

## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### WE'RE ALL SET

TOO many people think of war preparations only in terms of guns and ships, airplanes and tanks, gas and artillery. There is also a human and organizational side to arming for war. This phase, often overlooked, is vital, not only to waging war but also to the every day life of the average American long before war is declared.

M-Day will mean much that is bitter for all of us. The plans for Mobilization Day are all ready. They are plans not decided upon by any Congressional committee or voted upon by any assembly of legislators elected by the people. They are plans that vitally affect the lives of all of us, we are all in the dark about them. They are the handwork of the military machine of the country. These plans are all ready—to the minutest detail.

To the American Legion Magazine for August, 1939, we are indebted for a glimpse of what awaits us upon the declaration of war. And this militaristic mouthpiece should certainly know what it is talking about when it tells us: "The adjutant generals have under them from four to sixteen highly trained key men, drawn from the National Guard and the Army Reserve. They have prepared pin maps of all voting places, lists of election officials, and lists of men to sit on Selective Service Boards, which will classify the registrants. One of these boards will be required for each 30,000 population—approximately 6,400 for the whole United States. Plans are complete even to the number of square feet of floor space required by the various agencies. M-Day charts in each adjutant general's office indicate the exact steps to be taken by him after the declaration of war.

"The men chosen to run the machinery of the draft attend regional conferences each year when for two weeks they discuss the details of getting civilians into uniform."

Well, well! This is telling us all something; yes, something few of us will be pleased to learn. In fact, we would not be surprised to learn that America's dictators—to be have already worked out the exact figures showing how many billions of cubic feet of lumber will be required for the coffins to house the killed! This is planning with a deadly vengeance.

All of this does more than confirm suspicions. This country's ruling class is prepared to jump into the impending conflagration with fullest force at fullest speed, sooner than many of us realize. We have no time to lose in our efforts to stave off the disasters of militarism and imperialist war.

### BRITAIN'S INTERESTS

WITH the precise outcome of the London-Moscow diplomatic maneuvers we are not concerned at this moment. Their general character, Pertinax summed up rather well in his paper L'Europe Nouvelle, July 22, when he said: "At Moscow, the failure of the London and Paris ministers is not yet consummated." But why? This, Pertinax doesn't explain. In the negotiations between Lombard Street and the Kremlin considerable light is shed on contemporary world complexities. The case of British foreign policy, of English imperialist strategy for decades, is brought home to us with great force. Above all, it is clear from these conferences that ideological antagonisms play, at most, a role of secondary significance in world power-politics. Despite Stalin and his anti-revolutionary course, there still are some serious ideological differences between the British Empire and the U.S.S.R. Yet, competent observers would find it very difficult to minimize the political repercussions of such differences nowadays.

Indeed, one must look elsewhere for the cause and nature of the endless protraction and apparent "insuccess," as the French put it, of these deliberations. An examination of British imperialist policy, in relation to the Soviet Union, in a long range and basic sense, offers real reward here. Winston Churchill, Stalin's present choice to succeed Chamberlain, rejoiced in his World Crisis because he then thought that India and Constantinople were safe as a result of immediate post-revolutionary military weakness of Russia. Lord d'Abernon, British ambassador to Berlin, stressed on August 30, 1922: "As long as there is a strong Russia, India is, to a considerable extent, menaced." As regards the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, a Russia divided into different states . . . would make our position far more secure than in the event of the re-establishment of a powerful empire. A separatist policy for the Ukraine would unquestionably tend to a safer and more healthy position in the Black Sea . . . "In this connection it is timely to refresh our memories: England recognized the Ukraine "as an independent state" on November 20, 1917.

It is clear that today Britain doesn't find the U.S.S.R. as an immediate menace and faces its immediate and gravest challenge in Nazi imperialism. It is only on this account that England has at all, and very reluctantly at that, gone into negotiations with the Soviet Union. Just now pax Britannica and its European balance of power demand a strong hostile Russia in the rear of Germany. This is so not because of opposition to the doctrine of Fascism but only because of fear of Nazi power. England had a similar attitude to France in 1920 when she feared the latter would become too strong on the Continent thru its aid to Poland against Soviet Russia. Then England was against a too weak Russia and, in July, 1920, the reactionary Lord Curzon wired Lenin: "British government . . . filled with desire . . . to see peace reigned, proposes armistice be concluded between Poland and Russia . . ."

On this basis, the English High Commissioner of the League of Nations established at Danzig a blockade against Poland in August. He sought to prevent the shipment of French munitions to the Polish army led by General Weygand. At the same time Lloyd George brought to bear fullest pressure on Poland to accept the Russian conditions. Again, Britain had only selfish motives and was pursuing a policy outlined by A. J. Balfour in 1916: "The more Russia is made a European rather than an Asiatic power, the better for everybody." Today, because of the combined Nazi-Nipponese threat to British imperialism in Europe and Asia, England wants to see Russia a European and Asiatic power—an indispensable counterpoise on two fronts.

In short, British imperialist policy has not been wavering, it has been very consistent, and has been guided by the following maxim of Prime Minister Lord Palmerston back in the middle of the nineteenth century: "We have no eternal allies; we have no hereditary enemies. . . . Eternal and changeless are our interests and our duty is to serve them."

## Daladier Regime Attacks P.S.O.P.

Paris, France. The French government, "bulwark of democracy" in Europe, has just struck again against the few waning liberties that still remain to the French workers and peasants, under the decree-dictatorship of Premier Daladier. The attack came in the form of police action against the Workers and Peasants Party of France (P.S.O.P.) led by Marceau Pivert. The immediate reason for persecution of the P.S.O.P. is the vigorous anti-war campaign being conducted by that organization.

Lucien Weitz, youth leader, is under arrest, while a warrant has been issued against 86-year old M. Paulin, who has 60 years of activity in the class struggle to his credit.

In contrast to the protest actions of the P. S. O. P. against the arrest of a Stalinist collaborator of Humante, a short time ago, comes the action of the Stalinist Humante. Not only does it not protest against the infringement of the right of free press by the arrests and warrants,

but it has begun a most intense slander campaign against the P. S. O. P. and its leaders as Nazi agents.

The nearer France moves towards war the more it throws off all guise of democratic procedure and appears openly and undisguised as a dictatorship. This is the basic reason for the continually sharpening attacks against the followers of Pivert who are leading the struggle against war.

Working class organizations and individual workers are asked to lodge protests with the French embassy in Washington, demanding the release of the arrested and the full freedom of press for the workers of France. Copies of these protests may be directed to Workers Age for transmission to the P. S. O. P. in France.

The P. S. O. P. is a sister-party of the Independent Labor Party of England and the Independent Labor League of America. All are affiliates of the International Revolutionary Marxist Center.

# State Federation Against Third Term

## Soviet Aids Reich As Nazis Near War

### Sign Seven Year Trade Pact As Hitler Takes Slovakia, Moves on Poland

Moscow, U.S.S.R. At the very moment that Nazi Germany was preparing to launch its final push in the drive to annex Danzig and get control of the Polish Corridor, the Russian government last week announced the conclusion of an important trade agreement between the Soviet Union and the Reich. Simultaneous with this announcement came the report that the Anglo-French-Soviet staff negotiations in Moscow had met with another "hitch" and were virtually suspended, at least for the time being.

The Soviet-Reich trade pact is of considerable military importance for Germany since it will supply the latter with much needed raw materials. The accord provides for a German credit of about 200,000,000 marks (about \$50,000,000) for a period of seven years at 5% interest for purchases of German goods in the next two years. It also provides for the sale by the U.S.S.R. to Germany within two years of about \$72,000,000 worth of goods. It was believed Russia would purchase armaments while Germany would buy Soviet wheat, timber, iron ore and petroleum. Some inroads into American trade with Russia were expected as a result of the German pact.

In Germany, the trade agreement with Russia was publicly characterized as part of the "appease Stalin" strategy made necessary by Hitler's clash with Anglo-French imperialism.

In connection with the renewed pact negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet press and radio renewed charges that Chamberlain was secretly preparing "another Munich" which would give Hitler substantially what he wanted as far as Danzig and Poland were concerned. The "economic mission" of Professor Riley to Danzig was referred to by the Soviet spokesmen as the counterpart of the Runciman mission to Czecho-Slovakia, which eased the way for Hitler's annexation of that region.

While the Reich was thus strengthening its position on the Russian front by the conclusion of a trade agreement with the Stalin government, it continued the "war of nerves" with the western "democracies." By decree of Hitler, military control of Slovakia was taken over by Germany and mobilization ordered along the Polish frontier. Meanwhile, official Nazi spokesmen repeated their demand for Danzig and for the first time announced their intention of obtaining control of the Polish Corridor as well. In London, the outlook was declared to be "blackest since 1914."

against fascism, has made no effort to counter this fascist and anti-labor demonstration. Mobilization of anti-fascist forces has been confined to the working class political organizations such as the Independent Labor League, the Socialist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party.

ILLA Appeals to Labor Believing that no effective resistance to the growth of fascism can be created without the active lead and participation of the organized workers thru their trade unions, the I.L.L.A. dispatched letters to the state organization of the C.I.O. as well as to the State Federation of Labor, now in convention in New York City.

In the letter to Allan Haywood, the I.L.L.A. says in part: "It is our opinion that the Congress of Industrial Organizations would render a lasting service to the American people if it would lend its efforts and influence to the general campaign against Coughlinism. This Saturday, August 19th at 6 P. M., the Coughlin movement is holding a parade and demonstration from Columbus Circle to Union Square. This is part of a general policy of provocation and terrorism on their part. Only Organized Labor can give effective leadership to efforts against this movement, destructive of all that Labor stands for and has fought for.

"May we suggest that the Congress of Industrial Organizations call upon its affiliated organizations and workers in general to keep out of the Coughlin parade and to oppose the vicious practices and actions of that movement? We are confident that all forward-looking forces would appreciate action on your part upon these suggestions and publicizing of the same."

Letter to AFL The letter to State Federation of Labor closes with the following paragraph: "In our opinion this menace can be met effectively only if Organized Labor gives the lead. A message from your convention to all trade unionists and workers to keep out of the parade, not to cooperate with the Coughlin movement, to oppose the trends toward religious intolerance and labor hostility, would have tremendous effect and significance. The publicizing of such a message or resolution would reach millions of individuals not only in New York City, but throughout the state and country. We look to the New York State Federation of Labor (Continued from Page 3)

New York, N. Y. The projected parade of a Coughlin fascist organization here in New York from Columbus Circle into Union Square has aroused all militant workers in New York. It is clearly a provocative move and at the same time an anti-semitic gesture to be likened to Moseley's fascist march thru the east end of London some time ago.

The organized trade union movement in the city, tho on record

### In Memoriam

## Sacco and Vanzetti

An Editorial

THIS has been a year of many anniversaries—most of them commemorating war declarations, occasions and incidents marking destruction and chaos. Too many people, however, forget another anniversary, a landmark sinister in its significance and significant in its implications. Twelve years ago this week, Massachusetts justice murdered two innocent working class fighters—Sacco and Vanzetti.

Some devitalized liberals look upon this case as merely the result of a flaw in the state's machinery of justice. They are so myopic as not to see in this double assassination indictment of Wall Street democracy as such, of the class system of justice in theory and practice.

Granted that the very procedure of law facilitated Judge Thayer's nefarious role in the case. But the nature of juridical procedure does not spring out of a vacuum, not even out of the void of some high-priced legal mind. Judicial procedure as well as substance reflects prevailing class relations and basic class interests rather than evil or virtuous motives of individuals.

The fact that the Massachusetts legislature recently and quietly enacted provisions eliminating some of the objectionable features of the legal procedure in the Sacco-Vanzetti case does not at all exclude a recurrence of such vile crimes against justice either in the Bay State or in any other state. Given an intensification of class conflicts, given a working class not sufficiently aroused or strong, and the bosses will again perpetrate similar and even worse crimes. We underscore this especially at this moment of approaching war hysteria. One need not examine the so-called anti-alien measures passed by the last session of Congress to get a faint glimpse of the danger ahead.

Nor should we lull ourselves into false security because today hardly any one in conservative circles would dare defend the justice handed down by the Fullers, the Thayers, and the Lowell's of Massachusetts. For example, Alf Landon has recently condemned the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti. Twelve years after the cold-blooded crime it is not difficult even for a Republican would-be president to condemn it.

A united powerful labor movement aware of its interests, aroused to its enemies, and awake to its great inherent strength can prevent more Sacco-Vanzetti cases. In view of recent American and international developments, we must stress that it is too early to prepare immediately against the repetition of such "justice." The best time to prevent victories by reaction is before and not after it gets full swing into action. This is no time to forget Sacco and Vanzetti. Twelve years after one of the blackest deeds in the annals of our much over-advertised democracy it is more necessary than ever to be on the alert.

## Wage Cuts Go In Effect On W.P.A.

Colonel F. C. Harrington, WPA Commissioner, announced last week the new wage schedules for WPA, as provided under the relief act passed by Congress. The law provides that variations in wages for the same type of work within different geographical areas shall not be greater "than the differences in the cost of living." This provision is made expressly to raise the WPA wage in the South, where it has been as low as \$19 per month. The new scales will raise the average wage in the country as a whole about \$2.50, though it will result in a cut in wages for WPA workers in the North from \$3 to \$6.

The new wage system provides for only six different wage scales in the entire country, as compared with more than 4,000 in effect before the changes were ordered.

Unskilled workers in rural areas in the South will receive \$35 per month instead of \$26; city workers will receive \$50.70 instead of \$40. In Northern and Western cities of more than 100,000 population the unskilled rate will be \$57.20, as against the present \$60.50.

The strike of more than 30,000 skilled W.P.A. workers in New York City, and similar strikes in various parts of the country, called by the Building Trades Division of the A. F. of L., continued strong, despite heavy pressure from administration officials. The strike was called in protest against the cut in the prevailing wage standards set by the unions. In New York City practically every project was severely crippled.

The State Federation of Labor, in convention in New York, and the A. F. of L. Executive Council, meeting in Atlantic City, have called upon President Roosevelt to re-establish the prevailing wage scale for skilled men. They have also demanded that the wage cuts be immediately halted.

The Executive Council resolved that the President should take advantage of Section 15B to restore the prevailing wage because "the refusal of A. F. of L. workmen to work at a rate lower than the prevailing rate has resulted in a tremendous wastage of public funds through the payment of wages to non-producing personnel and through spoilage of expensive materials."

If Section 15B were invoked, the Council said, it would "remedy the present chaotic situation immediately."

## N.L.R.B. Hits Little Steel Co. Union

The National Labor Relations Board, in a sweeping decision last week, ruled that the Bethlehem Steel Company was guilty of violating the Wagner Labor Act, and ordered it to immediately desist from sponsoring its company dominated employee representation plan. The board's decision is a direct outgrowth of the 1937 "little steel" strike. The decision is considered a tremendous victory for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the CIO and will undoubtedly spur organization of the entire steel industry.

Plants affected by the decision are in Lackawanna, N. Y., Sparrows Point, Md., Johnstown, Bethlehem, Lebanon, Rankin, Fleetdale and Steelton, Pa., Seattle, Wash., and South San Francisco, Vernon and Alameda, Calif.

In announcing its decision the Board said that it found that, after the employee representation plan was installed at each plant, "Bethlehem engaged in a long course of interference designed to insure the fact that they (the plans) would remain the chief form of representation of its employees." The plans were designed, it added, to prevent any other form of labor organization from replacing them. The Board also held that the company had violated the act by employing Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, Inc., a strikebreaking and stool-pigeon organization, to obtain information concerning the union activities of its employees. The company union ordered dissolved was established after the great steel strike of 1918-19.

### "Citizens Committee" Criticized

The decision also vigorously criticized the Johnstown "Citizens Committee," organized by the company as a vigilante organization, and Mayor Daniel W. Shields, of Johnstown, one of the leaders of the committee, and held that the company had violated the Labor Relations statute by "indirectly giving \$32,078.25 to Mayor Shields."

"The statements made by Mayor Shields indicate that his conception of the best way to handle the strike situation was to create hostility to the strikers, encourage a back-to-work movement, and defeat the S.W.O.C.," the N.L.R.B. said.

Of the Citizens Committee, which carried on vigilante activities during the strike and which published the nationally circulated advertisement, "We Protest," the Board said that its "prime function was that of vilifying the union organization and

## Meany Scores Betrayal By New Deal

### Woll Denounces Army-Navy Threat; Warns of Government Domination

New York, N. Y. The seventy-sixth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Labor, representing over 1,000,000 organized workers, was marked from the outset by an independent and aggressive note on problems vital to labor and the nation. This independence and aggressiveness expressed itself in the refusal to endorse President Roosevelt for a third term by rejecting seven resolutions seeking such endorsement and shifting action on the issue to the parent body, the A. F. of L., on the ground that the matter concerned national and not State politics.

Since the A. F. of L. has a tradition of not endorsing Presidential candidates, which was broken but once, in 1924, when the Federation supported Robert M. LaFollette, the convention action was regarded as merely a device to refuse its endorsement to the President. This is made even more apparent by the fact that the State Federation had endorsed Mr. Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936. Only two of the 800 delegates voted against this manner of disposing of the issue.

The action of the convention reflected the bitterness felt in labor's ranks over the abolition of the prevailing rate of wages for skilled workers on W.P.A. construction projects and the failure of President Roosevelt to back the trade unions on this question.

### Meany Hits Roosevelt

This attitude was expressed in an address by George Meany, president of the State Federation, who held the administration responsible for the elimination of the prevailing wage rate, which he considered of cardinal importance to the very existence of organized labor.

"The security wage in the Woodrum bill is a New Deal policy dictated by the New Deal and put over by the New Deal," Mr. Meany declared.

"I would like to remind all those present that organized labor is no stronger than the weakest unit in organized labor," Mr. Meany said, "that if one group in organized labor is suffering from a reactionary attack, and that attack is successful and that group is beaten down into the mud, it is only a question of time when a like catastrophe will be the fate of all groups in organized labor."

"There can be no question as to President Roosevelt's record on most of the things that we are interested in, but I for one will not give a blank check endorsement to the New Deal policies, because there is one policy of the New Deal that I absolutely and fundamentally disagree with, and that is the policy of the so-called security wage, which in reality is a starvation wage."

"I say that in this attack by the New Deal on the building trades, let each and every other trade take warning. We are continuing the fight right up to this very moment. We are going to continue, and let the other trades who are not affected root for us, pray for us and help us, because if we go down, just so surely do they go down."

### Woll Scores Army-Navy Journal

Mr. Woll, who spoke at the morning session, preceding the convention's action on the third term issue, characterized President Roosevelt's declaration "You cannot strike against the government" as "a new doctrine in America" and added that it means that "an ever growing proportion of our fellow workers are being denied the rights which you and I as civil employees may fully exercise."

As one of the consequences of this Mr. Woll cited the attitude adopted by the military authorities, as exemplified by the following:

(Continued on Page 2)

engendering public hostility and opposition to the strikers."

The Board reviewed the operations of the Bethlehem plant from the time it was set up in 1918 with the advice and assistance of W. L. Mackenzie King, now prime minister of Canada. The Board held that the structure and functions of the plans "made them peculiarly subject to the employer interferences and that they were incapable of serving as genuine representatives of the employees," and that no general meetings of the employees were ever held and that the amendment clauses "prevented the employees from changing the plans in any vital respects without the consent of the company."

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# Permanent Unemployment A Program to Meet It

## Idle Productive Equipment Shown As Great Waste

By LYMAN FRASER

THE government of the United States is playing politics with the human misery of unemployment. The W.P.A. appropriation proposed by the President was insufficient; it was severely cut by Congress; and now millions of people are being deprived of their one slender hold on a job and some self-respect.

There must be an end to this playing politics with the human misery of unemployment. And that can be done only by recognizing an indisputable fact: Unemployment is now a permanent problem. The fact was admitted several years ago by the former W.P.A. Administrator; it is admitted by all economists who do not sell their science to reactionary interests.

### UNEMPLOYMENT A PERMANENT PROBLEM

That unemployment on a mass scale has become a permanent problem is clearly proved by the record. Since 1929, for the past ten years, unemployment has never fallen below 8,000,000; it was over 15,000,000 in 1933 and it now is 12,000,000. In all those years, neither private industry nor the government has been able to provide all the jobs that our people want and need. And now, although unemployment is greater than in several years and industry gives no sign of being able to provide work for the unemployed, the W.P.A. rolls are being purged by about one-third.

Private industry will never be able to solve the unemployment problem. It is now in a stage where production becomes increasingly unprofitable, where capital piles up and remains idle because investment opportunities are decreasing, where business, whose boast it is that it provides our goods and services, permits masses of labor and productive equipment and natural resources to be idle and wasted, while millions of our people lack the most elementary goods and services.

That situation calls for social action thru government. But government, too, has been unable to solve the unemployment problem. For the government program was a makeshift. It was never large enough to revive prosperity by taking up the slack in economic activity and employment created by the collapse of business enterprise. And even its incomplete program the government looked upon as temporary; its theory was that government activity should lessen as soon as business picked up; but when government lessened its activity, business broke down again.

Not only was the W.P.A. program incomplete, it treated its workers as second-class economic citizens who were not paid regular wages, who were made to feel that they ate the bread of charity; and the most monstrous expression of this attitude is the W.P.A. purge of the rolls now going on.

But if unemployment is a permanent problem and both private industry and government have failed, then the answer is a thorough government program of economic activity on useful projects where labor is paid prevailing wages and salaries, and which will take up the slack, all the slack, in private enterprise.

### ONLY SOLUTION IS WORK

The only solution of unemployment is work. The only answer to unused labor, and capital and natural resources is to use them to produce the useful goods and services the people need. There is plenty of work to be done, and the government must see to it that the work is done.

For such work, which is economically necessary to revive prosperity and which is socially useful, prevailing wages and salaries must be paid for the workers employed while doing the same necessary work as other

workers. The workers on the projects created by such a thorough government program must be hired directly. If wealth is produced, the workers who produce the wealth are entitled to their share.

The projects of such an economic program must get away from the idea of "made work." There is plenty of useful work to be done, and it must be done if we are to solve the unemployment problem and increase the national income.

It is not difficult to work out a program of such projects. There are many industrial projects that might be undertaken, regardless of whether private industry approves or not. New industries in under-industrialized regions might be started, providing work and balancing up our lopsided regional economy. There is the need for a direct government program of low-cost housing—the expenditure by government of two billion dollars a year for the next ten years would not only solve our housing problem, but would go a long way toward restoring prosperity.

There are plenty of projects that might be started in the rural regions—improving farms and rebuilding homes, extension of the programs for soil conservation and the elimination of marginal and sub-marginal farms, developing new industries, building schools and roads, etc. There is a growing surplus of rural labor, which migrates to the cities where they starve on the relief rolls. This labor could be employed to build and industrialize the rural regions.

There are plenty of white-collar and professional projects that might be started—educational, recreational, medical and cultural projects that would not only provide work for white-collar and professionals, among whom unemployment is as bad as among manual workers, but would enormously improve the standards of living of our people.

But one thing is necessary for the success of such a program: it must be recognized as a permanent necessity in an economy which is slowing down under the old forms of organization and old motives; the program must be sufficient to stimulate full employment of our resources, regardless of the opposition of vested interests; and it must be a program that is strictly economic, in the sense of implementing economic activity and paying prevailing wages and salaries.

Such a program would enormously increase our national income and wealth by using resources that are now being wasted thru being unemployed. And the crying need of our times is production and employment, the use of all our resources to provide that abundance of goods and services which industry is now capable of providing.

### HOW TO FINANCE

But where will the money come from, it may be asked. Won't it be a tremendous waste of the people's money?

On the contrary, it will not; the great waste is unemployment and unused productive equipment and natural resources. In the past ten years, we might have produced more than \$300 billion in additional goods and services if all the unemployed had been working. And that waste is still going on.

We can spend more if we produce more. If more government spending means more work and more production, it means that the projects will be paid for out of the additional national income resulting from greater production. Private industry itself spends in order to produce, and it pays for the spending thru its production of goods and services. The same principle holds true of any economic program of work and production put thru by the government.

The program will be paid for thru three sources:

1. Since this program is conceived as a permanent economic necessity, and not simply as work-relief, many of the projects would be income-producing, and the revenues would be used to pay costs.

2. Since the program would be of a nature to really stimulate economic activity, moving toward full employment of labor and resources, it would produce a great rise in the national income, and taxing part of that rise would secure revenues to pay for the projects.

3. Taxation of corporate profits and the bigger incomes, sufficiently great to get into the hands of government surplus capital now lying idle and which is largely responsible for our economic jam, which would help to pay the costs of the projects in the proposed permanent economic program of government.

If war comes, the government will spend more and more on useless goods and services, without adding one iota to our national wealth, rather decreasing that wealth. What can be done for the destructive military purposes of war can be done for the constructive economic purposes of peace. Republican Germany refused to spend more on useful economic projects to provide work; now Nazi Germany is spending much more on destructive preparations for war and conquest; and the German people are paying for it in lower mass standards of living.

It is socially useful to create work and produce more. Anything or any vested interest that stands in the way is socially destructive.

### DEMOCRATIC SAFEGUARDS

Finally, it must be recognized that the proposed government economic program offers dangers of despotic bureaucracy that must be overcome by democratic safeguards.

Everywhere governments are increasing their economic powers, and this is one of the forces making for totalitarianism. The modern world cannot escape increasing government intervention in economic affairs. The problem is to force such intervention in the progressive interests of the great majority of the people and to make it harmonize with an increase of democracy.

The projects under the proposed government economic program (Continued on Page 4)

# Tool and Die Pact Only a Face-Saver

## Production Men Hurt by Agreement

By S. MEFFAN

ON Saturday Aug. 5 after many bloody clashes between striking and non-striking auto workers, The General Motors Corporation and the UAW-CIO signed the strike of tool and die, and maintenance men, in some twelve G.M. shops. All original demands were dropped and the best that can be said for the agreement is that while it obtained nothing for the auto workers, it enabled the CIO leaders to hastily save their faces.

### Real Reason For Strike.

The strike, which was called on a strictly craft basis, almost before the CIO leaders had got their breath back from condemning the UAW-AFL of being a craft union, was doomed to disaster from the start. Called too late in the tool and die season, many workers nevertheless responded to the call, beguiled by the demands of the union for a ten cent an hour wage increase and a union label on all tools and dies. After having struck a number of plants on this basis, though not without difficulty, the CIO leaders promptly dropped these issues, and revealed the real reason for the strike, namely to force sole bargaining for themselves in the G. M. plants. If this could be done through the minority skilled group where the CIO strength lay, then the production workers would have to accept an accomplished fact.

Thus these leaders had no qualms about playing one group of workers against another. This was proved in another instance where the CIO shut down the White Motor Car Co. (not connected with G.M.) to get pickets to close down the Fisher Plant in Cleveland where many G.M. workers wanted to go to work. A fine example of solidarity!

### The Agreement

The terms of the settlement show that they completely failed in their objectives. Most of the contract is a statement of existing conditions in the plants. The two wage groupings in the plants have been in existence for over two years already. Unless G.M. has changed, a few raises will go through to known scabs and stool pigeons, as has happened many times in the past. For the benefit of all our readers, let us state here that under this agreement the Corpora-

tion is not bound to give a raise to anyone. The right of workers with considerable seniority to borrow on their future wages has been extended to include some workers in Fisher plant 23. This is hailed as a great victory now, but at the time G.M. introduced the plan both unions condemned it as an attempt to introduce sharecropping conditions into the industry.

The tool and die workers are to be reclassified after going back to work, which if the experience of the past is anything to go by, is fraught with danger to the seniority of active union men, and means little gain through increased wages. Move work is promised for the Fisher 23 plant in Detroit. The only effect, if this promise is carried out, is to take work away from tool and die job shops in the same local. Already Reuther and the Stalinist John Anderson, president of Tool and Die local 155 are in a fight about this.

The provision for double time for Sunday work means nothing for the simple reason that all employees who work Sunday are exempt from the clause.

### Absurd Claims

By freezing bargaining where it now is the CIO claimed a great victory. Reuther and Thomas reiterate day after day, this gives the CIO sole bargaining in 42 plants. This claim is absurd even by their own estimate. In eleven of the major plants there are already two committees in existence and remain unchanged by this agreement. If we concede the corporations right to refuse to recognize substitute committees formed after this strike was called, the UAW-CIO would have the edge in a number of the plants but since the agreement holds for either fact, the UAW-AFL would also have sole bargaining in some of the plants, including practically all of the 100% organizations in G.M., some eleven in number.

However the UAW-AFL far from conceding this right which is in effect a violation of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, has taken the bold step of asking the Labor Board for a vote in all G.M. plants. The CIO lawyers are squirming and twisting, trying to avoid the logic of this straightforward offer. Maurice Sugar, is even trying to have the Chrysler elections postponed, so scared is he of the consequence of this disastrous strike.

No one can predict with any degree of accuracy how the various votes will go. It is to be hoped that the workers will not vote against unions altogether, in view of their unfortunate experiences in the last few years.

# Red Caps Complain of Intimidation

Charging intimidation of federal witnesses and violation of Section 15(a) of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the International Brotherhood of Red Caps this week filed complaints against the Indianapolis Terminal Railroad Company and Superintendent J. J. Liddy before the regional office of the Wage and Hour Administration.

The charges grew out of the discharge of Milton C. Cruze, secretary of the Indianapolis local of the Brotherhood and one of the star witnesses at the recent "tip-wage" hearing before the Wage and Hour Administration in Washington. According to reports, Cruze was called into the office of the superintendent and was questioned concerning an affidavit he had signed pertaining to working conditions which was one of the affidavits presented by the Brotherhood before the hearing. Upon admitting that he had submitted an affidavit, the superintendent became abusive and began questioning him concerning various points in the affidavit. Cruze pointed out that since this had taken the semblance of an investigation, he felt that it was his right to be represented and stated that he could not discuss the points without proper representatives. At this point the official ordered his discharge.

When informed of this action, Secretary-Treasurer John L. Yancey of the Brotherhood dispatched a wire to Administrator Elmer F. Andrews, calling his attention to this violation of Section 15 (a) of the Act. A formal protest, citing the prohibitive acts of the law was sent to Superintendent Liddy which demanded the reinstatement of Cruze with pay for loss of time. Later President Willard S. Townsend of the Brotherhood went before the regional Wage and Hour Division and filed the formal complaint against the company and the official.

Section 15(a) of the Act specifically prohibits "discharge or any other manner discriminate against any employee because such employee has filed any complaint or instituted or caused to be instituted any proceedings under or related to this Act, or has testified or is about to testify in any such proceedings."

SPREAD THE  
WORKERS AGE

# Government and Labor

by Joseph Elwood

SHORTLY after the appointment of the new House Committee, on August 5, to investigate the National Labor Relations Act and its administration, Representative Smith of Virginia, father of the probe and chairman of the committee, announced that it would hold its first meeting on September 7 to plan procedure and organize a staff of investigators and attorneys.

Members of the 5-man committee, appointed by Speaker Bankhead, include three Democrats and two Republicans. Rep. Smith, the committee chairman, was the author of the resolution which directed the investigation. Other members are: Arthur D. Healey (D. Mass.); A. Murdock (D. Utah); Charles A. Halleck (R. Ind.); and Harry N. Routzohn (R. Ohio).

Formal hearings of the committee, which will be public, are expected to begin soon after October 1.

### Committee Hostile To Act

Unlike the House Committee on Labor or the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, who concluded their hearings on the Wagner Act on July 26, the Smith Committee is not investigating the Act in the light of specific amendments which have already been proposed at the last session of Congress. The Smith Committee may recommend new amendments or further drastic legislation.

On the basis of their past legislative records, two members of the committee appear to be strongly in favor of employer amendments to the Wagner Act and two members appear to approve of the law as it stands at present. The fifth member, Representative Routzohn, who has been in Congress for only one session, has not committed himself to the same extent as the others but it is quite probable that he will follow the reactionary chairman of the committee.

Definitely opposed to the Act as it now stands are Chairman Smith and Representative Halleck. In addition to introducing the resolution to investigate the Board, Representative Smith voted against both the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, and favored a congressional investigation of sit-down strikes in 1937. Representative Halleck, who became a member of Congress in 1935, voted in like manner on these measures.

Representative Healey, on the

other hand, has a fairly good record of supporting legislation favorable to labor. A member of Congress for four terms, he was co-author of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, worked for the adoption of the Wage and Hour Act and voted against the Smith resolution and the investigation of the sit-down strikes of 1937. Representative Murdock, who took his seat in 1935, voted in like manner on these measures.

Representative Routzohn, the so-called "innocent" voted for the present investigation. Judging by the record of the committee members, this committee probably will not correct any shortcomings of the Act or the Board, and there are a number of them, but will most likely indulge heavily in labor and New Deal baiting.

AS of August 9, switchboard operators employed in public telephone exchanges which have less than 500 stations are exempt from the wage and hour provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

As approved by the President on this date, the amending clause to the Wage and Hour Act states the following:

"That section 13 (a) of the Act approved June 25, 1938, entitled the 'Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938', be, and the same is hereby, amended by adding a new subsection (11) as follows: 'or (11) any switchboard operator employed in a public telephone exchange which has less than 500 stations.'"

Section 13 (a) of the Act defines classes of employees with respect to whom minimum wages and maximum hours do not apply.

This is the sole emasculatory amendment passed in the last session of Congress. The other amendments, as analyzed by this writer in last week's Age, remain for the next session the status which they had at the time of adjournment. The Norton Bill has been reported from the House Labor Committee and may be brought up under a special rule permitting substitution of the Barden Bill.

It is of paramount importance that the organized labor movement establish a truce, if not immediate unity, to guard against the introduction in January of both reactionary bills.

IN requesting the National Labor Relations Board to investigate claims of rival unions, Remington Rand, Inc., became the first company to file a formal employer petition under the revised regulations of the Board. In its petition the company states that in six of its plants the Office Equipment Workers (AFL) and the Remington Rand Independent Association of Employees have presented to the company conflicting claims that each represents a majority of the workers. Such an allegation is a requisite in order that the Board entertain a petition from an employer.

# Knitgoods Union Begins Big Drive

New York, N. Y. The Knitgoods Workers Union is mobilizing all its resources to extend the campaign against the open shops. The drive is simultaneously being pushed in New York and New Jersey. With the active participation of the Union membership, the organization work is gathering momentum. The Union is determined to eliminate sweatshop conditions from the industry and to bring to all workers in the knitgoods industry a decent American standard of living.

Three open shops against which the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.C.W.U., conducted strikes have settled with the Union. They are: Tower Knitting Mills, Adolph Mohr Knitting Mills, and Tricot Knitting Mills. The workers of these shops won full Union conditions. The settlement of these shops has also meant the employment of additional workers.

In addition to the new shops organized, the following shops whose agreements expired July 15, 1939, renewed their agreements with the Union: Aero Bocker Knitting Mills, Wearbest Knitting Mills, Pyramid, Textile Specialty, Louis Hornick and Co. Inc., and Dumont Knitting Mills. The Union is at present conducting strikes against the following shops: A. Levine Knitting Mills, formerly Maxwell Knitting Mills in Philadelphia, now located in Brooklyn; Kaplan Brothers; Williams Knitting Mills; Amko Knitting Mills; Bushwick Mills, all in Brooklyn. This last shop is one of the worst sweatshops in New York City. The Union is vigorously pushing the strike against this mill.

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# State A.F.L. Turns Down Third Term

(Continued from Page 1)

pressed in the official Journal of the Army and Navy. He read an excerpt from an editorial in the Journal declaring the government could look to the army to suppress W.P.A. strikers, and that the army would act with "sternness."

### Warns Against "Regulation of Labor"

He warned labor against reliance upon the government to achieve its aims:

"The danger first of all is that statute enactments or Congressional enactments designed to clarify the rights of labor, intended to safeguard and protect the rights of labor may be interpreted and may be administered as a means of regulating and controlling the conduct of labor.

"... time will not permit of analyzing the varying situations reached, to indicate clearly the truth and the validity of the statements that I have presented to you. Hence the necessity of careful consideration of all that is involved and collective action on the part of the workers to be sure that this legislation designed to benefit labor will not ultimately enslave labor to the powers of government.

"God knows labor knows well the power that government wields, because we have lived under it for many years to our great sorrow, and we must be sure that we do not even now again revert to that condition under other auspices or dictations."

### Convention for Unity

On the question of peace between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. the convention adopted a resolution reaffirming the stand taken by the State Federation in Buffalo last year.

Declaring "peace within the ranks of labor is a most highly desirable objective," the 1938 resolution expressed accord "with those who seek unity in the field of labor" and declared the "path of unity in the field of labor leads to the door of the American Federation of Labor." The resolution blamed John L. Lewis the head of the C.I.O., as being the chief obstacle to unity.

This decision was in line with the sentiments expressed by Wm. Green, president of the A. F. of L., at the opening session of the convention. On the same day, pleas for labor unity were received from Mayor LaGuardia and President Roosevelt.

# Methods for Reaching Wage Standards

## Employers Must Pay 40c Rate By 1945

Washington, D. C. WHEN Congress decided that industries in interstate commerce, should pay their workers not less than 40 cents an hour after 1945, it provided a way by which certain industries could reach the 40-cent level in advance of that date, or could reach 40 cents by gradual steps, according to conditions in the individual industry.

These are the steps necessary in raising the minimum wage level in industry:

1. The Administrator is to appoint an Industry Committee for each industry. Each committee shall consist of equal numbers of representatives of the public, of employees in the industry, and of employers in the industry. Each committee shall be furnished with legal counsel, economic advisors, and clerical and stenographic assistance by the Administrator.

2. The committee shall make a study of the industry to embrace such factors as production costs, labor costs, transportation costs, competitive conditions, costs of living, and the wages paid in the industry in accordance with union labor contracts.

3. After this study of the industry, the committee shall recommend a minimum wage for the industry. The recommended minimum shall be such as not to curtail employment in the industry and not to give any group of employers in the industry an advantage over their competitors.

4. When the recommendation is received by the Administrator he must hold public hearings. He also must consider all the factors that have been considered by the committee.

5. After the hearings the administrator may do one of three things: (a) He may issue a wage order, putting the recommended minimum into effect with the force of law; (b) he may send it back to the committee for further consideration; or (c) he may appoint another committee to study the industry and bring in a fresh recommendation. He may not, in any event, issue a wage order that has not been specifically recommended by an industry committee.

Seven Industry Committees had been appointed up to June 1. They are for cotton, silk and rayon textiles, woolen textiles, wearing apparel, hosiery, shoes, hats, and millinery.

Five of the committees have agreed upon wage recommendations. They are: for textiles, 33½ cents an hour; for woollens, 36 cents; for hosiery, 40 cents for full-fashioned and 32½ cents for seamless; for millinery 40 cents, and from 32½ cents to 40 for work on different

kinds of wearing apparel. Two of these recommendations are now formally before the Administrator. Public hearings on the hosiery and textile recommendations were held in June. But so far, no wage orders have yet been issued.

However, it is estimated that if wage orders are issued carrying all the recommended minimum rates into effect, 237,500 workers in these industries will receive wage increases up to the minimum, or more workers than there are people living in Syracuse. In addition, some workers now above those suggested minimum scales would receive increases in order to preserve the customary differentials between the skilled and the unskilled, or the skilled and the semi-skilled.

The work of the Industry Committees is of tremendous importance to all workers, but especially to organized labor. Labor has a voice, along with employers and public representatives, in arriving at the recommendations, and organized labor has its opportunity, of course, to present its side of the argument before the industry committees and also at the open hearings before the Administrator.

# Painters Stop Bklyn Project

New York, N. Y.

The Williamsburg Housing Project, better known as the "Ten Eyck Houses," has been employing a crew of thirty-five (35) painters. The hiring and firing is done by a Mr. Davis, the Superintendent of this Project. Mr. Davis claims that he hires those men from a civil service list. The truth is that no such list is in existence at present. Mr. Genung, the Director of Plants and Structures of the New York Housing Authority, states that the Housing Authority can contract its painting work "at any time it pleases," and hire men by the day.

The Brotherhood of Painters, District Council No. 18 has referred to the Wagner-Steagall Act of 1937; and this Housing Act emphatically states that the prevailing rate of wages for the prevailing rate of hours must be paid on these jobs. The truth about this is that the men on the Williamsburg Housing Project are working eight (8) hours for nine (\$9.00) dollars per day, at a time when the prevailing rate is eleven dollars twenty cents (\$11.20) for seven (7) hours work. The organized painters of Greater New York want to know why this job is being used as a political football.

# Spain's Political and Economic Problems Split Franco Forces

## Fascist and Monarchist Scramble for Power Rocks Military Regime

By JUAN ANDRADE

Now that the civil war in Spain has come to an end, the Franco regime is faced with the problems of reconstruction. Deep cracks are appearing in the so-called monolithic unity and contradictory tendencies in the fascist ranks are becoming sharper and more evident. In the early days, political and economic quarrels were shoved to one side to make possible military unity. But now that the war is over the solution of each problem, political, economic or administrative, forces into the daylight all the discrepancies in the new regime.

### No Unity of Fascists

Recently, General Alvarez Arenas, supreme representative of Franco in Catalonia, issued an order repeating that it was compulsory for all members of the Falanx to wear as their only emblem the Yoke and Arrows. He repeated that the "uniform of the movement is the blue shirt and the red beret for all members, who are forbidden to use the one without the other." This order followed from an earlier one, the last paragraph of which reads: "The Vigilance police will proceed to arrest all members who fail to comply with the instructions of unification ordered by the Chief."

This question of uniform which has given rise to so many orders and decrees involves at bottom, a political question. The members of the old Falanx flatly refuse to cover themselves with the "reactionary beret." The Requetes, on the other hand, do not want to wear the blue shirt—"the style of foreign paganism," as the Carlist monarchists put it. The fascists want no compromise with any emblem of "the religious fanatics"; the Requetes despise the emblems of all foreigners.

This, apparently minor struggle, is symbolic of the existing inner rivalries. The old blue shirts of the Falanx are fighting to maintain their former leading position and independence. Against the Falanx is whipped up the hostility of the Requetes and the Clergy, the monarchists and the military. Nor is that all. The National Council of the Unified Movement, named and imposed by Franco himself, also fights against the Falanx.

The German Ambassador to Spain in the early days of the civil war, with the help of Manuel Hedilla (who took the place of José Antonio, son of Primo de Rivera, as leader of the Falanx) organized a coup d'état which was to have given all the power to the Falanx which had promised to strengthen Germany's influence as against Italian. This conspiracy was discovered in April 1937 and many of the leading Falanxists were executed. The German ambassador was forced to leave Spain and Hedilla's life was saved only through the personal intercession of Hitler himself.

### Franco Fuses Fascists

Franco took advantage of this conspiracy to fuse the Falanx with the Requetes in the organization of a single party. Five days after the discovery of the conspiracy the Chief himself issued the decree of unification. As a symbol of harmony the uniform adopted for the new party was the blue shirt of one and the red beret of the other. At the same time Franco chose a National Council made up of the most diverse elements and the most heterogeneous in social composition. On this Council the old Falanx was in a very small minority, the greatest strength going to the monarchists and the Generals. This was the first step in the suppression of the Falanx. The leader of the new party became Serrano Suner, new

Minister of State and brother-in-law of Franco.

Serrano Suner has outlined a whole series of aggressive policies to strengthen the military caste and the monarchist interests. He is now attempting to transform the "unified" party into a party of Franco. At the beginning he had to carry on a policy of balancing between the different social currents within the party. In the Government there were 3 Falanxist ministers (at least in name)—Serrano Suner, Fernandez Cuesta and Gonzales Bueno. The Requetes had only one, Count Rodero; almost all the highest administrative offices were in the hands of the Carlists. The Secretary of the Chief, also called himself a Falanxist, but his entire military organization was made up of Carlists. The Department of Press and Propaganda was Falanxist, but the hospitals at the Front were entrusted only to the Carlist women.

Among the military elements hostility towards the Falanxists is continually on the increase, especially among the groups led by Generals Aranda, Yague, and Varela. The Falanxists are haggling with the military for recognition of their successes in the Civil War. They want recognition of the titles of the Falanxist militia and they want the same military rank in the army. The military caste replies that the Falanxists were only rear-guard fighters and add that only the Requetes made any real sacrifices during the civil war. The military elements also condemn the "illegal repression" carried on by the Falanx.

### Elements in Franco Front

Lined up against the Falanx then are: the majority of the military elements, the Church, the monarchists and the Requetes. Industrial capital and the large landholders have not lined up with the program of the Falanx. At this moment the Falanx in Spain is reduced to a movement of the middle class; clerks, small merchants, students and lower officials of the army.

But it is possible to expand the movement of the Falanx to include broader masses. In all sections of the population there is great discontent with the economic conditions of the country. The triumph of Franco was greatly facilitated by hunger in the ranks of the rear-guard of the Republican army.

The great neutral mass of Spaniards and the majority of those who sympathized and passively supported the anti-fascist side, thought that the end of the war would put an end also to the period of hunger. Almost six months have passed since then and conditions now are worse than they were in January of this year in the Republican zone. This situation has, of course, given rise to great discontent which is being concentrated against the government and especially those in the government held most directly responsible.

In a regime of bloody repression, under which legal life is granted to only one party, general discontent has no immediate outlet and shows itself indirectly through certain elements of opposition within that one party. Through this channel the old Falanx can be converted into a political receptacle of the popular currents against the leaders of the present regime. Thus it is, that one can observe an actual clash between Serrano Suner and the old Falanxists in the means used to examine the "hardened reds" as they call those workers who formerly belonged to the old UGT and the CNT, the socialist, and anarchist unions, respectively.

Recently Serrano Suner announced that he would continue to liquidate the "extremists of the Falanx." He is also planning to win for the regime the "workers who formerly belonged to the red trade unions." He hopes in this way to neutralize the influence of the Falanx which insists that it remains faithful to the program of José Antonio. The Falanx, on its part, is also seeking a base of support among the workers.

### Church Influence Strong

The church stands in the path of the Falanx. The clergy has won back in Spain not only its old power, but much more. There is nothing to eat in Spain, but every day there are public masses and religious processions. Education of the young has been placed exclusively in the hands of the church. The church is indoctrinating the youth with a spirit of ultra-nationalism which may sometimes even clash with the Vatican.

In the heterogeneous conglomeration known as the new party of

unity, the Falanx has become diluted. Its chances for reconsolidation at the present moment are doomed to defeat. Its enemies are too powerful. Nor have they been able to find an effective social base for their support. Industrial and agrarian capital are amply protected by the existing alliance between the military and the Church. Through them (and it should be borne in mind that in Spain the Church is a stronger economic organization than anywhere else in the world) capitalism is assured of all its prerogatives without the necessity of making demagogic concessions of any kind.

It cannot be said that the Franco regime has yet clearly defined its political physiognomy. At the moment it is an ultra-reactionary dictatorship with fascist forms of organization. But although all the elements making up the Franco movement have an anti-proletarian and anti-democratic common denominator, still there are many diverse tendencies representing distinct economic interests and each group strives to make its own special interest supreme.

### Policy In Flux

Up to the present the policies of the Chief have been limited to attempting to mediate between the opposing currents. Franco has hesitated in declaring his intentions to the monarchy, altho he has decreed the

return of the royal properties. It is possible that he will continue delaying a declaration on the monarchy altho actually the opposition to wards restoration is limited only to the old Falanx and to some of the military officers under its influence. But what cannot be delayed any longer is the decision whether the military will return to their posts or whether they are to remain the only rulers of the country; whether the economic policies of the new regime are to favor the agrarians or the industrialists; whether the foreign policy will be neutrality in case of war or an offensive alliance with the totalitarian states; whether the regime is to be based upon the corporative system or whether it will be reduced to an autocratic state of a military-clerical character. These questions must soon be answered by the Franco regime.

And these are questions which do not depend wholly on the will of Franco and his associates, nor even on the general situation of the country itself, but on the contingencies of European politics and on how close we are to a declaration of war. It is precisely this uncertainty which withholds stability from the Franco regime. Its position, no matter how great the terror it uses for the establishment of internal order, must be weakened by international events, and this weakness will be utilized by the opposition within the regime.

## Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

**THE NEGRO IMMIGRANT**, by Professor Ira De A. Reid, Ph. D. Columbia University Press. \$3.50.

THIS book contains a penetrating analysis of many significant aspects of Negro immigration into the United States and their influence upon the American "Negro Question." The portrayal of the historical and cultural background of various Negro immigrant groups, the caste divisions in West Indian society, and the conflicts and prejudices

## Dewey Offers Award For Labor Study

Professor Sidney Hook announced a contest for the first award of a \$750.00 fellowship for a piece of original research work or a constructive analysis of a labor problem. The award will be made by a committee of judges consisting of Professors John Dewey and Sidney Hook, and Julius Hochman, well-known labor leader. The name of the winner will be made public, and the chosen manuscript will be published by the John Dewey Research Fellowship, of which Professor Hook is chairman.

The fellowship was founded by friends and admirers of Professor Dewey in honor of his approaching 80th birthday, in appreciation of his contributions to the labor movement and to human progress, and in the hope of stimulating wide interest in the labor movement. The contest is open to everyone under the following rules:

1. A full detailed outline of a proposed manuscript, the latter to be preferably of book size, must be submitted on or before November 30, 1939, covering an original piece of research on any problem of general significance to the American labor movement; for example: (a) Relations of the labor movement and public school education; (b) Philosophy of trade unionism in relation to the democratic way of life.

2. The outline is to be signed with a nom de plume. The real name and address of the contestant should be placed in a sealed envelope, with the nom de plume on the outside—the envelope to be attached to the outline submitted.

3. The manuscript must be completed within one year after date of award.

4. One-third of the fellowship (\$250) will be presented to the winning contestant on acceptance of the outline, the balance (\$500) on acceptance by the judges of the completed manuscript.

Outlines should be mailed to Hillman M. Bishop, Secretary of the Committee of Award, Government Department, College of the City of New York, 17 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

arising therefrom, constitutes one of the most interesting and significant features of this book. Dr. Reid's treatment of the problems of adjustment confronting the Negro immigrant sheds much light on the rise of Garveyism, Pan-Africanism and Negro nationalism in the United States.

The active and aggressive role played by foreign-born Negroes in the American labor movement and their contributions to the development of left-wing political and economic organizations in this country are given well merited consideration.

Dr. Reid is of the opinion that "the Negro immigrant to the United States is faced with grave problems of social adjustment. Not only is he an alien by law and fact, but suffers a complete change in status by emerging from a group setting where he was the racial majority into one where he becomes part of a racial minority. He brings a cultural heritage that is vastly different from that of the American Negro. Briefly, then, the immigrant who becomes Negro upon arrival brings the United States Negro population a different set of mores, with different life experience. The problem he faces is distinctly one of cultural adjustment." Most of this is quite true. However, the facts submitted in Dr. Reid's conclusions reveal that the problem of cultural adjustment is secondary to the social and economic problem confronting the Negro immigrant as a member of the oppressed Negro minority in the present scheme of American capitalism.

With the exception of a few quotations, nothing is mentioned about the decline of West Indian agricultural economy under the impact of the crisis in world capitalism; the mass unrest sweeping the West Indies; and the effect these profound social conditions have on the Negro immigrant. Despite this shortcoming, the book offers some excellent observations of West Indian culture, traditions, group attitudes and relations. Speaking of race relations Dr. Reid states: "The Caribbean is a vast ethnological laboratory, Spanish and Portuguese meet French, Dutch, English and Americans. Jews fled there from the Spanish Inquisition. Full-blooded Negroes practice the fearful obeah. East Indian coolies and Hindus tread new tropics. Chinese have flowed in by tens of thousands. Descendants of native Indians who greeted Columbus still lounge under the native palms. Most intense and most vital are Negroes who swarm out of overpopulated Haiti, Jamaica and Trinidad until it seems that Africa rule racially if not politically. . . . From the French and British possessions in the Caribbean have come thousands of colored persons, to whom the concept of 'race' has never been important. To them the badge of culture or nationality has been the outstanding symbol. The confusion of culture and race becomes increasingly significant upon migra-

## Rorty Hits SDF Pro-War Position

In the August 5 issue of the New Leader (New York), there is a letter by James Rorty expressing "amazement" at the pro-war position adopted by the Social-Democratic Federation in the resolution of its last convention. (See our editorial comments on this resolution in the August 12 issue of the Workers Age.—Editor.)

In reply to Mr. Rorty, Algeron Lee has a short statement, the essence of which is well summarized in the caption: "Socialist Movement Never Pacifist; Freedom Worth Fighting For."

It is worth while to examine this formula a little more closely. Of course, the socialist movement has never been pacifist. Of course, freedom is well worth fighting for. With this we heartily agree. But what has freedom to do with the kind of war that we are talking about today—a war between the "democratic" imperialist powers, on the one hand, and the fascist imperialist powers, on the other?

Are we to look to the French General Staff and the British Admiralty to bring freedom to Europe?

Is imperialism France, already a decree-dictatorship has been established and parliamentary democracy is being rapidly dismantled, to be hailed as the emancipator of Europe? Or perhaps it is imperialist Britain, whose regime in India and Africa Hitler might envy, to which we must pin our hopes for freedom?

Is that what Algeron Lee and the social-democrats would have us believe?

So far from bringing freedom anywhere, war today would only complete the work of dictatorship that the last war—also a "war for democracy"—began. Once a war breaks out the French decree-dictatorship will be turned overnight into a military dictatorship with the usual fascist trimmings, and something very like it will be established in that "mother of democracies," Great Britain. As for the United States, just look at the Industrial Mobilization Plan, ready for enactment on M-Day, and see what is in store for us.

Freedom is well worth fighting for. But today to fight for freedom is to fight against war and against any step leading to America's involvement in war.

Their social heritage represents and includes the devices that have been utilized by Negro groups in other sections to solve their life problems. Racial amalgamation is regarded as a definite "way out" . . .

Nothing could be more misleading in analyzing the racial background of Negro immigrants, than to assume that they are all Negroes, in the American sense of the word. In the United States all persons with Negro blood, no matter what amount, are classified as Negroes. In the West Indies those persons having admixtures of white and Negro blood are recognized as colored, and form a separate, though no rigidly defined, caste. Their social position is distinctly superior to that of the black population. While color, class and caste lines tend to converge in the Caribbean, it is also true that their racial separation begins there. . . . The mulattos of the British West Indies, and the richer and more intelligent blacks, have so incorporated with the ruling British that together they hold the masses of black workers in a vise. The unrest in these islands is kept down only by starvation and severe repression.

This well written treatise on the Negro immigrant is a tremendous contribution to a better understanding of the Negro immigrant and one of the most complex aspects of the American "Negro Question."

CLARENCE JENKINS

## Gandhi's Influence Weakens In India

### Roy Leads Militant Opposition In Congress

By JIM CORK

THE fundamental issue dividing right and left in the Indian National Congress is still the old one of Gandhi, his leadership and his policies. The left is opposed to and the right is for the perpetuation of Gandhi's leadership and his policy of capitulation to British Imperialism. The policy includes sabotaging and sidetracking the revolutionary implications of the struggle for freedom from Britain; the calling off of mass strikes, mass demonstrations, mass civil disobedience in the name of loyalty to the abstract (and ingeniously pro-imperialist) shibboleth of non-violence; accepting the recent slave constitution as a working proposition, with the inevitable corollary that ministries composed of Indian National Congress representatives become the lackeys of British Imperialism, performing its dirty work of repression against the Indian Masses.

Gandhi's services to British imperialism have been long and consistent and are thoroughly well appreciated by his imperialist masters. Years ago he enunciated the leading principle to which he has stuck and which has enabled him at critical times consonant with his enormous influence to sidetrack the movement for complete independence. "I would not sell truth and non-violence even for the freedom of my country, and I have repeated it many times since."

Recently in London, Sir Redhakrishna, an important disciple of Gandhi declared:

"Gandhi will rather have India go under, than create violence to his opponents from whom he desires to free his country. When oppression and persecution were followed by violence on the part of the people, when people got out of control, he has over and over again stepped in the breach and directed the Indian movement in a channel of peace and sanity. If one man more than any other is responsible for the working of the present constitution in India it is Gandhi. He has stood between impatient India and obstinate Britain."

These words speak for themselves. Another Gandhian war-horse, V. Patel, before his recent death in London, rebuked the English for their failure to appreciate the great services rendered them by Gandhi, and declared that the Mahatma was the only man who stood between revolution and the British Empire.

### M. N. ROY vs. GANDHI

This simple truth, uttered by one who should know, makes clear why nothing much will be accomplished in India until Gandhi's undeniably great influence over the masses is broken. For this reason, M. N. Roy, whatever other weaknesses his program may contain, deserves outstanding credit for his consistent and untiring struggle against Gandhi and his principles. He has stuck to his guns in the face of the greatest difficulties and obstacles and today leads the only organized left wing force within the Congress—the League of Radical Congressmen—which shows substantial and increasing strength in the fight against Gandhi.

Its program is for the uncompromising revolutionary struggle for independence from England, and the destruction of Gandhi's leadership as an obstacle to that end. Launched immediately after the last Convention of the Congress at Tripuri which registered a victory for the right wing, it has shown great vitality and its influence is increasing as testified by the rapid growth of its branches all over the country. The Congress Socialist Party is in crisis

due to a peculiar combination of sectarian purity on the one hand, and in practice, a passive attitude to Gandhi, on the other.

The Communist Party of India, to the surprise of nobody, continues to defend Gandhi against all and sundry. Nehru has played a disappointingly vacillating role in the situation, coming out with a blast against Roy for the latter's sharp fight against Gandhi as endangering national unity. Roy's answer to Nehru was masterly in exposing the contradiction between Nehru's windy pretensions of adherence to the ideals of socialism and the lack of a concrete program for its realization which must include the struggle against Gandhi.

### BOSE vs. GANDHI

Another interesting recent development has been the growing estrangement between Gandhi and Bose. The former Gandhiist, Bose was recently ousted as president of the Indian National Congress by the Gandhiists due to his flirtation with some left ideas. The coup d'état against him by his former friends evidently shook him up a bit and set him to thinking. He has recently come out with the following declaration: "We cannot get Swaraj (independence) by constitutional means as some Congressmen have now begun to think." This hits at the central dogma of Gandhi. He has also attempted to launch a new left called the "Forward Bloc" to discuss ways and means of regenerating the Indian National Congress and putting it back on the right track. He has invited other left wing forces, including Roy's League of Radical Congressmen to participate in a conference with him.

The manifesto announcing the birth of the "Forward Bloc" was hardly clear cut in its critical attitude toward Gandhi, and in addition, presented no concrete program for the Indian struggle for independence. Roy, in public declaration, announced the willingness of the League to participate but at the same time criticized sharply the inadequacies of the program of the "Forward Bloc," and indicated that the League would press its own point of view. He said, "The Gandhian leadership has given the call for a complete liquidation of the struggle for freedom. We have reached a crossroad. There must be a parting of the ways between the faithful who will respond to the call to capitulate and those who will go forward, holding high the banner of revolt. The proposition is not that a few individuals must be replaced by some others at the head of the Congress. The ideology of Gandhism must be rejected. The conflict between that ideology and the revolutionary urge of the movement must be made clear."

This joint conference has already taken place, but news of its deliberations have not yet reached the writer.

### ACTIVITIES OF THE RIGHT WING

The right wing on its part has not been idle. At present it controls the administration of the Congress, its president and its executive committee. They are preparing amendments to the existing constitution of the Congress. A sub-committee has already proposed an amendment for adoption at the coming meeting of the executive to the effect that active members of other organizations and all those who are "anti-national" and in conflict with Congress "be not allowed as members of Congress." This obviously, is preparation for a future purge of left "undesirables," for the Rights, controlling the present committees, will evidently decide what is anti-national and what constitutes conflict with the views of the Congress. Even Nehru has raised his voice in protest against this palpably factional move.

### CONGRESS MINISTRIES vs. POPULAR MOVEMENTS

The disastrous fruit of Gandhi's cooperation with the British Empire within the framework of the new slave constitution is seen most clearly in the way the governments in those localities controlled by the Congress have become the tools of British Imperialism. Civil liberties and rights have been attacked by Congress Ministries. Violent suppression of mass demonstrations have taken place. Reactionary legislation has been passed by Congress governments. Congress committees in some localities have even attempted to prohibit Congress members from participating in mass struggles under pain of disciplinary action, which includes expulsion from Congress and actual imprisonment. It is no wonder then that a high English official could declare recently: "British interests as such had no cause to complain about their treatment by the provincial governments during the last two years. On the whole, with certain exceptions, the commercial community in India was satisfied with the functioning of provincial autonomy."

When it is remembered that Congress controls the governments in the majority of the provinces, this announced satisfaction of the British exploiters constitutes a damning indictment of the role of Congress Ministries on the Gandhian basis. The rejection and destruction of the slave constitution must be one of the concrete planks in the program of the movement for independence from England.

## Fascists Retreat Call Off Parade

(Continued from Page 1)

bor, representing over one million organized workers, to render this important service to the American people."

### ILLA Issues Leaflet

ILLA members distributed many thousands of copies of a leaflet entitled: "Labor, On Guard! Stop the Coughlin Fascist Movement." The leaflet follows in full:

"Coughlin represents a fascist trend in American life. His movement is stirring up race hatred and anti-Semitism. His so-called Christian Front organization spreads the deadly poison of religious intolerance and bigotry."

"While pretending to be interested in Labor's problems, Coughlin uses scab labor in his building and printing ventures. His followers break up meetings of labor organizations. His agents interfere with the sale of labor papers. His hoodlums are attacking those who disagree with Coughlin's vile aims and practices. Coughlinites have beaten up scores of individuals on the streets of New York during the past few months. "The Coughlin gangsters are becoming ever more provocative, ever more bold. They want to demonstrate to the powers-that-be that they can deliver the goods. They are determined to terrorize workers in order to have a clear road for their nefarious purposes."

"Labor must wake up. There is

no time to lose. We cannot afford to wait until this monster has grown bigger and stronger. We must not underestimate the menace of this fascist outfit. The German workers made that mistake in the early years of the Hitler movement. The Italian workers did not grasp the danger of Mussolini. Too many Spanish workers were caught asleep by the Franco outbreak. In the United States, it must be different. We must awake in time. That means NOW.

"Only Labor can defeat the savage beast—Fascism. Only organized labor can rally behind it all the anti-fascist and freedom-loving forces of the country. Only through our organized power and numbers can we defeat them.

"But we must begin the job now. Let us raise this question in our unions, our fraternal organizations, our clubs. Let us use our power to prevent the Coughlinites from abusing the streets for their anti-social purposes. We must demonstrate our strength and take the offensive against these enemies of social progress. Let us unite our forces in action against fascism and all reaction."

"Down with fascism!  
"Away with Coughlin and his fascist bands!

"For a powerful united labor movement!  
"Labor, awake! Demonstrate your power!"

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## SOCIALISM GUARANTEES DEMOCRACY

“THERE are four pillars of democracy,” Congressman Jerry Voorhis writes in a recent article. “The first is civil and religious liberty. . . . Second, American democracy means the right of the common citizen to own property. . . . Third, American democracy means government of the people, by the people and for the people. . . . Fourth, American democracy means equality of social and economic opportunity.”

Let us accept this account of the foundations of democracy. But the question immediately arises. Under what social and economic conditions can the people really enjoy these rights, liberties and powers, and not have to rest content with vague formulas and promises? In other words, what social and economic institutions really make for democracy, genuine democracy?

Let us take Mr. Voorhis's second point first: “American democracy means the right of the common citizen to own property.” The legal right to own property the “common citizen” has today, but what good is the bare right to him? Under modern industrial conditions of large-scale machine production, it is pretty obvious that the “common citizen” cannot hope to become the personal owner of any important section of the means of production. Of course, he may own, at least for a time, a home or a store or even a small shop or farm, but the control of the property that really counts in terms of economic power—money and credit, industrial plant, raw materials—rests in the hands of a small group of top business men and capitalists. And this control has not been shaken one iota by anything the New Deal has done in the last seven years.

If democracy means the “right of the common citizen to own property,” what hope is there, then, for democracy under the economic system of capitalist monopoly of the means of production?

If the “common citizen” is ever to own property again—and we agree with Mr. Voorhis that unless he does so in some form or manner, there can be no talk of democracy—he can only do so collectively. He can only do so by having society take over and operate democratically for the benefit of the people the great natural resources and large-scale industries in the country, which today are sources of profit and power for a mere handful of big financiers and industrialists.

Today, there are only two roads:

Either let the means of production remain in private hands, in which case only a few will continue to own everything and the “common citizen” continue to own nothing. Under such conditions, you have plutocracy.

Or let the means of production be socially owned and democratically operated so that every man or woman doing useful work has his or her proper share in their ownership and control. Under such conditions, you have the possibility of real democracy.

In other words, it's a choice between capitalism and plutocracy, on the one hand, and socialism and democracy, on the other.

Take Mr. Voorhis's third point: “American democracy means government of the people, by the people and for the people.” Does anybody seriously believe that such democratic government is possible as long as a small group of capitalists own and control the resources and industrial machinery by which society lives? As long as big business controls the economic life of the country, as long as it owns all essential means of production, it will also ultimately control the political life of the country as well, New Deal or no New Deal. Again, the only way to do away with the political power of the capitalists is to deprive them of their economic privilege of monopoly ownership. And that is socialism.

Democracy, Mr. Voorhis tells us, means “equality of social and economic opportunity.” And Mr. Voorhis realistically adds: “This ideal is one that has never been achieved.”

But can it ever be achieved as long as society is divided into rich and poor, into those who live by owning and those who have to work hard for a mere pittance? Is “equality of social and economic opportunity” ever possible between a son of the Rockefeller family and the son of a man who works in the Rockefeller oil fields, no matter what administration is in Washington or what laws are passed by Congress? As long as you permit private control of society's means of existence, you are bound to have social and economic privilege, and all talk of equality is a farce.

As to Mr. Voorhis's first “pillar of democracy”—civil and religious liberty—we have a measure of that today, and we should fight with all our might to retain every bit of it. But what are the prospects of civil liberty under capitalism? Has not experience shown us that as capitalism becomes more and more unworkable, as it sinks further and further into the morass of crisis and decay, those who profit by the present economic set-up will turn increasingly to authoritarian methods in order to preserve it? That is one of the main sources of the danger of totalitarianism and fascism today. If our decaying capitalist system is permitted to drag out its miserable existence very much longer, even civil and religious liberty will be gravely menaced. And how much civil liberty would survive our involvement in another world war, into which imperialistic interests in this country are trying to drive us?

The fundamental fact is that capitalism today is the mortal foe of freedom and democracy. Only socialism offers the possibility for the firm foundation of the “four pillars of democracy” in which Mr. Voorhis places his faith.

## IT ALL DEPENDS

“WHAT he thought the Senate had acted contrary to public opinion in refusing revision of the neutrality law,” reports the New York Times, “was evident when the President turned in his chair to pick up a pile of newspaper editorials clipped from forty leading journals throughout the country, all of them expressing support for his stand.”

“The editorials were indicative of widespread and general public approval of the changes sought by the Administration regardless of the party leanings of the newspaper concerned, the President said.”

Curious, isn't it? When the press attacks the New Deal, President Roosevelt waxes sarcastic and bitterly denounces the newspapers for misrepresenting the sentiments of the people. But when these same reactionary newspapers support his war-making foreign policy, he is convinced that they “reflect widespread and general public approval.” Evidently, it all depends!

## AS TO PATRIOTISM

—by Mark Twain

MY kind of loyalty is loyalty to my country, not to its institutions or officeholders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to. Institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, is to die for rags; that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal.

Under that gospel, the citizen who thinks he sees that the commonwealth's political clothes are worn out, and yet holds his peace and does not agitate for a new suit, is disloyal; he is a traitor. That he may be the only one who thinks he sees this decay does not excuse him; it is his duty to agitate anyway, and it is the duty of the others to vote him down if they do not see the matter as he does.

## THE REAL VICTOR



# Main Lines of Strategy Of Tomorrow's World War

## Axis Powers Drive for Control of Central Europe

By JAY LOVESTONE

ON the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Russia's entry into the previous world war, Prime Minister Chamberlain pointedly declared to the House of Commons: “One must admit that a situation in which the accumulation of weapons of war is going on, on so many sides and at such a pace is one which cannot but be regarded with anxiety. Indeed, it is difficult to see what the resolution of this problem can be unless it is to be resolved by war itself.”

### Frozen Grudges and Burning Resentment

Fatally correct, would be our estimate of these historic remarks. The Anglo-French alliance must impress Germany with an alternative war—or with the absolute certainty of defeat in a war. The hopelessness and futility of alternatives available, we have examined in a previous article. The second “impression” cannot be realized today, regardless of the wishes of the well-meaning refugees from Nazi terror and of so-called inside information from Germany as to moods and divisions in that unfortunate land. This is due largely to Hitler's propaganda and his chain of successes in foreign policy. Besides, large sections of the German people feel that their country is at a great disadvantage in relation to her 1914 enemies who dealt unjustly with her in spite of her tremendous military victories in the face of terrible odds. This confidence, bordering on truculence, was expressed by Nazi section leader Grobe at the Aachen district conference of the Hitler party:

“As a military power Germany is stronger than ever today, stronger than any one else in the world. This is why hatred and encirclement are bound to have no success. Never again will Germany sink on her knees. Our western frontiers are unconquerable. We are now fortifying our eastern frontiers. In the south a friendly Italy borders on Germany. In addition, there is a friendly Yugoslavia, and in the southeast, Hungary. Germany has signed a non-aggression pact with Denmark. What chance exists then under these circumstances for an enemy to attack Germany? The German air arm is numerically the largest and the best in the world. The spirit of the German pilots could not be beaten. Germany entered the World War unprepared, and in addition she had an irresolute government. Today she is prepared. She has a Leader who knows what he wants.”

### Axis in Arms

Yet, the above represents more than mere bluster. That's the dominant mood in Nazi Germany. And there can be no doubt that Chamberlain knew more than he was telling his parliament. A map of Europe and the location of troops thereon present but one picture today: hell and its main roads. The distribution of forces shifts and alters constantly, but on all the strategically important frontiers there is a heavy

concentration of troops. Witness the eastern and southeastern frontiers of Germany, the frontier between Lybia and Egypt, the massing of men in the Dodecanese Islands, in Spain and in Spanish Morocco, the movements and the placing of the German and Italian fleets, and war maneuvers of vastest scope.

Insofar as the Axis powers go, all these show a serious and well-planned “positional preparation” for open war rather than devious blackmail. Very likely the strategic conception of this imperialist robber band is to have the widest possible extension of the theatre of war. This would mean decentralization of the struggle, tying down the enemy to the defensive on a large number of scattered fronts. Of course, Japanese forces would be invaluable in such strategy. However, the decentralization is not to be of a sort which might prevent the Axis from delivering powerful blows on central places and on strategically vital centers. Much reliance is placed here on the claimed superiority of air and ground forces.

To overcome the heavy superiority of the Grand Alliance Powers, the Axis will seek to busy the British and French fleets with protection of their positions in Northern Europe, Asia, and Africa. The aim here is to force limited effectiveness in decisive battle areas. By grabbing rich morsels like Roumania, Yugoslavia, and parts of Poland, the Axis hopes to get sufficient raw material to counteract the effect of an allied naval blockade.

Nazi Germany realizes that Italy is the weak spot in her lines, but Hitler figures that he needs only few forces for waging defensive war in the west and can thus handle Russia and send some troops to help Italy. Besides, the Italian armed forces are going thru a thoro reorganization at the hands of German experts. Crack Nazi special troops have already been placed in key places to strengthen the Italians. Not a minute will be wasted by the Axis in its efforts to seize the Baltic and Scandinavian lands rich in much-needed ores and dairy products. Stalin's firmness in the negotiations with London is rooted in this assumption.

### A Decisive Question

A question which has aroused great speculation is: Can Italy take Tunisia? The latter is France's bastion at the extreme eastern end of her North African empire. This stronghold faces Sardinia on the north, Sicily and the Roman provinces on the north-east, the Mediterranean on the east, and Lybia on the south. Control of Tunisia by Italy would give her incalculable strength in the central Mediterranean and open up to Italian imperialism all kinds of possibilities for exploitation and military domination.

Because of her conquest of Albania, Italy can close the Adriatic, blockade the coast of Yugoslavia, and open herself a road to Salonica from where she could go to the Dardanelles and Asia Minor. By gob-

bling up Greece, Italy could dominate the Aegean Sea where she already has the Dodecanese Islands. Obviously, England did not err in speedily lining up Turkey whose strategic role may prove decisive in this most vital sphere. Here enters the importance of Spain to the Axis as a possible means of cutting communications between France and Tunisia. At present, the Mediterranean is actually closed to the Axis powers. Gibraltar blocks them on the west, the Suez Canal on the east, the Dardanelles on the northeast. Thus, Italy's ability to close the Adriatic would be of little consequence in the Mediterranean, in view of the other three gates being shut to Mussolini. Of this entire problem, Colonel T. Bentley Mott has expressed the following sound estimate:

“The numerical superiority of the French and British fleets makes it almost certain that the Italian fleet, even if reinforced by the Germans, could not keep the sea. It would be attacked by allied airplanes in ports geographically imposed on it and would be condemned either to slow death, or to a violent end if it decided upon desperate action . . .

“In spite of her privileged geographical position, Italy could not succeed in cutting communications between France and Tunisia; on the contrary, she herself would be cut off from Lybia and Ethiopia. . . . Her fleet would be condemned to death in a Mediterranean prison and her African possessions would be wiped out. Thus the Tunisian question would probably find itself settled without a blow being struck in Africa.” (Army and Navy Journal, June 17, 1939.)

### Encircling the “Encirclers.”

Germany and Italy fully realize the above. Therefore, the Axis cry against “encirclement” and their insistence that their very existence is endangered. To overcome this major advantage, Germany herself, while shrieking against encirclement, has been the biggest encircler among all the imperialist powers. Thus, Austria was devoured to encircle Czechoslovakia. To encircle Poland, the Nazis stole Bohemia and Slovakia. Hitler had Italy take Albania to encircle Yugoslavia. He figures on Yugoslavia and Bulgaria enabling him to encircle Roumania.

The Nazi general staff calculates on possession of Poland and Roumania and on active aid from Japan for the encirclement of Russia. Finally, thru domination of fascist Spain, the Nazis have France dangerously encircled. The essence of this strategy was to get the “democratic” powers to give up the maximum, step by step, without a fight, so that they wouldn't be able to go to war, or at least would not be in an advantageous position.

Towards this end, Hitler concentrated the Third Reich's all in 1933-38 on building up a war economy and war strangulation of labor. These two tremendous advantages possessed by Nazi imperialism turned the scales in its favor at Munich last year. Here was no bluff, nor

# Who Will Say No To Lewis?

(An Editorial In The Kenosha Labor)

## WHERE is Lewis going?

Five years ago when the former Hoover Republican, whose heavy-handed domination of the United Mine Workers had stirred the bitter opposition of a hundred thousand coal miners, began to urge industrial unionism for the automobile, steel, rubber and other mass production workers, many of his former critics in the labor movement offered him their support.

He has been educated by the depression, they said, and it seemed that they might be right.

When Lewis formed the Committee for Industrial Organization, and offered large sums of money and experienced organizers to the auto and steel workers, respect for him grew. He gained hundreds of thousands of supporters in AFL unions whose leaders were hostile to him.

Though many felt that he was acting in too headstrong a manner, there was sharp and vigorous protest when the AFL executive council suspended and later expelled the CIO unions.

When the automobile workers licked General Motors and Chrysler in the early months of 1937, and their union grew like a mushroom, Lewis was acclaimed as one of the great labor leaders of all times. He was second only to President Roosevelt in the attention of the nation's press.

But the rank and file in the AFL and the CIO never wanted two rival labor movements. Lewis and the other CIO founders, they felt, had been unfairly treated by the AFL executive council, but in time sober judgment would prevail and the two factions of labor would be reunited.

Unity perhaps is not desired by some of the AFL leaders, but it could have been achieved in spite of them by this time had not Lewis blocked it.

It could have been had in the late autumn of 1937, according to some of the CIO negotiators, if Lewis had not abruptly said no.

It could have been had again this spring except for Lewis. His request to Matthew Woll of the AFL for a postponement of negotiations during his troubles with the mine operators was a reasonable one. But Lewis then refused to meet the AFL committee again.

This week he announced that the CIO would invade the construction industry and attempt to organize an industrial union in competition with the AFL building trades unions.

## What may be the expected results?

The fight between the AFL and CIO will grow much worse. AFL leaders formerly willing to compromise will now fight back bitterly. In retaliation they will attempt to raid existing CIO unions.

Rank and file members of AFL unions who supported Lewis in organizing the auto and steel workers will become hostile to the CIO. AFL building trades workers, by and large, are satisfied with their form of organization. Most of the building trades unions pay liberal sick and death benefits. Their members have invested considerable money in these funds. They will resent attempted disruption of these unions.

The construction workers most likely to respond to Lewis' campaign will be unemployed workers, who because of the dol-drum in the industry, are not members of the AFL unions. The AFL unions, in the face of widespread unemployment, cannot be blamed for restricting their membership. CIO unions are doing the same.

A rival union is no solution to the industry's breakdown. Only a big boom in construction—to which a government housing program is essential—will solve this problem.

It is absurd to suppose that Lewis can win for the building trades workers higher wage scales than they now have while business remains what it is. It is more probable that Lewis can only organize large scale scabbing—at lower wage scales—on AFL jobs.

Lewis is creating an extremely serious situation in which workers are likely to be set at each other's throats while the public calls a plague on both their houses.

We ask as we did a few weeks ago: Is there not a Dan Tobin in the CIO, who like the Teamsters' leader at the AFL convention in Houston last October, can rally a CIO army for unity?

## Problems of Unemployment

(Continued from Page 2)

should be fully democratic in their management. The powers of the federal government should be limited, and functions and powers decentralized as much as possible.

There should be representatives of organized labor and the farmers in the top administration of the projects under the proposed program; and, in the lower units of the projects, representation in management of organized labor in urban areas and of farmers in the rural areas; on all projects, prevailing wages and salaries under full guarantees of collective bargaining and labor rights.

There should also be representation in management of the projects of the appropriate technical, managerial and professional groups most interested in the particular projects. These safeguards are not only necessary to insure an expanding democracy (instead of its contraction under bureaucratic totalitarianism), but they are necessary to insure the efficiency of the projects, to fit them into the general economic and social needs, to arouse a popular interest and representation capable of moving the economic program toward the creation of an abundance of goods and services undreamt of in history.

Of the way to block, undermine, or weaken any arrangement that Chamberlain or Daladier may make with Stalin.

No doubt, the Axis Powers are exaggerating their own strength, as well as the weakness of their opponents. Nevertheless, the world situations has not been as grave in a quarter of a century. There can no longer be the slightest hope or excuse for any one to count on the chancelleries to forge any peace. This applies to the foreign offices of the rapidly vanishing “democracies” as well as for those of the already fully-fascist powers. Then, let none minimize the efficacy of Roosevelt's efforts to keep America out of peace.

Yes, tomorrow's war is at hand—a war in which the losers will be disastrously defeated and the victors vanquished thru their own suicidal victory.

London and Paris count very much on the Soviet air fleet pre-occupying the Germans. Thus they hope to spare the British and French industrial centers from devastating raids and to prevent Hitler from rushing aid to Italy. Nazi imperialism is aware of these plans and will go out