

The Austrian Terror

by Jay Lovestone

AS we go to press, we are reliably informed that on Friday, May 20, and Saturday, May 21, there took place serious disturbances at the relief and unemployment offices in Vienna. Masses of jobless workers, aroused to action by the slashes in relief and the breakdown of the Nazi promises to provide work, demonstrated their indignation and protest.

In these demonstrations, members and followers of the Austrian Communist Opposition were in the forefront, lending inspiration and leadership to the spontaneous outbreak of the workers out of the depths of their desperation.

As a result of these demonstrations, scores of workers were arrested, including nearly a dozen leading figures of our movement. They face imprisonment, the concentration camp, perhaps death!

From X.Y., a veteran of the Austrian labor movement, we have received the following letter, dated May 7:

"The terror is great, incredible. Arrests run into the thousands and include Jews, socialists and Schuschnigg people . . . Somehow, the Nazis have gotten possession of a long list of their enemies, and these people are certain to be arrested should any counter-propaganda appear. Thus, we sit in a mouse-trap waiting for it to snap shut . . .

"But we are not yet beaten by any means. For the moment, we can do nothing but feel out the mood of the various sections of the working class. There exists tremendous confusion. Sections of the working class are being infected by Nazi demagoguery and anti-Semitism. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish friend from foe. In the factories, where workers have known each other for a long time, things are considerably better . . .

"I am risking this letter without knowing whether it will reach you . . . I shall seek new connections. In spite of everything, we will fight on.

Revolutionary greetings,
X.Y.
For the Austrian Section
Of the I.C.O.

"In spite of everything, we will fight on . . ." This is the spirit of the heroic Austrian working class. They have been defeated, crushed, but the war is not yet over. As long as their spirit remains undaunted, their day will come!

"In spite of everything, we will fight on . . ." But fight on with what? How can they fight, unless we come to their assistance immediately, without delay? The socialists and trade unionists, the revolutionary workers of Austria, risking everything to keep alive the spirit of class struggle against capitalism and fascism, are fighting our battle thousands of miles away. The least we can do is to extend them instant aid—moral support and solidarity to sustain them in the long, uphill fight; financial support to give them the means to fight against such tremendous odds!

The Austrian workers are calling. What will be our answer? Remember—every minute counts and so does every dollar!

Send your contribution to the Austrian Workers Solidarity Fund, Jay Lovestone, treasurer, 131 West 33rd Street, New York City.

Do your bit in the world struggle against fascism and reaction!

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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AKRON POLICE ATTACK 3000 RUBBER STRIKERS

C.I.O. And A.F.L. Unions Join In Defense

Two hundred police, equipped with sub-machine guns and gas-bombs, attacked a crowd of 3,000 unarmed rubber strikers and sympathizers at one of the gates of the Goodyear No. 1 plant in Akron, Ohio, on Friday of last week and thereby precipitated a three-hour battle resulting in nearly a hundred injured, some quite seriously.

The strike broke out as a result of the refusal of the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. to give satisfactory answers in written form to a series of grievances presented by the United Rubber Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate. The negotiating committee was reporting to a meeting of shop committeemen when word came that trucks were taking material but of the plant. In a few minutes, a huge picket line was thrown around the factory in order to prevent the removal of materials. Under orders of Mayor Lee D. Schroy, a Republican official extremely hostile to labor, the police moved down to disperse the union picket lines and the three-hour clash resulted.

Mayor Schroy immediately issued a declaration accusing the strike leaders of "inciting to riot and armed rebellion" and threatening further police repressions. He also called upon Governor Davey for

Fur Strike Is Concluded

The New York furriers gathered on Wednesday last week in two large halls for the final windup of a fifteen-week lockout and general strike. The workers listened to a report by Ben Gold, president of the International, and Irving Potash, manager of the New York Joint Council, dealing with a prolonged conference which had ended in the selection of a sub-committee of six, three for the union and three for the employers association. This subcommittee reached an agreement, which was brought before the workers for ratification.

The new points included on the agreement are: 1. Eight-months equal division of work after a two-weeks trial period. This is to apply to the regular staff of workers employed. In addition to the regular staff, the firm may take up additional workers as temporary employees for a period not exceeding six weeks. 2. No more than two partners are allowed to work in the period up to the end of 1938. In 1938, only one member of a firm will be allowed to work. 3. As to wages, each craft is to get an increase of minimum scale amounting to 4½% this year and about the same increase in 1939. 4. Abolition of strikes and stoppages for the usual July raises. Instead, a collective July increase of about 10% will be granted in each craft. 5. The agreement is to run until February 15, 1941.

The main demands that the workers originally put up to the manufacturers were security on the job for the duration of the agreement, the 30-hour week, a 25% increase of the minimum scales, no

National Guardsmen to "be held in readiness" for him. The Akron labor movement responded by setting up a joint C.I.O.-A. F. of L. defense committee demanding the immediate closing of the plant, the removal of the police from the plant and vicinity, the restoration of full picket rights and the settlement of the outstanding grievances. A strategy committee, included representatives of seven C.I.O. and seven A. F. of L. unions, was appointed. There was some talk of a "general labor holiday" in Akron in support of the rights of the rubber workers. Meanwhile, picketing of the Goodyear plant continued.

Late the next day, negotiations opened between the company management and the union. On Monday a settlement was reached.

OFFICE WORKERS MEET UNDER STALINIST GRIP

By PROGRESSIVE

Washington, D. C. THE second convention of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, held recently at Washington, proved conclusively that the industrial-insurance agents are the bulwark of the union and that Local 30, New York is the strongest and most promising section of both the Insurance Division and the union as a whole. The only reliable official membership figures available are the financial statements and the votes assigned to the local delegations. In the tabulated votes, Local 30 is credited with 4,600 members out of a total of 16,600 for the whole country. In terms of money paid to the International Union, Local 30 is even more important, for it contributed roughly \$17,000 to the union while all the other locals put together contributed only \$28,000. Yet Local 30 was not allowed its choice for the General Executive Board, one of the most loyal and respected members of the local and a charter member as well. The Stalinist-controlled nominating committee picked on some unknown person, apparently either a tool or a member of the Communist Party. Local 30 publicly protested this action but to no avail. A similar trick was put over on the Boston delegation.

Local 30 is merely the most outrageous example of Stalinist "democracy." These masters of fac-

bosses to be allowed to work, and some other minor points. The feeling amongst the fur workers was that these demands were necessary in order to relieve the great unemployment in the trade. However, due to lack of proper preparations and to an orientation of the union leadership away from a fight with the manufacturers, very little more could have been accomplished than was actually achieved. The workers ratified the agreement and therewith ended the fifteen-week struggle. No announcement was made as to when the workers would return to the shops.

Open the Doors!

LIESEL WOLF, 29-year old German-Jewish girl, plunged from the window of her fifth-story room last week and met instant death.

Liesel Wolf was a refugee from Nazi Germany. She had been told that she would have to leave this country and return to the land of her birth. On Friday, she received word from Washington that her last appeal had been denied. Rather than go back to the land of Hitler terror, she plunged to her death on the sidewalks of New York.

Liesel Wolf was killed by narrowness, red tape and official inhumanity of our immigration authorities. Her death is a challenge to everything that is decent, humane and liberal in this country. Open the doors of America to the victims of fascist terror!

House Votes Wages Bill

Norton Measure Goes To Senate To Face Big Opposition

By the overwhelming vote of 314 to 97, the House of Representatives last week passed the Norton wage-hour bill after the longest sitting of the present session.

The bill is now before the senate, where every effort will be made to modify it so as to include geographical differentials enabling the South to maintain starvation wage levels. This seems to have the main purpose in sending the bill into conference so quickly. The prospects for passage this session, while better than ever before, are far from certain.

The Norton bill is the latest revision of the original Black-Connelly measure introduced into Congress last year. From the beginning, the wage-hour legislation met with bitter opposition from entrenched big-business interests, especially in the South, and their representatives in the halls of Congress among the Republicans and conservative Democrats. Last December, a wage-hour proposal was shelved in the House; this was made possible by dissension in the ranks of labor, for, while the C.I.O. endorsed the bill, the A.F. of L. campaigned against it. Recently, however, the two labor organizations were able to agree on the Norton bill and thus concentrate the united power of organized labor in its favor. Support also came from certain Northern manufacturing interests which are eager to equalize competition by eliminating sub-standard levels in the South. Some weeks ago, the Administration began to exert pressure for the bill, particularly with an eye to the Fall elections.

(Read the article on the wage-hour bill on page 3.—Editor.)

High Court Orders Rehiring Strikers

The Supreme Court handed down last week a number of decisions tending to strengthen the Wagner Act and its administration by the N.L.R.B. In a series of formal orders, it rejected the pleas of the Remington-Rand, Carlisle Lumber and Black Diamond Steamship interests for judicial review of disputes they had lost before the National Labor Relations Board.

The issue involved in the Remington-Rand case, the most important of the lot, was a N.L.R.B. order directing reinstatement of 4,000 workers who went on strike in March 1936. The workers charged that the company engaged in unfair labor practices, and subsequently the N.L.R.B. ordered the company to bargain with the union and to reinstate the workers who had been deprived of their jobs because of their efforts at self-organization. The company claimed before the Supreme Court that the order was not justified because of "insufficient investigation" and because the "conduct" of the strikers had been such as to bar them from relief. This plea was rejected.

(Continued on Page 2)

Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

Reforming Towards War

IT HAS been said of the British Liberal party, when it was a New Deal party under the leadership of Lloyd George before the war, that it was "a ministry of Liberals the best informed of whom lived and worked on two planes—the public plane of social reform and the hidden plane of a possible war." This devastating truth, already proven by history, becomes, daily, more clearly and dangerously true of "our own" New Deal government here, under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Every little move which appears to be in the direction of cleaning up the mess of capitalism is shortly discovered to be preparation for the biggest capitalist mess of all: imperialist war. It is not merely the proposals for the future, the M-Day plans, which the Administration fosters; it is the actual day-to-day "reform" policy which leads surely and firmly to the great integration of a totalitarian state, vital for the conduct of modern totalitarian war.

In the first stage of the "1933 revolution," the whole face of government seemed changed. The dominant figures of the Administration were the "bright young men," reputedly radical in viewpoint, certainly with ideas of vast reform and social change. But, increasingly, these men have faded away. Their place, however, has not merely been taken by more "traditionally-minded," and conservative politicians; the personnel of the army has become more and more prominent in the affairs of government. And the type of person is, at the very least, not unconnected with the type of policy that is being created.

In this connection, consider the government's railroad policy. What is going on is a sham struggle, with both sides agreed on the goal, with the stakes the important thing. Everybody knows that the railroads cannot continue physically, financially or administratively, under present conditions, and that government control, if not ownership, is what the employing class must have to get them out of their hole. It's all a question of price.

But who gives the tip-off in this situation? Officials of the Administration or of the railroads? Not at all! The basic needs of the capitalist class, from an economic and military point of view, are formulated by a leading officer of the army! The railroads, said this Colonel, have got to be co-ordinated. You cannot permit that the transportation needs of the war-machine be handled by the inefficient, unhealthy and technologically insane road system that we now have. Government, he pointed out, will have to take over when war is already declared, but now, to prepare for that emergency!

How, asked this forthright military man, can you expect to step from the privately-owned, anarchistic, duplicating system of railroads we have now, right into a war situation which requires centralized control and maximum engineering efficiency. The army, and hence the Administration, wants railroad control, and therefore that's what the country's going to get. Of course, it will be disguised by all sorts of flowery phrases that will hint at a socialized millennium and a great boon for labor—but it will be a typical "reform" leading to war.

Or take the public-utilities question. The army is moving into T.V.A. It is rumored that the President supports a Senate proposal to end the P.W.A. competition with the private-utility interests. It is out of the class of rumor that the President has ordered a survey of the utilities resources from the point of view of war strategy. And the fight against the gouging of the consumer public is being neatly shelved as a consequence. Because, in this case, there will be a different type of arrangement with the private interests, perhaps, but they too must be harnessed, at their price, to the war machine, and the army wants no unnecessary difficulties. The social aspects of public-power supply go by the board; its military aspects determine policy.

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Perhaps the only revision needed to apply the opening quotation to us today is in the last phrase. Delete "hidden;" substitute "brazenly open." Delete "possible;" substitute "desired and inevitable."

The Office Workers Meet

(Continued from Page 1) ization? Falsification never was a method of constructive union building!

Progressives Discuss Union Problems

This spirit of bureaucracy and falsification, so natural to the Stalinists, dominated the convention. There was so little discussion that Merrill, president of the union, literally had to beg for it. Fortunately, the Progressive group supplied the lively and critical discussion that was missing on the floor thru the special convention issue of its paper, which dealt intelligently and objectively with the problems of the union.

If Stalinist domination in the union continues without check, there is a serious danger that the real accomplishments, which are to be found primarily among the agents, will be completely nullified. In Local 30, there is tremendous resentment against the high-handed methods used in electing the Stalinist delegates and the slap in the face given to the local at the con-

Teachers Union Leaders Drive to Anti-Union NEA

By R. WILLIAMS

READ old issues of the American Teacher, national organ of the American Federation of Teachers, and in every issue you are sure to find instances throughout the country where the National Education Association has attacked unionism, as well as fought tenure and improved salary and working conditions for teachers. The Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations was not strident in its anti-union bias until recently, when it viciously attacked any and every union bill whatever its merits, solely because it was advanced by the Teachers Union. The N.E.A., however, has a long history as a reactionary, anti-teacher organization. Even the conservative Lefkowitz-Linville leadership was loud in denouncing its unprincipled suppression of independent teacher organization, especially in communities where the trade-union movement was weak.

Building A Company Union

In honor of the convention which the N.E.A. is holding in New York City this June, the superintendents started a drive for new members. Principals used pressure and intimidation to compel teachers to join. Those who refused to join were required, in a number of instances, to give reasons why, to report personally to their superiors. They were exhorted and prodded into joining at conferences. The union kept silent about this compulsion and finally the administration passed a motion advocating that union teachers join as individuals. This was followed, some time later, with a proposal that the union affiliate. This motion

met with such hostility on the part of the national officers of the American Federation of Teachers that it was dropped—temporarily, at least. Union members are still urged to join. Moreover, the union has said not a word about the compulsion and intimidation involved in driving many of the 7,000 teachers into National Education Association in the last few months. The administration of Local 5 has discovered for itself a new proud role: builders of the company union in their field.

A greater blow to the effectiveness and prestige of Local 5 was its suspension from the Central Trades and Labor Council. Mr. Weinstein of the New York Painters Joint Council suggested to the administration that Local 5 issue a call for a unity conference, to initiate a movement for unity between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. When the opposition members protested and demanded to know why such relatively strong unions as the painters, furriers, building service or cafeteria workers could not be prevailed upon to issue the call either singly or in a block, we were informed that such was the situation in the Central Trades and Labor Council that action by the Teachers Union would get the best results. About 70 locals responded to the call and resolutions advocating unity were passed, but nothing was said about industrial unionism. Promptly, the Central Trades and Labor Council suspended the Teachers Union on the ground that it had "usurped the power of the C.T.L.C." Mr. Weinstein now found himself too busy to start an effective protest against the expulsion and, of the 77 locals, 3 "innocents" appeared at the last meeting of the continuation committee. The Teachers Union is being used as the guinea-pig for the Communist Party's union strategy and intrigue.

Playing Into the Enemy's Hands

Enemies of the teachers have made great capital of this suspension. At Albany, the suspension was used by reactionary Senator McNaboe to discredit the union. In the schools, principals mention that not only was the union put out of the Joint Committee, but that even the labor movement couldn't tolerate it. Thus the administration has plunged the Teachers Union into blunder and worse blunder, the logical outcome of its policies. Never was the union more isolated, than under the application of its "broad" people's front policy.

If the Stalinites are zealous in finding alliances among enemies of the teachers, they totally abhor anything clean and wholesome in trade unionism. Every effort is made to suppress opposition, to restrict discussion on important questions to their own point of view. They permit only their opinion to be published in the New York Teacher, the monthly union magazine. After a vigorous protest, we did gain the concession of having dissenting viewpoints printed under "correspondence." The opposition was excluded from representation to the delegate body of the Joint Committee. At educational courses and forums, no expression of different points of view is permitted. The executive board is arrogating to itself the power to make decisions on important policy and divesting the delegate body and the membership of that important function. Important question of policy are rushed thru without discussion. Against the opposition there is fostered a spirit of intolerance, of hostility, thru name-calling and malicious whisperings and slanders.

The opposition is confronted with a difficult task, the dislodgment of

Memorial Day

(We publish below an article by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley that appeared in the May 24 issue of the New York Post, where she conducts a regular column. Mrs. Dunbar is a member of the Keep America Out of War Committee.—Editor.)

By DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY

NOT being a Greek oracle, I can't look into the future. Still, I should say that there are no auguries of peace but rather omens of war in the program of the so-called Memorial Day Youth Peace Parade next Saturday.

All the stress is on strafing the fascist aggressors, and not a word is said in the pamphlet sent me, against the President's super-navy and the coming American imperialism.

Any one should be able to see as clearly as a cat sees in the dark that this is hardly an adequate American peace program....

What I am sure of is that the place for Americans to fight fascism is at home, not abroad. If we get it here it will be because our domestic economy will have broken down for want of a fairer distribution of the country's wealth, and will have foundered under the burden of an armaments program of which we see only the beginning.

Guarantees against fascism here would be housing, social security, health insurance, decent working conditions and jobs for all who can work.

We may passionately sympathize with the oppressed peoples of other countries. But what will it boot us to lay ourselves out to stop fascism across the oceans, if by our efforts we lead this country into war and a military dictatorship?

Considering these threats, I'm alarmed when I see a sincere young man like my friend Joseph Lash of the American Student Union playing the game of the militarists at home. Only a few years ago, Mr. Lash was leading American college students in repeating the Oxford oath. Now he and others are spreading the spy scare.

Anxious as they may be to defend the Soviet Union and combat fascism in Europe and Asia, he and the other speakers scheduled for the Madison Square meeting will be shouting up Secretary Woodring's alley.

The Secretary of War recently presumed to tell the world under what conditions this country might go to war, and his department is already laying plans for mobilization. A headline on May 10 read: "First Conscription by Selective Plan to Call 13,000,000."

You—or your brother or your son or your husband—may be one of the thirteen million called to the draft. How do you feel about it? Do you think any more

(Continued on Page 5)

a disciplined group, which will stop at nothing to maintain control. There is but one course, however: if the Teachers Union is to maintain itself successfully against the rapid rise of reaction in the educational system, the Stalinist leadership must be destroyed along with its "rule-and-ruin" policy.

(This is the second of two articles dealing with the situation in the Teachers Union.—Editor.)

SAVE — FOR YOURSELF AND YOUR FRIENDS THURSDAY EVENING JUNE 23

What Can Public Housing Achieve?

By CHARLES McDOWELL

A REPORT by the United States Health Service on housing again brings to our attention the appalling conditions under which "one-third of the nation" lives. According to the report, about three million urban families in the United States have fewer rooms in their homes than there are persons; about one million live in dwellings with more than one-and-a-half times as many persons as there are rooms; and 700,000 live in dwellings with at least twice as many persons as there are rooms. There are numerous examples of families with three or four times as many persons as rooms!

Appalling Conditions

This survey did not take in the rural areas, but one example, Mississippi, shows that rural conditions are much worse than those in the cities. In this state, 40% of tenant families have two or more persons per room; 10% of the white people have 4 or 5 to a room; 11% have 6 or more to a room; and there are even cases of seven or 10 to a room. The conditions of the Negro families are still worse, the percentages being on an average twice that of the whites.

The lack of modern facilities and the run-down condition of many of these overcrowded dwellings is well described in the report. The proportion of inside toilets, for example, ran from 94% in one city to less than 20% in another. In one city, there was not a single inside toilet in any Negro home investigated! In another city, the percentage of basement toilets for both Negro and white families was almost 50%. The report states that about 13% of the urban households reported either a lack of inside toilet facilities or their joint use with other households. Here, again, the rural situation is found to be much worse than that of the cities. We find, in a survey by Fortune Magazine, the following percentages:

State	Percentage of farms equipped with	Running water	Bath	Electricity
Connecticut	63%	34%	53%	4%
Kentucky	3%	2%	4%	0%
Massachusetts	75%	43%	63%	8%
North Dakota	7%	3%	8%	0%
Oregon	44%	28%	32%	1%
South Carolina	4%	2%	4%	0%

On the basis of the U. S. Public Health Service survey and other reports, it has been estimated that there is an immediate need for at least three million new houses or apartments, and that approximately ten million dwellings are badly in need of repairs and modern facilities, such as toilets, baths, heat and electric service. The chief reason given by competent authorities for these new homes not being built and the needed repairs on the others not being made is the inability of the ultimate consumer to buy the new dwellings or to pay for the repairs on the old. These authorities claim that building costs are much too high, which is merely a different way of saying the same thing. One of the peculiarities of the building problem is that most building takes place in times of prosperity, when prices, both of materials and labor, are very high. In times of depression and crisis, when materials are cheap and labor plentiful, there is practically no building at all.

Under our present economic system, they say, there are but three ways of equalizing cost and the ability to pay: one, by raising the real wages of the consumer; two, by granting a subsidy; and, three, by reorganizing the entire building industry. We will pin our faith on the trade unions to carry on the fight for higher wages for the

workers and we will leave it to the capitalists to reorganize their building industry. So here we will discuss the second point—subsidized or public housing.

Significance Of Public Housing

Public housing is proposed by many of our liberal thinkers and economists as the cure-all for all our economic ills. They believe that, if the municipal, state and federal governments were to subsidize public housing to the extent that the two to three million unemployed building-trades workers would be put to work, this would create enough purchasing power to cause the reemployment of our twelve to fifteen million jobless.

It should not be difficult for us to see the fallacy of this easy road to permanent prosperity under capitalism. In the first place, economists have shown that, even were business activity to return to 1929 levels or better, many millions of workers would still remain unemployed, disemployed, the victims of the permanent crisis in which the capitalist system finds itself today. In the second place, our present economic system is so constructed that its very operations drive it thru periodical crises—revival would mean only the preparation for a new, and probably deeper, depression.

But, tho we cannot look upon public housing, even on the most extensive scale, as a cure-all, we emphatically recognize it as a big step in the right direction, as a progressive move with many important implications. Such a program would undoubtedly help to put large numbers of men back to work and so alleviate the conditions of the unemployed to some extent and for a certain period at least. Above all, it would furnish up-to-date houses for millions of workers at rents that they could pay. It would be a practical alternative to those who advocate gigantic armaments construction as the road to recovery. Low-cost public housing for workers should be one of the main points in labor's political program.

For An Adequate Housing Program

Recently, there was passed the Federal Housing Act, which provides for an appropriation of a half-billion dollars. This sum is to be distributed to the various states to be used for low-rent housing projects. The inadequacy of this program may be grasped when it is realized that the estimate for New York state alone for slum clearance and building is more than five billion dollars. New York's share of the federal funds will be a meager thirty million dollars.

The much-discussed housing program of Mayor LaGuardia and Labor Councilman E. Charney Vladek, while generally commendable and a veritable masterpiece of financing, is also inadequate. It would provide for but \$200,000,000 to be used largely on the East Side. The estimated cost of a real slum-clearance and building program for New York City is a minimum of two billion dollars.

In spite of the inadequacy of both the city and federal programs, they have received much opposition from reactionary circles, also land values would undoubtedly rise as a result of the new building. One reason for the opposition may be the fact that the city, thru the Home Relief Bureau, has spent more than \$120,000,000 in the past six years for the rent of relief clients.

This vast sum has, of course, gone into the pockets of the landlords. And there is the persistent and well-grounded fear that public

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WORKERS AGE DRIVE COMMITTEE
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French S.P. Left Clash With Blum

By A. P. Paris, France May, 1938.

THE bureaucracy of the Socialist Party has dissolved the Seine Federation of the party for backing its leaders, Marceau Pivert, Weil-Curiel, Guerin and others. It has also attempted to form a new organization of obedient followers of Paul Faure in the Paris region. The overwhelming majority of the Paris members of the party, however, want to have nothing to do with the new outfit. This has been proved not only by two gigantic meetings called by the old leadership of the Seine Federation but also by the vote taken in the various districts. Thus, the 11th section of the Paris S. P. has voted 339 against 8 with 3 abstentions to continue supporting the old leadership of Marceau Pivert. Hundreds of members of the Paris 17th, 18th and 20th sections have also, almost unanimously, declared themselves for the old leadership. Outside of Paris also, numerous sections have fraternized with the Pivert leadership of the Seine Federation.

Background Of The Conflict

Let us briefly recapitulate the history of the conflict within the S. P. On March 12, the National Council of the party decided, in a plenary session, to give full powers to Leon Blum for the formation of a government of the "National Union" reaching from Thorez to Marin. The representatives of the Revolutionary Left (Pivert) voted against it and issued an important

housing would act as a sort of "yardstick" tending to lower rents all around.

The housing question is a central issue in American politics today. It is above all an issue that the labor movement should raise and on which it should present a comprehensive and effective program.

declaration on the question (published in the Workers Age of April 16.—Editor).

On March 14, the Federal Council of the Seine Federation approved the attitude taken by its representatives at the session of the National Council of the party and adopted a resolution against the "National Union"; it also demanded the summoning of a special party convention to determine an attitude on this issue.

On March 18, the bureau of the Seine Federation directed an appeal to all federations, sections and members of the party. This appeal was based on the above-mentioned resolution. The appeal asked the members of the party to come out against a return to the policy of August 1914. Among other things, it states: "Again we declare that we cannot hope to save our liberties by constantly pleading for an alliance with the enemies of our liberties. We cannot fight foreign fascism hand in hand with our own fascists, who are represented by a general staff of generals, bank-magnates, industrialists and judges, prepared to cooperate openly or secretly with our worst enemies.

We declare that the security of a free country is not maintained by a truce in which we will once again be deceived; security can be achieved only in an active struggle against the internal enemy; by the removal of the fascist factory owners; by a purge of the army, the banks, the economic institutions and the judicial bodies; by the immediate arrest of the accomplices of the C.S.A.R. (Cagoulards), no matter how highly placed they may be, and the expropriation of their property; by the effective nationalization of the key industries (oil, mines, electricity, chemicals).

"In a word, we declare, in face of our own national capitalism, which is the ally of world capitalism, that, if it drives us into war, (Continued on Page 5)

Labor Stand On Wage Bill

By ROBERT WALTERS

THE revised wage-hour bill—which, now that it has been approved by the House of Representatives, apparently has some chance of passing thru Congress this session—is very different, indeed, from the original Black-Connerly measure introduced last year. The differences are important and far-reaching, affecting the standards set, the machinery of administration and enforcement and even, to some extent, the very aims of the legislation. In most respects, the new measure is far inferior to the original one and is obviously intended to be more palatable to the employing-class interests that were so bitterly hostile to the Black-Connerly bill when it was first presented. The old bill, however, is now definitely dead and gone, and the new one must be considered independently on its own merits and in its own terms.

Chief Provisions

What are the chief provisions of the revised wage-hour bill, now before the Senate?

1. It sets up a graduated minimum wage, starting at 25 cents an hour, increasing five cents a year each year for three years until it reaches 40 cents, beyond which it cannot go.
2. It sets up a graduated maximum work-week, starting at 44 hours and dropping to 40 hours in two years, two hours a year. Below the maximum work-week of 40 hours it cannot go.
3. It bans, thru prohibiting the interstate shipment of goods produced under such conditions, child labor in industry, that is, any employment of children under 16 and under 18 in hazardous or unhealthy occupations.
4. It affects only concerns engaged in interstate commerce. The Secretary of Labor is empowered to designate which concerns fall into this category.
5. It does not apply to workers covered by the Interstate Commerce Act, such as railroad employees, air-transport workers, fishermen, etc. Agricultural workers are completely deprived of its benefits.
6. It applies uniformly thruout the country; geographical differentials are not mentioned in the bill and are therefore excluded.
6. It depends for its enforcement on the federal courts, before which complaints as to violations are to be brought by the Labor Department.

According to estimates made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 850,000 persons would fall within the wage provision the first year, with about 2,000,000 falling within the 44-hour maximum work-week provision. Thereafter, as wages increased and hours decreased, additional numbers would, of course, be affected, but no figures are available as to how far that would reach.

It should not require much of an argument to prove how thoroughly inadequate and defective the present wage-hour bill is. Take the matter of standards. Under this bill, workers in industry would be guaranteed minimum conditions considerably lower than relief workers are now receiving under the W.P.A., and these are surely low enough. During the first year of the bill's operation, a worker in private industry would be guaran-

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued on Page 4)

SOMETHING BIG COMING THURSDAY EVENING JUNE 23 IT'S A DATE!

Theater Benefit for the
AUSTRIAN WORKERS SOLIDARITY FUND
"HEARTBREAK HOUSE"
Playing at the Mercury Theater
Monday Evening, June 6, 1938
Tickets Available Now
Room 707
131 WEST 33RD STREET
NEW YORK CITY

ENCORE!
The Youth Are At It Again....
DANCE & PARTY
SATURDAY, JUNE 4
8 p. m.
RIVERA HALL
131 West 33rd Street
Admission 25c

WORKERS AGE

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Vol. 7 June 4, 1938 No. 23

'COLLECTIVE SECURITY' FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IT IS reliably reported that, during a particularly acute phase of the Czechoslovakian crisis two weeks ago, the United States was sounded out by France—which, of course, means England—on the possibility of "cooperation in the interests of European peace." This was naturally seized upon by the champions of "collective security" as the opportunity of a lifetime for this country to join with the other "great democracies" in a "concerted effort against fascism." Undoubtedly, many thousands of Americans, genuinely aroused at the outrageous aggressions of Hitler and Mussolini, thought likewise. Yet the present crisis in Central Europe, as much as anything that has happened recently, should make clear the futility and danger of the "collective-security" policy as a bulwark against war and fascism.

If we are to join with England and France in a common enterprise, we should at least know what our allies are up to and what they are out for. What is the main line of British policy in Central Europe? Chamberlain calls it "preserving the peace" but even our most ardent "collective securityites" know better than to take an English Minister at his word. Fortunately, it is not difficult to judge by deeds. The whole burden of British intervention in Central Europe has been directed pretty obviously towards making it possible for Hitler to achieve his objectives without the necessity of resorting to war. "Weeks ago," Robert P. Frost reports in the *Anglophile New York Times* (May 21), "the British wrote off the independence of Czechoslovakia and turned all their efforts toward preventing any use of force . . . while leaving the door open toward the attainment of German objectives by other means." What these "German objectives" are, is plain enough: annexation of the Sudeten region and the reduction of what would remain of Czechoslovakia to the status of a German vassal state. This is the British policy.

And the French policy? What is the French Foreign Office but a continental agency of Downing Street? The avowed aim of French diplomacy in the recent crisis was to "prevail" upon the Prague government to "make the greatest possible concessions" to Hitler in order to "avert war." This was officially announced by Foreign Minister Bonnet's spokesman in Paris.

There you have it—the "concerted action" of the two "great democracies"! England trying to "convince" Hitler that he can accomplish his aggressive designs against Czechoslovakia much more easily in a "peaceful" manner, with British consent and assistance and without the necessity of moving a tank. France trying to "convince" Czechoslovakia that concessions and still more concessions is the best way of heading Hitler off. In effect, both are doing their best to ease the way for Hitler to step into Czechoslovakia and take it over with the minimum of danger and trouble to himself. That's how the "concerted action" of the "great democracies"—the great imperialistic "democracies"—works in practise!

And it is into this kind of "concerted action of the great democracies" that the fervid apostles of the "collective-security" gospel would like to drive us! Is it not obvious even to them that cooperation with the British and French governments means cooperation in their imperialistic power-politics, which is frequently equivalent to cooperation with fascism and fascist aggression against peace and freedom? Such cooperation may have its attractions for certain imperialistic big-business groups in this country but it certainly can bring no aid or comfort either to the American people or to the millions in Europe who face with dread the lengthening shadow of fascist domination.

S.O.S. from Austria!

HAVE you answered the call of the Austrian workers for aid in their desperate struggle against Hitler fascism?

Remember: every dollar counts—and so does every minute. Rush your contribution to the Austrian Workers Solidarity Fund, Jay Lovestone, treasurer, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City.

"Capital on Strike"

Language of Wall Street in Stalinist Mouths

By L. F.

IT is really amazing how the Communist Party these days has come to use the language of petty-bourgeois radicalism and liberalism and, especially in the matter of war, the language of imperialism ("We must defend American interests in Asia").

This appears clearly in the Stalinist analysis of the recession, which has now become a real depression. The Stalinist "theoreticians" have forgotten all the Marxism and economics they ever knew; they now ascribe the cause of the recession alternatively to monopoly and to a "strike of capital."

The monopoly argument has been used by all petty-bourgeois radicals from the old populists down, and is a complete denial of the Marxist doctrine that the causes of economic crisis are inherent in capitalism as such. The "strike of capital" argument is used by all liberal defenders of capitalism and, peculiarly, it is now being used by big business itself.

The "strike of capital" argument runs as follows:

There is no real economic cause for the crisis. The crisis is caused by the big capitalists deliberately withholding their capital from investment and thereby upsetting the economic system, in order to smash the Roosevelt Administration. If the capitalists would end their strike and invest their capital, prosperity would immediately return.

Now consider these words from an editorial in the April 26 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*, organ of American finance capital:

"We all know what it (the cause of the lack of capital expansion,

the root of the recession) is—a continuing indisposition of capital owners to put their capital to productive use. There is almost complete unanimity on the desirability of this capital going to work. Its owners have been in turn threatened, ridiculed and cajoled, in the hope that they would change their minds, but thus far without visible results. . . . All that would seem to be necessary is that capital owners should be convinced . . . that the Administration most desires recovery."

What the *Wall Street Journal* says in its own way is what the Stalinist "theoreticians" say:

There is no real economic cause for the crisis. The crisis is caused by capital owners withholding their capital from investment. Let them invest their capital and prosperity would immediately return.

There is one difference, of course. The Stalinists rebuke the big capitalists; the *Wall Street Journal* applauds them and blames the Roosevelt Administration. Otherwise, they agree on the fundamental question of the cause of the economic crisis.

Neither appreciates that there are underlying and controlling economic forces. Neither understands that the real trouble is the lack of investment opportunities because of the crisis of capitalism. Neither realizes—this includes the Communist Party—that we are in a new, the declining stage, of capitalism which produces a period of permanent economic crisis.

In this, as in many other things, the Stalinists join hands with the apologists of capitalism and imperialism and abandon that understanding and integrity which are indispensable to the struggle for socialism.

Labor and the Wage Bill

(Continued from Page 3)

found to be significantly divided along economic lines, with the "upper-income" group strongly opposed to the legislation, the "middle-income" group slightly in favor of it and the "low-income" group overwhelmingly for it.

The German-Italian agreement has raised great apprehensions among the Swiss. They believe that the armies of both countries will, in the event of an attack against France, march thru their country.

Since Germany took the first step towards the realization of her political program, we may expect that Italy will take the next one. In any case, it is clear that we are on the eve of new and startling political events.

A new and significant feature of the European situation is the statement made by the American Secretary of War warning Germany and Italy against further aggressions. Neither the British nor the French government ever expressed its opinion as bluntly as he did. His words clearly indicate that the United States will not merely follow the lead of Great Britain and France in European politics but will play an independent and important part. The same can be said about official American statements concerning the lifting of the arms embargo against Spain. The attitude of the United States will spur Germany and Italy to quicker action. It also reveals that the American bourgeoisie is determined to make its influence much more strongly felt in the coming war than it did in the first world war.

It is very welcome, indeed, that labor stands united in its insistence upon the passage of the wage-hour bill this session. The A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. are in full agreement on this point. That ought to make it possible for organized labor to exert its full power at this moment when the indications are that the reactionary Democrats in the Senate will try to kill the bill that has been sent there from the House.

Just as serious is the question of enforcement. Enforcement thru the federal courts is surely the most cumbersome, long drawn-out and obstructive form of administration that could be devised. In altogether too many cases, it is likely to render the bill not much more than an empty form as far as effective application is concerned. Even the absence of geographical differentials, a very desirable feature of the revised measure, is hardly enough to balance these grave defects.

Yet, labor and all progressive forces in this country should concentrate their energies at this decisive moment upon seeing that the new-wage-hour bill is passed by Congress this session. The great masses of the American people want wage-hour legislation immediately. The Gallup poll taken recently showed that public opinion was 60% in favor of Congress passing "a bill regulating wages and hours before ending this session." Every region of the country was found to be in favor, except the west-central section, which stood fifty-fifty. Opinion was also

PASTE IT IN YOUR HAT
PUT IT IN YOUR COMPACT!
THURSDAY EVENING
JUNE 23!

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Results Of Mussolini-Hitler Talks
Imperialist Diplomacy In China

London, England, May 11, 1938

FROM the reports published in the international press, we gather that the German-Italian negotiations that went on during Hitler's stay in Rome led to the following results:

First, the alliance between the two governments was strengthened altho it received no formal recognition. Close cooperation was established between the German and Italian general staffs. It may safely be assumed that they will jointly work out not only the strategic plans for small-scale military operations but also those for a world war, especially for common action against France.

Secondly, the German proposal that Italy should openly come out in support of the German demand for colonies was not accepted. It would be wrong, however, to infer from this that the two powers do not agree on how to settle the political problem in question.

Thirdly, a definite understanding was reached concerning the "spheres of interest" of each power in central and southern Europe. Italy will leave Germany a free hand in Czechoslovakia and give diplomatic support to her actions there. Germany promised to respect Italian interests in Hungary, Yugoslavia and Greece, and Italy recognized the German interests in Rumania, Bulgaria and also those in Yugoslavia.

Fourthly, Germany agreed to respect the sanctity of the Brenner frontier, that is, she renounced her claim to the German districts in Southern Tyrol.

Fifthly, Germany pledged herself to support Italian interests in Spain and recognized "Africa" as Italy's sphere of colonial expansion.

Strengthened by rearmament and the annexation of Austria, Germany had the upper hand in the negotiations. She encouraged Italy to take advantage of the present international situation and to spring a new "surprise" upon the world before Japan is still more weakened in China and France and Great Britain have completed their armaments. Italy made it possible for Germany to precipitate action in Czechoslovakia.

The technique of imperial control, the skillful combination of means, is pitilessly uncovered by the author. Indian prince, landlord and native big bourgeoisie, junior partners at the imperial feed-table, missionary hypocrisy ("Till India is leavened with Christianity she will be unfit for freedom"), police, judge, soldier! And over it all, the brazen frankness of the imperialist motive:

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. . . . That is cant. We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of England. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we shall hold it."

True words and Macdonald's Labor program, as the author so well shows, played the game according to the capitalist rules—a lackey of the British ruling class doing its dirty work in India! This historical record of the subjection of India by the British leaves nothing to be desired. It is an excellent piece of work for which the author deserves great credit. Not so satisfactory are certain personal and political evaluations of the present struggle or of the perspectives it unfolds.

Reynolds, for one thing, is decidedly over-indulgent to Gandhi, whose theory of non-violence, a negation of the class struggle to the extent that it has permeated the masses, is an obstacle to the emancipation of India's oppressed millions. Secondly, the recognizing the counter-revolutionary nature of the People's Front in the West, Reynolds holds it as necessary for colonial countries "as being the means by which national independence can be achieved and those minimum rights established which constitute the progressive aspect of the bourgeois revolution."

The Indian National Congress, which the author envisages as the

Recent developments also explain the reason why Hirota, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, came out so strongly in favor of the policy of the "open door" and "economic cooperation" between China, Japan and other powers and why he empha-

(Continued on Page 5)

BOOKS

THE WHITE SAHIBS IN INDIA, by Hinchey Reynolds. Reynal and Hitchcock, New York, 1937. \$3.50.

THIS unrelieved tale of the crucifixion and degradation of the 300 millions of India's oppressed by British imperialism, should be compulsory reading for those who still have complacent illusions as to the benefits western civilization bestows upon "backward" colonial peoples. Between its covers there is a moral—if it could be understood—especially for our latter-day political saints, the Stalinist People's Fronters, who are appealing anew to England and her ilk to protect "democratic" civilization against the onslaughts of fascism.

The kind of "democracy" that England rears and protects is only too apparent in the ghastly record so thoroughly documented and uncompromisingly presented by the author. A people bled dry, its countless millions perpetually on the verge of starvation, kept illiterate, denied the slightest vestige of political or social or even primitive human rights under a system of organized terror as thoro and brutal as the world has ever seen. Ten dollars a year is a high estimate of the average yearly income of the Indian peasant who constitutes a majority of the population; 25 cents a day, a good wage for the industrial worker. Even the government, in an official document, was forced to admit that "the largest proportion of the population of India is still beset by poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in western lands and are living on the very margin of subsistence."

It is any wonder then that 15,000,000 died from famine during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, or that a single influenza epidemic in 1918-19 resulted in 11,000,000 deaths?

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The socialist youth organization was also thrown into this conflict. At the national conference of the majority youth at Limoges of the majority of the Paris organization moved a resolution which declared solidarity with the expelled leadership of the Seine Federation. According to the report in the *Cahiers Rouges*, those who supported this resolution were thrown physically out of the hall. The bureaucrats of the youth organization, following the example given by Paul Faure,

prototype of the Indian-People's Front, is regarded as the instrument for national emancipation. Our author is grievously in error here. Even the bourgeois-democratic revolution and national emancipation cannot be carried thru to completion under the hegemony of the native bourgeoisie whose political instrument, as at present constituted, the I.N.C. is. It can be successful only under the leadership of the Indian proletariat in alliance with the peasantry, as an essential part of and step toward the struggle for socialism. It is this same fundamental error in evaluation of the I.N.C. as the effective instrument of national emancipation which lies at the root of the unfortunate departure from a revolutionary Marxist position on the part of M. N. Roy, to whom the author pays his justified respects for his past great services to the cause of the Indian revolution. Rejecting the necessary leadership of the Indian proletariat in its struggle for socialism as the only guarantee of national emancipation, Roy has landed in the morass of petty-bourgeois nationalism in its classical form.

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French Revolutionary Left Clashes With Blum Clique

(Continued from Page 3)

it will find us resolved to take all those revolutionary measures which will become necessary for the defense of the proletariat menaced in its very existence and highest ideals."

Towards the end of the appeal, we find the following slogans: "Against any truce with the bourgeoisie! For a militant proletarian government."

A Big Step Forward
Let us note here that the demand for a "militant proletarian government" shows that the Revolutionary Left has abandoned its former slogan of a "fighting Popular Front" and a "fighting Popular Front government." By doing so, the Revolutionary Left has made an important step forward.

This appeal, issued by the Seine Federation on March 18, was seized upon by the party bureaucracy as a pretext for taking organizational measures against Pivert and his friends. Paul Faure and his clique are apparently not very far behind Stalin in their contempt for party democracy.

The decision of the commission of the S.F.P. which expelled Pivert and the other leaders of the Seine Federation on account of this appeal was answered by the *Cahiers Rouges*, the organ of the Revolutionary Left (April 22, 1938), as follows:

"They intend to silence a revolutionary minority which is growing from week to week and which threatens to win the majority of the party. They are preparing to violate all elementary guarantees of party democracy. . . . Our policy and our perspective thus receive emphatic confirmation. They cannot tolerate us any more. They cannot tolerate the fact that we energetically unmask strike-breakers, that we demonstrate against the Senate in spite of the prohibition of Dormoy, that we discover traitors among the socialist members of the Senate. . . ."

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JIM CORK

News of the AGE

With the launching of the *Age Drive*, we are initiating a special *News of the AGE* column that we intend to feature regularly and permanently. We invite our readers to send in letters of comment and criticism on the *Age*. We want your opinions, ideas, suggestions!

A GREAT CONFERENCE

By Robert Macklin

WORKERS Spain raved from without by fascist onslaughts, betrayed from within by murderous Stalinist agents—the Austrian proletariat crushed by Nazi invasion—France on the road to fascism and its working class shackled and made impotent by the Peoples Front—American labor on the forward march, a bright hope in a dark world, but impeded by the gnawing, destructive tapeworm of the American brand of Stalinism. And, in all this confusion of hopes and despair, there rings a clear voice, a voice that cries: "Independent working-class action is the only road to victory against fascism and reaction—a voice that pleads that the only way that workers should fight is the class war against all oppressors—a voice that proclaims that the interests of the working class can be served only by building and strengthening their own fighting organizations."

This is the voice of the *Workers Age*, heard in every corner of industrial America, heard all over the world, but with a voice as yet too weak to boom the mighty message of unified, independent, militant working-class struggle.

The *Workers Age* must be strengthened, improved and spread far and wide! It must, in its tenth year of existence, surpass its growth and achievements of the past nine years!

This was the cry of the forty-five delegates meeting in *Workers Age* Conference in New York City at Rivera Hall, on Wednesday, May 18th. This Conference represented the branches and fractions of the Independent Communist Labor League in the metropolitan area: dressmakers, teachers, cloakmakers, auto workers, furriers, knitters, goods workers, doll-and-toy workers, engineers, white-collar workers, textile workers, a true cross section of the New York working class.

The conference did not dally in idealistic, sentimental slogans. It discussed and laid down a practical plan of action, a campaign in all its details. Will Herberg opened the Conference with a critical analysis of the *Workers Age*, its role in the labor movement, its achievements and shortcomings, how to sharpen it as an instrument of class struggle. Lyman Fraser followed, presenting a detailed plan for extending the influence and effectiveness of the *Age* by adding 3,000 new subscribers reaching into every industry and every part of the country. He outlined some suggestions for improving the *Age* with new features, of making it more than ever a reflection of the life and activity of the I.C.L.L. in its endeavors to serve the best interests of American labor.

The delegates rose, one after another, critical and constructive, adding scores of practical ideas, demanding full mobilization for this new *Workers Age Drive*. A modest goal of 3,000 new subscribers had been set. "This must be surpassed," they said.

This was an historic Conference such as we have never had before. It is the first of a series to be held all over the land. At this writing, the Philadelphia organization of the I.C.L.L. is discussing the Drive and others will follow. The full plans and details of the drive will be explained by letter, by bulletin and thru these columns. Everywhere the language of these Conferences will be the same: Bring the *Workers Age* to 3,000 new readers!

super-navy, and for a popular referendum on any war that does not involve defense of the continental United States.

That is the program in brief of the Keep America Out of War Committee which will hold a real peace congress in Washington this coming week-end. The committee represents an amalgam of the active peace societies, of labor, church and farm groups.

They aim to make this Memorial Day a day to end all Memorial Days.

UAW In Big Relief Drive

Detroit, Mich. All United Automobile Workers and other C.I.O. locals in Michigan are launching a campaign to convince Congress that additional funds for direct relief are of immediate necessity in Michigan if hunger is to be averted.

William Taylor, U.A.W. welfare director, last week sent letters to all C.I.O. locals in the state asking them to wire or write the President and to Michigan's two senators and 17 representatives, emphasizing the seriousness of the situation in the state.

In his letter to the locals, Taylor said:

"Direct state relief allotments for period ending June 30, 1939 were \$16,000,000. A serious crisis exists because not only the 1938 appropriation has been spent but also most of the 1939 fund.

"There is only one way to prevent a repetition of the Chicago and Cleveland catastrophes. Of the relief bill now before the Senate \$1,800,000,000 is to be allotted to W.P.A. A portion of this must be granted to Michigan for direct relief. Otherwise, there will be mass starvation because we may expect a complete shut-down of the automobile industry."

Taylor urged the locals to ask the President, Hopkins and the congressmen to earmark direct relief funds for the state.

Unionism Reduces Crimes in Flint

Flint, Mich. Department of Justice reports on policing of cities, published recently, give the lie to Flint's municipal authorities who voted recently to augment the police force by recruiting a voluntary force of vigilantes. This had become necessary, they said, because the small police force found itself unable to cope with the tasks of protecting the life and property of its citizens.

Contrary to the impression which Flint's City Council tried to create, the rise of unionism and the improvement of the conditions of the masses of workers seem to have had a direct effect in lowering all categories of crimes committed in the city. While Flint used to be known as quite a tough spot, it is now listed by the Department of Justice as on the "honor roll."

Not a single murder was committed during the first quarter of 1938, while only 55 cases of robbery, 32 aggravated assaults and 112 automobile thefts are recorded. These figures set a remarkable low for this city of 130,000 population.

Special attention is called to the low number of cases involving violations of laws regulating property rights. These figures flatly contradict the contention of the City Council and indicate clearly that, in authorizing the organization of these vigilantes, the Council deliberately took a step hostile to the labor unions in the city.

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LATEST STALINIST ASSAULT UPON THE AUTO UNION

By JAY LOVESTONE

IF THE Communist Party had gone to school and had taken a post-graduate course in the art and science of disrupting labor organizations, it could not have learned as much and could not do as well in this nefarious job as it is doing today.

Today, the Communist Party is primarily dedicated to two tasks: (1) to defend Soviet foreign policy as malpractised by Stalin; and (2) to defend the bloody Stalin regime, especially the so-called "trials" in the Soviet Union. In line with these aims, it is determined to establish a stranglehold over every labor organization. Its policy is outright "rule or ruin!"

What Stalinism Is Out For

All objectives of the American Communist Party, which is now a million-dollar corporation, judging by the financial report of its New York State Convention, are tied up with these aims. Its work in the trade unions, its general political propaganda, its slander technique and everything that consumes its energy, are all organically bound up with and subsidiary to these main objectives. Nowhere is this revealed with more painful clarity than in the activities of the Stalinites in the United Automobile Workers. This is confirmed beyond the slightest measure of doubt by the official document of the Cleveland Communist Party, by the instructions sent out by its organizer, John Williamson, to all shop and industrial branches in that territory. This document is published elsewhere on this page.

Here is a brazen document which declares unblushingly: (1) "The only constructive forces in the U. A. W. are the communists and their followers." (2) "Were it not for the Lovestoneite Fox and other Martin stooges, the U. A. W. in Cleveland would be completely in the hands of constructive union forces."

Really, what Williamson tells his buddies here is that, if it were not for the followers and members of the I.C.L.L. in the U. A. W., the C.P. would have complete control of the Cleveland district of the union. We must not forget that, in this document we are told that "the only constructive forces in the U. A. W. are the communists."

If there is any worker who has any doubt as to what the C.P. is after in the unions, this document should be an eye-opener. Mind you, official union classes must be broken up. Why? Because the C.P. wants it so. Why? Because these official union classes interfere with the C.P. getting control of the union.

And, then, the crime of crimes! The president of the union, unanimously elected by the convention of the organization, dares to exercise his leadership in that union! If any member of the union cooperates with him in carrying out union policies, he is "a Martin stooge." This Stalinist document even talks the language of the espionage agents of the employers. It says, for instance, "Martin operates thru that office in Cleveland" (Regional Office) and rants that, "despite the actions taken by the C.P., Fox (the official union educational director.—J. L.) still has some thirteen classes (official union classes.—J. L.) going and this must be stopped." We wonder whether this "must" grows out of a telegram or a cable.

"Bad Agreements" Or None!

Yes, I confess (I hope I am not shot right away) to the theory and—to the best of my strength and ability—the practise based on the fact that "often bad agreements are better than no agreements." For instance, I think that

in August 1937, the U. A. W. could have gotten a better agreement from G.M. than in November 1937. I believe that, in November 1937, the union was offered a better agreement than the one recently signed by U. A. W., known as the Supplementary Agreement. That is why I am today—as I was yesterday—of the opinion that the union should have signed the November agreement. That is why I believe today, as I believed then, that Martin and the entire progressive leadership of the U. A. W. seriously erred in not accepting the advice offered by John L. Lewis at that time to sign that agreement—"to take the locals out of the rain," as Lewis said. That is why I am in full agreement with the advice given by John L. Lewis to sign the Supplementary Agreement with G.M., denounced by Mr. Williamson in this document.

But this C.P. document has a sinister sound in other respects. The four C.P. members (or three followers) on the International Executive Board of the U. A. W. all of them joined the rest of the Board members to endorse unanimously the signing of the Supplementary Agreement! Why does Mr. Williamson order his party members in the ranks to do one thing when his party comrades in the Board of the union do the exact opposite? Is this a division of labor or deliberately planned piece of unprincipledness, a deliberately planned sowing of confusion, factionalism, dissension and demoralization in the ranks of the automobile workers? Merely to pose such questions is to answer them!

Where Soviet Foreign Policy Comes In

But what does all this have to do with Soviet foreign policy and Stalinist butchery masquerading as trials? Well, here is the answer. The instructions to the rank and file of the C.P., as revealed in this document, declare: "The reactionaries in the U. A. W. have taken a stand against collective security and lined up with the isolationists in this country. The isolationists are in open and brazen alliance with the fascist agents in this country . . . the workers are very easily persuaded into believing that the Ludlow referendum is a good thing . . . exposing the hidden fascist alliance which presses for such legislation as the Ludlow Amendment."

Truly the curse of duplicity and the disease of political degeneration know no bounds insofar as the C.P. is concerned. In the session of the U. A. W. Board just adjourned, Mr. Mortimer and the other three C.P. members or followers voted willingly, uninvited, unencouraged, uninspired and unconvinced (but not uninstructed) for the Ludlow Amendment, against collective security, for the position of the U. A. W. in supporting the Keep America Out of War movement! Never in the history of the American labor movement has such hypocrisy and double-dealing been elevated to the status of principles the way the C.P. is doing now.

No member of the United Automobile Workers—with the possible exception of those still taking instructions from Weinstone, Gebert, Williamson, Browder and their clique—has the slightest confidence, believes to the slightest extent, that the C.P. members on the Board of the union or the C.P. followers in the union really believe in what they voted for or that they plan to abide faithfully even by those decisions that they helped to make thru their affirmative votes in the Board.

The latest cry of the Stalinites in the U. A. W. has been: "No factionalism." This Cleveland document shows clearly what "no fac-

"How to Smash a Union"

The Stalinist Platform

(This is the document issued by the Cleveland office of the Communist Party to which Jay Lovestone refers in the accompanying article.)

—Editor.)

THE U. A. W. is a new union. Because it is a relatively young organization, all sorts of reactionary groups are in a mad scramble to gobble it up. THE ONLY CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES IN THE U. A. W. ARE THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS! Recently, it has become clear that we cannot depend on the Socialist Party to continue in a constructive path. Homer Martin, with his Lovestoneite cohorts, has maintained whatever power he has thru alliances and deals with other reactionaries of the House-Peiper brand. If the union is to make any headway, these forces will have to be deposed and destroyed.

WHY WE FIGHT THE MARTIN-LOVESTONEITE REACTIONARIES!

1. The reactionaries in the U. A. W. have taken a stand against collective security and lined up with the isolationists in this country. The isolationists are in open and brazen alliance with the fascist agents in this country. What greater help would Japanese fascism want than a movement to keep the hands of our democratic government tied in case of attack. The workers are very easily persuaded into believing that the Ludlow referendum is a good thing. We have to expose the whole connection between such measures and the war-mongering desires of the fascist nations. We must remember that the Soviet Union is in constant danger and, unless the democratic nations can be gotten to band together against the fascist aggressors, the fatherland of the international working class will be in danger of destruction. EXPOSE THE HIDDEN FASCIST ALLIANCES WHICH PRESS FOR SUCH LEGISLATION AS THE LUDLOW AMENDMENT.

2. The new Supplementary Agreement with the General Motors Corp., which was presented as an accepted fact by the Martin-Dowell-Munger clique, is precisely what the Communist Party has warned the membership of the U. A. W. against. We must utilize this opportunity to expose the weakness of the leadership of the union, the dictatorship methods of Martin, who refused to submit the agreement to the membership for ratification. Our comrades should be in the forefront fighting against this Supplement. The workers will see how bad it is and won't like it. This supplement proves conclusively that Martin is stooging for Lovestone who invented the theory that "bad agreements are better than no agreements."

3. In Cleveland, the comrades have done a good job in the recent elections, particularly at Fisher

tionalism" really means to them—factionalism of, by and for the Stalinites against the auto union!

Stalinism Menaces Labor

It is an unchallengeable fact that such practises are the essence of Stalinism; they are a corrupting influence in the life of the American working class, a serious menace to the labor movement. This is a toxin of which the American labor movement must rid itself, if it is to grow healthy and become an increasingly powerful and finally victorious force over all capitalist reaction—over capitalism as a social and economic system.

Body. However, the so-called progressives have succeeded in establishing a dual headquarters to the Regional Office and constantly harass our comrades there with their activities. All the laid-off organizers, with Elmer Davis, F. Evans, Bishop, Bates and such people as Wentling, Turner and others, have made it their home. They hold meetings there and plan their destructive work from that office. Workers come to the Regional Office, stay a minute, and rush upstairs. Martin operates thru that office in Cleveland. Despite the actions taken by the Communist Party, Fox still has some 13 classes going and this must be stopped! Were it not for the Lovestoneite, Fox and the other Martin stooges, the U. A. W. in Cleveland would be completely in the hands of constructive union forces. This, therefore, makes our task very clear. WE MUST GET RID OF FOX!

HOW TO FIGHT THE MARTIN-LOVESTONEITE REACTIONARIES!

1. Expose their tactics and policies thru the shop papers and bulletins.

2. Continue to make more effective the boycott against Fox and his classes. (The comrades in Fisher Body will have to make special efforts in view of his putting across his program at their Executive Board meeting.)

3. Comrades should be on the look-out for charges against Fox and should contact the office or Comrade Onda for "what constitute charges."

4. We must try to influence some so-called progressives to help us in this fight and the comrades should be sure that they sound out the workers about Fox, whose popularity could be easily demolished.

5. Expose Lovestoneite activities in the department. How do we know that the meetings of the progressive group are not Lovestoneite meetings?

6. Fight against the acceptance of the Supplementary Agreement, expose it thru the local meetings and individual contacts.

7. Fight against participation in any "peace" movements other than the American League for Peace and Democracy. Fight against and expose the fascist meaning of the Ludlow Referendum.

Fight for the elimination of factionalism in the U. A. W.!

BUILD THE PARTY IN THE UNION AS THE BEST ANSWER TO THE REACTIONARIES!

I.L.G.W.U. REMAINS IN C.I.O., URGES UNITY

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union decided at its quarterly session at Minneapolis last week to continue in affiliation with the C.I.O. and to continue also to exert its influence in the direction of labor unity. It appointed a committee of three which was instructed to use every opportunity to achieve the reopening of conferences between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.

The whole question arose because of the recent decision of the C.I.O. to call a constitutional convention to establish itself on a permanent basis. Mr. Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., at that time declared that this created a "new situation" and that his union would have to consider anew its relations with the C.I.O.

The I.L.G.W.U., a strong advocate of industrial unionism and the

organization of the mass-production workers along industrial lines, is one of the original members of the C.I.O. At the same time, it has consistently urged peace and unity with the A. F. of L., differing considerably with the C.I.O. leadership on how these objectives might best be achieved. The resolution of the G.E.B. expresses "deep regret over failure on the part of the labor movement to compose its differences." "The policies, traditions and decisions of the I.L.G.W.U.," the resolution continues, "have always been against a divided labor movement and against dual unionism. The experience of the past year both on the economic and political fields . . . presents burning evidence that labor unity is paramount. . . ."

The I.L.G.W.U. is in a strategic position to take the initiative for unity—Mr. Dubinsky pointed out—because it is the only C.I.O. union still holding membership in the A. F. of L.

The decision of the Minneapolis G.E.B. session to continue affiliation with the C.I.O. does not, of course, altogether settle the question of relations to a permanent C.I.O.; when and if a constitutional convention of the latter is called, the I.L.G.W.U. will make a final decision of its policy on this point.

IFTU DECIDES TO BAN USSR UNIONS

After two days of debate, the general council of the International Federation of Trade Unions recently decided by a vote of 16 to 4 to reject the conditions laid down by the Russian trade unions for affiliation. The four votes came one each from Spain and Mexico and two from France. Norway did not vote. Then the conference passed a resolution terminating negotiations, this time 14 to 7, with Spain, France, Mexico, Norway and Czechoslovakia in the minority.

The opposition to Russian affiliation was led by the English unions, the Dutch, Belgian, Swedish and American (A. F. of L.) organizations strongly supporting this stand.

J. Symonds

C.C.N.Y. Students Fight the R.O.T.C.

Very much against its will, the American Students Union was forced, at the last moment, by the C.C.N.Y. Anti-War Club to go thru the motions of opposing the R.O.T.C. review on "Jingo Day" (May 20). Negotiations for a united meeting fell thru because the Stalinist dominated A.S.U. wanted complete control of the speaking arrangements, while a proposal for a picket line around Lewisohn Stadium was summarily rejected. The Anti-War Club, in which members of the I.C.L.L. participate, carried out militant picketing and held an effective street-corner meeting, next to the stadium, which attracted some A.S.U. members in spite of their leaders instructions. Half an hour later, the A.S.U. held a small dispirited meeting and dispersed, after refusing a final offer for a unified picket line. The day-to-day struggle of the Y.C.L. and the A.S.U. against war and militarism seems to be vanishing as their new line leads them into the ranks of the war makers.