery is doubly dangerous in times like these. He said that there had been talk of a Labor Bureau, and now he had it; that the administration of Local 22 had raised all the problems before the Joint Board and the International, and now realization was beginning. "Not enough energy in organizing open shops?" said Zimmerman. "Look at the record. During the three years 1936-38, the union organized 780 open shops, started by newcomers into the industry. And, in addition, there has been organization of shops which tried to run away from the union. Enforcement of the agreement? The union has collected \$103,000 from employers for violations of the agreement and over \$250,000 from cheating employers who tried to cheat workers of their earnings."

Zimmerman concluded with a ringing appeal for unity: "In these bad times, which are general, and with the problems that confront our union, we must all pull together and work together. Only thru the unity and solidarity of our union can we solve our problems and achieve better conditions for the dressmakers."

Telegrams were sent, upon Zimmerman's suggestion, to the State Department urging immediate lifting of the embargo on Loyalist Spain, with individual members and shop chairmen of the union being urged to send similar telegrams.

Segregation Is No Solution In Negro Education

Lloyd Gaines Ruling By No Means Full Victory

By CLARENCE JENKINS

THE Supreme Court's ruling in the celebrated case in which Lloyd Gaines, a Negro student, won the right of admission to the State University Law School of Missouri, is hailed by the Negro press as a sweeping victory over educational discrimination against Negroes in the United States. Some papers go as far as to compare, in most glowing terms, the court's decision with the American Bill of Rights and the Emancipation Proclamation.

WHAT COURT RULING MEANS

A careful study of the court's ruling, however, reveals no cause for such extravagant praise and claims of victory. It is true that the Supreme Court's ruling in the Gaines case displays a more liberal attitude toward the Negro's constitutional rights than in the past. However, the court's ruling that Lloyd Gaines must be admitted to the University Law School "unless equal facilities are provided for him elsewhere within the State's border," really operates to strengthen the existing system of racial discrimination against Negroes in the United States. The Supreme Court refused to rule that a separate (jim-crow) educational system for Negroes is a direct violation of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, as it is. On the contrary, it reaffirmed the doctrine it laid down in case of Plessy vs. Ferguson, in which the court upheld a Louisiana statute requiring common carriers within the state to furnish separate accommodations for the white and black races. The court held in that case that a Jim-Crow law segregating the races in public conveyances was a "reasonable" exercise of the police power and was not in conflict with the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution, which is supposed to guarantee every citizen equal rights as a citizen.

Federal courts twice dismissed the case of Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, a Negro representing Chicago's first district, against the Rock Island Railroad for discriminatory practices, on the grounds that the railroad could not provide "equal facilities" to accommodate a few Negroes.

It is notorious that educational facilities in the South are grossly inequitable between whites and Negroes, much to the disadvantage of the latter. While some southern states provide a grade of undergraduate training, leading to B.A. or B.S. degrees, state-financed graduate or professional work is entirely nonexistent in the South. States have provided scholarships for Negroes to study at Howard University, Washington, D. C., or in northern and western universities. The Supreme Court now declares that this is not enough. The court makes a beautiful gesture when it declares that "equal facilities must be provided," for Negroes "within the state's border." The means to enforce this ruling are not considered by the court.

HOW TO ENFORCE?

Many Negro leaders place great hope in the belief that, on the basis of the Supreme Court's ruling in the Gaines case, the gross discrimination against Negroes in the public schools with respect to teachers salaries, curriculum, appropriations and equipment will be banned as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

There is a general feeling among this type of Negro leader that the maintenance of separate institutions for Negroes should be the general policy rather than the admission of Negroes to the regular graduate and professional schools. These gentlemen prefer to rely on the good will of the South to carry out the decision of the Supreme Court and provide "equal but separate schools for Negroes." Actually, the South can be relied upon only to invent ways and means to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision. Southern Bourbons can quite effectively argue that it is just as impossible for the southern states to provide "separate but equal facilities" for a small minority of Negroes as it was for the Rock Island Railroad to do so.

"Separate but equal facilities" is at best a fraud and a delusion; at worst, it is a method of perpetuating the inhuman system of racial separation and segregation. The only answer is complete social and political equality for the Negro, as for all races and racial groups in this country!

JAY LOVESTONE

Speaks on

"C.I.O. and A. F. of L."

- What about Unity?
- How does Stalinism disrupt?
- What's happening in the U.A.W.?
- What can be done?

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March 10—Lewis Corey ("Decline of American Capitalism"): American Economy Today.

March 17—Ludwig Lore (Columnist, New York Post): American Foreign Policy.

March 24—Horace Coon ("Money To Burn"): Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life.

March 31—Will Herberg (Editor Workers Age): Trends in American Governmental Structure.

April 7—Bertram D. Wolfe ("Portrait of America"): Whither America? Fridays at 8:15. Admission 25c

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd Street

Anti-Jewish Job Prejudice Grows in America

Depression, World Events Intensify Discrimination

By PAUL CALMER

TOLERANCE and freedom, like charity, should begin at home. While quite properly denouncing anti-Semitism in Germany, it would be well for us to look a little more closely at things right in front of our own eyes. How about the system of racial discrimination from which millions of American Negroes suffer, a system of jim-crowing, mistreatment and lynch-law to which the Nazis are now paying the sincere compliment of imitation in their treatment of the Jews? Or, getting closer to the point, how about anti-Semitism in America?

The American Jewish Congress recently issued an enlightening report on anti-Jewish prejudice in employment in the United States, prepared by its Commission on Economic Problems, headed by J. X. Cohen. This report presents a study of discrimination as revealed in the classified advertisements, a survey of employment agencies, investigation of individual complaints and an examination of the personnel records and practices of various industries, including public utilities, quasi-governmental agencies, banks, insurance companies, hotels and department stores.

DISCRIMINATION GROWING

From an examination of classified advertisements over six periods, 1917, 1921, 1928, 1932, 1934 and 1937-38, it appears that since the advent of Nazism, discriminatory specifications have grown more and more numerous. This finding is substantiated thru data obtained by a survey of the leading employment agencies in New York City. About half of the 90 major agencies interviewed stated definitely that "discrimination is on the increase." They sense a marked tendency to make Jews marginal workers, that is, to be the very last hired and the very first fired when entering the period of economic decline.

Employment agencies are at least partly responsible for this deplorable situation. In New York City alone, two million persons annually obtain work thru these agencies. Of 90 major agencies visited 56 were judged free of biased action, 16 were definitely discriminatory, 35 always asked their employer-clients for their 'religious preference.' Field workers were told that agencies regard religion a specification of equal importance with other qualifications. Sometimes the employer requires this information but it cannot be denied that in countless cases the agency's routine procedure creates a new twist in the minds of many employers, awakening latent prejudice into positive action. As a result many Jewish girls have, we are told, taken to wearing crosses as "a protective charm against discrimination."

In New York City, over 115,000, or 31% of Jewish youth, are unemployed. More than 40,000 of them have never held a job. According to a recent report of the Welfare Council of New York, "unemployment among Jewish youth in New York is greater, especially in the case of males, than among white Protestant workers."

Equally serious is the discrimination against Jews practised by public utilities, such as the New York Telephone Company and the Consolidated Edison Company. Telephone company officials, according to the report, insistently deny that they discriminate. They claim a desire to maintain "homogeneity of staff" by engaging mostly persons recommended by present workers. The unfairness of such an exclusionary device is obvious. One official, in all seriousness, declared that Jewish

girls could not operate central office equipment, "because their arms are too short." This is almost on a par with the "reason" given me some time ago by the vice-president of a large restaurant chain, who said they had no Jewish waitresses "because Jewish girls did not like to be seen in restaurants serving non-kosher food!"

Discrimination is practised even by quasi-governmental agencies. The American Jewish Congress is now investigating one federal corporation which handles hundreds and millions of dollars of public funds whose New York personnel manager, it appears, will not hire any Jews.

Discrimination is particularly rampant among private schools. Of 36 private schools studied, with a total enrollment of 8,000 and a teaching staff of 800, 11 were found fair in their employment policy, the remaining 25 doubtful or clearly unfair. Nine of the 11 fair schools are owned by Jews. Discrimination is most widespread against Jewish teachers in those private schools owned by non-Jews but which have large Jewish enrollment.

BAROMETER OF DISCRIMINATION

How the barometer of discrimination has risen, as reflected in the increase in the "Christian only" advertisements, is indicated by a study of trends since 1917-1938. Six representative years in the period since the World War were chosen for the study of discriminatory specifications. These were:

- 1917-1918.....height of the war-time boom.
- 1921.....post-war depression.
- 1928.....height of the "prosperity" era.
- 1932.....depth of the depression.
- 1934.....after the accession of Hitler to power.
- 1937-1938.....present period.

In the boom year 1918, discriminatory specifications were generally very rare, but were more frequent in the depression year 1921. In the 1928 boom period, discriminatory specifications were again rare; in the agency ads, they had virtually disappeared. In the depression year 1932, discriminatory specifications were much more frequent than in the 1921 depression.

In the agency ads of 1932, specifications of "Christian firm" were twice as frequent as in 1921, and "Protestant firm" three times as frequent. Both these specifications had been absent in 1928.

In 1934, agency ads took on a new complexion. Discriminatory specifications became exceedingly frequent, both in contrast to previous years, and to the help-wanted ads of the same year. This tendency intensified in 1937-1938. At the present time, the classified ads are tremendously more discriminatory than in any previous year.

In the agency ads of 1934, the specification of "Christian firm" occurred at the amazingly high rate of once in every column-inch of advertising matter, five times as frequently as in 1932. The specification "Anglo-Saxon," a new approach to an Aryan specification, occurred for the first time. In 1937-38, specifications of "Christian," a much more direct barrier than the relatively non-committal "Christian firm," occurred with very great frequency.

Until 1934, there were no specifications of "Christian" in one of the great New York papers. In 1934, they began, sporadically. The tremendous frequencies in 1937-38 are thus completely new tendencies. In 1937-38, moreover, such specifications as "Anglo-Saxon," hitherto

very rare, occurred in this paper very frequently.

A study of another important New York paper, made for comparative purposes, showed that it carried much more frequent discriminatory specifications. Specifications of "Christian" occurred in agency ads once in every half column-inch of advertising, as compared with once in 6 1/2 column-inches in the other paper, "Anglo-Saxon" once in every 4 1/2 column-inches as compared with once per 29 column-inches.

OCCUPATIONAL ADVERTISEMENTS

From 1938 on, the occupational advertisements were studied and it was found that discriminatory tendencies in industrial ads, and particularly in ads for salesmen, had set in since the advent of Hitlerism. Business and white-collar jobs were found to have the highest proportion of discriminatory specifications, the proportion of such specifications in ads for women stenographers far exceeding those for any other positions.

All the facts indicate that discriminatory specifications have varied directly with the rise and fall of the business cycle, but that this tendency was true to a greater degree in the depression of 1932 than in that of 1921. It has also been found that, since the advent of Nazism, the frequency of discriminatory specifications has grown ever higher, until in 1937-38, these frequencies, especially in the agency ads, reached heights far in excess of the preceding years.

Nazi Penetration in South-West Africa

Recent Developments Increase Tension

By S. C.

Windhoek, South Africa. POLITICAL agents, trained propagandists, Gestapo officials and National-Socialist school teachers have for a period of years been pouring into South West Africa. Such elements, who work under the direct control and instruction of the official German authorities, are usually employed as clerks in German firms in the mandatory district. In this guise, they are enabled to spread Nazi propaganda and to organize the German inhabitants into the National-Socialist organizations. As these German agents work with the greatest possible precaution, it is difficult, in many cases even impossible, to bring into operation against them certain laws aimed to prevent race propaganda and the propagation of tendencies likely to disturb the peace in the mandatory territories. The Nazi propaganda, strengthened thru the annexation of Austria and the Sudeten districts, has already succeeded in convincing the majority of the Germans in the S. W. that the former colony will soon "come back" to the Reich.

IMMIGRATION INTO S. W. AFRICA

Altho in 1936 the Union of South Africa ordered the limitation of immigration, which applied to the mandated territories as well, in 1937, 1,631, persons entered S. W. Africa in comparison with 620 in 1932. Last year, a number of newcomers still received permission to reside permanently in the territory. Among the Germans who applied for a limited permit to stay in addition to genuine tourists and merchants, were many political agents under the guise of commercial travellers.

It often occurs that newcomers to Walvis Bay and Swakopmund envelop the street scenes by a display of black or brown uniforms. As the wearing of political uniforms and badges without permission is prohibited by the administration, the Nazi party uniform is very quickly restored to their trunks. On disembarking, all youngsters have to report to the leader of the S. W. Landesgruppe of the Foreign Association, who then allocates them to specified places to commence their work. In one of the mainly German inhabited cities, the "Gau-Fuehrer" of the Landesgruppe is one who has only recently arrived from Germany. Altho he is only an ordinary employee in a German business house, he has a dominating influence in the whole German colony. He is at the same time the coordinating officer for all new German arrivals in the district, amongst whom are regular agents who pass on instructions, whilst others who leave the district are supplied with information intended for the central organizations or directly for Germany.

In 1934, the S. W. African sections of the Nazi party and the Hitler Youth were dissolved by the mandatory administration. In the previous year, orders of expulsion were issued against the leader of the party, Major Weigel, and the leader of the youth organization, Hauptmann von Losmitzer. The official authorities wanted also to deport a number of leading Nazi functionaries, but the mandatory administration failed to obtain the necessary

Militarizing the American Youth

Administration Policies Reveal Trend

By JOE ELWOOD

THE tragedy of youth is the most distressing of all wrought by the depression. According to a report just prepared for the Director of the American Youth Commission by D. L. Hartley, there are now a total of nearly six million young people either completely or partly unemployed. Everywhere it is becoming increasingly recognized that there are certain factors in American life which tend to prevent youth from obtaining a normal place in present day society.

WHO RUNS THE CAMPS?

That the Administration is extremely conscious of the problem can be seen in the President's recent speech, full of high-sounding words of praise for the younger generation of Americans. But even as early as March 21, 1933, only a few months after his coming into office, in his message to Congress, Roosevelt clearly stated: "We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings. We can eliminate to some extent the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability." In this message, he proposed the establishment of the Emergency Conservation Work program, popularly known as the C.C.C. But the real purpose, as we shall show, was not so much to bring "spiritual and moral stability" to the unemployed youth as to advance the great war-preparations drive undertaken by the Administration. The Administration has repeatedly denied this charge, pointing out that the camps

are supervised by the Departments of Labor, Interior, and Agriculture in addition to the War Department. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that 4,000 army officers are those who actually run the camps. Nothing illustrates better the army's response to its new task in the C.C.C. than the address of Major General Moseley before the Reserve Officers Association in May 1933, stating "that the government had turned them (the C.C.C. boys—J. E.) over to the army and they are in our laps now, and we'll make a good job of them." In an article in Liberty (January 6, 1934), Secretary of War Woodring placed the matter even more clearly: "The C.C.C. mobilization is to us more than a great military achievement; it is a dress rehearsal of the army's ability to intervene under constitutional authority in combating the depression."

The C.C.C. camps have com-

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

MY AMERICA, 1928-1938, by Louis Adamic. Harpers and Brothers, New York, 1938. \$3.75.

MR. ADAMIC tells the story of the America he has learned to understand and appreciate thru the amazing variety of experiences he has had and the interesting people he has met, largely since the "good old days" of 1928. For a competent reporter of current affairs and a thoughtful and sensitive person such as Mr. Adamic, these ten years were, of course, the best period in which to examine the nature of our economic system and the essential characteristics of our national life. The picture that emerges is one that helps reveal America to the rest of us.

Appropriately enough, the book begins with the "Cantrell story"—the story of a scholarly, idealistic socialist in California who fought a losing fight against the growing syndicalist tendency in the socialist and labor movements in the West. It was from Cantrell that Adamic learned

to appreciate the essential generosity and idealism of America, which, together with the ruthlessness and violence often displayed, form part of the "incongruous" picture.

In New York, Adamic was soon introduced to "Literary Rotary" as he called the group of writers who gathered periodically for talk-fests on the "situation," the depression and the revolution. This group, including such notables as Hazlitt, Stolberg, Beals, Hansen, Gannett, Kyle Crichton (who found it quite possible to be a staff writer on Colliers and whoop it up for Stalin under the name Robert Forsythe at one and the same time), Granville Hicks, Sinclair Lewis, and many others. Here he gained an insight into the New York radical movement, preoccupied with the Russian Five-Year Plan and visions of a revolution around the corner, but impatient at any suggestion that some lessons might be learned or inspiration derived from American experience. Especially fine are the sketches of Ben Stolberg, whom Adamic rates very highly as a writer and independent thinker, and of Sinclair Lewis, who turned out to be a disappointment when he abandoned the writing of a book on American idealism and labor and produced "It Can't Happen Here" instead.

A trip to his native Carniola gave Adamic the opportunity not only to write "The Native's Return" but also to see the United States in better perspective and do some very serious thinking about the problem of second-generation Americans.

Thruout the present work, Mr. Adamic has a good deal to say about "Americanism," about what is "American" and what is "un-American." There is obvious danger in the uncritical use of such terms but he does not stoop to the kind of chauvinism that is becoming so common these days. He does become a bit too lyrical, perhaps, in his praise of former Governor LaFollette and the "Wisconsin Idea," seeing in the democratic manner of one Governor something essentially "American" and forgetting that, within the same country, conditions exist (ably described by Adamic himself in other chapters) that make up quite a different picture. In setting out to describe the "incongruity" of Ar. erica, he sometimes forgets that America really is incongruous.

"My America" combines autobiography, biography, history and sociology with a reporter's vivid story of the stirring events of recent years. Perhaps the best chapters are those in which the author describes interviews with John L. Lewis, Harry Bridges, leaders of the S.W.O.C. and representatives of that section of the steel industry that has accepted unionism as an institution that is here to stay. These interviews together with the story of the Little Steel strike provide a clear insight into the situation of American labor today and form a background for understanding why the C.I.O. is in the throes of a serious crisis at this moment and why labor was defeated at the polls last November precisely in those industrial regions where the C.I.O. had played such a prominent role on the economic field.

It is unfortunate that most of Adamic's clarity of thought and writing disappear when he comes to discuss fundamental problems of socialism and revolution. Here the conceptions are ill-defined and fuzzy and the great influence of the "Cantrell story" is obvious. At one point, for instance, Adamic tells us: "What is needed in America is less class consciousness and class and more social consciousness and social action," but what that means in terms of practical implication remains obscure. In general, it may be said that Adamic tends to see in social revolution very little more than large-scale violence. Naturally, his insight into social problems of a fundamental character is thereby greatly blunted.

It should not be inferred from this review that the book is all political analysis or history. Adamic sees his America thru the people he knows, and the sketches of some of them—labor leaders, artists, writers, social workers, editors, a simple peasant in his native land, and a girl tramp—are well worth reading for the humor and for the character study, quite apart from the way he fits them into his picture of America. It is too bad, however, that Adamic relied so much upon his friends and correspondents for whole sections of the book. His own writing is so much more interesting and so much more significant that the work cannot but suffer greatly from this practise of wholesale quotation. In dealing with such vital problems as the war danger, for example, Adamic contents himself with reproducing a rather childish letter from Ross Wills of Hollywood. A chapter from his own pen would have been far preferable. Yet he does succeed in making it amply clear that the America he has learned to understand and love is far too precious to him to have it swept away by the tide of chauvinism and fascism that war is only too likely to bring with it.

"My America" is not one book but at least half a dozen—and each of them is a valuable contribution to the understanding not only of Adamic's America but of the America of the rest of us.

M. PETERS

F. D. R. Makes War

(These paragraphs are from an article by Raymond Clapper in the New York World-Telegram of January 28.—Editor.)

WHAT you have now and have had for some time is this: The Administration wants to go to the aid of Great Britain and France in their struggle against the dictators. In his annual message, President Roosevelt urged that everything—short of war—be done to give these two democratic countries help.

That is a question of broad national policy in which Congress should have a hand. But the policy has been put into effect by Executive action. Step by step the government is being committed.

1. The Neutrality Act was not applied in Japan's war against China because the Administration thought that to apply it would injure China. Actually, application of the Neutrality Act might have hurt Japan much more than China. However that may be, the mandatory sections of the Neutrality Act were not applied because Administration policy was to the contrary.

2. The President recalled our Ambassador to Germany. Hitler retaliated by recalling his Ambassador at Washington. Diplomatic relations are maintained by a weaker thread of formality only.

3. Congress is being urged to fortify Guam, altho the President

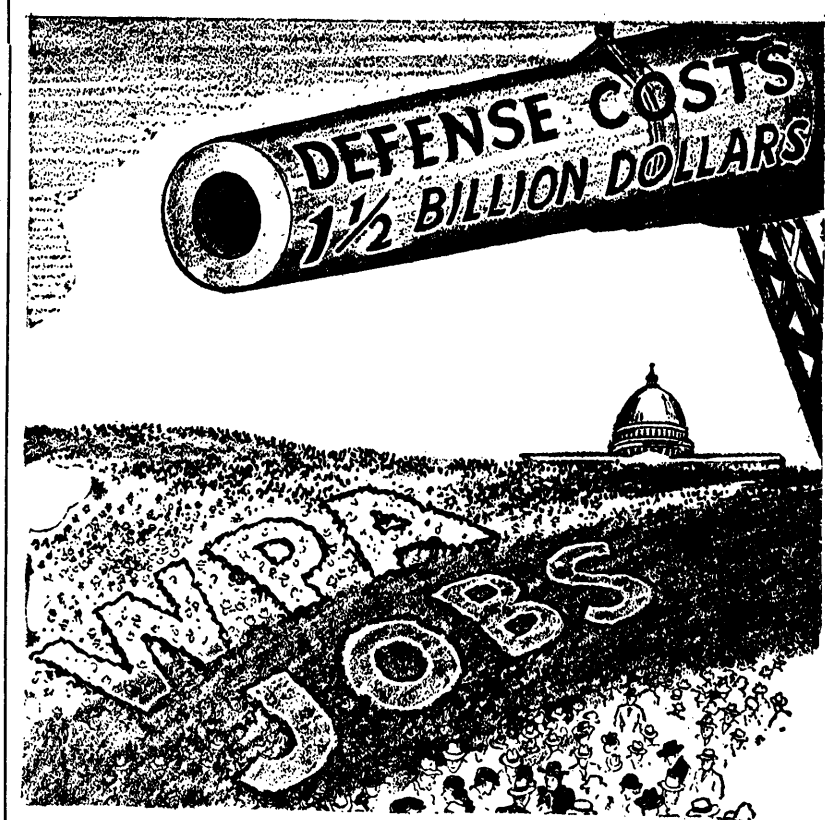
proceeded upon this in face of some serious questioning within the Administration. The first step is a small harbor-work project. It is only a step. . . . The desirability of developing Guam fully into an advance-base depends upon what we wish to do in the Philippines and in controlling sea routes to the East Indies.

4. The President directed the War, Navy and Treasury Departments to assist France in obtaining military planes. Over objections of some army officers, French experts were allowed access to new planes which the army was considering, embodying secret devices developed partly at government expense. . . .

All of these developments involve policy, yet they are being handled in some instances secretly, without the knowledge of Congress. The fact that the French were being given an inside track in obtaining military planes came out accidentally thru the plane crash. One Senator, after hearing the secret testimony as to how the French officers happened to be aboard, said the actions of the Administration in this instance amounted to a military alliance with France. . . .

The point is that decisions vitally involving policy are being made without Congress, which has the war-making power under the Constitution, having the opportunity to decide.

THE SHADOW LENGTHENS



mended themselves to the employing class for still another reason. The system helps to break down wage standards in relief and in private employment. As soon as the C.C.C. act was passed, the Whaley-Eaton report (Financial Digest, April 3, 1933) commented: "Nothing can be more significant than that the President is planning to pay a dollar a day only to men employed in the reforestation program. It kicks over the whole practise of wage maintenance as applied to relief work. This tends to make relief practical not only in regard to recruiting men from other work into governmental employ. It is one of the most important provisions the government has yet made in regard to labor."

It is well to remember that the C.C.C. work was not confined to the forests. The boys have been put to work on road building and work of like nature, displacing labor that would have demanded higher wages.

OUT-AND-OUT MILITARIZATION

But the Administration and the War Department are not satisfied with the present condition of the C.C.C. The need for concealing the military aspects of the C.C.C. has proved a handicap. The boys are not receiving sufficient military training to satisfy the plans of the Administration that call for record-breaking war preparations. Washington has therefore launched an intensive campaign designed to break down the resistance to an out-and-out militarized C.C.C.

At the present moment, Mr. Roosevelt is giving consideration to a plan to make important and lasting use of the C.C.C. in "national defense." Arthur Krock, informed Washington correspondent, has the following to say in the New York Times of December 15, 1938 about the Administration's plans in this field: "What most frequently is suggested is that the boys in the C.C.C. camps should have military training as a non-elective part of their education. The plan before the President, however, looks to the permanent building and maintenance of a large air force by graduates of the C.C.C. It is based on observations made by its authors in Nazi Germany, and they propose to take a leaf from Hitler's book. On this leaf is written how the Reich has trained young men in what are something like our own C.C.C. camps to build airplanes and take

care of them on the ground and in flight." Thus the great "democratic" President is thinking of taking a leaf from Hitler's book!

The open militarization of the C.C.C. may well become the first step towards national conscription of young men. That the government has made headway in its campaign of propaganda for militarization of the youth can be seen from a recent Gallup survey which showed that 37% of the American people favored compulsory military service for one year for every able-bodied American boy twenty years old. Already the N.Y.A. has launched a program of training thousands of airplane pilots and mechanics in preparation for the next war.

Labor must realize that the militarization of youth is the beginning of the goose-step for the labor movement. The present C.C.C. is part of the war machine in spite of all the Rooseveltian talks about "spiritual and moral stability."

The Germans are buying up nearly all the farms in the mandated territory.

3. The German youth is brought up solely by Nazi teachers in a most aggressive spirit in the belief that S. W. Africa must return to the Reich.

4. The relationship between the Union of South Africa and S. W. Africa is becoming looser every year and its influence on the mandatory districts is consequently enormously decreased.

"We Are Already Fully Armed"

"I believe that the American people are not already arming. We are spending today more than a billion dollars annually for national defense. That enormous sum has never before been equalled in any year of peace. . . . The last Congress authorized an unparalleled peace-time naval program which will increase the overall strength of our fleet by probably 50% or 75%. We have spent nearly two billion dollars during the past five years for the maintenance and improvement of our army. We are spending more than \$150,000,000 annually on our air defenses, which is twice as much as we spent in 1933. There can be no question in these circumstances, of American 'rearmament'. We are already armed and . . . 'rearmament' is a misleading term."—Editorial in the New York Times, December 12, 1938.

care of them on the ground and in flight." Thus the great "democratic" President is thinking of taking a leaf from Hitler's book!

The open militarization of the C.C.C. may well become the first step towards national conscription of young men. That the government has made headway in its campaign of propaganda for militarization of the youth can be seen from a recent Gallup survey which showed that 37% of the American people favored compulsory military service for one year for every able-bodied American boy twenty years old. Already the N.Y.A. has launched a program of training thousands of airplane pilots and mechanics in preparation for the next war.

Labor must realize that the militarization of youth is the beginning of the goose-step for the labor movement. The present C.C.C. is part of the war machine in spite of all the Rooseveltian talks about "spiritual and moral stability."

Timely Pamphlets

- PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION by Jay Lovestone20c
- WHERE WE STAND: Program of the I.L.L.A. 5c.
- NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR by Jay Lovestone10c
- WORKERS AGE BOOK SHOP 131 W. 33rd Street, New York

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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GUILTY—THE PEOPLE'S FRONT!

BARCELONA has fallen. Loyalist Spain finds itself today in a truly desperate situation, its back against the wall, fighting against overwhelming odds.

What is really responsible for this disastrous state of affairs? It is not enough to point to the foreign assistance Franco has received in men and armaments. Of course, this is a decisive factor but the real question is: Why has anti-fascist Spain been unable to unleash those vast forces at its command that might have balanced the scales and brought it victory? There is only one answer: the suicidal policy of the People's Front.

In Spain, the People's Front has meant subordination to the miserable remnants of the "liberal" bourgeoisie, to the point of curbing and restricting the anti-fascist struggle within the narrow limits of their reactionary class prejudices. The revolutionary fervor of the masses has been choked off and the revolutionary gains of the early months of the civil war undermined and destroyed. Far-reaching economic and social reforms, especially on the agrarian field, were "postponed" until after victory, in spite of the fact that these reforms were necessary precisely in order to achieve victory. The army was reorganized along conventional bourgeois lines without regard to the far different social character of the war. Flagrant treachery and defeatism in bourgeois circles were repeatedly "overlooked" or ignored until too late out of not very savory political considerations. The government was deliberately removed from the direct influence and control of the great labor organizations that comprise the vast majority of Loyalist Spain's working population. And, in order to put thru this reactionary course, a crusade of repression was unleashed against the revolutionary sections of the labor movement so that thousands of the most energetic and devoted anti-fascist fighters were thrown into jail and abandoned to the gruesome tortures of Stalin's Spanish G.P.U. Is it any wonder, then, that the morale of the masses has been rapidly deteriorating, according to the reports of friendly correspondents, that moods of apathy and indifference have been spreading? Is it any wonder that the Loyalist government has been unable to arouse the peasant masses in insurgent territory to action behind the lines, the surest way of smashing Franco? The People's Front, with its systematic surrender to the reactionary interests and prejudices of the bourgeoisie, has been proved a thousand times over to be the road to disaster in Spain.

And abroad? Why have the "democratic" powers been able to get away with the blockade of Spain, violating alike international law and the interests of the people of these countries? Primarily because, thru the People's Front, all independent political action of the masses has been choked off and the governments virtually freed from any fear of effective popular pressure. If, in Spain, Popular Frontism has fatally undermined the effectiveness of the struggle against the fascist enemy, in France and England and the United States, it has facilitated the strangulation of Loyalist Spain by what amounts to a one-sided blockade in favor of Franco!

Guilty—the People's Front! Guilty—the Stalinist and right-wing socialist advocates of the People's Front! That is the verdict of history.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT!

BELIEVE it or not, the dictatorial and bloody domain of Santo Domingo, ruled like a slaughter-house by the Wall Street puppet, Rafael Trujillo, has offered a "refuge" to 100,000 Jewish victims of the Third Reich!

A year ago, be it remembered, over twelve thousand Haitian migratory workers were massacred by Trujillo's troops when they sought work in the land of Santo Domingo. This was no mere mass execution but a veritable butcher's holiday. For, according to the reports, the Haitians were literally hacked to pieces as they were driven into the sea, where drowning or sharks awaited those who escaped the sadistic soldiery.

And now this dictatorship, a section of the "democratic front of the Americas," is being offered as a haven for the harassed Jews.

What is such refuge but a mere trap? How would the refugees find themselves better off under bloody Trujillo than under bloody Adolf?

Yet this is typical of the refuge that is being held out to the Jews on various sides. From Great Britain comes the magnanimous offer of haven in the swampy, disease-infested regions of Tanganyika in South Africa—which Hitler has already marked as his and which we cannot be too sure Chamberlain and the British ruling class have not already slated for Nazi "appeasement."

The fact is that while no place on the face of the earth is absolutely "safe" for refugees, it is our business to see that the doors of our land are opened to the victims of fascism, regardless of race, creed or political affiliations. If the labor movement can achieve this immediate task, then its fight against fascism will be strengthened right in this country. Then the labor movement will be preparing itself for the struggle for socialism, which will really make possible the elimination of anti-Semitism and assure a permanent refuge for all the oppressed.

NEW Deal diplomats are not shouting it from the housetops but there is danger of revolution, possibly complete chaos in Mexico at any moment. . . . If conditions continue as they are in Mexico, it won't be long before this (collapse of the Cardenas government) happens."—Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," January 8, 1939.

Can it be that Wall Street and its "connections" in the State Department are planning another of those Washington-inspired "revolutions" in Latin America, this time in order to help the oil interests collect?

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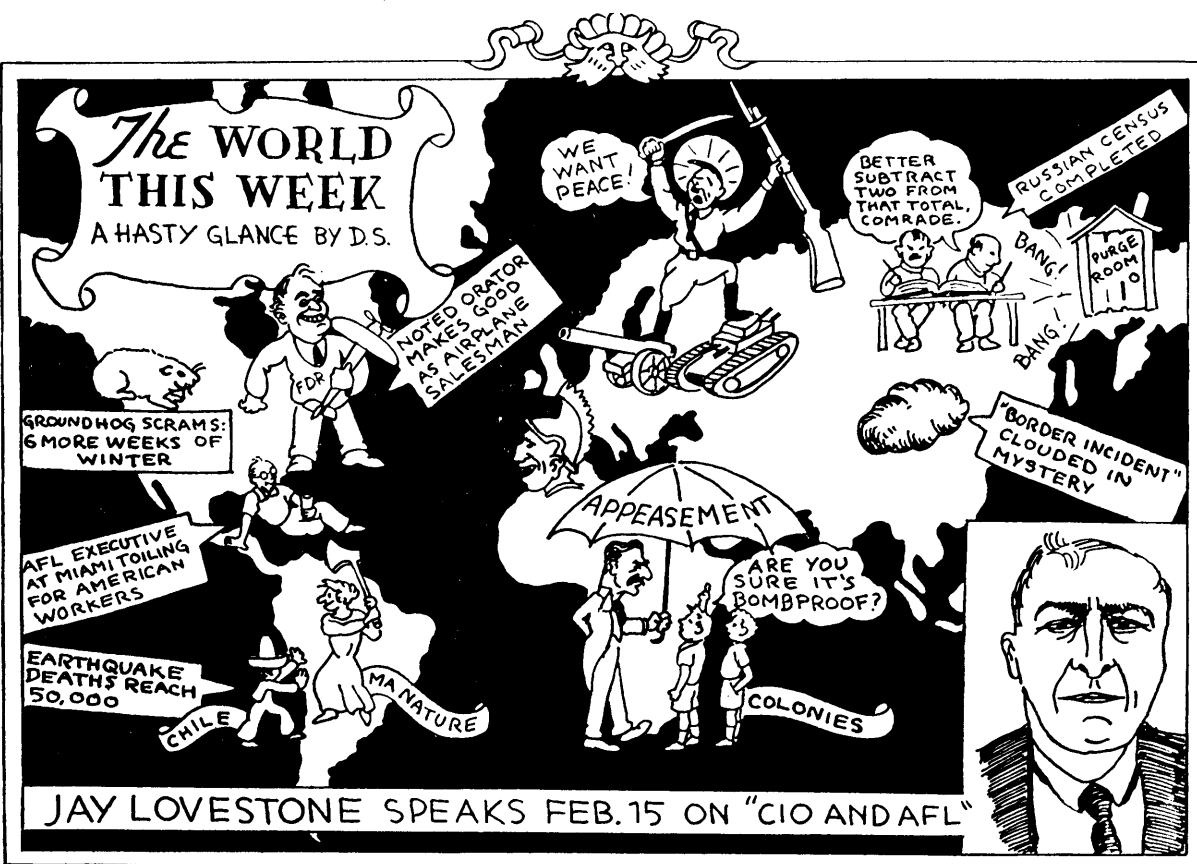
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Karl Liebknecht—the Revolutionist

His Unconquered Spirit Will Rise Again

By NIKOLAI BUKHARIN

(The following article in memory of Karl Liebknecht was written by Nikolai Bukharin, famous Bolshevik leader, in 1920, a little more than a year after the murder of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in January 1919.—Editor.)

IT was more than a year ago. In the Russian Embassy at Berlin, we were welcoming Karl Liebknecht upon his release from prison. Many people were there—the society was quite mixed. There was the old veteran revolutionist Mehring, his hair snow-white, his body already almost dead, but his spirit still burning with life and vigor. Haase was there and Barth and many other famous names with famous pasts. All hailed Karl and welcomed him—some in the hope and confidence that his revolutionary enthusiasm would lead the masses into struggle; others deeply disturbed that this "strange" man might disturb the "normal" course of events.

Everybody was talking. But no one made so deep an impression upon me as a certain young worker. A one-armed young fellow, with a thin face, emaciated cheeks. He spoke with such firm confidence in our victory that every revolutionist could not help feeling: such a generation must win.

This Liebknecht also felt. I still remember that scene as if it were yesterday. A long table, at one end of which sat this young worker. And, as Liebknecht was speaking, he turned his back upon practically all those present in order to face the young comrade. Most of what Liebknecht said was directed towards him, especially his concluding words. For here there was a true inner bond—the great revolutionist and the revolutionary youth. Liebknecht was always surrounded by young people. . . .

A few days later, the one-armed young worker was wounded in a street battle. A police sabre struck his stump of an arm.

Mehring is no longer alive and Liebknecht, too, is dead. Even Haase has been sent to the grave by the Scheidemann hangmen. I don't

know if the one-armed young worker is still alive. But one thing I know. The German working youth lives—the proletariat lives—the revolutionary spirit lives, the spirit



KARL LIEBKNECHT
 In Military Prison Camp
 During the War

in which Karl Liebknecht was baptized.

This spirit is beginning to rise again. The day will come when it will take account for its murdered prophets and leaders.

IN COMING ISSUES

THIS year, 1939, is the twentieth anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Lenin. In the last three issues of this paper, we have published memorial articles in honor of these great revolutionary socialist leaders. In subsequent issues, we intend to publish some significant writings from their own pens illustrating their views and teachings on the basic problems facing the working-class movement.

The Man He Killed

"Had he and I but met
 By some old ancient inn,
 We should have sat us down to wet
 Right many a nipperkin!"

"But ranged as infantry,
 And staring face to face,
 I shot at him as he at me,
 And killed him in his place."

"I shot him dead because—
 Because he was my foe,
 Just so: my foe, of course, he was;
 That's clear enough, altho

"He thought he'd 'list perhaps,
 Off-hand like—just as I—
 Was out of work—and sold his traps—
 No other reason why."

"Yes, quaint and curious war is!
 You shoot a fellow down,
 You'd treat if met where any bar is,
 Or help to half-a-crown."
 THOMAS HARDY.

Workers Age Press Fund Must Go Over the Top!

THE new Workers Age has been greeted everywhere with enthusiasm and rejoicing. Everywhere it is admitted that our new paper marks a tremendous advance in the struggle to rebuild socialism.

The new Workers Age is its own report, inspiring and complete. But what of the financial drive to raise \$3,500 to pay the extra publication costs of the new Workers Age and of the theoretical journal which will appear shortly?

The drive has brought very good results so far, but not sufficient to insure regular publication of our new socialist press. These are the facts in brief for YOUR action:

We needed and asked for \$3,500 to pay for extra publication costs.

To-date, nearly \$2,500 has been pledged or paid in cash.

But we STILL NEED to raise \$1,000.

You must answer this appeal for an additional \$1,000 to safeguard our new socialist press.

You can see in the new Workers Age what can be done with larger financial resources. You can see that in its larger size the Age is a much more effective and much more popular, more complete in its coverage of news

events and issues, more capable of reaching thousands of new readers.

And you will see what can be done with a theoretical journal, when it appears soon, in covering problems of socialist theory and practise, in recreating socialism.

Begin with the present issue, the publication date of Workers Age changes from Saturday to Wednesday. This will enable us save approximately two days in mailing time both in the case of individual subscribers and bundle orders going to branches, etc. Workers Age will come to you fresher and closer to the "date-line" than before, while retaining all its present features.

SUBSCRIBE TO WORKERS AGE
 "I know of no source like the Age for effective anti-war and anti-Administration propaganda."—from a reader.

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British Socialists Denounce Empire

Issue Appeal for Anti-Imperialist Meet

(To counter the chauvinistic Empire Exhibition designed to sing the glories of British imperialism, the Independent Labor Party, the African Workers Bureau and other socialist and anti-imperialist groups have arranged a Workers Empire Exhibition in London. Together with this exhibition, a broad conference on the colonial question will be held. We publish below the call for this conference as an important document in the struggle against British imperialism, the bulwark of world imperialism. The call is signed by Fenner Brockway, George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta, Vera Brittain, J. F. Horrabin, and Arthur Ballard.—Editor.)

IMPERIALISM is one of the greatest evils of our age. It is an injustice to millions of the human race and is the major cause of war. There is no more urgent task than to end imperialism.

Every sincere worker for justice and peace must denounce the imperialist policy of the British government and identify himself with the struggle of all subject peoples for national independence. Within the Empire, millions of people live under slave-like conditions, are denied democratic rights and refused the most elementary civil liberty. To keep them in this economic and political servitude, the imperialist government stations an army of occupation in their territory and ruthlessly suppresses any revolt. When necessary for its purpose, as on the north-west-frontier of India and in Palestine, all the methods of modern warfare, including the bombing airplane, are used against the ill-armed peoples.

During recent years, methods of suppression have been used in the British Empire indistinguishable from the tyrannies practised by the fascist powers. Freedom of speech and press has been denied, popular organizations have been outlawed, leaders and rank and file have been interned in concentration camps or prison without charge or trial, collective fines have been imposed, the native peoples have been treated as an inferior species and peaceful villages have been burned down.

NEW POLITICAL DANGERS

Many of the peoples in the Empire are now threatened by new dangers. In India, the government proposes to establish a federation under which autocratic princes would be given power to prevent progressive development. Despite the claim that democracy is being extended to India, the control of foreign policy and the armed forces would remain in British hands and the British Viceroy would retain the power of veto.

In South Africa, it is proposed that the protectorates should be handed over to the government of the Union, which is violently prejudiced against all colored people and would repress them even more severely than the British Colonial Office.

There is also the growing demand that the mandated territories, which were transferred from Germany in 1919, should be returned.

All these proposals should be condemned. The people of India should be given full democratic control of all the functions of government and complete self-determination.

The peoples of the African protectorates and the mandated territories should be given the right to decide their own destinies without the humiliation of being treated as pawns in imperialist deals. Their territories should be transferred, not from one imperialist government to another, but to the native peoples who live in them and have the right to own and control them.

The mandate system as heretofore operated is no solution of the political problem of the colonies. The administration of the mandated territories has not saved the peoples from political and economic exploitation.

The proposal that parts of the Empire should be used for the settlement of Jewish and other refugees from Europe demands our support, but it is our duty to ensure that all such schemes shall be arranged with the good will of the native peoples. The tragedy of Palestine must not be repeated.

COLONIES AND WAR

Efforts are being made to secure the support of the colonial peoples in any war waged by the British government under the pretext that it would be fought for democracy. The denial of democracy within the Empire is sufficient to repudiate this claim. It is erroneous to attempt to buy the support of the colonial peoples by offering them certain limited liberties which are less than their full right to independence.

The Indian National Congress and other colonial peoples organizations have declared that they will refuse to support any war waged by the British government until they are politically free. It is our duty to support this attitude. The colonial peoples should use any opportunity provided either in peace or war to win their political and economic freedom.

A warning must be sounded against the danger that the colonial peoples will be betrayed by coalitions in the imperialist countries for the ostensible purpose of defending democracy. Experience of the Popular Front in Spain and in France shows that such coalitions do not bring liberty to the subject races. The colonial peoples must rely upon their own action to win freedom and should place trust only in those who have proved the sincerity of their opposition to imperialism.

ANTI-IMPERIALIST CENTER

To assist the anti-imperialist struggle, it is necessary that there should be permanent cooperation between the organizations of the colonial peoples and those who identify themselves with their purpose in the imperialist countries. In order to facilitate this, it is proposed that this Conference should appoint a Permanent Committee to coordinate anti-imperialist activity and in particular to establish a center for all organizations of colonial peoples in Britain.

Pres. Roosevelt Admits Alliance for War

(Continued from Page 1)

The President also insisted in the strongest terms that members of Congress refrain from "petty criticism" of his acts in relation to foreign affairs for the immediate future. He concluded the conference by urging that secrecy be maintained as to the proceedings in order not to "alarm" the people of this country.

The revelation of the secret diplomacy that President Roosevelt has been carrying on for the past two years should indeed alarm the American people. There can now be no doubt that the President has been deliberately steering this country towards an Anglo-American war front against the "dictators," specifically against Japan in the Far East over the right of exploiting China's manpower and resources. In doing so, he has arrogated to himself dictatorial powers. He has forced his foreign policy on the country without even consulting either Congress or the people. Now he is even demanding the cessation of all criticism of his war-making diplomacy. Truly the totalitarianism that is sure to come when war breaks out is already casting its shadow before it!

In Congress, strong opposition is developing to the President's foreign policy, especially to the secrecy with which it was being enveloped. Senator Hiram Johnson raised the issue in the Senate, shouting in anger: "The fundamental question here is: Shall we be eased into war and our people never know it?" Senator Nye announced his withdrawal from all executive meetings of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, of which he is a leading member, until the hearings are made public. Senator Clark served notice that he would demand that the committee make the record public, failing which he would bring everything to light himself on the Senate floor.

The emergency is great. The anti-war movement must act now with the utmost energy to rally the people so that their influence may be felt in the halls of Congress and in the White House.