

# A New May Day

By Lyman Fraser

MAY DAY is a symbol whose meaning changes with place and time.

It was originally a pagan holiday celebrating the new life awakened by the coming of Spring—the release of the forces of nature pent-up by winter, the upsurge of elemental new beginnings and new growth. That meaning still survives in May-pole festivals and May dances.

American labor imparted a new meaning to May Day by making it a day of the concentration of forces in the struggle for the eight hour day.

Again the meaning of May Day changed when it was adopted as the holiday of the international labor movement, particularly the socialist elements in that movement. May Day now acquired all sorts of revolutionary meanings. Its significance was all socialist, the day of struggle for the new life of a labor world freed from class exploitation and tyranny. For years, May Day was awaited with anxiety by the bourgeoisie; they knew great mass demonstrations were coming and they expected revolutionary upflares.

And all May Day celebrations were marked by labor's struggle against war.

Again May Day is changing its meaning.

The Nazis have taken over May Day; in Germany, and now in Austria, they force the workers to celebrate on May Day under Nazi banners and with Nazi slogans. There May Day is being turned into a day on which the workers are forced to celebrate their own enslavement.

And, in many "democratic" countries, May Day this year will be under control of elements who will turn it into a patriotic pro-war celebration, against the class independence of the workers and their struggle for freedom.

These are two developments that stand out startlingly and significantly on this May Day. They are a measure of the reaction within society in general and of the confusion, disruption and demoralization that prevail within the labor movement.

For one thing is clear: No May Day was under darker skies than today, not even during the war.

Fascism sweeps onward in Europe. The Soviet Union is on the defensive on all fronts—isolated on the diplomatic front and increasingly isolated on the labor front. Official communism has abandoned its original revolutionary character. Everywhere there is disillusion, pessimism, despair.

What is needed on this May Day is a rediscovery of the struggle against capitalism, for socialism, and a rededication to that struggle.

May Day is today celebrated as if under the lowering, hostile skies of Winter and not under the blooming, liberating skies of Spring. Hence, on this May Day, we must emphasize the new life that is necessary if we are to recreate the revolutionary working-class movement.

The recreation of that movement is now our task, the calling into being of the new life necessary to that recreation.

And new life means new ideas, new forces, new approaches, to replace the old ideas, the old forces and the old approaches that have proved disappointing. And it means, above all, to rediscover the simple, uncomplicated objectives of labor—the struggle to emancipate labor from its oppressors.

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## MAY DAY FOR AUSTRIA!

With Grave Alarm—But With Great Hope!

Comrades, Fellow-Workers and Friends:

THIS is not an open letter to any one in particular or to all readers of the Workers Age in general. This is not just another appeal for help, just one of the many worthy appeals for aid that confront us on all sides in these hours of need. But, on this occasion of May Day, I think it would not be out of place for me to have a few solemn words with you—this means with all workers and all genuine friends of labor in every section of the country, in every labor organization, in every factory and mine.

We are living upon the rim of a volcano. History is moving—unfortunately, too often backward—at a terrific pace. What once took decades in the lives of nations, now appears to be happening in but a few hours. These are hours of decision involving the fate of mightiest countries, biggest classes, firmest ideas and most sacred ideals, devoted men and cherished premises. Yet, there is even more at stake. These are hours when all of us must make decisions, must take sides.

I take you to Austria. I was in that unfortunate land when Hitler's hordes swooped down upon it. Here was a remaking, not only of the map of Europe but the beginning of a remaking of the map of the whole world. In retrospect, I can say that I would have given up everything for the opportunity to be on the scene and to participate in the last-minute efforts of labor to head off disaster. In prospect, I can only say that I would give my all

An Appeal by Jay Lovestone

to prevent the recurrence of such fatal blows to the working-class movement of Austria and the entire world.

Never shall I, nor ever can I, forget Black Friday (March 11th) in Vienna. Painful and ineradicable are my memories of that night of darkest howling reaction—with Nazi Storm Battalions trooping thru the streets, with windows smashed and heads cracked, with the Swastika flying high and the workers spirit driven low, with German Nazi bombers from Munich darkening the sky at dawn, and many hundreds of workers spending their last night at home burning papers and preparing to . . . Really, how can one know what capitalist reaction means until he sees it on the march, until he lives thru it?

I shall never forget the moments of parting with my Vienna comrades. These hours were crowded with terror, with fear, yet with unbreakable determination, with gripping courage, with unconquerable hope. I shall always prize and be inspired by these stirring words of farewell to me and greeting to you, to all of you, coming from our leading comrade in the Communist Opposition of Austria:

"Please tell the American comrades how very much their interest in us, how much their support of us, has always meant to us. Tell your workers and friends that we Austrian prolets have fought in the past, will fight again in the nearer future than many now think pos-

sible. Just now we are beaten. Too many socialists and Stalin-communists have placed faith in the so-called 'great democracies' for help against Hitler. Too many workers have trusted the fascism of Mussolini and the black clerico-fascism of Schuschnigg as against the brown fascism of the German Nazis. But we shall all learn, terrible tho the price may be for the lesson. Hitler is a savage and costly task-master. However, the very hell to which he is dooming the class-conscious fighters of our ranks will also serve in time to teach us self-reliance and force our class to break the chains and smash the gates of the Nazi inferno.

"In these trying weeks, in the harrowing months to come, your solidarity will mean much more than you can ever begin to imagine. For a moment, put yourselves in our frightful situation. Some of us prefer an immediate horrible end to horrors without an end. But very many of us—and these numbers will grow with time—have their hearts, their minds, their souls, set on facing no end of horrors, to live and fight in the days to come when our labor movement will be reborn—healthier, cleaner and clearer, more militant than ever, genuinely revolutionary. It is in such moments that our thought about your being with us, your hoping with us, your working for us, your unstinted support of us, warms our hearts, inflames our hatred of all capitalist reaction, steels our revolutionary purpose, and

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## Expose New Boss Frauds

Anti-labor activities by employer associations have become "a menace to democratic government," the Senate Civil Liberties Committee charged last week in a report to the Senate, when \$60,000 was asked to continue studies of violations of free speech and the rights of labor.

The committee, which is headed by Senator La Follette, reported that, since enactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Act, employers had developed "new devices" and "modernized schemes of frustration." These should be investigated thoroughly to determine whether further legislation was necessary to bulwark the act, the committee said.

The report outlined practices of employer associations and "citizens committees," saying that the latter were utilized by employers as "third parties" in efforts to "thwart labor's rights."

Citizens committees, the report added, had functioned as channels thru which money flowed from industrialists "to deputies and to tear-gas companies, and to local governmental authorities."

Such committees, along with employer associations, have been used by some employers as substitutes for "the old stand-by" of detective and strike-breaking agencies, it was pointed out.

"A sample 'citizens committee,'" the report declared, "had in it so little of 'the public' that its own publicity committee never saw its press releases before publication, its treasurer was unknown to its own members, and its major activities, behind a front widely advertised as a manifestation of 'the public initiative,' were known only

## ROOSEVELT HAILS TORY DEAL WITH FASCISM

Takes Action To Back Chamberlain Policy

Approval of the recent Anglo-Italian pact was voiced last week by President Roosevelt in an official statement. "This government," the President said, "has seen the conclusion of the agreement with sympathetic interest because of the proof of the value of peaceful negotiations."

This action in giving public blessing to a treaty with which the United States has no official concern, is virtually without precedent. It stands in significant contrast to the President's complete silence on the occasion of the German invasion of Austria.

President Roosevelt's endorsement of the Anglo-Italian pact was seen in informed circles as a move of support to the Chamberlain government in its policy of "wooing the dictators" and in line with the close diplomatic collaboration between this country and Great Britain.

At the same time, the Administration is continuing its strenuous efforts to "modify" the Neutrality Act by granting the President discretionary power to name "aggress-

to a hidden few."

The present "third-party" agencies, the report continued, enabled employers to carry out collectively labor practices which were forbidden to an individual employer by the Wagner Act.

The committee said that it was preparing legislation dealing with the problems of industrial espionage and "industrial munitioning."

sors" and thereby involve this country in every foreign conflict. The latest move in this direction has come from the small group of "collective-security" liberals in Congress, working under unofficial Administration guidance. With the active support of Chairman McReynolds of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and in consultation with Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, Representative Scott of California has introduced a resolution to request the State Department to name those powers that are violators of treaties of which this country is a signatory. This proposal, which in itself might serve a useful purpose from the point of view of American public opinion, is openly declared by Mr. Scott to be the entering wedge of a campaign aiming at the "alteration of the present neutrality policies in favor of aggressive action by this country and by other treaty signatories against the treaty violators" (New York Times, April 20).

Thus the Administration, while congratulating Chamberlain on his deal with Mussolini, is also encouraging efforts to commit the country to a policy of joint aggressive action of the "peace-loving democracies" against the fascist treaty-breakers. To reconcile this apparent contradiction, it is only necessary to remember that what the Administration is primarily aiming at, whatever may be the formula under which it operates, is an Anglo-American alliance against Japan in the Far East.

## A.L.P. Maps N.Y. Reforms

The American Labor Party, thru Alex Rose, executive secretary, made public last week its program for reframing the state constitution at the constitutional convention now in session at Albany. Mr. Rose also announced that Supreme Court Justice Charles Poletti had been selected as the party's official spokesman at the convention.

The A.L.P. program follows: "Civil Liberties: The civil liberties provisions in the constitution are the heart of our democracy. We, therefore, favor the incorporation of the full Bill of Rights into the basic law of our state.

Housing: The creation of a De-

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## MAY DAY

Celebrations in New York

LOCALS 22, 117 and 155,  
I.L.G.W.U.

Saturday, April 30, 7.00 p.m.

Hippodrome

6th Ave. and 40th St.

Speakers: David Dubinsky;  
Spanish Ambassador Fernando de los Rios; Charles S. Zimmerman; Louis Levy;  
Louis Nelson

JOINT BOARD, A.C.W.

Sunday, May 1, 1:30 p.m.

Hippodrome  
Speakers: Joseph Schlossberg  
and others

SOCIALIST PARTY

Saturday, April 30, 11 a.m.

Madison Square Park  
Broadway at 23rd St.

# Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

## Recovery: Second Edition

THE FIFTH year of the New Deal finds us right back where we started from. Do you remember when business subsidies, public works, unemployment work-projects and relief, unemployment insurance, "sterilized" gold, monetary deflation, insured banks, ploughed-under farms, when all these "fundamental" changes had put an end, forever and a day, to the economic crisis? The question was one of policy; Hoover did nothing, hence economic stagnation and regression; Roosevelt did a lot of things, hence—exactly the same thing!

In a shorter period of time, Roosevelt has given us a miniature repetition of the transition from Hoover's regime to his own. The spasm of dying capitalism began early last September, yet, without using the time-worn phrase, the Administration implied that "prosperity was around the corner" and let things ride, except for the "political" use it made of the recession. It has had to back-track on that because nobody believes in the "sit-down strike of big capital" any longer.

After waiting three or four months, Roosevelt let loose his first-line demagogues, Ickes and Jackson, who belatedly their anger against the anti-New Deal capitalists. This had a two-fold purpose. It would permit the unemployed and others, hit by the new crisis, to vent their anger against the "economic royalists" and not against the Administration; secondly, it now seems that Roosevelt actually counted upon these speeches to turn the tide of economic affairs, believing that industry could be "frightened" into a cyclical upturn in such a manner.

Capitalist economy, however, runs its course regardless of Presidential psychological strategy. Roosevelt came into power at the beginning of the world upswing, which his various policies supplemented but did not determine. No better proof exists than the fact of the present down-swing itself.

But the New Deal, and Roosevelt in particular, has three major stimulants to action at the present time. First, industry, feeling in various degrees the effects of an historically declining economy, needs more and more "outside" financial aid; labor, better organized and more articulate than in 1929-1933, demands unemployment relief and wage-hour legislation; and finally, the coming elections and the status of Roosevelt's influence in the Democratic party cry out for some artificial respiration. The result is a proposed "spending" program which gives equally to industry and to the masses, and which keeps the purse strings in the hands of the President. The reenactment of 1933 takes place on a more conservative plane: relief appropriations will total about two billions, whereas in 1933 they totalled about four and a half billions; the distribution of moneys will be geared to the electoral needs of the Roosevelt machine, with hardly more than actually unavoidable attention to real human needs; industry will receive especially easy terms thru the R.F.C. and an additional billion and a half; loaning to industry will become a recognized part of governmental pump-priming, whereas in 1933, when the R.F.C. was taken over from the Hoover regime, it was kept shamefacedly in the background to prevent it from giving its big-business taint to the "popular revolution" the New Deal promised to work upon the land.

In the minds of the outstanding leaders of the conservative rebellion in Congress, however, government spending emerges purely in the shape of industrial subsidies combined with repeal of the surplus-profits and capital-gains taxes, and is wholly divorced from and antagonistic to relief for the laboring masses. Senator Glass,

who introduced the bill granting an extra billion and half to industry, declared in reference to the President's proposals: "I offered my bill to try and head off this sort of thing. I never would have offered it if I thought the public works fund would be requested. It will mean duplication. There will be spending by two agencies. The only difference is that one will be on a business basis and will recover the money, while the other will give it away." This is the voice of the dominant ruling-class circles today, one of the voices which once "unreservedly" supported the New Deal program of pump-priming from below to increase mass-purchasing power. Roosevelt faces a split party on this issue—hence, he will most likely accept heavy paring of the relief budget, continue and expand the R.F.C. grants, and above all push the two-billion armaments program as the road to "prosperity." What labor gets will depend on its strength, unity, and independence of Roosevelt as well as of Glass and the Republicans.

# New May Day Problems

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Those simple objectives and that struggle have become encrusted with misleading ideology, misleading aims, misleading organizations. Marxism itself has been perverted in some quarters into mere ideology; no longer a guide to action but a means of manufacturing alibis for action decided upon in a crudely pragmatic fashion. It is made to furnish texts to paralyze independent thought and action instead of liberating them—it is made to perform the functions of theology!

Experience is the great teacher of the labor movement. And, on this May Day, it is necessary to emphasize that the great task of the labor movement is to master and understand that experience in terms of forging new and mightier weapons in the struggle against capitalism, for socialism.

Nothing must be held sacred, neither symbols nor particular interpretations nor applications of theory. There is nothing sacred in our theory. Only one thing is sacred: the struggle against capitalism, for socialism.

And, as we analyze the experience of the past twenty years, it becomes clear that many things must be unlearned and many things relearned. We must encourage the elemental upsurge of new beginnings and new growth, of new life devoted to the recreation of our movement.

Institutions and ideas tend to acquire a life of their own, independent of their origins and sustaining forces. They become a brake upon new action. They react against their own earlier aspirations and purposes. This is escapable only if there is freedom and persistent criticism, complete independence, always new beginnings and new growth.

There must be a critical reexamination of the revolutionary experience of recent years, of its theory, practice and results. There must be reexamination of the relations between the proletariat and the new middle class, in view of

# W.P.A. Goes to War

DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

(We publish below a very interesting article by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley that appeared in the New York World-Telegram of February 28, 1938. The "communists" referred to are, of course, the Stalinites.

—THE EDITOR.)

THE news that the W.P.A. offices are being used as a recruiting ground to enlist in the military service able-bodied single men between the ages of 18 and 35 who are now holding W.P.A. jobs, should prove to the Communist Party that it can't have its war scare and protect the rights of the masses at the same time.

It's easy to see how the army recruiting officers size up the situation. Lieutenant-Colonel Brehon B. Somervell, in charge of W.P.A. work in southern New York, is said to have informed Major-General Frank McCoy, commandant of the Second Corps Area, that there are about 18,000 men on the federal rolls here, in the 18 to 35 age group, many of whom might prove fit for military duty.

Anyone who has followed developments in Germany and Italy, knows that systematic army recruiting among the unemployed, no matter how gentle the persuasion, is the first faint tracing of a blueprint for fascism.

And anyone who has followed the writings of communists knows that by sophistries they have paved the way for military regimentation of the workers. To be specific,

for the sake of Soviet Russia, they have tried to work up a war scare which may prove to be a tremor of the boomerang for the workers of the United States.

When the W.P.A. was sunk, communist writers exploded over Japan's "diabolical plan to bomb and machine-gun every legitimate friendly interest in China, out of the Far East." In other words, the Standard Oil boats, which the Panay was conveying represented not those self-same imperialist interests against which Lenin inveighed in 1915, but "legitimate friendly interests" in the eyes of the communists. And Japan's attack on China was "a preliminary for war against"—not Russia but—"the United States," believe it or not.

Following the logic of events, the communists commented on January 31 on the President's navy budget, which, if you've noticed, is being increased by leaps and bounds to an estimated \$5,650,000,000. They found the budget regrettable but were philosophical about it. "The program for increased arms must not be allowed to be imposed at the expense of the cut in relief," the communist writers hastened to assure their underprivileged readers. "The demand should be raised, 'Make the rich pay' for increased armaments and increase all social legislation to balance the human budget."

The recruiting in the W.P.A. offices suggests how the human budget may be balanced if we are in for a war psychosis. The communist proposal that the rich be made to pay for armaments shows a lapse in its Marxist reasoning. Such a miracle has never happened yet and is not likely to happen under a capitalist form of government.

It would be interesting to hear whether the communists figured out how "the rich" can be made to do the fighting as well as the paying. The demand that the high command of the army be taken away from the "pro-fascist faction" is also a shade naive. Army officers who have a job to do are likely to be pro-militarist if not pro-fascist.

Unless we want to see our country militarized and in the course of time fascized after the pattern of Germany and Italy, we had better keep cool and remember that no other country is threatening or likely to threaten our shores. And let's not let any of our young men, whether they are no relief or not, be subjected to any sort of moral pressure to join the army.

# ALP Frames Plan Of State Reform

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partment of Housing and provision for the establishment of a Housing Revolving Fund for housing and slum-clearance purposes; a grant of power to provide for subsidies for low-rent housing and for the acquisition of land reserves for housing and public purposes.

Consumer: The creation of a Department of the Consumer.

Transit Unification: A provision for the exemption from the debt limit of the City of New York, of bonds to be issued to carry thru a program of transit unification.

Public Utilities: A provision granting power to the state or its political or civil subdivisions the right to own, control and operate public utilities.

Judiciary: We favor the maintenance of the elective process for the judiciary and urge its extension.

Initiative, Referendum and Recall: a. Provision for the initiative and referendum to apply to both legislation and constitutional amendments. b. Provision for the

# Some Consistency Please!

# Labor Must Have United Action

By WILL HERBERG

THE decision of the recent conference of the C.I.O. to call a constitutional convention some time in the fall in order to establish the industrial-union movement on a permanent foundation as an independent federation of labor in this country, opens a new chapter in the history of the American labor movement. And yet, essentially, this culmination was inherent in the situation from its very inception because the craft fetishism and the vested craft interests of the old federation, or rather of its leadership, had made it impossible to build up within its framework the kind of trade-union movement that modern industrial conditions imperatively demanded. American labor was faced with the irreducible alternative: either stagnation and death within the A. F. of L. or else a new departure outside its bounds in order to make possible a rapid advance in organization. The very formation of the C.I.O. late in 1935 meant that the second alternative had been chosen and the ultimate logic of this second alternative was the formal emergence of a new federation.

## C.I.O. And The Future Of Labor

The unparalleled progress made by the C.I.O. in organizing the mass-production workers carried it rapidly forward along the lines marked out for it by history. The big test came, of course, with the new depression and today there is no one who can deny that the most important organizations of the C.I.O. have so far stood this test and weathered the depression in a way that would hardly have been deemed possible from past experience. Moreover, when economic revival comes, no matter how limited in scope, it will affect primarily those branches of industry in which the C.I.O. is best rooted, so that sweeping organizational advances may well be expected. The events of the last year have confirmed rather than weakened our profound conviction that the future of the American labor movement lies with the C.I.O.

The formal establishment of a new federation of labor will be only the official registration of a long-accomplished fact. The C.I.O. has been, and has functioned as, an independent organization since the beginning of the great steel drive in 1936; yet it has labored under the mounting disadvantages of the tentativeness and informality of its setup. When the "peace" negotiations of a few months ago foundered, it became pretty clear that the next big step would be. Quite apart from the particular time and circumstance, the constitution of the C.I.O. as an independent federation was obviously inherent in the situation.

## The Problem Of Unity

But this decisive step on the part of the C.I.O. does not eliminate the problem of unity in the trade-union movement; on the contrary, it accentuates the problem and presents it in a new light—perhaps even facilitates a realistic and effective approach to it. Long ago, in September 1936, we emphasized:

"In the situation created by the coexistence of two federations engaged in a desperate struggle for survival, the issue of unity assumes a new and even more vital aspect. It then means the reunification of the two federations on such a basis as to make possible the uninterrupted progress of the labor movement, that is, on the basis of industrial unionism and

\* Resolution on the Trade Union Situation, adopted by the Labor Day 1936 conference of the I.C.L.L., Workers Age, October 10, 1936.

democracy. . . . Never must we allow the divided condition of the labor movement to be accepted differently or to be taken for granted as natural and permanent."

It is hardly necessary in these columns to belabor the point. Division in the trade-union movement is always a source of weakness and confusion, no matter how inevitable the split may be under the circumstances; certainly such division can never be welcomed or accepted for its own sake. In the situation in which the country finds itself at present, moreover, civil war raging in trade-union ranks constitutes a tremendous handicap for the labor movement in the fulfillment of its most immediate tasks. It cripples labor's power politically at a time when the forces of big-business reaction are gathering for a great offensive. It definitely hampers labor's effectiveness in meeting the challenge of the economic crisis. It tends to alienate public opinion and create an atmosphere of hostility that may have grave consequences in the future. In short, unity in the trade-union movement is a burning problem, extremely acute in its urgency.

# Whom Does Browder Serve?

THERE are many people in this country that are not willing to take the oath to the American Constitution that we communists are taking today. I have offered and made statements to all the papers on this question. . . . The Communist Party will help to curb by democratic means any clique, group, faction or party which conspires against or attempts to weaken or overthrow all or any of American democratic institutions."—Earl Browder, at the Community Church, Boston, March 27, 1938.

Who will lead the lynch-mobs against radicals during the next war? Earl Browder, Stalinist!

# CAPITAL'S GAINS AND LABOR'S LOSS IN WAR

By ANNE LAURIER

AS the depression in America spreads to the rest of world, it begins to remind us of the 1914 panic on the eve of the World War. The capitalist economy is far worse off today than it was twenty-four years ago. The deepest depression in history, followed by incomplete recovery, contracting markets and growing imperialist conflicts, has already launched the Second World War! The trend towards war for the sake of new markets is evidenced by the fact that the 1933-37 prosperity, particularly in Europe, was based almost entirely on rearmament. Large-scale government purchases stimulated the heavy industries into a recovery movement; and, thru drastic wage-cuts and heavy taxation, the burden was put on the working class, while profits rose and, in some cases, reached new highs, altho production and consumption levels were below those of previous prosperity periods. But the armaments boom is limited and war becomes the only way out; by the continuous destruction of materials, it creates a nearly inexhaustible market—for the duration of the war!

## War Makes Big Profits

Not only does war provide a market for declining capitalism; it also provides conditions for the realization of high rates of profit. Among these conditions are:

1. A war-time dictatorship openly controlled by big business for the "efficient" prosecution of the war—and the accumulation of war profits; 2. organization and regula-

The reunification of the two labor federations on a sound basis, while unquestionably our ultimate goal, is unfortunately not a prospect for the immediate future. Not that the mere action of the C.I.O. in formally constituting itself as a new federation is likely to aggravate the situation very materially; perhaps it may even facilitate matters in the long run by broadening the issue and eliminating non-essentials. Be that as it may, however, it seems fairly obvious, as things stand today, that the craft-union chiefs dominating the A. F. of L. are still far from ready to make the necessary concessions in the direction of industrial unionism upon which alone a sound and lasting peace can be built. The logic of circumstances and the pressure of the rank and file have apparently not yet had sufficient time to operate. What tomorrow may bring we cannot tell but today the fusion of the two movements into a single organization cannot be regarded as an immediate prospect or possibility.

But the cessation of the civil war in the ranks of labor and the united action of the two movements are an immediate possibility, an immediate possibility, an immediate possibility. (Continued on Page 8)

# Wage-Cuts Are No Road to Recovery

By ALBERT EDMUND

THE spokesmen for big business have been laying down a verbal barrage against present wage standards in preparation of the wage-cutting campaign that is being planned in the mass-production industries. Where there were no strong unions, this cannonading of words was unnecessary. Wages have been cut in many industries with or without the benefit of publicity. All the forces of capital have been mobilized in this wage-slashing campaign. Their prophet was that "labor expert," Leo Wolman, who as far back as last October declared: "Prevailing standards of work and wages will be hard to sustain except under conditions of capacity production or rising prices, or both." By February 12, one of the important organs of capital, Business Week, stated: "The inescapable conclusion from any comparison one might make is that the average wage-rate has risen too high to permit full employment of labor." And now comes big business itself, in the person of Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, who says in his annual report for 1937: "It would appear that labor costs have been raised abnormally to the extent of impairing consuming power and thus depriving the wage earners of any benefit resulting from the higher hourly rate of wages."

## Achievement Of The C.I.O.

We shall pass over the hypocritical concern for the welfare of the workers. But one thing must be clear to everyone: The C.I.O. must get credit for the fact that there has been no general wage-cut in the mass-production industries. But precisely because the C.I.O. has made such headway in the mass-production industries are its burdens heavy and tasks difficult. The craft unions, with their limited membership and narrow interests, could sometimes maintain their wage standards at the expense of the unorganized workers. The industrial unions can maintain wages only by forcing capital to part with some of its profits or thru maintaining production at high levels by government intervention, if necessary.

The argument of big business is that, because wages are too high, prices are too high and that, as a result, the consumers can not buy the products of industry. Their remedy is: cut wages, reduce prices and increase purchasing power. According to Mr. Sloan "payrolls constitute, for the economy as a whole, about 75% of the selling prices of goods and services. . . ."

We shall limit ourselves to the analysis of one industry—the iron and steel industry with special emphasis upon the U. S. Steel Corporation. For this company, wages

Industry	1914	1916	1917	1918
Industry	1914	1916	1917	1918
Agr. Implements	6.7	12.4	9.8	9.8
Boot & shoe	1.1	19.6	17.7	16.7
Canning	4.5	32.3	14.9	14.9
Anthracite mining	18.6	22.9	16.9	16.9
Cotton goods	11.7	17.9	20.5	20.5
Flour mills	20.8	26.8	16.5	16.5
Petroleum	9.6	30.4	22.3	22.3
Lead	11.8	20.3	18.4	18.4
Meat packing	16.0	23.6	32.5	32.5
Sugar	6.4	19.1	14.4	14.4
Tobacco	11.8	15.3	13.3	13.3
Woolen goods	5.4	18.7	10.2	10.2
Chemicals	8.1	20.1	16.5	16.5
Auto	11.7	20.9	14.4	14.4
Clay	3.4	15.8	11.5	11.5
Coke	14.4	81.9	19.5	19.5
Elect. appliances	10.8	70.5	37.8	37.8
Explosives	6.8	22.4	19.5	19.5
Glass	2.8	33.9	27.5	27.5
Iron & steel	11.6	38.0	36.0	36.0
Copper	1.9	5.9	22.7	22.7
Misc. machinery	6.3	13.8	13.4	13.4
Rwy. equipment	11.7	19.0	21.9	21.9
Rubber tires	3.0	22.6	30.9	30.9
Shipbuilding	3.0	22.6	30.9	30.9

Certain individual big corporations reached ever more dizzy heights. (Continued on Page 8)

constituted only 32% of the selling price in 1937. In the tin-can industry, wages were only 8% of the value of the product. Let us apply the "Sloan plan" to this industry, which paid \$30,000,000 in wages and did \$375,000,000 business in 1936. Let us say that we want to cut the price of tin cans by 8.1% and that the only way left open is by cutting wages. It can be done—but only by eliminating wages altogether! How industry must long for workers who don't eat!

## Profits And Wages

The truth of the matter is, of course, that the captains of industry are interested in profits and not in prices. But, even in the case of profits, lower wages cannot overcome low production. Let us hear what an expert has to say on what the matter. Says Mr. D. W. Ellsworth of the Annalist: "Statistically, steel-company earnings are almost entirely dependent on the volume of production to the virtual exclusion of such factors as variations in prices and costs." The steel industry must operate at about 40% of capacity in order to make a profit. For example, the earnings of U. S. Steel rise three or four million dollars with every 5% rise in the rate of operation, all other factors remaining the same. Likewise, there is a drop of three to four million dollars in income with every 5% fall in the rate of operation. Thus, if the corporation operates at 20% of capacity in any three-month period, it is likely to record a deficit of about \$13,000,000 for that quarter. At 90% of capacity, it will probably show a profit of about \$37,000,000 for the quarter. In terms of net income for the corporation, the difference between operating at 20% of capacity and 90% of capacity is \$50,000,000. Under such conditions, the company could abolish wages and still be able to make up for its low rate of operation. Let us take some actual experience. In 1932, U. S. Steel operated at 18% of capacity; its payroll was \$134,000,000; and it had a deficit of \$71,000,000. In 1937, it operated at 71% capacity; paid \$443,000,000 wages (86 cents per hour as compared with 59 cents in 1933); and earned \$100,000,000. Let us suppose that the company insisted in 1932 that the deficit must be wiped out thru lower wages. In that case, the workers would have had to take a wage-cut of more than 50%! Furthermore, the company might have maintained that it was entitled to \$100,000,000 in profits. It would then have required \$171,000,000 in cash to accomplish such a feat, so that if the workers had toiled for nothing the company would still have had to take \$37,000,000 out of its surplus. In spite of deficits in 1932, 1933 and 1934, U. S. Steel managed to stay in business and could still show \$364,000,000 in surplus and reserves at the end of 1937. There was an additional \$331,000,000 in inventory. The moral is: Labor must fry the fat out of the corporation before the company skins labor alive!

While the goose was growing fat, it was also laying golden eggs for its bankers, bondholders and stockholders. U. S. Steel had a net earning of roughly \$4,500,000,000 in the years from its organization to the end of 1930, according to John T. Flynn. In those same years, it paid out \$8,500,000,000 in salaries and wages. Far from having had to cut wages at any time, the corporation could very easily have given a general 25% increase in wages thru all these years and still have earned about \$2,500,000,000.

While Mr. Sloan was complaining (Continued on Page 6)

# JAY LOVESTONE

in an informal discussion

## "IN THE HEART OF EUROPE"

The Real Situation in France Germany and Spain

European Diplomacy and World Labor

SAT. EVE. MAY 7, 8:15 p.m. Steinway Hall, 113 W. 57 St.

Proceeds to: Austrian Workers Solidarity Fund Admission 50c

WORKERS AGE

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WHERE WE STAND

THE recurrence of May Day bids us pause and take stock of the state of affairs confronting the labor movement today. The general picture presented by the situation abroad, with its fascist aggression and "democratic" conniving, with its Stalinist blood-purges in Russia and Spain, with its Popular Front and working-class impotence, is dark indeed. For inspiration and hope at this moment, the workers of the world can turn only to America, to the new labor movement arising under the banner of the C.I.O., to the new spirit of militancy animating the masses of the workers on the economic and political fields.

In this country, labor is surging forward. In hardly two years, the C.I.O. has completely transformed the face of the trade-union movement, breaking thru the frozen rigidity of decades, adding millions to the ranks of organized labor, reaching out to industries and fields hitherto regarded as immune to unionism. In this same period, labor has made significant headway in the direction of political independence, to by far the greater part of the way still remains to be covered. However elementary and inadequate these steps may seem judged by traditional European standards, they are nevertheless the first steps that American labor is taking on the long road that leads to working class power and socialism; as such, they are of vast significance. Above all, labor is on the march, surging forward with unbounded hopes and aspirations!

If the American working class is to meet the challenge of the existing situation and to rise to the level of its historical mission of ushering in a new social order, it must develop from within itself a leadership composed of those who have acquired a clear understanding of the nature of capitalist society and the forces at work within it—of those who possess a firm grasp of what the true interests of labor are and of the policy and tactics necessary to achieve them—of those who, in the midst of the everyday struggle, retain their broad vision of the socialist goal. Such a leadership can be found only in a revolutionary socialist movement and to contribute to the development of such a leadership is the great aim of the Independent Communist Labor League.

We stand unalterably opposed to dualism on the economic and political fields. We have no interest in trying to create "our own" trade unions or "our own" political movement of labor. We are an integral and organic part of the labor movement as it is being developed in response to the needs of the working class; our whole program consists in serving the movement as a militant, inspiring, leavening force within it on every front of struggle, in always striving to assist it towards greater clarity and class consciousness. From this general standpoint, our immediate platform is derived:

- 1. Independent working class action against employing class reaction. In the long run, the workers can depend upon nothing but their own organized power to defend their interests. The more militantly the workers learn to depend on themselves, the more easily will they be able to wring concessions from the government and the employers and the more readily will they be able to win the cooperation and support of other sections of the population.
2. Wholehearted support of the C.I.O. as the movement representing the future of American unionism.
3. For trade-union unity on the basis of industrial unionism and democracy. As a step in this direction and to meet the needs of the present situation, we urge the immediate establishment of united action between the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the railway brotherhoods.
4. For constructive progressivism in the trade unions. Against political domination and the perversion of the unions for partisan, factional ends. Against all attempts to convert the trade unions into auxiliaries or agencies of organizations subject to outside control.
5. For independent labor political action in the form of a labor party based on the trade unions.
6. Against any war conducted by the American imperialist government, since such a war must necessarily be a reactionary war fought for imperialist ends. Against the foreign policy of the Administra-

Since Lenin Died

A Record of the Stalinist Blood-Purge

LENIN died on January 21, 1924. He left behind him an authoritative leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet state largely composed of Old Bolshevik cadres that had been hammered out during decades of revolutionary struggle. What has happened to this leadership under the regime of Stalin? We present below in tabular form a picture of the fate of the members of the 1924 Politburo of the C.P.S.U. and the 1924 Council of People's Commissars, all widely known figures closely associated with Lenin at the time.

POLITBURO as of June 6, 1924

BUKHARIN: Editor of Pravda, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Expelled from Politburo, 1929. Executed, March 1938.

KAMENEV: Deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Expelled from Politburo, 1926. Executed, August 1936.

RYKOV: Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. Expelled from Politburo, 1930. Executed, March 1938.

STALIN: General secretary of the party, member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. In office.

TOMSKY: Chairman of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions. Expelled from Politburo, 1930. Suicide when ordered arrested, August 1936.

TROTSKY: Commissar of Army and Navy, alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Expelled from Politburo, 1926. Deported, Jan. 1928. Exiled, Jan. 1929.

ZINOVIEV: Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Expelled from Politburo, 1926. Executed, Aug. 1936.

COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS at the time of Lenin's death January 21, 1924.

BRUKHANOV: Commissar of Food (to 1924), Commissar of Finance (1926-1931). In oblivion, reported under arrest.

CHICHERIN: Commissar of

Foreign Affairs (to 1930). Disgraced, July 1930. Died, July 1936.

DZERZHINSKY: Commissar of Railways, head of the G.P.U., alternate member of the Politburo. Died, July 1936.

KAMENEV: Deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars. Executed, Aug. 1936.

KRASSIN: Commissar of Foreign Trade, ambassador in Paris and London, 1924-1926. Died, Nov. 1926.

KUIBYSHEV: Commissar of Works (to 1926), chairman of the Supreme Economic Council (1926-1933), chairman of the State Planning Commission (1931-1935). Died, Jan. 1935.

LUNACHARSKY: Commissar of Education (to 1923). Died, Dec. 1933.

RYKOV: Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council. Executed, March 1938.

SCHMIDT: Commissar of Labor (to 1927), deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars (to 1930).

SMIRNOV: Commissar of Posts and Telegraphs (to 1927), member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern (to 1927). Deported, 1928. Executed, Aug. 1936.

SOKOLNIKOV: Commissar of Finance (to 1926), alternate member of the Politburo (to 1926), ambassador in London (1929-1933), Assistant Commissar of the Lumber Industry (1935-1936). Arrested, 1936. Condemned to prison term, Jan. 1937.

TROTSKY: Commissar of Army and Navy. Deported, Jan. 1928. Exiled, Jan. 1929.

Of the 7 members of the Politburo: 4 executed, 1 in exile, 1 committed suicide on the eve of arrest, 1 (Stalin) in office.

Of the 12 members of the Council of People's Commissars: 3 executed, 5 died, 1 imprisoned, 2 in oblivion and said to be under arrest, 1 in exile.

What has happened to the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and the Soviet state that Lenin left behind him? Stalin has murdered, imprisoned and exiled them!

This country, an organization which, under the control of Stalinism, has become a stench in the nostrils of all decent American workers. What is the Communist Party today but a reactionary bureaucratic clique pursuing an unscrupulous "rule-or-ruin" policy in the trade unions and other working class organizations, resisting every effort to raise the class consciousness of the workers or strengthen their power of independent action, serving as the advance-agent of American imperialism in driving the masses to war.

On this program, we take our stand. It is not our aim or purpose to get into competition with any other political labor organization, with whom our relations are determined by the extent of our agreement on the most vital issues of the day. It is necessary however, to emphasize that we have nothing whatever in common with the so-called Communist Party of

By Lambda WORLD TODAY Czech Communist Opposition Urges Labor Unity Against Fascism

(In view of the critical situation in which the working class of the Sudeten region finds itself today, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Opposition), affiliated with the International Communist Opposition, addressed the following letter to the central committees of all workers organizations in the country, to the German and Czechish Social-Democratic parties, to the C.P. of Czechoslovakia, to the German and Czechish unions as well as to the labor cultural and sports organization. —THE EDITOR.)

THE DEMAND OF THE HOUR: PROLETARIAN UNITED FRONT!

COMRADES: At this decisive moment we appeal to you.

We must look the present situation in the face. The annexation of Austria by Hitler Germany has given rise to a nationalistic wave and has greatly stimulated the upsurge of fascism in the Sudeten region. What Hitler-fascism achieved in Germany only after its rise to power has already been partially accomplished by Henlein. The German bourgeois parties in Czechoslovakia have "coordinated" themselves ideologically and organizationally with fascism. Some elements, who but yesterday were looked upon as possible allies of the working class, are today to be found in the fascist front. Henlein-fascism is striving for an Austrian solution to the Sudeten-German problem. This drives the war danger forward as an immediate menace. The economic condition of the working class, already very bad as a result of the effects of the world economic crisis, will certainly be worsened thru the annexation of Austria and will become absolutely catastrophic with the complete victory of Henlein-fascism.

The working class stands in the shadow of these dreadful events. On the one side, a strong fascist front is being formed; on the other, the working class stands dispersed and divided ideologically but above all organizationally. Such a situation cannot but create a mood of helplessness among the workers. But the working class need not be helpless if only it will live up to the demand of the hour at this decisive moment. If the consciousness of power of the working class is raised, every feeling of panic can be overcome and an effective bulwark erected against fascism and the imperialist war danger.

What will be the result if fascism is given a free hand without resistance? The rights of the working class will be destroyed. Their organizations will be wiped out. The imperialist war frenzy will ravage the land. With Henlein-fascism trying to stab the freedom-loving German working class in the Sudeten region in the back, the result will not be to bring national emancipation to the Sudeten-German people but rather to bind the people in iron chains to the Hitler fascism, to oppress them most savagely, to exploit them economically with intensified ruthlessness.

The situation is fearfully serious for the working class. But it is not hopeless. There is still time to prevent the worst. A tremendous historical responsibility rests on the labor organizations. Whoever tries to dodge this responsibility, whoever remains fatalistically passive in the face of these events, whoever, from narrow party considerations or false speculations on supposed allies from the camp of the capitalist class, does not do everything that the class interests of the workers now demand, makes himself partly responsible for the victory of fascism and the outbreak of the imperialist war.

The demand of the hour is the establishment of the proletarian united front!

The proletarian united front is the only bulwark against fascism. It will strengthen our forces and will win those who have lost courage back to the ranks of active struggle.

The C.P.Cz.-Opposition therefore takes the initiative and turns to all labor organizations of the Republic with the urgent appeal that the proletarian organizations, the socialist parties, the Communist Party, the trade unions of all tendencies, the labor cultural and sports organizations, should immediately initiate joint conferences to decide upon immediate measures corresponding to the basic interests of the entire working class and to be carried out by the organizations, despite their recognized

criticism of socialdemocratic policy. To condemn this policy we do not have to make a wrong estimation of the class character of social-democracy. Nor is the estimation of the class character of the Soviet

Stalinism and Soviet economy a question of moral indignation about Stalin and Stalinist methods. Stalinism and Stalinist methods show very clearly the marks of the old society out of which they arise. I should like to point out that the old society, of which the Soviet Union is the heir, was something quite different from the capitalist society in which we live. Up to 1861, two or three generations back, the majority of the Russian people were serfs, whose legal position resembled slavery more than the serfdom of West European feudalism. We do not think, as the Stalinists do, that it is Marxism to cherish, preserve and foster this barbaric heritage of the past.

Contradictions Of The S.A.P. Comrade Franz\* said that the basis of the October Revolution still exists in the Soviet Union—that is, we presume, the proletarian dictatorship. On the other hand, he declared it to be pure abstraction to call the Soviet Union a workers state. He shows the same ambiguity when answering the question: What is the predominant method of production in the Soviet Union? I want to quote a few sentences of Trotsky's last article on the character of the Soviet state. We do not agree with Trotsky but he knows Russia and he has given thought to the problems so his words are surely more worthy of attention than those of people who simply repeat some wrong formulations of his. He says: "The class character of a state is determined not by its political form but by its social content, i.e., by the character of those forms of property and of production relations that are protected and defended by the state in question. . . . A regime which defends the expropriated and nationalized property

(Continued on Page 6)

Stalin's Regime and The Soviet Union

By LEO (We publish below sections of the speech on the "Russian question" delivered by Leo, a representative of the I.C.O., at the recent International Conference at Paris.—The Editor.)

I WILL only attempt here briefly to put the point of view we have expressed in the resolution submitted by us to the conference. I believe that everyone who holds dear the principles of Lenin, the principles of the October Revolution, the principles of communism, must declare emphatically and vigorously that the Stalinist terror is not in the least the defense of the proletarian dictatorship but is a counter-revolutionary crime against this dictatorship. The Stalinist bureaucratic regime of personal dictatorship, the system of "infallible leadership" over the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, this is not proletarian democracy; this is a cancerous affliction in the body of the Soviet state. And, if the socialist accomplishments are to be preserved and extended, those that the Russian proletariat achieved in the October Revolution and in more than twenty years of unprecedented efforts and sacrifices, if the rising productive capacities of the Soviet Union are to be effectively developed, if the Soviet Union is to overcome its present difficulties, then it is imperative that Stalin and the clique of careerists who have gathered around him, be removed from the leadership of the government and the party in the Soviet Union. It is imperative that real and full proletarian democracy be established in the trade unions, in the Communist Party and in other mass organizations of the Soviet Union.

Stalinism Can Not Be Reformed As long as there remained the slightest possibility that Stalin and his adherents would yield to the demand for inner-party democracy and soviet democracy, we supported them despite our strong objections to the Stalinist bureaucratic methods. We gave the matter thoro consideration before we came to the conclusion that the Stalinist clique had become an obstacle to the development of the Soviet Union. The attitude of the Stalinist clique towards the demands of a revolutionary policy has become an undoubtedly reactionary one.

My friends, these are no high sounding, empty phrases. These are simple, straightforward, painful, profound words uttered by a metal-trades worker communist, to whom communism is not a habit, not an order, not a fad, not a fashion, not a convenience, not a profitable faith steeped in the swamp of the People's Front of Daladier-Thorez-Blum. Here is a call from the darkest depths of that hell now known as Greater Germany. It is not a cry of anguish or despair. It is a challenge, a call to war on fascism. Here is a call that must return conviction even to those whose faith and ideals have been shaken to their very foundations by the recent crimes of Stalinism and the bloody onslaught of fascism. This is a call that will inspire hope and courage in the weakest and most despondent of us, that will bring life even to the dearest in our midst.

To this comrade and to thousands of others like him—comrades in the Revolutionary Socialist Party, comrades in the Communist Party, comrades in the Austrian Communist Opposition, workers hitherto unorganized—we owe a debt. We owe these courageous workers, these indomitable fighters, a debt of immeasurable gratitude, a debt due to them as the outpost of the higher, the socialist civilization of tomorrow, fighting a

desperate rearguard action in the rat-ridden trenches of the blackest reaction of the dying capitalist civilization of today. This debt we can at best pay only to a very small extent—measured in moral and material support. In more ways than one are we American workers still in a privileged position. Think of the plight of the working masses in that smoldering volcano known as the continent of Europe. I am not asking anyone to make any sacrifice. In the present situation, to call instant generous material help to the Austrian workers a sacrifice would be an insult to the workers responding. In these days, so crucial to the life of humanity, it would be folly even to think that it is necessary to urge repeatedly any working man or working woman, any genuine friend of progress, and the cause of social progress, to give with joy and pride for saving thousands of unheralded heroes

\* A representative of the Socialist Workers Party (S.A.P.) of Germany.

May Day for Austrian Labor

By Jay Lovestone

(Continued from Page 1) welds our now crushed ranks into the serried ranks of the victory of tomorrow.

My friends, these are no high sounding, empty phrases. These are simple, straightforward, painful, profound words uttered by a metal-trades worker communist, to whom communism is not a habit, not an order, not a fad, not a fashion, not a convenience, not a profitable faith steeped in the swamp of the People's Front of Daladier-Thorez-Blum. Here is a call from the darkest depths of that hell now known as Greater Germany. It is not a cry of anguish or despair. It is a challenge, a call to war on fascism. Here is a call that must return conviction even to those whose faith and ideals have been shaken to their very foundations by the recent crimes of Stalinism and the bloody onslaught of fascism. This is a call that will inspire hope and courage in the weakest and most despondent of us, that will bring life even to the dearest in our midst.

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CHEAP POWER FOR WHOM?

FROM a United Press dispatch dated April 13: "The army has perfected plans to make the Tennessee Valley the greatest munitions manufacturing center in the country. . . . The region was chosen because of the vast amount of cheap electrical power which T.V.A. dams can generate and the abundance of phosphate, limestone, coal and copper sulphate ores, all used in making arms, explosives and gases."

against the imperialists is, regardless of the political form, a proletarian dictatorship.\*\*\* And he says further: "Only sectarians, i.e., people who are only in their imagination revolutionaries, let themselves be guided by ideal abstract norms. They say: 'We do not like these trade unions, we won't join them. This workers state does not please us, we won't defend it.' They promise always to recommence history. They will, they say, build up an ideal workers state if God gives them an ideal party and ideal trade unions. But, before they get them, they will be rather upset by reality."

It would be good if Trotsky and his followers always took note of these words of his. What Trotsky says here contradicts his own argument that the Soviet economy is not socialist. Trotsky contradicts himself when he proves that the Soviet Union is a workers state with an economy that is not capitalist, as it contains elements of a planned economy—and then, on the other hand, he denies the socialist character of this economy and its being the first phase of a socialist society in the Soviet Union. (Continued in the next issue)

\*\* "Non-Proletarian and Non-Bourgeois State," Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (February 1938).

\*\*\* Fortune surveys, taken quarterly on subjects of general interest, are of the "scientific" type. Interviewers question 5,000 men and women, divided among geographical sections and economic classes of the country in the same proportion that each group bears to the total population. This technique enabled Fortune Magazine to predict President Roosevelt's reelection majority with an error of less than one percent. Yet even this technique is subject to a number of important qualifications.

Public Opinion and Labor Movement

By ROBERT WALTERS THE April issue of Fortune Magazine announces the results of a public-opinion poll recently conducted by it on a number of the questions of direct pertinence to the labor movement. Fortune surveys,\* it should be remembered, have quite a record for their accuracy and representative character and any results they show are worthy of close consideration.

The Questions Of The Poll One of the questions that was asked in the April poll was: "Which of these are most in need of reform?" Following are the answers in percentages, with the total vote shown in the first column and the sentiment of business executives and factory workers in the second and third:

Table with 3 columns: Issue, Business Executives, Factory Workers. Rows include Labor unions, Public utilities, Stock exchange, Supreme Court, All of them, Don't know.

The second question was: "Do you think it is important that Congress do the following things?" One of the things mentioned was: "Pass laws to curb labor organizations." In reply, 61.3% of the people gave a "yes" or a "qualified yes," while 20.9% said "no" and 17.8% "don't know." There is no

\* Fortune surveys, taken quarterly on subjects of general interest, are of the "scientific" type. Interviewers question 5,000 men and women, divided among geographical sections and economic classes of the country in the same proportion that each group bears to the total population. This technique enabled Fortune Magazine to predict President Roosevelt's reelection majority with an error of less than one percent. Yet even this technique is subject to a number of important qualifications.

breakdown for income or occupational groups. The meaning of these figures is obvious enough. About a third of the factory workers expressed their opinion that labor unions were most in need of "reform," that is, of governmental regulation. This percentage is much higher than the proportion of factory workers urging "reform" of public utilities, the stock exchange, the Supreme Court or any other public institution. Finally, when the question of "curbing" labor organizations by laws was put specifically, over 60% of the people answered in the affirmative.

Some Conclusions Even if we do not take these figures as gospel truth, the results of the Fortune poll should give us plenty of food for thought. Why is it that such a big proportion of the public is in favor of "curbing" labor unions? Why are even a third of the factory workers in favor of "reforming" the unions? What does all this show as to the public attitude to unionism and to union activities?

In the first place, unionism as an institution seems to be accepted by the great masses of the people as something here to stay, as something in itself desirable. The July 1936 Fortune poll showed 60% of the public in favor of unionism for all or most or at least some of the wage earners. Last year, Dr. George Gallup's Institute of Public Opinion survey showed 76% in favor of unionism in general. Even the New York Herald-Tribune and the New York Sun usually introduce their diatribes against the trade-union movement with a vague "endorsement" of unionism "in principle." This represents definite progress—how long ago was it that the respectable press was denouncing the very idea of unionism as the work of the devil?

Yet a big section, a sizable majority of the public, feels that there is something wrong in the trade-union movement, something that has to be "reformed" or even "curbed" by the government. What is behind this feeling? Public opinion is, at bottom, middle-class opinion and, in our present social order, middle-class opinion tends to be dominated by the narrow class prejudices of capitalist society. "The ruling ideas of any age are the ideas of its ruling class," Marx told us long ago, and experience has shown how thoroly valid this generalization is for all normal periods of development. At bottom, the readiness of the "public" to have the government "curb" or "reform" the unions is an indirect, perhaps vestigial expression of the traditional middle-class attitude to labor unionism as such.

Upon this traditional mood of the middle classes, the high-pressure propagandists of big business have been working with the most concentrated force during the last few years. But it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that there are certain conditions in the labor movement itself that have contributed towards rousing the fear and prejudice of the public. Perhaps the gravest of these is the disunity of the trade-union movement and the unbridled forms which the civil war in labor's ranks has tended to take. Mutual denunciation and "grabbing," inter-union strikes and boycotts, cannot help but alienate public opinion and create a dangerously hostile atmosphere. The high-handed, arbitrary conduct of a Hutcheson or a Dave Beck, in making whole communities the pawn of their reactionary crusade against the C.I.O., is certainly not such as to arouse favorable sentiment for the labor movement or to produce an impression of

(Continued on Page 7)

TORONTO, CANADA JAY LOVESTONE will speak Friday, May 13, 8 p.m. on "CRISIS OVER EUROPE" at Labor Temple 167 Church Street.

# P.O.U.M. APPEALS FOR LABOR AID AGAINST REACTION

## Expose Stalinist 'Arms Blackmail'

(We publish below extracts from a letter we have just received from Spain. We appeal to every reader of the Age, to every class-conscious worker, to every friend of anti-fascist Spain, to rush to the Spanish Ambassador at Washington protests against the persecution of the revolutionary anti-fascists in Spain and demands for their release in the interests of a more effective struggle against Franco.—The Editor.)

April 11, 1938.

WE cannot give you good news about Spain. The new government, as we had feared, is a deadly blow to our cause. The real head of the government is Alvarez del Vayo, the chief agent of Stalinism in Spain and the real head of the Spanish Communist Party.

The arms-blackmail scheme of 1936 is once again being repeated but this time on a much greater scale and with much more serious consequences. You know that for months the U.S.S.R. had not been sending any help to Spain due, in part, to the fact that Prieto was directing Spain's foreign policy towards France and England. At the same time that he favored the re-establishment of a bourgeois state, he attacked the Stalinists in the positions they held in the government (Commissariat of Propaganda Political Commissariat, Information Office (Cheka), etc.) When Prieto failed to get the support of the so-called "democratic" countries, his power was greatly reduced and the Stalinists could then throw him out.

**Price Of Russian Aid**

All at once, after they allowed the fascists to advance almost to Tortosa and allowed Lerida to be taken, the U.S.S.R. once again started to send arms. This aid did not arrive until Alvarez del Vayo was in and Prieto definitely out. Russian aid is especially noticeable in Barcelona where 200 airplanes came in flying exactly two days after the formation of the new government—not before!

At first glance, all this will seem to be very good news but unfortunately just the opposite is true.

Events have shown that the U.S.S.R. could never counterbalance the aid Italy and Germany have given to Franco. Much less will it be able to do so now that it is busy in the Far East and that the military situation is so favorable for Franco. But Russian aid can give and has given the Stalinists the upper hand to the advantage of the counter-revolution.

As far as the party (P.O.U.M.) is concerned, the situation is terrifically difficult. One of the first acts of the new government was to shoot over twenty of our comrades at the front! Among them are Hervas, Trepas and Martinez. Trepas was secretary of the Agricultural Department of the party and a member since 1929. Hervas was a commander, political commissar of the official government Transmission School and secretary of the C.E.N.U. (Committee for the New Unified Schools) of the Department of Education; Dr. Martinez was head of the hospital founded and established during the first week of the civil war by the local committee of the P.O.U.M. I cannot give you details or information about the rest because I have not yet received their names, but I can tell you that they were all fighting at the front when they were killed.

Another piece of treachery of the military authorities was to leave behind, during the recent Aragon retreat, our comrades and other anti-fascists who were in the jails of Sietamo, Lerida and probably in Barbastro, Monzon and

## ! ? ? !

FROM the Daily Worker of March 8, in a dispatch by Sender Garlin from Moscow:

"When the Nobel Commission meets next year to determine the winner of the peace prize for 1938, it would be well for them to bear in mind the name of Nikolai Yezhov."

Nikolai Yezhov is the head of Stalin's G.P.U., the executioner of hundreds, perhaps thousands of devoted Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, the murderer of such men as Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and Piatakov!

other towns as well. The authorities also left behind the fascists who were in jail and who are today among friends, while the anti-fascists have undoubtedly been shot.

**The Danger Is Great!**

As soon as the new government came into power, the comrades of the Executive Committee who were in Valencia prison were hurriedly transferred to Barcelona. This, something we had worked so hard to get, is today, with the new government, no longer a safeguard, as it would have been with the old government. We greatly fear that one of Stalin's blackmail conditions is the attempt to assassinate these comrades, either legally or illegally. Our comrades in general used to have a certain amount of freedom to move about and to carry on party work but this is ended. Our comrades are obliged to live in the utmost secrecy and have to act in a strictly underground manner, much worse than immediately after the June persecutions. They say they can smell the coming pogrom in the very air they breathe. The Stalinists will launch this pogrom precisely at the moment when the fascist advance is tearing the heart and soul of the anti-fascists and when every one is ready to sacrifice everything to defeat Franco.

We have entered now into a

## Wage-Cuts No Solution

(Continued from Page 3)

that wages had been raised to an "uneconomic degree," he forgot to mention that 15 automobile companies had made the outrageous profit of 20.3% in 1937 and that the "poor" steel industry had to be satisfied with a mere 7%. Before the reader begins weeping over the plight of the steel companies, he should remember that this 7% is figured on the basis of inflated valuation. Harvey O'Connor shows that the U. S. Steel Corporation, at its foundation, issued \$1,400,000,000 in securities when it was actually worth \$359,000,000. Even the hard-boiled management of the corporation is forced to admit that plant valuation was too high, for the Wall St. Journal reports that, for 1938, the plant valuation of the company is estimated at \$279,000,000 less than in 1931. The Journal further declares: "This reduction has occurred despite the fact that there has been a tremendous increase in the capacity of the corporation since organization." Labor must demand that industry now squeeze the water out of its stock and no longer squeeze the blood out of the workers.

The tasks ahead for labor are clear! Resist wage-cuts! Wage-cuts will not result in greater employment and will certainly not bring back prosperity. The capitalists know it, as Business Week points

out: "Business needs volume more than it needs lower operating costs. . . ." Labor is even more concerned with increased production than is business. For labor it is a life-and-death question. The present depression has convinced the workers that the capitalist system has broken down. The worker is learning that, although he is becoming more and more productive and efficient, the capitalist system as a whole is becoming more and more wasteful because of unused industrial capacity. The labor movement is turning to a new course as is indicated by the U.A.W., which recently proposed government control of the basic industries of the country "to function in the public interest on the basis of limited profit and lower prices per unit of output, unrestricted expansion of production and complete reemployment with higher rates of pay and shorter hours for all those able and willing to work."

**SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE**

## Jim Crow's OK!

FROM the report in the Daily Worker (April 5) of the Stalinist-inspired and Stalinist-controlled Second Southern Negro Youth Congress at Chattanooga, Tenn.:

"The session was opened . . . with the rap of a wooden gavel carved from trees of Tennessee which had been presented . . . as a key to the city from the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce."

Something for the Stalinites to boast about, indeed! A Southern "Negro youth congress" held in Chattanooga, Tenn., with the blessings of the jim-crow, labor-hating Chamber of Commerce!

period when we must act quickly and work hard. Spain is not yet Stalinist Russia and the Spanish government, unlike that of Moscow, cannot yet ignore all the protests that come from the outside. You mustn't forget that your prompt action in June 1937 saved our lives once! The danger now is still more serious and you must use means that are even stronger, and if possible, surer.

Labor, in its struggle for the immediate demands of employment and higher wages, is forced to fight against the capitalist system itself. Labor becomes the champion of an economy of plenty in an economy of hunger. Against the drive of capital to "abolish" wages, labor must demand the abolition of the wage system!

## Urgent Plea for End to Blockade

(We publish below the most important paragraphs of an appeal issued recently by the P.O.U.M. to the workers of the world.—The Editor.)

THE Spanish workers need the immediate direct help of the international working class. If the workers of all countries do not force their leaders to break with the policy which has prevented them from effectively helping in the past, the sacrifices of the Spanish workers will have been unavailing.

The Spanish workers are defending the working class of the whole world. If the Spanish workers are vanquished by Franco, savage reaction will pitilessly crush the workers of other countries. The workers front lines against capitalism are today in Spain.

Workers! Your leaders have deceived you in chaining you to the policy of "non-intervention" which has helped capitalism to mortally wound the Spanish proletarian revolution commenced after the first fascist defeats in July 1936.

Workers! There is still time to act. You must save the Spanish working class which has shown proof of such heroism. You must show your class solidarity.

The workers of Spain need arms and munitions immediately. Do not hope for anything from your own capitalist class. It is you who manufacture the airplanes, the guns and the munitions. You can give them to the Spanish workers. Smash the criminal fraud of "non-intervention"! Arms and munitions for the workers of Spain!

Boycott the manufacture and the transport of arms for Franco and his allies. Demand the immediate liberation of the fighters who fought against fascism in the July days and who are in government prisons. Their liberation is indispensable to reinforce working-class unity in the struggle for the revolution and against Franco.

Your action will help the Spanish working class to retake the positions conquered on July 19. Help it in its heroic struggle against Franco and international fascism! Help it to carry thru the social revolution! Long live the Spanish workers revolution! Long live the world revolution!

## The World Today

(Continued from Page 4)

differences in principles and tactics, on the basis of firm discipline of action. Among these measures we believe the following are decisive:

1. Organization of united and joint meetings and mass demonstrations against fascism and the imperialist war danger.
2. Creation of joint organs in the shops, localities and districts thru elected delegates of all labor organizations. These joint organs as anti-fascist committees, must take over the united leadership of the struggle against fascism.
3. For the defense against fascist terror, for the protection of proletarian meetings and proletarian property, non-partisan self-defense organizations must be established everywhere, on a central and local scale, in which all active anti-fascists will be included.

If these measures are carried out, the working class will not only be able to gather the forces to drive back the offensive of fascism and force a ban on the fascist organizations and their press, but also to go forward to the extension of our democratic rights, the restoration of freedom of the workers press and the successful defense of our economic interests.

# LABOR AND PUBLIC OPINION

## Labor Notes and Facts

THE first criminal prosecution in the federal courts on charges of depriving workers of the rights assured them under the Wagner Labor Relations Act will go to trial in London, Ky., on May 16.

The defendants are twenty-four coal mine executives, twenty-three local police officers and twenty-two coal mining corporations, all of Harlan County, Ky., described as the seat of "a kind of serfdom" designed to keep the county's coal miners from organizing.

The case is the outgrowth of the investigation of conditions in the county conducted last year by the Senate Civil Liberties Committee, headed by Senator LaFollette. This was followed by an investigation by the Department of Justice, which resulted in the indictment of sixty-nine defendants by a federal grand jury in Frankfort, Ky.

The prosecution will proceed under two statutes. One is the Wagner Act and the other is an old and little-used law, passed to meet Reconstruction problems after the Civil War, which makes it a criminal offense to conspire to prevent any citizen from enjoying "any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

"Certain of the defendants," the government statement declares, "formed an association known as the Harlan County Coal Operators Association, one of the express purposes of which was to prevent the miners from organizing. The LaFollette committee hearings established that the employer defendants paid large sums to the Sheriff of Harlan County and his deputies, many of whose salaries were not paid by the state, to prevent any attempts of the miners to gather together for organization purposes by threats and acts of violence."

The statement continues to describe the shooting in his home of the son of Marshall Musick, an itinerant minister and union organizer; the ambushing of other United Mine Workers organizers as they fled the county in an automobile; the gas bombing of a third group of organizers in a Harlan Town hotel and the refusal of Sheriff Middleton and his men to give any protection to the unionists.

**STATE LAWS ON HOURS AND WORKING CONDITIONS**

A recent survey of the Department of Labor shows that every state in the Union has some sort of law regulating the hours of work and working conditions. In most states, this regulation is limited only to women or child workers, since the Supreme Court has definitely declared such legislation to be a valid exercise of the power of a state to protect the health and morals of its citizens. However, where protective legislation for men is concerned, there is more uncertainty about the attitude of the courts and to this day, only a few states have enacted laws designed to protect male workers. Of these, the Pennsylv-

(Continued from Page 5)

responsibility and self-control. On the other side is the reckless, factional adventurism of the Stalinites to whom the interests of the labor movement are as nothing in the pursuance of their own narrow clique ends. From both of these directions, labor's cause is gravely prejudiced in the eyes of the public.

**Workers And Middle-Class Opinion**

One thing in the Fortune poll figures is especially significant. In general, but especially on the question of labor unions, the sentiment of factory workers seems to hew close to the line set by public opinion.

The Pennsylvania law limits the employment of men to 44 hours a week, 5 1/2 days at 8 hours a day but it does not apply to agricultural labor domestic servants in private homes or persons over 21 years of age earning \$25 a week or more in executive positions or in professional work. The North Carolina law limits the hours of labor of men to 10 a day and 55 a week. There are, however, numerous exceptions here too, and the law is not applicable to an employer of eight or fewer employees.

**Local 60, I.L.G.W.U.**

Dress and Waist Pressers Union

I. WASILEVSKY, Chairman

MAX COHEN, Manager-Secretary

**GREETINGS**

The United Cloak, Suit, Infants and Children's Coat Operators & Sample Makers Union

Local 117, I.L.G.W.U.

R. ZUCKERMAN, Chairman

LOUIS LEVY, Manager

**GREETINGS**

from

Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union

Local 155, I.L.G.W.U.

LOUIS LEVINSON, Pres.

LOUIS NELSON, Manager

**GREETINGS**

PLAYTHING & NOVELTY WORKERS LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 223

Affiliated with the C.I.O.

161 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y.

A. ESPOSITO, Manager

EMANUEL DIANA, Pres.

**REVOLUTIONARY GREETINGS TO THE WORKERS AGE**

from the Breziner Workers Club

ion in general. Of the public as a whole, 38.6% think that unions are "most in need of reform"; of factory workers, 35.6%; of business executives, 52.9%. And the same is true, with some exceptions, on other questions as well. In other words, big sections even of the middle classes ("public opinion"); there is vastly less class consciousness among the factory workers than there is, from the other direction, among business executives. This point should direct our attention to a problem that most of us have tended to ignore in the recent past. The historical backwardness of the American working class has not yet been overcome by any means despite the great awakening of the C.I.O. Only a section of the workers, is in motion but great masses still remain almost inert and untouched by the first glimmer of class consciousness, thinking and reacting as if they were members of the lower middle class!

But such a "selling campaign" cannot be simply a campaign of propaganda or advertising. It must be linked up with and based upon certain self-administered reforms in the labor movement—unity, or at least some sort of united action, in trade-union ranks; the wiping out of racketeering; the elimination of the self-centered irresponsibility of craft unionism, on the one hand, and the destructive factional intrigues of Stalinism, on the other.

## INDIVIDUAL GREETINGS

**DRESSMAKERS**

Mary Fiumarelli  
Florence Moscov  
Ida Green  
Minnie Cohen  
Sarah Nevins  
Sarah Goldberg  
Jennie  
Mary Castronovo  
Josie Castronovo  
Sol Carmacchio  
Vincie Alico  
Mary Perna  
Clara Mecca  
Joe Biele  
Florence Bennett  
Rose Storace  
Esther Greenbaum  
Ida Goldberg  
M. Bailowitz  
A. Heit  
I. Capelson  
Isidor May  
D. Frumkin  
B. Friedman  
Ethel Atwell  
H. Steinberg  
B. Borim  
E. Pasher  
S. M. Ceman  
Elsie Leitner  
Betty Leiderman  
Rose Lampert  
Minnie Mufsovitz  
Josephine Cungelvis  
J. Reinstein  
Fanny  
Yetta Shimansky  
Ichssel  
P. Schwartz  
David Maness  
S. Kaplan  
Julius Stall  
B. Rivkin  
Jack Simon  
J. Lutz  
Anna Fine  
Jessie Rorth  
Rose Cheskin  
A. S. K. Price  
Jacob Goldstein  
Charles Anderson  
Jack Mandel  
Rose Levinsky  
L. Elson  
Friend  
H. Lasky  
Max Fishlett  
Max Kohlenberg  
Sally Fenster  
David Hollander  
S. Pfeffer  
B. Atlas  
Harry Stein  
G. Kalash  
J. Richman  
I. Bortnick  
Benny Halpern  
Max Goldfarb  
Siegel  
Hyman Spitalnick

Clara Rothbone  
Fannie Breslaw  
Serafin Vazquez  
Minnie Rubinstein  
Louis Rosenthal  
Jack Bowins  
Leo Schnatz  
Joe Bleich  
Louis Bagdanoff  
L. Golener  
I. Grossman  
B. Friedman  
Tillie Kastan  
M. Pilchik  
Sam Willner  
A. Rosenberg  
F. Muscillo  
F. Goodman  
M. Tushinsky  
E. Hallen  
J. Sperber  
E. Shapiro  
M. Pollack  
M. Boobar  
A. Glickenstein  
Lily Wexler  
Joe Bank  
Tillie Axler  
Fannie Mozlow  
Joe Axler  
B. C. S.  
Betty Binenbaum  
Yetta Horn  
Jennie Silverman  
Aaron Kaufman  
Sam Skolnick  
Ginsberg  
A. Schwerd  
Joe Wexler  
H. Garfinkel  
Dave Hirsh  
Mansfield  
M. Berger  
Hochberg  
S. Stieglitz  
B. Katz  
J. Friedman  
J. Ushelevsky  
A. Altman  
P. Morgenstern  
Louis Rosenthal  
A. Deusch  
M. Bluestein

W. Komiss  
A. Kaplan  
S. Shinsky  
M. Shaines  
E. Krauss  
A. Berkowitz  
S. Cohen  
H. Spindel  
T. Marmorow  
J. Dubrow  
A. Friend  
Philip Olin  
M. Oxer  
Irving Mauss  
Henry New  
Ben Golub  
Jack Taksen  
M. Tatz  
L. Nelson  
L. Levenson  
P. Tauber  
A. Rosner  
H. Goodstein  
Joseph Gullotta  
J. Edelstein  
S. Rose  
S. Bail  
S. Stieglitz

**CLOAKMAKERS**

L. H.  
L. D.  
Louis Goldstein  
M. F.  
I. Finger  
E. Rosen  
N. G.  
S. S.  
R. Baylin  
L. Kramer  
H. Davidoff  
D. Rubin  
Abe Cohen  
S. Rudin  
B. Golub  
I. Stenzor  
N. Patchefsky  
Harry Gidansky  
William Fried  
Max Weiss

**BOSTON**

Joe Masseda  
Clifton  
Alice L. Dodge  
Bill Raymond  
R. Pines  
W. Mac Arnold  
Abe Modes  
Sam Sandberg  
Hattie Evans  
Mazlanka  
S. E. Angoff  
Petricone  
S. Grant  
E. Levine  
Joe Gudis  
Paul Wedge  
Joe Rubin  
Sam Lee  
S. Zelicovitz

## BOOKS

**A NEW HOPE FOR WORLD SOCIALISM, Resolutions of the Revolutionary Socialist Congress in Paris. International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity. London, 1938.**

**I**N FEBRUARY of this year, there convened in Paris the representatives of those socialist organizations which are outside of the Second International of August 4th infamy and the Third International of Stalin. Participating were the parties of the London Bureau: the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.), the Socialist Party of Sweden, the Socialist Workers Party of Germany, the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists), and Marxist groups from Holland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Palestine, Rumania and Bulgaria. Participating also was the International Communist Opposition, thru which was represented its American affiliate, the Independent Communist Labor League. The third group was composed of representatives of various colonial organizations.

These various political organizations have, thru different paths, reached the same general political conclusion: the necessity, once again as did Lenin in 1915, to begin the painful, difficult but heroic task of reconstructing, out of the ruins left in the wake of the People's Front, the international movement of Marxism, pledged to the revolutionary socialist struggle against capitalism, and imperialist war. It is the starting-point of the re-formation of the ranks of international socialist labor, freed from, and hostile to, the political opportunism and counter-revolution of the Second and Third Internationals, and dedicated to a new type of international revolutionary collaboration.

The resolutions of the conference, plus digests of some of the main speeches made in reporting these resolutions, are contained in "A New Hope For World Socialism." The subjects dealt with in the work of the congress are:

1. The International Working Class and Our Tasks.

This is the major political resolution which appeared in the Workers Age some weeks ago.

2. The Popular Front and the Workers Front.

A call for a united front of labor organizations, together with petty-bourgeois organizations, on a labor program of anti-capitalist struggle, and thoroughgoing exposure of the reactionary nature of the Popular Front as an alliance of labor with big capital on a program acceptable to the latter, and consequently a policy weakening and destroying the labor movement.

3. The Fight Against Fascism.

A restatement, on the basis of the additional experience garnered by the working class as a result of the Spanish events, of the necessity of a revolutionary socialist struggle against fascism and of opposition to social-democracy and Stalinism, which would have the workers fight for the maintenance of "democratic" capitalism as a weapon against fascist capitalism.

4. The Fight Against War.

A rejection of the opportunism of the Second and Third Internationals in the struggle against imperialist war, against "collective security." Differences on the question of "mixed" wars and the strategy of labor arose in the discussion of this resolution.

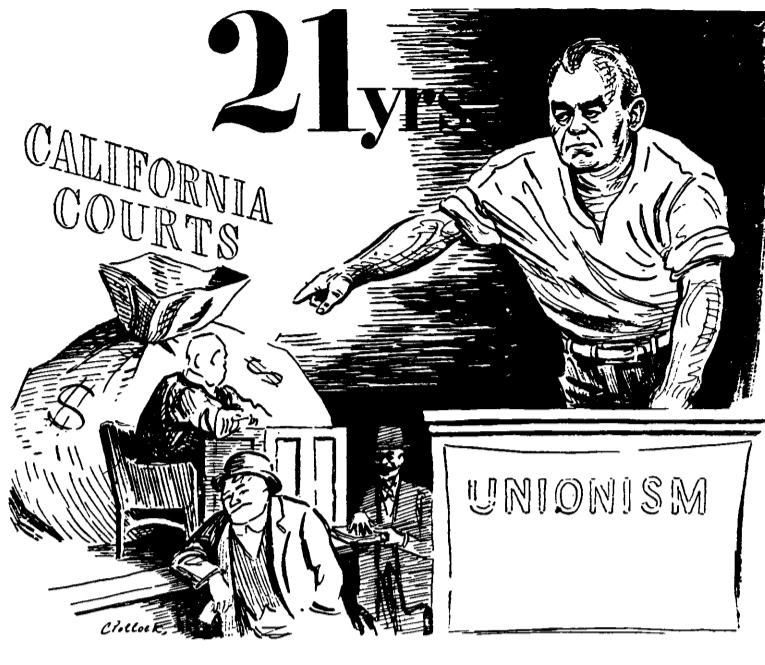
5. The Fight Against Imperialism.

This resolution revives the revolutionary struggle for colonial freedom, never touched by the Second International and now abandoned by the Third International.

6. The Struggle In Spain.

An endorsement of the policies of the P.O.U.M., and a call for struggle against the Anglo-French

## MAY DAY FOR TOM MOONEY



## Labor and United Action

(Continued from Page 3)

diate and vital necessity. The great demand of the hour is for such united action. There are vast fields of political and economic life in which common action is quite possible despite disagreement on the more fundamental problems of union structure and organizational strategy. Big-business reaction has launched a drive to block any further labor and social legislation and to whittle down and destroy what has already been achieved. There is a movement under way to overwhelm the trade unions with restrictive and "regulatory" legislation. In Congress, a reactionary bipartisan coalition is threatening even the modest "spending" program recently proposed by the President. Should these efforts meet with any notable success, the offensive will be extended in an intensified form to the economic field and will dangerously threaten the gains made by organized labor in recent years. Surely here there is enough ground for joint action on a common program!

Some sort of joint action, or at least some sort of understanding or agreement, is necessary on the economic field as well. The present situation of unbridled civil war in the ranks of labor, bringing with it inter-union boycotts as well as mutual "raiding" and strikes, is surely intolerable. Of course, the craft-union chieftains of the A. F. of L. are almost entirely responsible for this state of affairs but that does not change the situation. Ordinary prudence and common-sense would seem to dictate at the very least some sort of "non-aggression pact" between C.I.O. and A. F. of L., if not actual cooperation, merely as a matter of self-preservation in an increasingly dangerous situation.

## For A Council Of Labor

The demand of the hour is for united action. Let the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the railway brotherhoods get together and set up a Grand Council of Labor to coordinate their efforts in those fields where agreement can be reached and to reduce to a minimum the scope and destructiveness of

as well as the Italian and German intervention against anti-fascist Spain.

7. Soviet Russia.

The weakest and most unclear resolution, not adopted by the conference, but submitted for discussion to the organizations of all the participants.

Thus, for the first time since the death of the Third International as a revolutionary organization, there appears upon the horizon of the labor movement an international regrouping of revolutionary forces which gives, indeed, a "New Hope For World Socialism."

M.S.M.

mutual conflict in those fields where it cannot. Such a Council of Labor would not only weld the forces of the organized workers for common struggle against employing-class reaction; it would also be the best and most fruitful point of departure for eventual trade-union unity!

At the time of the "peace" negotiations at Washington some months ago, John L. Lewis is said to have advanced to his colleagues the notion of a joint C.I.O.-A. F. of L. council for common action on legislative problems. A little later, President Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, proposed a somewhat similar plan. Now is the time to translate these ideas into action; now is the time to establish a united front of organized labor!

## War Gains And Losses

(Continued from Page 3)

heights in their climbing profits. The highest rate of gain was in the manufacturing, mining and mercantile fields.

But how different is the picture when profits are compared with wages and the cost of living!

	Profits	Cost of Living	Wages (Real)
1914	100	100	100
1915	171	103	102
1916	336	117	104
1917	304	141	100
1918	224	172	103

In some cases, wages even fell below the 1914 level. The wages of government employees generally, for example, fell as low as 77 in 1918 (1914=100); those of postal employees, to 74; and those of teachers, to 78. Real hourly earn-

**MAY DAY GREETINGS**  
from  
**FURRIERS PROGRESSIVE GROUP**

**GREETINGS**  
GROUP of DRESSMAKERS  
Local 106, I.L.G.W.U.  
Baltimore, Md.

**GREETINGS**  
FROM PRISON

Jack Soderberg

William Schaffer  
Organizer, Joint Council  
Knitgoods Workers Union

## Trade Union Notes

By Observer

**T**HE lengths to which the Stalinist union-wreckers are ready to go in their criminal factionalism and lust for power, is illustrated in the following letter sent out recently to all local unions of the United Automobile Workers by Local 12, Toledo, Ohio, an organization completely dominated by the Stalinites:

"Local 12 went on record unanimously to request the officers of all local unions to ask the International Executive Board, I.U.U.A.W. of A., to hold the next board meeting in a large hall and to invite the Executive Boards of all local unions to attend this meeting.

"If the International Executive Board don't do this and call this meeting, the officers of all local unions should be there to demand it. Local 12 will be there; WILL YOU?"

Fraternally yours,  
NORMAN MYERS,  
Rec. Sec'y Executive Board."

The letter speaks for itself. Comment is surely unnecessary to call attention to the reckless, unscrupulous anti-union attitude of people who are ready, at this critical moment, to organize a "march" upon the highest and most authoritative body of their union and to disrupt its proceedings for the sake their own filthy factional ends! These people are obviously union-wreckers, plain and simple; the employing class could not buy any more effective agents to undermine and destroy the labor movement.

Just imagine what John L. Lewis or Sidney Hillman would do to such creatures were they to show

ings, which had increased 3% in 1915, fell in 1917 by 6% and in 1918 by 4% more. The concentration of incomes rose: in 1914, there were 2,290 people with annual incomes of over \$100,000; but, in 1918, there were already 6,633.

## Example Of The Steel Industry

Take the steel industry, for example. The net earnings of United States Steel were over a billion dollars in the two war years 1917 and 1918 as compared with the total of one and a half billion for the entire sixteen years preceding! The net manufacturing profits of Bethlehem Steel rose from nine million in 1914 to sixty million two years later. Yet, in the war year 1918, nearly 40% of the 400,000 steel workers earned less than \$1,265 a year and another one-third less than \$1,683. This means that about 40% of the steel workers could not reach the minimum-subsistence level (\$1,380) and nearly 75% fell below the minimum-comfort level (\$1,760). When the war started, the wages of common labor in the steel industry rose to \$2 to \$3 a day for a 12-hour day and 72-hour week!

## Intensified Exploitation

Labor suffered not only thru falling standards but also as a result of a generally intensified exploitation due to the suspension of trade-union conditions and labor legislation. Hours were lengthened, in many cases, to 12 or 15, while overtime pay was frequently dropped. Thru the sudden and wholesale replacement of men by women and children in many occupations, there was a general breakdown of differentials and a depression of wage-rates. At the same time, there was a widespread worsening of working conditions, particularly a greater disregard of industrial hazards. But, above all, was the element of industrial serfdom introduced by the selective draft and the "work-or-fight" system, which placed the civilian worker practically at the mercy of the army machine. In Europe, this tendency proceeded much further to completion than in this country but even in this country, there were already discernible the harsh outlines of a military dictatorship with its grip over the whole of the life of the nation.

their heads in the U.M.W.A. or the A.C.W.!

\* \* \*

## THAT MAN BROUN AGAIN

In the April 1 issue of Justice, the paper of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Max D. Danish, the editor, has something to say about this Heywood Broun which we think worth reprinting for the benefit of our readers:

"Brother Heywood Broun has added another side line to his multiple arts.

"The other day we discovered, thru his own column in the New Republic\* that Broun was launching himself on a new career. In a thinly-veiled manner Broun was advising John Dewey next time the distinguished educator becomes curious as to whether there is such a thing as 'Trotskyism' to go to 'Michigan' or to 'some sections of the garment unions in New York.' We take it that Brother Broun, honorable man that he is, would not send off an elderly gentleman like Dr. Dewey on a wrong scent. Obviously, the president of the American Newspaper Guild has been doing some amateur snooping on his own time.

"In a mood of humility, Detective Broun admits that, from his own knowledge, purges or no purges, he does not know whether there are any 'Trotsky plots in Russia.' But, asserts he vigorously, 'there certainly are in the United States.' Obviously, however, President Broun has been to the race-track before, for right smartly he hedges his bets 'ere the ponies leave the post. So he admits the 'word Trotskyite has come to be an extremely broad label.' And furthermore: 'Some of the most sincere men and women of my acquaintance are Trotskyites in the broad sense of the term.'

"And where do you fancy are the Trotsky plots located in the United States? The infernal cabal thrives right in the labor movement—and Brother Broun points an accusing pair of fingers in the direction of Detroit and New York. A 'pertinent inquiry,' in these places he suggests, would quickly reveal the dastardly 'Trotsky plots' and would unearth, in this instance, all the unregenerate 'foes of C.I.O.'

"And thus the conspiracy unravels itself. That 'certain sections of the garment unions'—even a perfect innocent would know that by this is meant the I.L.G.W.U. and its president, David Dubinsky, and 'Michigan' is but another term for the Automobile Workers Union, with Homer Martin at the head.

"Are we sore? Not a bit. Fact of the matter is, who could become honest-to-goodness sore at Brother Broun? He has prayed in so many churches in the past dozen years that his innocuous dilletantism neither shocks nor offends any longer. One gets to anticipate bald-dash from Mr. Broun when he picks the labor movement as a topic for entertainment."

\* In his column in the March 23 issue of the New Republic, Heywood Broun had the following to say on the subject of "Trotskyism in America": "And here, in America today, I see a growing tendency for Lovestoneites and Trotskyites to make common cause with Girdlers and Sokolskys. . . . It isn't necessary to go to Mexico. An even more pertinent inquiry might be held in Michigan or in some sections of the garment unions in the city of New York."