

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Revolt In "Puppet State" Hits Japan

Chinese Soldiers In East Hopeh Use Japanese Munitions In Uprising Against Warlord; Anglo-American Interests Silent

Discovering that their campaign of "coordination" which had temporarily subdued Manchukuo, has not been quite so successful in Hopeh, Japanese interests were mostly occupied, last week, in attempting to suppress a widespread rebellion of troops in the puppet state of East Hopeh. There Chinese soldiers trained by the Japanese and armed by them, overthrew the warlord who had ruled in the name of Japan and carried on a prolonged struggle against the Japanese.

Latest press dispatches indicate that the revolt has been suppressed but with such ruthless brutality that the spread of this news must serve as a new spur to arouse the Chinese masses against the invader.

For three days the Japanese bombed the area so thoroughly that they have consistently refused to allow newspapermen to travel in the area, thereby hoping to cover up the effects of their "retaliation."

In the face of this continued brazen aggression, the Japanese Foreign Office speaks of "striving for peace" but being "forced into war!"

The Central Government of China is rumored to have mobilized fifty thousand troops, and large quantities of planes which it has shipped to the Peiping area. That it should really determine upon a policy of militant resistance depends upon the pressure of the Chinese masses. Chiang Kai-shek issued a statement in which he declared that the retreats in North China are really his fault and not the regional commanders, and that from now on it will be necessary to take a stronger stand.

Both British and American imperialism are taking a hesitant stand on the question of Japanese aggression. Their economic interests are not immediately and directly affected by the consolidation of Japan's interests in North China, altho of course they "view

C.I.O. SHOE UNION SWEEPS CITY POLL

A decisive victory for the Committee for Industrial Organization was registered in a Labor Board poll conducted in seventy-nine shoe plants in New York City

The United Shoe Workers of America, affiliated to the C.I.O. received 6,802 votes out of the ballots cast by 7,500 shoe workers. Seventy-seven plants voted to designate the United as collective bargaining agency.

The overwhelming and decisive victory found the employers suddenly in complete "agreement" with the idea of a closed shop.

uneasily" her perindic gobblings of the Chinese mainland. The enhancement of Japanese prestige and strength in the North seems to these great democracies to be a rather worthwhile buffer against Soviet Russia and Outer Mongolia. In addition their policy is motivated by fears similar to those they have regarding Spain—to arm and aid financially the Chinese people against Japanese imperialism might in the end be dangerous to their own interests.

Labor and Public Opinion

By WILL HERBERG

THAT the last two years have been years of tremendous upsurge in the ranks of labor is now a commonplace. But this fact alone is only one aspect of the situation, tho assuredly the most vital and significant one. How far has the new spirit of militancy and self-confidence permeated the millions of working people of this country? What is their attitude to the great problems facing the labor movement today? What is the attitude of middle classes, of "public opinion" generally? What shifts of viewpoint, if any, have taken place in recent months? These are some of the questions that require consideration if any rounded, realistic picture of the situation as a whole is to be achieved.

The Results Of Recent Surveys
Some welcome light on these matters is cast by a number of recent public opinion surveys conducted by competent agencies with quite a record for accuracy of judgment, especially as tested in the 1936 elections. The July issue of Fortune carries some interesting information in this connection and even more valuable data are supplied by Dr. George Gallup's Institute of Public Opinion, as the result of a new investigation. In general, what these surveys indicate is the state of "public opinion," the point of view of the "people." In realistic class terms, this means the middle classes who constitute the bulk of the "public" and set the tone of its opinion. In some cases, the data are broken down for occupational or income groups and a much precise social analysis becomes possible. Thus, the Gallup poll employs the categories "lower third of income brackets" and "upper two-thirds of income brackets"; in this sense, the former obviously includes the great bulk of the workers together with some lower middle class elements, while the latter embraces the middle class together with the big bourgeoisie. To all intents and purposes, therefore, we have in such a division a rough approximation of the viewpoint of the workers, on the one hand, and the middle classes, on the other.

Public Attitude To Unionism
What is the public attitude toward trade unionism in general? According to the Gallup poll, 76% of the total favor unionism—81% of the "lower one-third" but only

Murphy Vetoes Labor Act

Michigan Bill Defeated By Campaign Of The Auto Workers

Recognizing the justice of the protests that the United Automobile Workers Union and other C.I.O. organizations had lodged against the Industrial Relations Bill, recently passed by the Michigan state legislature, Governor Frank Murphy vetoed the bill on July 29, only a few hours before it was about to become law. The Governor had requested the Senate to ask the House to return the bill so that proper changes could be made in it but the Senate refused; the veto followed soon after.

Labor's chief objection to the bill in its old form was the restrictions

74% of the "upper two-thirds." How is the public divided as between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.? Fortune reveals the fact that nearly 60% of the people are either indifferent or hostile to both; 30% were found to favor the A. F. of L. and 10% the C.I.O. Among factory workers, however, the picture is somewhat different. Over 50% are still hostile or indifferent; 21½% favor the A. F. of L. but over 27% favor the C.I.O. Thus, while the A. F. of L. leads by a big margin among the public at large, the C.I.O. is in advance among the factory workers. The Gallup poll yields results to some extent similar. The A. F. of L. is favored by 64%, Green as a leader by 67%, of the general public; the C.I.O. and Lewis by 36% and 33%, respectively. But, among the "lower one-third", Lewis is backed by 47%; among the "upper two-thirds", by only 26%.

The aspect of the "labor problem" of most immediate public interest at the present time is surely the question of government control, regulation and restriction of unionism. The compulsory incorporation of trade unions is supported by 73% of the people, opposed by only 5%, with 22% indifferent, according to Fortune. The Gallup poll indicates that 86% favor incorporation; even 67% of the "lower one-third" do so. As to regulation by the government, 69% are in favor; 67% among the "lower one-third." Nearly 85% believe in laws regulating the conduct of strikes. Compulsory mediation (not arbitration) is approved by 89%. The sitdown strike is favored by only 17% according to the Fortune poll, with 75% against and 8% indifferent. In the Gallup tables, we find that 67% of the people want the sitdown strike to be outlawed; of the "lower one-third," 58% and of the "upper two-thirds," 72%. More than that, 65% of the public are ready to approve the use of force in ousting sitdown strikers, with 51% of the "lower one-third" thinking the same way.

Shifts In Public Sentiment
Has there been any change of sentiment on labor questions in the last six months or a year? The Gallup poll found that just about one-half of those questioned answered that their views had been modified in the course of the past six months. Of this half, 30% became

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Weak Wage-Bill Passed by Senate

House Committee Expected To Raise Senate's Maximum To 70 Cents An Hour And 35 Hours; Southern Senators In Opposition Bloc

The Administration forces in the Senate forced thru the Wages and Hours Bill by a vote of 56 to 28. However, in the helter-skelter drive to pass some such sort of bill, even if it only retained the name of the original, a rather be-draggled and considerably weakened piece of legislation was the re-

sult. Speeches were curtailed, so that Senators from the South, and "liberals" posing behind the aura of "reasonableness" tossed in amendment after amendment, which the pro-bill forces accepted in order to have the bill get thru.

Under the amendments the following were exempted from the provisions of the law: packers of perishable agricultural products, cooperative plants in dairy production, railway express companies, and processors of perishable food-stuffs.

The senatorial opposition came primarily from the Southern Democrats who feared that the rulings of the Board might tend to end all differentials existing between southern and northern wage-rates. Support for this attitude is forthcoming from the northern press, since the low wage-rates of the South constitute an important weapon in depressing wage-rates elsewhere.

The American Federation of Labor attempted to play its now customary role—under the guise of the most devoted interest in some pure working-class principles, spiking every struggle for immediate and partial gains. While William Green damned the bill with faint support, use was made on the Senate floor of the outspoken opposition of Frey of the Metal Trades Department to the Bill as a whole.

It is now expected that the House will make some radical alterations in the bill, probably necessitating a committee conference between it and the Senate. The House Labor committee meets this week and is supposed to have agreed upon amendments to fix minimum wages up to seventy cents per hour, and to fix the maximum work week at thirty-five hours. The Senate version of the bill provides a forty cents maximum and a forty hour minimum.

Homer Martin, in urging the Governor to veto the message, pointed out that labor laws in other states were far more stringent upon the employers.

Credit for bringing about the defeat of the dangerous Industrial Relations Bill must go to the C.I.O. unions of Michigan, especially the auto workers organizations. The A. F. of L. leaders, opposing the bill, were apathetic and some even advised the Governor to sign it.

Spanish Union Federations Sign Pact For Joint Action

A great step forward towards genuine working class unity in Spain was taken last week when the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., the syndicalist and socialist trade union federations, concluded an official pact of collaboration in their activities. A joint committee was set up to direct compliance of local unions with this agreement which includes, among its terms, undertakings not to indulge in any unfair mutual criticism, not to seek the aid of any outside organizations against each other, to permit freedom of choice between unions affiliated to the two bodies, to refuse to admit in one union workers expelled from the other, to cooperate in war activities as well as in activities on the home front.

The collaboration pact comes as

the result of many weeks of negotiations. In some quarters it is looked upon as the forerunner of closer unity between the two federations.

The two organizations embrace nearly four million workers between them, the C.N.T. having two million members and the U.G.T. almost as many.

Neither the U.G.T. nor the C.N.T. is represented in the reactionary Negrin cabinet and neither gives it any political support, altho, of course, they and their membership are the mainstay of the anti-fascist struggle against Franco. The revolutionary proletarian organizations in Spain are now agitating for the replacement of the Negrin regime by a joint C.N.T.-U.G.T. government.

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"LIBERAL" HENCHMEN OF REACTION

An instructive lesson in the realities of American politics may be learned from the cases of Senators Wheeler and Nye, great "liberals" gone wrong! Burton K. Wheeler, the "farm progressive" from Montana, the "nemesis" of the power trust—this same Wheeler became the chairman of the Senatorial strategy committee leading the fight against the court reform bill. The issue itself was plain: a definite effort, modest and inadequate to be sure, to curb the arbitrary judicial despotism of the Supreme Court.

Gerald P. Nye, the "crusader" from North Dakota, the "relentless foe" of the armament dealers—suddenly, out of the clear sky, this same Nye, who had never taken the slightest interest in labor questions, launched a series of incoherent fulminations against the National Labor Relations Board, accusing it of "bias," of being a "tool of the C.I.O." and of other such like high crimes and misdemeanors.

Wheeler and Nye are but two examples; not a few other "progressives" and "liberals" have taken the same road, on court reform, on the Wagner Act, on the wage-hour bill. Among them are to be found precisely those in whom the Communist Party has placed such great hopes for its "People's Front" in this country.

The labor movement should keep its eyes open and take heed that it be not misled by the suicidal vagaries of "People's Frontism." Labor is today the only thoroughly progressive force in society; it requires no "liberal" saviors. To win the millions of farmers and middle class people to its side, labor does not need and can make no use of the Nyes and the Wheelers, who—whether they like it or not—are at bottom no more than the agents of Dupont, Ford and Republic Steel disguised as "champions of the people."

The strength of the socialist opposition to the communist tactics was shown in the city of Valencia. Sometime ago, the communists demanded the exclusion of the P.O.U.M. representative. The Socialists and liberals declined to expel the P.O.U.M. member. The Communists then withdrew.

Fenner Brockway Reports On Spain

Spanish Workers Oppose CP's Frame-Up of POUM

By FENNER BROCKWAY (Concluded from last issue)

So far I have dealt with the reaction of government circles to the communist conspiracy. Even more important is the reaction of other working class organizations.

The largest working class organization is the syndicalist trade union, the C.N.T. It has two million members. The next in size is the socialist trade union, the U.G.T. It has one and a half million members.

The C.N.T. from the first gave our delegation the utmost assistance. Its international secretary, Augustin Souchy, accompanied me to Valencia and acted as my interpreter. I travelled in C.N.T. cars everywhere.

The National Committee of the C.N.T. sent a finely-worded protest to the government against the persecution of P.O.U.M. It appointed its lawyer, Senor Pabon, member of Parliament for Saragossa, to defend the prisoners. Its secretary, Senor Casquez (a remarkable young man of twenty-nine, a guiding trades worker) delivered a vigorous speech to a huge meeting in Valencia in defense of the right of P.O.U.M. to justice.

I came to respect the C.N.T. leaders very highly. They are not Marxists. They do not share the ideology of P.O.U.M. They have some right to feel the fact that the P.O.U.M. has been taking members from their ranks. But their sense of justice is so great that they have spoken out boldly on its behalf.

I understand that the communist press has contained a report that the C.N.T. has repudiated P.O.U.M. This is not the case. It repudiated a leaflet published by the "Bolshevik - Leninists," (Trotskyists) which was also immediately repudiated by P.O.U.M. itself.

We interviewed Largo Caballero, general secretary of the U.G.T., and found that he also denounced the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and ridiculed the suggestion that its leaders are fascist agents. He told us that when Prime Minister he opposed proposals by the communists for action against the P.O.U.M.

But Caballero is in a difficult position. He has a majority on the Executive, but in the National Council, owing to disproportionate representation of the membership, the Right socialists and communists have a majority. In the actual membership, Caballero has the support of nine hundred thousand against six hundred thousand.

He informed us that the communists are also persecuting his supporters when they feel able to do so. Those arrested include Left socialists of the U.G.T., and they are being deposed from administrative and military positions in the government service wherever the communists have control.

Caballero indicated by lifting his hand twenty inches above the table that he had received a pile of telegrams from U.G.T. branches, as well as from working class organizations in all parts of the world, protesting against the suppression of the P.O.U.M. As we sat with him a telegram came from Norman Thomas on behalf of the American Socialist Party. These will be considered by the next meeting of the U.G.T. Executive.

The Municipal Council has now strongly protested to the Government against the suppression of P.O.U.M. and, even though the organization has been declared illegal, has insisted on retaining the P.O.U.M. representative on the Council.

The communists frequently charge the P.O.U.M. with causing division in the anti-fascist ranks. It is their own policy which is destroying antifascist unity. They have secured the exclusion of the two largest working class organizations—the C.N.T. and the U.G.T.—from the central government and of the C.N.T. from the Catalan government. Their policy is everywhere bringing disunity and, despite the efforts of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. leaders to maintain a combined front against Franco, is spreading disillusionment and discontent.

I do not wish to be too optimistic about the trials of the P.O.U.M. leaders. The communist hold upon the judicial administration is strong and they will make the most of the Barcelona resistance, which it is easy to misrepresent. The communists will not lightly let go this opportunity to crush the revolutionary influence of the P.O.U.M. It is imperative, therefore, that the widest possible pressure to secure justice for the P.O.U.M. should be maintained.

John McNair and Julien Gorin's first assistant, Max Patel, are now in Paris helping to organize the international protest which is growing so rapidly in volume. It is hoped to send an important and representative commission to Spain to carry on the work which our delegation has begun. Meanwhile all working class organizations in this country—trade union branches, trades councils, cooperative organizations etc.—should be urged to send telegrams of protest to Senor Negrin, Prime Minister at Valencia.

We found that, despite the attempted suppression, the spirit of the P.O.U.M. membership is magnificent and the organization is continuing to function. Last Saturday the first illegal edition of La Batalla, the P.O.U.M. paper, appeared. Every three days leaflets are published which have reached the circulation of 80,000 and which are passing thru the factories and workshops.

A conference has been held of the thirty branches of the party in Catalonia and Castellon, and a new Executive Council has been appointed, together with new officials everywhere to replace those arrested. In view of the possibility of further arrests, a shadow Executive and shadow officials have already been selected. Contact has been made with the P.O.U.M. branches in other parts of Spain and representatives from them have been added to the Executive Council. I met the P.O.U.M. Executives both in Barcelona and Valencia.

The P.O.U.M. is pursuing a very wise policy. It is refraining from impossible proposals and is concentrating upon the advocacy of a new government representing the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. In addition to the members of the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T. and the Left of the U.G.T. who are in prison, thirty-four foreign socialists are in prison on political charges. Twenty-one of these in the Prison Corsiga, Barcelona, are on hunger strike against their conditions. They are terribly overcrowded—one prisoner whom I saw in the Hotel Falcon, the old P.O.U.M. Headquarters now converted into a jail, said that when he had been confined in Corsiga Prison one break with communist principles.

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By Lambda EUROPE TODAY French Socialist Congress Reveals Increasing Strength of Left-Wing

London, July 14, 1937.

By a vote of 3,484, to 1,866, hence by about a two-to-one majority, the congress of the French Socialist Party, held recently at Marseilles, authorized the socialist ministers to remain in the Chautemps cabinet. In the vote on the resolutions of the various tendencies, the following relation of forces was manifested: Blum-Faure resolution—2,949 mandates; Zyromski resolution—1,545; Pivert resolution—894; abstentions—5. It appears, therefore, that about 500 of the Zyromski votes went to support the resolution allowing socialists to remain in the Chautemps government. The action of these 500 can be attributed directly to the influence of the French Communist Party. Blum had previously declared that the socialist ministers would remain in the government only if they received a substantial majority at the congress—and the C.P.F. did its bit to see that they got this majority.

Nevertheless, the minority that remained firmly in favor of immediately withdrawing from the cabinet, was quite a sizable one. The opposition in the S.P.F. is growing not only in numbers but also in determination, in spite of the fact that the Pivert resolution was not as clear as it might be. In the Federation of the Seine (Paris and environs), the Blum-Faure resolution received only a fifth of the votes. Among the lefts in the S.P.F., the splendid example of the P.O.U.M. is beginning to exert its influence and then, of course, there are the new tax burdens and the fall of the franc. The strike of the hotel workers is a sign of this left movement, particularly because the leaders of the C.G.T. as well as of the S.P.F. and C.P.F. did everything they could to prevent it. The big issue in this strike is the refusal of the employers to grant the 40-hour week, a matter of great importance to every section of the French working class.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SPAIN

A few weeks ago, Negrin and Giral, the Premier and Foreign Minister of the Spanish government, paid a discreet visit to Chautemps and Delbos in Paris. At this conference, according to the report of the authoritative Radical paper, Oeuvre, "completely satisfactory" declarations were made "dealing with the troops . . . and also another field, inner-order." Thus did the official representatives of the French bourgeoisie receive the assurance that the proletarian revolution in Spain would be destroyed at all costs. It is especially significant that neither Negrin nor Giral visited Blum while in Paris—obviously in order to avoid receiving protests against their terrorist outrages committed against the P.O.U.M. and the other revolutionary forces in Spain.

In Catalonia a new cabinet has been set up, with the C.N.T., the great anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation, excluded. The C.N.T. was able to expose the directives of the P.S.U.C. in carrying thru this maneuver.

But the Spanish revolution, officially pronounced dead by the Spanish Communist Party and its allies, shows definite signs of reviving. The great mass of the membership of the Socialist Party and the U.G.T., the other great trade union federation, stand with Caballero against the C.P. Recently, the left socialists regained their majority in the leadership of the U.G.T. and Caballero was reelected general secretary. The right wing, represented by Negrin, Prieto and the socialists in the government, have but little influence among the socialist membership.

The Communist Party of Spain has sent an open letter to the Socialist Party on the question of unity. From this letter, we quote the following: "The necessary basis for the fusion of the two parties is given in the ideological agreement that exists on the basic questions of the class struggle. The detailed elaboration of a common program is therefore not absolutely necessary. The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain proposes to work out first of all a program on military questions, to unite on these questions, for victory over the enemy means the triumph of the revolution."

Even the communist program is thus regarded as negligible. This is perfectly intelligible since the ideological agreement of the C.P. of Spain with the right wing of Spanish socialism on the basic questions of the class struggle, naturally signifies a break with communist principles.

RACKETEERING, DEMOCRACY, UNION RESPONSIBILITY

Report of City Club of New York

By ROBERT WALTERS

A VERY instructive survey of the questions of racketeering, democratic control and responsibility as they affect the relations between government and trade unions, has just been made public by the City Club of New York. A careful study of the facts and conclusions presented in this report will certainly prove of great value to anyone concerned with the problems facing the labor movement at the present time. In the following paragraphs we present a brief summary of the findings of the City Club investigation.

Governmental Regulation On general principles, governmental regulation of trade unions is thoroughly undesirable. "Union fear of regulation is not groundless." It involves the danger of placing "the union . . . at the mercy of a hostile political majority." It may tend to transform the state directly into one of the contending parties of the conflict. It may even serve to impede the normal development of the union and thus to delay the elimination of real evils. "Especially in the field of labor relations, statutes should not be enacted in a vague spirit of reform; there should be reasonable certainty that a specific abuse will be eliminated and a concrete gain achieved that cannot otherwise be achieved."

Racketeering in Unions "Racketeering exposed in connection with labor unions is in no sense peculiar to labor unions; it is part of a criminal pattern that has manifested itself in . . . diversified fields . . ." The labor racketeer is often enabled to maintain his dominant position thru "cooperation, passive or even active, on the part of the employer . . . who may obtain benefits from the labor racket thru the maintenance of the price level and the elimination of effective collective bargaining . . . The racketeer-controlled union may also be a device to combat legitimate union activity . . . It is true that employer groups protest the labor racket but such protests are chiefly in the form of proposals for curbing all unions, whether corrupt or not, and, moreover, often come from groups not affected by racketeering."

That the "ample remedies," both of a criminal and civil nature, for the elimination of racketeering have failed, is notorious. As far as the trade union movement is concerned, racketeering persists primarily because of the denial or inadequacy of democracy in so many labor organizations.

Among the many legislative proposals recently advanced, supposedly to meet the evil of racketeering, none can be regarded as at all effective, while many of them are clearly harmful.

Registration. Registration would hardly affect racketeering but, "on the other hand, it might be used against labor thru the refusal to allow certain unions to register or thru the cancellation of registration, upon which the union would presumably be reduced to an illegal status."

Publication of financial statements. Racketeers could easily circumvent such a measure which might, however, prove damaging to labor unions since it might result in "divulging salient facts or revealing union strength or weakness to the employers; a union today depends chiefly upon its bargaining power for recognition and for enforcement of its demands and might consequently be placed at an unfair disadvantage if the employer could ascertain its financial condition at any time."

A Labor Commission. Nor would it improve matters any to compel

Corporate Profits Rocket

INCREASE IN NET EARNINGS IN 1936 OVER 1935 FOR SELECTED CORPORATIONS

Table with 4 columns: Company Name, 1936 Net Income, 1935 Net Income, % Net Increase. Includes Aluminum Co. of America, American Radiator & Standard Sanitary Co., Anheuser-Busch, Inc., Electric Power & Light Corp., Gen. Electric (first 9 mos.), General Motors Corp., General Refractories, Ingersoll-Rand, International Paper Co., Kennecott Copper Corp., Packard Motor Car Co., Pullman, Inc., Shell Union Oil Co. (first 9 mos.), Stone & Wester, Inc. and subsidiaries, United Gas Corp., U. S. Steel Corp., Western Electric, Inc., Westinghouse Air Brake Co.

complaints could be made and which could initiate, assist in and ensure impartial investigation . . . provided that it is not associated with any political organization . . .

The lack of any real democracy in many labor organizations, the prevalence of bureaucratic practices

Labor and Public Opinion

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more favorable to labor unions and 70% less favorable. This means that, in general, 35% of the people grew more hostile to organized labor in this period and only 15% more friendly. A special poll was made of the farmers who, as Dr. Gallup points out, generally agree in their views with the urban middle class; 40% of them reported that they had become less favorably inclined to trade unionism in the course of the last half-year.

A distinct shift also took place in public opinion on the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. In August 1936, according to the figures presented by Dr. Gallup, 41% favored the C.I.O. and 59% the A. F. of L.; in June 1937, however, the former figure had fallen to 36% and the latter had risen to 64%.

There is one more bit of information uncovered by the Gallup poll that, while it may not be strictly relevant in the present connection, is nevertheless very instructive. The question was asked: "How much income . . . do you think the average family of four needs for health and comfort?" To this, the "upper two-thirds," consisting of the middle and upper classes, answered \$40 a week. But the "lower one-third," consisting of the mass of the workers and some elements of the petty bourgeoisie, replied—\$28!

Some Significant Conclusions The above figures should not be taken as representing gospel truth. They are subject to a whole series of qualifications that arise from the nature of the material, from the statistical methods employed and from other considerations. But Fortune and Dr. Gallup's agency have shown themselves pretty sound in past estimates and the methods they employ are probably the most acceptable. On the whole, we are quite safe in drawing cer-

tain general conclusions from the data they present: 1. The standard of the working masses of this country must be incredibly low, despite the so-called "American standard of living," and their wants incredibly limited if a weekly wants of \$28 for a family of four can possibly appeal to them as an ideal!

2. 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. Yet about a quarter of the general public are still flatly opposed to labor organization as such and, what is more surprising, nearly a fifth of the workers and middle class poor ("lower one-third") share this opposition. To this, add the fact that over half the factory workers are either indifferent or hostile to both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. and a picture emerges of the state of the working class that some of us, in our more enthusiastic moments, are apt to overlook. The historical backwardness of the American working class has not yet been fully overcome by any means. Only a section, an ever-increasing section, fortunately, of the workers is in motion but great masses still remain almost inert and as yet untouched by the first glimmer of class consciousness.

3. In the course of recent months, there has been a distinct worsening in the public attitude towards trade unionism, especially among the farmers and the city middle classes. In another form, the same tendency is expressed in the fact that the C.I.O. has receded somewhat in middle class favor in the last six months, altho it has, as Dr. Gallup points out, kept the "support of the lower classes."

4. The great mass of the people, as typified by the middle classes, even the great mass of the poor

majority of a quorum of the membership, consisting of a majority of all members."

3. Contests of elections. "It would be appropriate for the federal or state (labor relations) board, if called upon to do so, to certify whether or not an officer actually represents his union by virtue of an election. . . ."

3. Expulsion or suspension. "A statutory prohibition should be enacted against the expulsion or suspension of a member of a labor union . . . except after a majority vote of the membership at a meeting called for the purpose."

4. Financial statements. "Laws applicable to unions should be amended or other appropriate legislation enacted to provide that every association . . . must furnish its members with annual financial statements with such detail as may be requested if a majority of the membership so vote."

The cry that, at the present time, unions are not responsible at law is completely false. Just the contrary—"in addition to being subject to an action for an injunction, unions today may, in most jurisdictions, be sued for damages," as the Danbury Hatters and Coronado cases show.

The compulsory incorporation of trade unions, entirely useless as a remedy against racketeering, is of even less value in the present connection. "No advocate of incorporation has adduced a satisfactory analysis showing wherein the present law is inadequate or how incorporation would increase responsibility." But compulsory incorporation would have many grave disadvantages for the labor unions. "In this country, incorporation would imply governmental supervision without the compensating benefits that were accorded at the time labor unions were recognized by statute in Europe. Labor fears such regulation, not because of its effect upon union liability for breach of contract or torts, but chiefly because it means government regulation and may lead to the denial of charters or to their cancellation, thereby rendering union activity illegal."

The committee of the City Club finds that "no serious problem has been shown to exist warranting legislation such as incorporation or registration to increase union liability for torts or breach of contract. Present remedies have not been proved inadequate." It believes, however, that "it would be desirable to have every long-term agreement submitted for the approval of union members expedited to fulfill that agreement. . . . Trade union agreements for more than a year, to be enforceable, must be authorized or ratified by the union sought to be bound . . . It should also be the responsibility of the employer to see that the union representative negotiating the agreement is authorized to do so . . ."

These very briefly, are the findings and recommendations of the committee of the City Club of New York. At a time when so many agencies of "public opinion" are frantically urging the most reckless schemes of governmental strangulation of unionism, the sober and carefully weighed deliberations of this committee are especially welcome—particularly in view of the fact that its members, as they themselves admit, "are identified rather with employer groups than with labor." Nevertheless, we cannot fail to see that virtually all of its positive recommendations are open to serious objection, often to the very same kind as the committee itself so properly raises against the proposals it rejects. In the next article, these recommendations of the City Club will be subjected to a critical evaluation from the point of view of the labor movement.

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

WILLIAM GREEN never misses a chance to make it clear that he and his A. F. of L. are out to serve the interests of the employers. As a labor organization, the A. F. of L. must go thru the gestures of defending labor's interests but it is done in ways strictly prescribed by the employers. Thus when the employers were horror struck by the sit-down strikes in auto and other industries, Green lost no time in repudiating that particular strike weapon. Now comes the case of the "customers strike" used by the restaurant workers union—incidentally a union not affiliated with the C.I.O. Again Mr. Green rushed in to destroy a strike method which the workers in this industry had found particularly effective.

Declared Green: "The customer strike is in the same class with the sit-down strike, and is not approved by the American Federation of Labor."

Louis Koenig, head of the A. F. of L. union in Detroit branded this statement as a "cowardly stab in the back of honest workers who are seeking thru legitimate trade unionism to better their conditions."

Discussing the legality of the customers strike, Mr. Koenig insists that there is no basis for the belief in its illegality. "Customers have a perfect right," said he, "to enter a restaurant and buy a cup of coffee. There is no law in all the law books that says how long they may take to drink it. The customer strike IS legal, and our Union will continue to use it."

Then by way of a parting salute to William Green, Mr. Koenig remarks that the statement attributed to Green "might well have come from the mouth of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce or the National Manufacturers' Association."

The Detroit Free Press has been conducting a particularly scurrilous campaign against the C.I.O. unions. It reached its height on the question of union incorporation when it declared in a recent editorial: "A new type of labor leader opposes incorporation today because it would protect the members of unions from financial despoliation, from the looting of union funds, and would otherwise crimp the style of union officers in defying the law."

This is a slimy and slanderous attack against C.I.O. union leaders. The charge of lawlessness and racketeering is fairly clear. If such great benefits are to be secured from incorporation for the mass of American labor, why is it that the ultra-conservative William Green also rejects incorporation? Because what is intended is not to "protect the members of unions from financial despoliation" but to lay open the weekly pay envelope of every single union member to raids by the employers in cases where, in the opinion of a capitalist judge, the interests of the employers have been impaired by an alleged breach of some contractual provision.

No labor leader can recommend incorporation and hold very long the trust and confidence of the membership of his organization.

Let the employers and their well-greased barkers such as the Free Press storm and rage, labor knows where its interests lie.

There is never a minute of monotony in this labor movement of ours. Comes the news that a representative of the oil workers union, affiliated with the C.I.O. signed an agreement with an employer granting him the right to discharge any worker for "anti-American activities." This, declared the brilliant negotiator, is his method of fighting communism within the ranks of his union.

The sheer stupidity of signing such a contract must be evident to the most simple-minded worker. The idea of permitting the employer to solve what is a strictly inner-union problem establishes a precedent which can be extremely harmful to labor generally. Then the question arises—what are "anti-American activities"? Is that such a simple matter to decide? If the present boss outburst is to be believed then the whole C.I.O. and all its doings are strictly anti-American. Isn't the open shop as distinctly "American" as ham and eggs?

I haven't seen the exact clause signed but it would be of interest to find out who will determine what is "communism" or "anti-Americanism." The boss himself? Or will he recruit the able assistance of some lantern-jawed low-brow of a business agent?

What is the C.I.O. doing to end such travesties on union procedure which endanger the conditions of the workers in the shop?

Detroit almost had a labor ticket in the field but that was before the A. F. of L. cracked down and before Frank X. Martel returned from Geneva where he sat as a delegate from the A. F. of L.

Delegates of some C.I.O. as well as A. F. of L. unions gathered some weeks ago and decided to endorse Patrick H. O'Brien and place six candidates for the Council, among these two A. F. of L. men—Ed Thal of the Building Trades Council and Frank X. Martel of the Detroit Federation of Labor.

The bigwigs in the A. F. of L. were enraged at this open display of fraternization and things began to happen. A delegation from the Building Trades Department came from Washington and Ed Thal immediately withdrew from the slate—a matter of pure coincidence of course.

Another strange coincidence involves Martel. The minute he landed the local press immediately ran screamer heads to the effect that Green was going to oust Martel for being too friendly with the C.I.O. They even gave the name of his successor. Amidst all this William Green was strangely silent.

Then the Detroit Federation of Labor met, scrapped the agreement with the C.I.O. unions and referred the whole matter of the elections to the federation's political committee. This completely destroyed any possibility of a joint C.I.O.-A. F. of L. labor slate for the municipal elections. And here is where the second coincidence comes in. Immediately after this action Green issued a denial that there was any intention to remove Martel and the Detroit Federation itself raised Frank's wages from \$6,500 to \$7,800 a year.

GEORGE F. MILES

will continue his series of articles on the tendencies in the Auto Workers Union in the next issue of *Workers Age*, his article, unfortunately, having been received too late for publication in this issue.

THE SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION

resolution of the International Communist Opposition, approved by the National Council of the Independent Communist Labor League, will appear in next week's *Workers Age*.

POUM FRAMED BY SPANISH CP

(Continued from Page 2)

hundred and fifty men were kept in one hall with only one lavatory for all of them. The food rations are very inadequate. The prisoners only receive two plates of soup and two pieces of bread each day. The foreign prisoners include Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, Dutch, Americans and Austrians.

The French delegation and I were able to act on behalf of prisoners of our nationalities. There were only two British political prisoners and I got them both released.

TROTSKYITES AND POUM

THE unscrupulous poison-pen scribes of the Communist Party press, here and abroad, never tire of attacking the P.O.U.M. of Spain as "Trotskyist." The "Trotskyist P.O.U.M." is the most common phrase in all of their incoherent ravings. In past issues of the *Workers Age*, we have had occasion to challenge and expose this impudent falsification. We brought forward documentary evidence to show the bitter hostility of Leon Trotsky himself and of the American Trotskyists to the P.O.U.M. We are now in a position to supplement this in a most authoritative way. The July 1937 number (English edition) of the *Information Bulletin of the International Bureau for the Fourth International*, the official organ of the Trotskyist International, is devoted entirely to the Spanish question and the P.O.U.M. And what do the Trotskyites say?

1. As to P.O.U.M. policy. "For six years, they (the P.O.U.M. leaders) have done everything possible to subject this energetic and heroic proletariat of Spain to the most terrible defeats" (page 6). "It must be recognized that the P.O.U.M. has committed, and is committing, fundamental errors that bar the way to revolution" (12). "They have completely abandoned the program, betrayed the principles of the revolutionary cause" (1). The P.O.U.M. leaders are "menshevik traitors who cover

"THOREZ IN POWER"

By D. S.

Paris, France

BASTILLE DAY this year was a disappointment even to American tourists. Place de Bastille and Place de la Nation, which echoed last year to the tramp of half a million workers shouting, "Vive le Fronte Populaire" saw on this July 14 a bare hundred thousand. The taste of the new People's Front taxes is beginning to be bitter in the mouths of the French workers today.

Three-quarters of the demonstration was the Communist Party and the party fractions in the C.G.T. The socialists had a bad turnout, the non-political trade unionists were all at home and the colonials who formed an impressive part of the Bastille Day parade in 1936 were very absent—their organizations having been suppressed. Slo-

ed. The French delegation was still occupied with this problem when I left. We were not allowed to take up the case of prisoners of other nationalities, and one of my first tasks in passing thru Paris on the way home was to take steps to arrange for a permanent commission representing all the nationalities involved to go to Spain to act in the interests of the prisoners from other countries.

gans carried and shouted were in the defensive spirit of the "pause," the truce in workers demands. The greatest number of banners asked for work for the young and aid for the aged. "Everything for and thru the People's Front" appeared often while the standard sign of the Communist Party sections was "Communism is peace—liberty—happiness." But the cry that rang over all from party units, from C.G.T. sections, from sport clubs and fraternal groups was "Thorez in power! Thorez in power!" Twenty-foot square pictures of the handsome blond communist leader were cheered again and again with the chant "Thorez in power!" The reiterated slogan is the communist answer to all grumbings at the People's Front.

Linked with the Bastille Day demonstration but far more interesting and significant was a series of events in the cafe strike. Called at the beginning of July in the face of a blunt refusal by the important restaurant owners to apply the social laws—the 40-hour, 5-day week—the strike had dragged for two weeks in a disgracefully desultory fashion. Trade union leaders, mindful of the wellbeing of France, the tourist trade and the Paris Exposition, had called out only 6,000 of the 40,000 workers in the industry. All faith was being placed in conferences with the employers and in arbitration.

On Bastille Day, groups of strikers took the offensive without benefit of union orders. In the Champs-Elysee section, in Montparnasse and along the Boulevard Haussmann, the luxury cafes with signs stating "This place remains open" found their vast plate-glass windows smashed, their tables overturned, their chairs twisted into scrap-iron.

Early evening found the parade ending and the strikers concentrated in the Place de la Nation. They went to work on the cafes in a thoro fashion and cleaned them of both customers and glassware in short order. There were few of the Paris police present and, in any case, the Paris cop is a gentle, reasonable soul, more prone to argument than violence. But the law was not without its upholders in the persons of the Communist Party's "order service" which had been policing the parade. Shouting "Obey the law," these squadrons formed long lines to protect the cafes and disperse the crowds, holding the fort until the Garde Mobile roared up by truckloads! The Garde Mobile, incidentally, are steel-helmeted, rifle-bearing gentry much tougher and more ominous than the city police.

Next day both communist and socialist press denounced the "provocators" who had attempted to smear French labor with the awful name of law-breakers. The union issued an official denial that its members had done this heinous deed. The cafe-owners swept up broken glass and looked with mixed feelings at the Garde Mobile and police patrolling their premises who, while they kept more windows from being smashed, also intimidated the customers who don't like to drink in the shadow of a rifle.

Meanwhile the cafes stayed closed!

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