

Facts Speak Louder...

an editorial

RECENT developments in international affairs, especially the Anglo-Italian treaty and the Anglo-French negotiations, should give every supporter of "collective security" food for serious thought.

We know that there are thousands of liberals and radicals in this country who really believe that "collective security" is the road to peace. If only the "democratic" powers, especially England, France and the United States, would get together in a "common front against the fascist aggressors"—they reason—how easy it would be to put a stop to the reckless, war-making adventures of Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado! No military action would be necessary; with such powers arrayed on the side of peace and "international morality," a measure of diplomatic and economic pressure would be more than enough to deflate the fascist trouble-makers and end the danger to world peace from their side. Such is the case for "collective security" in its most attractive form.

Unfortunately, however, as we have pointed out time without number, this whole approach is based on the fatal illusion that the "democratic" powers, just because they are democratic (more or less) in their domestic regimes, can be gotten to unite in a common front for peace and democracy against the fascist powers. England, France and the United States are not merely "democratic" powers; they are, above all else, imperialist powers. Any international alignment into which they may enter will necessarily be determined not by considerations of democratic sentiment or ideology but by the dictates of imperialist power-politics. And imperialist power-politics is hardly compatible with the "collective action for peace," with the "common front against fascist aggression," that is envisaged in the "collective-security" dream.

But arguments are no more than arguments, and the more logical and realistic they are the less chance they apparently have against the power of an attractive illusion. So let us turn away from mere arguments to the facts themselves, facts plain and undeniable, facts staring us imperatively in the face.

The British House of Commons has just endorsed by a huge majority the new Anglo-Italian treaty. What is the nature of this treaty? Under it, "democratic" Britain, the very "mother of democracy," pledges itself to recognize Italy's violent seizure of Ethiopia and accepts as a welcome and accomplished fact the overthrow of the Loyalist government of Spain, the legal and "democratic" government, at the hands of Franco and his fascist auxiliaries. Hardly was the ink on this treaty dry when the iniquitous deal was hailed in glowing terms by President Roosevelt in an official statement written and prepared by the State Department. Within a few days began the Anglo-French conversations resulting in a virtual military alliance between two "democracies." On what basis? On the basis of complete French acquiescence in the reactionary foreign policy of Tory Britain. France agreed to the recognition of the Italian empire in Ethiopia, agreed to the abandonment of Loyalist Spain, agreed to "limit its commitments" as far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, agreed to begin negotiations of its own with fascist Italy. In all these manou-

(Continued on Page 6)

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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UAW Backs Pres. Martin

Board Unanimously O.K.'s Program Proposed By Union Leader

By GEORGE F. MILES
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

Detroit, Mich.

The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers, meeting here all last week, gave a unanimous vote of confidence to President Homer Martin. This action completely discredits the wild and unfounded dispatches in the press to the effect that a section of Martin's own followers intended to turn against him and force his removal from office thru a combination with the supporters of the "unity" faction. Not only did this scheme fail to materialize but the report and the program of action proposed by President Martin were adopted unanimously despite the fact that, in many respects, Martin's proposals differed sharply with those proposed by Richard T. Frankenstein in his so-called "harmony" program and by the supporters of the "unity" faction. Thus, the actions of the International Executive Board on matters of program and policy have fully substantiated what your correspondent wrote last week: "Administration spokesmen are confident that their position in the union is stronger than ever and that the administration will emerge from the coming Board meeting consolidated and in a position to bring about a great measure of harmony around its program of activity."

(The 20-point program proposed by President Martin will be found in full on page 4.—Editor.)

The adoption of the Martin program is naturally being interpreted in union ranks as a sweeping endorsement of the policies of President Martin and his progressive administration. Administration spokesmen point to some points (1 and 20) which, they state, increases the power of the executive board and will result in a much stricter supervision of union policy and activity. Administration supporters further claim that the proposal for a more rigorous collection of per-capita taxes from the local also will strengthen the hands of the union leadership and make it possible for it to engage in some of the most necessary mass organization campaigns. This was impossible before because of the restricted income, also some locals which had not paid per-capita tax for three months or more were found to have funds in the bank.

On the essential issues which divided the union in the past, President Martin made no concessions. A good case in point is the issue of the abolition of groups in the union, which Mr. Frankenstein had made the central point in his "harmony" drive. In reply to this, President Martin stated in his report: "Real democracy in a union demands the right of minorities to freedom of discussion and expression, and their protection from arbitrary repression. Factions and factionalism cannot be abolished by decree. Factionalism can be eliminated only thru the adoption and execution of a constructive program and policies which are adequate to meet the

(Continued on Page 2)

Unions for Peace Meet

Prominent Labor Leaders Endorse May 30 Anti-War Conference

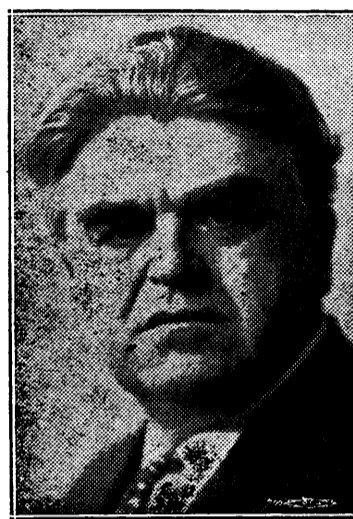
Increasing numbers of outstanding and influential trade-union leaders are responding enthusiastically to support of the National Anti-War Congress at Washington on May 30, the committee in charge of congress arrangements announced last week. Many scores of farm leaders, educators, churchmen and public figures in other fields, have also declared their adherence to the movement.

The initiators of the anti-war congress include such well-known labor men as Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers; Charles S. Zimmerman, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Max Danish, editor of Justice, the official paper of the I.L.G.W.U.; Clinton Golden, S.W.O.C. regional director at Pittsburgh; and Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Among those who declared their adherence last week are Joseph Baker, president of the United Federal Workers of America; Elizabeth Christman, national secretary of the Women's Trade Union League; G. B. Goble, vice-grand president of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks; Roy Horn, president of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths; W. O. Murphy, general secretary-treasurer of the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors; Rose Pesotta, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; C. W. Vance, legislative representative of the Order of Railway Conductors; and N. A. Zonarich, president of the Aluminum Workers of America. Eleven heads of international unions, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., have already signed the call for the Congress.

W. Jett Lauck, famous labor economist and economic adviser to the U.M.W.A., is another signatory. So are a number of labor editors, including Clarence Blewett, Montana Labor News; Martin D. Dillon, St. Louis Labor Advocate; Justus Ebert, Lithographers

(Continued on Page 2)

Lewis Urges Big Relief Program



JOHN L. LEWIS

CIO Is Preparing Vast Union Drive

The C.I.O. is planning a vigorous and extensive campaign, unprecedented in scope, to organize the unorganized millions in American industry as soon as the present depression begins to lift, John L. Lewis told the convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers last week. The convention is meeting at Atlantic City.

The question of unity in the labor movement was brought to the fore by an address by David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U. Mr. Dubinsky gave great praise to the achievements of the C.I.O. and indicated the role his organization had played in its support. He specifically rejected the idea of "peace at any price," that is, at the expense of industrial unionism, but insisted on a strong effort being made now to achieve unity on the basis of the "original principles of the C.I.O." The "unity question" will come up before the convention later in the sessions when an official resolution on this issue will be placed before the delegates.

CIO Chief Asks Congress For 3,500,000 Jobs For Unemployed

Describing the Roosevelt "spending" program as very "modest indeed," John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman, urged last week the immediate passage of a relief appropriation sufficient to provide 3,500,000 jobs. Lewis made this demand in testimony before a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.

The most important parts of Mr. Lewis's statement follows:

LEWIS'S STATEMENT

Thirteen to fourteen million workers are now unemployed in this nation. That means unemployed who are able and willing to work. There are in addition countless millions who are employed only one, two or three days a week.

Unemployment of thirteen million means that there are at least five million who can be considered to be without resources of any kind, facing all the ravages of destitution. It is modest, indeed, that labor asks only three-and-a-half million jobs to care for thirteen million unemployed.

In the spring of 1935, the federal government assumed the obligation to give jobs to the needy unemployed who were able to work. Since that time the Administration has reiterated again and again the conviction that the federal government must carry this responsibility. It has failed to do so. . . .

If it did assume such responsibility now, more than a million workers would go on W.P.A. payrolls. That would raise the required number of jobs beyond the modest three-and-a-half million which labor is asking. . . .

Upon the basis of these facts, labor has made its request to Congress for provision for at least three-and-a-half million jobs for the unemployed on W.P.A. This is a minimum program. Any program that is expected to meet the basic condition that every unemployed person who is out of work thru no fault of his own should have a job, would have to be nearly twice as great as the one labor asks. . . .

On two counts it is important that these three-and-a-half million jobs be provided immediately.

First, there is terrible need among our people, and on all grounds of humanity and decency

(Continued on Page 2)

League Endorses Fascist Aggression in Ethiopia

After a long period of inactivity during which its very existence was almost forgotten, the League Council met last week at Geneva to ratify the deal that England had made with Italy and that France was negotiating with the same power. This implied the official abandonment of Ethiopia and Loyalist Spain to the fascist aggressors. And this the League Council, dominated by "democratic" England and France, did without a quaver.

Only Russia and Spain voted in favor of the Spanish proposal to put an end to the shameful "non-intervention" farce. Britain, France, Rumania and Poland voted against and the other Council members abstained. Del Vayo, Spanish Foreign Minister, complained bitterly that England and France, the "democratic" powers on which the

Spanish government had placed such reliance, were "betraying" it. He especially denounced the Anglo-Italian agreement, deploring "the incomprehensible desertion by certain democracies." "We have seen them finish by concluding with these aggressors pacts legitimizing intervention." He openly intimated that the Anglo-French attitude might be due to "a desire to prevent the triumph of the Spanish Republic because of the dangers that this triumph might have meant to the political and social stability of Western Europe."

The high point of the Council session came with the so-called "Ethiopian question." England and France were intent upon having the Council take action to facilitate their recognition of the Italian con-

quest of Ethiopia, in accordance with their recent understanding with Mussolini. There took place a stirring debate between Lord Halifax, British Foreign Minister, who justified the deal, and Haile Selassie, Ethiopian Emperor, who made a strong appeal for his people and a bitter indictment of British diplomatic duplicity. Of course, Halifax had his way and the Council voted, 11 to 4, to release the League members from any obligations and to allow them to adopt any attitude they chose on Italian rule in Ethiopia. The four who held out in the vote were China, Soviet Russia, Bolivia and New Zealand.

Viewed from the Left

By Politicus

A.L.P. in the State Elections

LABOR'S Non-Partisan League assumes a multiform existence, with state "exceptionalism" carrying the day. It is only in New York state that it exists as an independent party, with its own assemblymen. Yet even here, thru its political and organizational tie-up with LaGuardia in New York City and its blood bonds with the Lehman state administration, both spawned by the New Deal, the American Labor Party pursues policies of the most hesitant character, policies hardly aiding the birth of a completely independent labor party, locally as well as nationally.

The American Labor Party is recognized as decisive in the Fall gubernatorial elections in this state. It has a real organization, a great amount of prestige as a practical, stable outfit, and is deeply rooted in the decisive sections of the population thru its trade-union base, no matter what shortcomings there may be in this respect. For the Roosevelt wing of the national Democratic party, it is an excellent weapon in the fight against the anti-Roosevelt city machines, such as Tammany. For the G.O.P., it is distinct enough from the official Democratic organization to be at least a potential threat to the latter, and so long as the Democrats can be kept jittery about defections, the Republicans will be able to gain a moral, and in some cases, they hope, a material victory. But to itself?—what does the A.L.P. signify to the furtherance of its own political program and perspective?

Altho it is much further advanced organizationally, and even, in some aspects, politically than other sections of the L.N.-F.L., the rumored intentions of the A.L.P. are for support of some or any New Deal candidate for governor. Apparently not the slightest consideration is being given to the possibility of an independent labor candidacy in the Fall elections. Upon what is this policy based? First, of course, unwavering allegiance to the New Deal and Roosevelt, unaltered by the political facts of the past year or more. Secondly, the extreme caution of the trade-union leaders of the A.L.P., perhaps lacking confidence in themselves as politicians and, perhaps also without a full comprehension of the present power and future significance of the labor-party movement. These are the more or less "traditional" forces operating to hinder the logical development of the A.L.P. to full independence and mature stature. Today, the uncertain future of the Democratic party nationally, the growing possibility of a split with the Southern reactionaries, is affecting at least the atmosphere around the leaders of the A.L.P. It is creating visions, among those who sense the coming situation, of a totally "different" series of alignments: a New Deal party theoretically cleansed of the reactionary elements and with a strong articulate labor core. This, however, would be essentially a third-party movement repeating not merely the futile gestures of its predecessors but actually more illusory for labor in the tenth year of the depression than in the fourth year, when it first rallied to the Roosevelt banner. It would be a repetition of New Deal history not merely at a dizzier pace but with more disastrous results. For, under the present set-up, the tendency has been for labor to approach political independence; in any such new set-up, the tendency would be to get labor more firmly under the thumb of the new capitalist deal. Above all, since the change would be far more in appearance than in fundamentals, labor would be more closely bound to the foreign policy and war plans of the Administration, and would be unable to effectively champion the in-

Lewis Urges More Relief

(Continued from Page 1) these human beings must be provided for.

The second important purpose of the program is to provide and stimulate purchasing power and recovery. We cannot afford to wait for three or six months for the three-and-a-half million jobs to be provided. It may be too late then. Now is the time for action.

Four Principles

Labor is asking that this fund be so appropriated that it can be operated under four main principles.

1. The first principle is that all workers should be employed on work suited to their needs and skills. One of the fundamental purposes of the works program has been to maintain in our people their skills, their morale and their normal life. The program means conservation of human resources.

If projects are set up upon which skills are destroyed, which require that the worker's family life be broken up, this great purpose is not accomplished.

If a man has worked all his life as a clerk with his hand trained to pen and pencil, it may be a harmful thing that he should be put to digging ditches in the winter time. If a man is required to leave his family over long periods of time so that he may work on a project, that too is harmful. . . .

Socially Necessary Plans

2. The second principle upon which labor makes its demand is that projects should be socially necessary and productive. This means housing and slum clearance, flood control, the building of schools and hospitals, health measures, cultural and white-collar projects, and vocational-training work. . . .

Too long now our works programs have been created at a moment's notice. It is high time that provision is made for a fore-

UAW Backs Pres. Martin

(Continued from Page 1)

needs of the workers in the industry and which every sincere union man and woman will actively support."

Another example of Martin's uncompromising stand was seen in the manner in which he met the cries of "dictatorship" from the direction of the "unity" caucus when, on several occasions, the International had found it necessary to take over a local union in order to secure the observance of International decisions, on vital matters which endangered the organization.

"There have been some cases, however," says Mr. Martin in dealing with this problem, "where, either thru well-intentioned but mistaken notions, or thru willful disregard of International Board decisions, certain members and locals have flouted the decisions of the International Executive Board and have resisted every attempt to bring them into line. Factional interests in some cases and simply irresponsibility in other cases have caused the International Executive Board some anxiety and have created a great deal of confusion within the union. In a few cases, the situation was serious enough to warrant the intervention of the Board, by taking over certain local unions, according to the Constitution, and administering their affairs in the interests of the membership of the local and of the entire International Union."

"The highly integrated character of the automobile industry," Mr. Martin continued, "makes it pos-

Trying to Cover Up!

THE Daily Worker of May 10 strikes an attitude of virtuous indignation at the "inside story" featured by the United Press last week describing how a Stalinist-conservative alliance was being consummated to oust Homer Martin from the presidency of the United Automobile Workers. The Daily Worker denounces these reports as "sheer invention," as "the

sible for a local which happens to be in a key position to seriously jeopardize the entire organization if it fails to act in accordance with the proper policies. The International Union cannot tolerate the continuance of such situations. It was natural that some one should raise the cry of 'dictatorship,' either thru a misunderstanding of the intent of the Board or for demagogic reasons. However, what these people have wrongly characterized as 'dictatorship' is, in reality, the will of the majority expressing itself thru the delegated authorities chosen for that purpose by the convention."

Even on such questions as the General Motors contract, around which the opposition waged quite a battle, outstanding faction leaders, such as Wyndham Mortimer, Ed Hall and George Ades, signed their names to the following reply in Mr. Martin's report: "The agreement has been attacked by some as being a defeat for the union. This is false. The agreement can only be considered a defeat if having no agreement would have been considered a victory, for the only alternative to this agreement was no agreement at all. A change in the procedure of adoption was followed. Whereas, in the case of the April 12 supplement (signed by Mortimer and Hall—G.F.M.), there was absolutely no ratification whatever, either by the International Executive Board or by any rank-and-file body within the union, the

(Continued on Page 4)

supplementary work for part-time workers to bring their income up to an American standard.

Prepare For Emergencies

4. The fourth principle that labor asks is that funds be so appropriated that government will be able to meet current needs wherever and whenever such needs arise. The government should be equipped to meet emergencies.

When three million men and women are added to the long list of those unemployed, as was the case in the last four months of the past year, the government should be in a position to meet the emergency unhampered by legalisms and red tape. . . .

One of the proudest boasts of our nation has always been the American standard of living. For those who are on W.P.A., that American standard of living means an average of less than \$52 a month income. This is an average of approximately \$620 a year.

In the Southern wage region, workers on W.P.A. receive about half that amount. Unskilled workers receive as little as \$21 a month and 15 cents an hour. Most of the men on these projects have families to support. Government has the obligation of creating decent standards.

It now pays at levels below those of sweatshops, below those universally accepted as absolute minimums for American citizens. . . . Labor believes that Congress is now confronted with a decision of profound importance. We are a nation rapidly slipping toward economic chaos. Up and down the land, the mills and factories of the world lie idle while millions of our people wait for the right to work and to consume the products of their labor. . . .

distortions and lies of the capitalist press, collaborating with the Lovestonites." (Why the "Lovestonites" should "collaborate" with the capitalist press to concoct lies against the progressive administration of the U.A.W., which they support, remains a mystery, of course!)

A pretty pose, indeed—but what are the facts? The fact is that the U.P. dispatch in question emanated from Jack Lawrence, formerly U.P. man in Toledo. Lawrence is in close contact with Bob Travis, a leading figure in the "unity" caucus. This dispatch, purporting to give the "inside story" of what's happening in the U.A.W., was actually gotten up some weeks ago, at Washington under the direct tutelage of Wyndham Mortimer, Stalinist faction leader in the U.A.W., when the latter was in that city during a conference. In other words, this "sheer invention," this "manufactured lie," for which the "Lovestonites" are somehow made responsible, was actually cooked up by the Stalinites themselves and passed on to a "friendly" correspondent to be released at the proper moment, which was to be the eve of the present International Executive Board meeting in Detroit.

What happened is simple enough. The super-cunning plot of the Stalinist wreckers to oust Martin and overthrow the progressive administration, which the inspired press report was supposed to anticipate, fell to pieces under the blows of the progressives. And so the Stalinites were forced to beat a hasty retreat, which they did—leaving their friend, Jack Lawrence, and the U.P. holding the bag!

But that is not all. At the session of the U.A.W. Board last week, President Martin presented a 20-point program, published elsewhere in this issue, one point of which calls for continued anti-war struggle on the part of the union and specifically endorses the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum proposal. For months, the Stalinist press has been denouncing this proposal in the most vicious manner, calling it an "aid to the fascist aggressors" and what not. But what happened at the Board meeting? Martin's program was adopted unanimously—everybody voting for it, including Mortimer, the Stalinist caucus leader!

What does that make the Stalinist party? Figure it out for yourself!

LABOR UNIONS FOR ANTI-WAR CONFAB

(Continued from Page 1)

Journal; Paul Porter, Kenosha Labor; and F. S. Gram, Racine Day. Wm. Evjule, editor of the Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin, the LaFollette paper, is also a signer.

State presidents of farmers unions in Illinois, Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota and Oklahoma have joined with the Southern Tenants Farmers Union and heads of the Maryland and Missouri granges in support of the Washington congress. Political organizations are represented by Norman Thomas, Socialist Party; Bertram D. Wolfe, I.C.L.L.; Howard Y. Williams of the Farmer-Labor Association; and others.

The congress urges all labor, farmer, religious and civic organizations supporting its broad program of opposition to war and war preparations, to send delegates to the sessions at Washington during the Memorial Day week-end. The offices of the congress are at 1707 H. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., to which all inquiries and communications should be addressed.

The Government and the Munitions Industry

By M. S. MAUTNER

IN the past few years, much of the anti-war propaganda has been directed at the actual manufacturers of the materials for war. It is these "merchants of death" who cannot stand peace, whose agents put over huge, fraudulent schemes whereby wars are provoked and arms sold to both belligerents, increasing the swollen profits of the Zaharoffs. Out of many revelations along these lines, all of which are true as far as they go, has come the demand for curbing the arms magnates, either thru regulatory legislation, affecting the scope of their commerce, or thru the nationalization of the munitions industry. If only the government—which hates war, of course—were to control the manufacture of arms, then we would limit that production to the needs of "reasonable national defense" and help eliminate war from this world—so the story goes. It is an analysis and a program which overlooks the fact that the government is preparing for war against the obvious desires of the masses of the people and which somehow considers the activities of the munition-makers as antagonistic to the interests of the employing class and its government. But with this we do not wish to deal in detail here. The basic fallacy of this argument is that it completely ignores the real relationship of government and arms manufacturers in peace-time, an arrangement of solicitous paternalism carried out in secret to nurture the carefully laid plans and preparations of the government for war, which both know are as inevitable as death and taxes.

necessary machinery, all this requires a continuity from war to war in the munitions industry. Plans must be worked out, changed and constantly elaborated, so that M-Day will not be the beginning of war preparations but their culmination expressed in a smoothly working war-machine. This is the business of the government, especially of the State and War Departments.

At the hearings before the Nye Committee investigating munitions production in 1934, the policy of the government was frankly outlined by Lieutenant-Colonel Harris as follows:

"The War Department is convinced that, in the event of war, American industry must produce the major portion of the required munitions. Assuming this premise, it follows that, so far as practicable, industry should be prepared to perform its war mission. Therefore, the War Department has consistently favored the participation of American industry in munitions manufacture and has encouraged the production of munitions not

(Continued on Page 5)

How Labor Stopped a War

By Herbert Allen

THE year, 1917. The scene, England. The dramatic personae, the British trade unions and the British ruling class.

In October, in those dramatic "ten days that shook the world," Russian workers and peasants made their heroic stand against oppression and tyranny centuries old. Slaves and serfs for countless years, they threw off the shackles of Czarism and sought to create a government of their own. In 1918, this awakened Russian giant amazed the entire world as, shivering in rags and even hungry, he fought on many fronts against the White Guard armies. Then, as these White armies were being licked, France, Great Britain, Japan and the United States dispatched troops, money, food and military advisors to bolster the crushed armies of the old reactionary Russia.

Far away on the British Isles, an ever swifter current of admiration and loyalty swept the hearts of British trade unionists as they witnessed this inspiring thrust of the Russians for freedom. For the most part, this wave of sentiment was, "in the early days at any rate, a spontaneous, elemental sort of thing that welled up from the depths; it was not a matter of conscious and precise understanding of the issues, save among a small minority." Almost instinctively British labor felt that they as workmen had a stake in this struggle being waged on the Russian plains.

The Great British Awakening

This sentiment was at first almost exclusively confined to the trade-union rank and file. The leaders of the Labor Party, and some even of the socialist Independent Labor Party, were not at all in sympathy with the Russian workers. At the Labor Party Conference in July 1918, Kerensky, the deposed head of the short-lived democratic government that had attempted to carry out reactionary policies (notably continuation of the war), was introduced on the platform to urge anti-Soviet intervention in the name of "demo-

cracy." In December, however, the Labor Party grew suspicious of intervention and asked the government to define its intentions—but the government ignored the request.

In 1919 came news of increased assistance by Britain and others to the reactionary generals, Deniken and Wrangel. On April 8, the trade unions led by the miners adopted a resolution demanding the immediate end of intervention. Several months later, Herbert Morrison was reported in the press as having spoken thus of British labor's attitude: "They had got to realize that the present war against Russia on the part of this country, France and the other imperialist powers, was not a war against Bolshevism or against Lenin. . . . It was a war against the organization of the trade-union movement itself and, as such, should be resisted with the full political and industrial power of the whole trade-union movement."

British Labor Halts War

British labor accepted the challenge flung to it by the imperialists. To a man, the six and one-half million trade unionists formed a National Conference and a Council of Action. Never was British labor as united or as militant as in this crisis. A net-work of 350 local Councils of Action mushroomed in all industrial centers. This movement demanded: peace with Russia and recognition of the Russian government. If not—thundered British labor—we will down tools! One of the leaders even went further: If the government does not obey, he said, "we may be compelled to do things that will cause them to abdicate and to tell them that, if they cannot run the country in a peaceful and humane manner without interfering with the lives of other nations, we will be compelled, even against all constitutions, to chance whether we cannot do something to take the country into our own hands for our own people."

There was no war with Russia. . . .

It is interesting to note Lenin's contemporary comment on these events: "This Council of Action, independently of Parliament, presents an ultimatum to the government in the name of the workers—it is the transition to the workers' dictatorship. . . . The whole of the English bourgeois press wrote that the Councils of Action were soviets. And it was right. They were not called soviets but in actual fact they were such."

British labor stopped a war—stopped a war against the Soviet Union; here is much for every trade unionist and radical to ponder over in this greatest lesson ever handed the modern working class in the fight against war.

THE PRESIDENT RESPONSIBLE!

FROM an article by Jay Franklin, journalistic champion of the New Deal, in the New York Post, May 10:

"As near as I can come to the truth of the matter, this Spanish embargo is a White House decision which had nothing to do with the State Department and which represents President Roosevelt's desire to play ball with the British government or rather to follow the British diplomatic lead in Europe, just as he would expect London to follow our diplomatic lead in the Western hemisphere.

"We went along with the British policy toward Italy's war of conquest in Ethiopia and recently took occasion to express gratification at the Anglo-Italian agreement. The 'non-intervention' policy in Spain was a British policy, and Mr. Roosevelt went along with it. This policy had the added element of being popular with an influential Catholic group in this country. . . .

"Some time ago I met in Washington one of Franco's purchasing agents. He told me that our embassy at Paris had been most obliging and helpful as soon as they realized that he carried credentials from General Franco to the du Ponts."

The People's Front and The Colonial Lands

By F. and S.

(We publish below as discussion material an article by two comrades in Santiago, Chile.—Editor.)

Santiago, Chile. WE heartily approve of the group's position on war and its new approach to the trade unions and how to act in them, and a little kicking ourselves in the face so that we do not think that we are infallible is a healthy sign and could be used to advantage by the Stalinites. But there are a few things that we could also be less mechanical about. In the first place, we consider that our attitude to the People's Front is correct—but with modifications. Each country and each period has its own "exceptionalism" on this question too. We consider the group's position absolutely correct on People's Front where and if the working class is so far advanced that a working-class front of Left socialists, communists and anarchists makes it possible to advance the proletarian revolution by a united front of working class parties. But at the same time, we believe that in a

backward (colonially and capitalistically) country like Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela or China, if you please, a People's Front is of the utmost importance, first, in advancing the consciousness of the working class to the point where it will at least fight, and, second, advancing the bourgeois revolution to such a point where it can at least stop imperialists from getting a stranglehold on the colonial and backward country.

I put these countries in this category because I think that all of them are having growing pains and, in all these countries, the working class is so weak that it can make little headway without a progressive bourgeoisie. At this stage of imperialist aggression, I believe, much as it may sound like heresy, that Chiang Kai-shek and Groves (in Chile) represent a progressive force as they are both fighting against the imperialists. In Chile, last week the communists, socialists, bourgeois radicals and democrats joined in a People's Front for president and let's hope they win, for otherwise they would have to continue in hock to American and English capital by way of Gustavo Ross, who is Chile's workman for bringing shoddy cheap-money, paying debts to foreign countries and keeping the workers and lower middle classes and farmers at a starvation level (average salaries and wages of both groups are 250 to 500 pesos a month at the most—from \$10 to \$20 a month American).

We have read carefully Edgar Snow's book, "Red Star over China." We find much meat for thought in it and think that Jim Corkin's analysis of the Chiang Kai-shek-communist People's Front is too mechanical to be of any practical value in evaluating what is happening in China. We agree that, in France and Germany and Spain, a People's Front is dangerous to the working class but we beg to take exception when the group becomes as mechanical as the Stalinists who still eat out of Stalin's hands. The Chinese today are putting up a swell fight against the Japs and more power to them is what we say. We wonder how easy Chiang Kai-shek will find it to fool most of the Chinese people all of the time, after this war, if it is successful in putting a damper on Japan's imperial ambitions.

We went to a meeting of the People's Front here for Spain and it showed magnificent fighting spirit and unity, which is most important. All of South America was represented with speakers. Argentina, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela and Ecuador all had their representatives to belie the right-wing press who keep shouting for Franco daily. The fighting spirit and the realism of the crowd in lambasting the so-called "democracies" all over the place is a wonderful sign.

Just to bring out one more point in relation to Chile. The right-wing crowd is crying already that the socialists and communists in Chile are going to swallow up the bourgeois radicals as they are doing in Spain. As a point of interest, the communists got 46,000 votes in the last municipal offices as against 5,000 some two years ago. Two years ago, they were outlawed as a party every month or so and today they are even being talked about in the right-wing press without too much unfavorable comment because the right-wing press sees which way the wind is blowing and we think they are preparing themselves and their readers for the proper frame of mind when the Left gets in.

WORKERS AGE

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Vol. 7 May 21, 1938 No. 21.

"SOCIAL IMPERIALISM"

THE only prospect for profitable investment of American capital is China. But, if the United States really wanted to put our thirteen million unemployed back to work, to put unemployed capital back to work, the United States government should invest about five billions in building up Chinese industry. We should, by agreement with the Chinese government, produce machines here and, at the same time, build up new industry, which will enable the Chinese to ward off fascist invasion.

These words were spoken by Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, at a meeting of Brooklyn College students and they are published in the Daily Worker of April 28. They are well worth pondering, for they represent a significant new stage in the political degeneration of Stalinist "communism."

What is the plain meaning of these words? According to Browder, big American investments in China would bring great benefits to the American workers as well as to the Chinese people—to the former, by speeding recovery and providing employment at home; to the latter, by stimulating the industrial development of their country. American labor ought, therefore, to support, encourage and promote the large-scale export of American capital to China; in brief, American labor ought to get behind an aggressive policy of financial penetration and imperialism in the Far East!

These ideas are not new and they certainly are not original with Browder. Before the war, there was a whole school of German social-democrats who persistently preached the same gospel to the workers. This was the group of "social-imperialists" who endorsed Germany's policy of colonial expansion on substantially the same grounds as Browder endorses American imperialism today, on the ground that it would bring prosperity at home and industrial progress to the "natives." What the socialist labor movement thought of these doctrines is well known: they were denounced by Rosa Luxemburg and Kautsky and Bebel, by virtually every leader of German socialism, as a philosophy absolutely fatal to the working-class integrity of the movement, as the voice of finance capital in the ranks of labor. A similar stand was taken by the great majority of French and English socialists towards the "social-imperialists" in their own fold. Everywhere these apostles of imperialism were looked upon as a dangerous and demoralizing element.

And naturally so, for the gospel of the "progressive" mission of imperialism, which Browder is now trying to revamp and palm off on the workers of this country, is a brazen and treacherous fraud. Imperialism, manifesting itself primarily in the export of capital to "backward" countries, may indeed bring a brief and fitful prosperity to certain select groups at home; but the great masses of the people, as Lenin pointed out over twenty years ago, have nothing to gain from it and very much to lose. In the long run, imperialism only aggravates the conditions of capitalism in decline, with disemployment, misery and war following in its train. As for the people in the "backward" countries, what do they get out of financial penetration and control from abroad except the perversion and distortion of their normal economic development for the benefit of the foreign investors, except economic slavery which inevitably turns into political subjection? Is it really necessary at this late date to begin exposing again the menace of imperialism, the brutal exploitation, political reaction and social corruption that it brings at home and abroad?

The "social-imperialists" of pre-war days naturally turned into wild and rabid jingoes as soon as the war broke out. But the Stalinist "social-imperialists" are anticipating history. They are already proclaiming their jingoism and are carrying it to excesses rarely known in the past. For them, their "social-imperialism" is but the ultimate logic of their passionate advocacy of the Administration's foreign policy and the doctrine of "collective security" under cover of which it operates.

Program of U.A.W.

Unanimously Adopted by the Executive Board

THE following 20-point program, presented by President Martin to the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America at its session last week, was unanimously adopted by the Board:

1. Recognition by all members of the International Union of the responsibility and authority of the International Executive Board and the International officers, subject to the Constitution, which is the basic law of the union between conventions.
2. The guarantee of democratic rights of local unions consistent with the Constitution and the welfare of the membership of the International Union as a whole.
3. Maximum responsibility in carrying out joint agreements with employers.
4. Cooperation of all officers and members of the union in the prevention and elimination of wild-cat stoppages and strikes.
5. Continued efforts to elevate standards of living, to improve working conditions and to reduce hours of work.
6. Mobilization of the entire union against wage reductions and the undermining of gains already achieved.
7. Vigorous drive to obtain closed-shop contracts in all plants within the industry.
8. Launching of a comprehensive drive to organize competitive plants.
9. Full mobilization of the union in support of all legitimate authorized strikes.
10. Intensive activities in behalf of federal and state legislation in the interests of labor: (a) federal wage-hour bill; (b) Wagner-Healy Act; (c) federal housing legislation; (d) federal appropriations for relief.

11. Opposition to anti-union legislation such as: (a) Sheppard-Hill bill or May bills; (b) amendment of National Labor Relations Act.

12. Strengthening of drive to organize aircraft workers of the nation.

13. Active prosecution of Ford organization drive on nation-wide scale.

14. Intensification of campaign to organize W.P.A. workers.

15. Building of strong local and International treasuries as a reserve of strength to the union, by avoidance of all unnecessary expenditures, to provide maximum available funds to carry on organizational activities.

16. Maximum participation of all local unions in Labor's Non-Partisan League, in Michigan, support of Governor Murphy for reelection.

17. Pledge of continued wholehearted support to the policies and principles of the Committee for Industrial Organization, including regular and prompt payment of per-capita tax as a fixed obligation of the International Union.

18. Constant resistance to war propaganda and cooperation with all sincere efforts to keep America out of war. Support of LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment as a guarantee of labor's democratic right to determine whether or not it will wage a war of aggression abroad.

19. Program of close cooperation between organized industrial workers and organized farmers. Encouragement of bona-fide cooperative movements.

20. Assumption by all International officers of full responsibility for carrying out the program and policies of the International Union. (See full report on page 1.—Editor.)

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Special Correspondent Reports On Australian State Elections

(We publish below a report by our special Australian correspondent, Jack Ryan.—Editor.)

Sidney, Australia, April 13, 1938.

DURING the last four weeks, state elections were held in South Australia, New South Wales and Queensland. All three governments that went to the polls were able to retain office.

A remarkable feature of the result of the elections in South Australia was the return of a large number of independents, mostly strongly anti-Labor. The government candidates fared badly at the polls and not enough of them were elected to ensure a majority. However, the bulk of the independents have agreed to support the government under certain conditions, so that it is able to maintain itself in office. The Labor Party's poor showing, while due in part to a rearrangement of electoral boundaries, was mainly the result of internal dissension. The Communist Party did not contest any electorates but supported the Labor Party.

In New South Wales, a faction fight told heavily against the Labor Party. Six candidates were endorsed by the "Industrialists" provisional executive against official Labor Party candidates, including the leader of the party, J. T. Lang. A considerable part of the efforts of both sections was spent in these six safe Labor seats, resulting in other electorates being neglected, much to the benefit of the anti-Labor government which retained its majority with the loss of only one seat—it now has sixty members in a house of ninety. The "Industrialists" were successful in returning to Parliament their two sitting members, Heffron and Lazzarini, who, with the two who were reelected unopposed, Davidson and Horsington, make up a party of four. Mr. Lang can count his team at twenty-six for the present but, so great is the revolt against his dictatorial control through the party and the trade-union movement, that it is probable that some of his supporters will switch over to the insurgents before long.

The Communist Party nominated only four candidates, compared with a much larger team on the previous occasion. The candidates were run in electorates held by outstanding adherents of Lang, obviously anticipating strong support by those Labor supporters who are hostile to the Lang regime. This tactic did not show the results expected. While the percentage increase in votes was rather impressive, the actual increase was insignificant despite the strict ban on revolutionary propaganda imposed on the party by its leadership.

In Queensland, the Forgan Smith Labor government was again returned to office with a huge majority, thus continuing an almost unbroken run of Labor governments in that state for a generation (except for one term during the depression). A nasty feature of the election was the appearance of a number of Protestant Labor Party candidates who accused the government of being controlled by the Catholic Church. A great amount of religious bitterness was injected into the campaign and workers in several electorates were split into hostile camps on sectarian issues. One Protestant Labor candidate was actually returned to Parliament and his success might herald a disastrous period for Queensland labor if measures are not taken to meet the new danger. The government's ultra-right wing policy and, at times, anti-working class activities, undoubtedly leave its supporters cold and a prey to freak movements.

The Communist Party ran six candidates who, in the aggregate, polled a small increase over the previous results in the electorates concerned.

Jack Ryan

* The "industrialists" are an insurgent, break-away group in the Australian Labor Party movement. A full report on the dissension on the Australian Labor Party is to be found in a special report by Jack Ryan published in the Workers Age of March 26, 1938.

Labor Notes and Facts

Survey of "Independent Unions"

IN the reports of N.L.R.B. elections or decisions, we frequently meet with the term "independent union." In the nature of the case, an organization so designated may be either a company union, more or less carefully disguised, or a bona-fide union which is, for one reason or another, unaffiliated with either the C.I.O. or the A. F. of L. For the labor movement it is especially important to know with which of the two types of organization we are dealing in the general run of cases. Fortunately, recent investigations of the research department of the N. L. R. B. cast considerable light on this question.

Immediately following the United States Supreme Court's decision on the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act (April 12, 1937), many company unions were "readapted" to conform with the provisions of the law or were supplanted by "independent" unions. In order to ascertain the nature and characteristics of these new organizations, the Division of Economic Research of the N.L.R.B. studied the constitutions, by-laws, trade agreements and other pertinent information which was available.

A preliminary tabular analysis was made of these data, as of July 1937. Although on many points details were lacking, and although the sample was moderate in size, the following tables and analysis are valuable in that they indicate certain general tendencies.

Table I: Classification

"Independent" unions	66
"Readapted" company unions	13
No information	6

Table II: Time of Formation

Before June 1935	5
Between June 1935 and April 22, 1937	20
After April 22, 1937	46
No information	14

Table III: Labor Conditions When Formed

Union organizing campaign	58
Strike in plant or company	14
"Loyalty" or back-to-work movement	12
No information	21

Table IV: Extent

One plant or company	77
More than one company	3
No information	5

Table V: Attitude and Standing

Opposed to outside union	58
No information	27

Table VI: Relation to Company Union

Simply "readapted" from company union plan	13
Formed by former company union representatives	23
No connection with previous company union	3
No information	46

Table VII: Organizational Features

All funds from employees	26
No meetings on company time or property	12
Written agreements with company	17
Voluntary membership	19
No features	3
No information	28

Table VIII: Incorporation

Incorporated	32
Deals thru its own attorney	13
No information	51

Table IX: Industries Involved

Steel	17
Textiles & garment trades	17
Telephone	11
Metal trades	11
Oil	5
Utilities	5
Miscellaneous	19

The groups classified in Table I as "independent" unions and "readapted" company unions are, for

How the Stalinists Tried to Disrupt the Student Strike

By NAT COLEMAN

DESPITE all fanfare and ballyhoo on the part of the American Student Union, the fifth annual student peace demonstrations fell decidedly short of the expectations of the Stalinists. It appears as though the Stalinist campaign for "collective security" met with as weak a response among American students as President Roosevelt's Chicago "quarantine" speech met among the people in general last October.

In fact, sentiment for student-labor action against the government's war policies was so strong that separate demonstrations were held in schools throughout the country. The call for the strike issued by the United Student Peace Committee was non-committal on the question of "collective security,"

to have been simply "readapted" from the previous set-up, with no pretense of breaking the continuity of the organizations. Twenty-three of the 39 organizations were formed by former representatives of company-dominated employee-representation plans or associations. In three cases only was there definite evidence that the organizations were unconnected with any such previous set-up (Table VI).

The information was sparse on organization details in the cases studied. 26 were known to be financed thru employee dues and contributions only. In 12 meetings were known to be held outside working hours and not on company property. At least 17 had written agreements with companies. And in at least 19, membership is known to be voluntary in the sense that membership was not automatic for all employees in the plant or company (Table VII).

7. Although there was no information on these points in 51 cases, 32 of the organizations were found to be incorporated and at least 13 were known to be dealing thru their own attorney (Table VIII).

8. Out of the 85 organizations studied, 17 were in the steel industry and 17 in textile and garment trades. There were 11 each in the telephone industry and in the metal trades. The oil and public utilities industries accounted for five cases each.

The conclusion is unmistakable: the great majority of the so-called "independent unions" are no more than "readapted" company unions designed to carry on their nefarious activities so disguised so as to evade the Wagner Act.

Government and Arms

(Continued from Page 3)

only for the United States government but also for export. . . . This policy has been followed because it is believed that an organization or industry that has produced munitions in peace will be better qualified thereafter to produce munitions in war. . . .

Thus, to maintain the necessary "minimum" facilities for war-time production, the government becomes "traitor" to itself, selling the latest, and supposedly secret, inventions abroad to rival imperialists. The greatest efforts are made to foster this trade in order to keep the armaments industry going. According to the Foreign Policies Association bulletin of December 5, 1934, the State Department, thru its commercial attaches, has promoted the sales of arms in Europe, South America and the Far East. The Department of State, where it puts up some show of resistance, is usually "taken care of" by the War Department.

Stalinist domination of the A.S.U. both nationally and in local chapters foisted the "collective-security" slogans upon the demonstrations, appealing at the same time for "unity" with the genuine anti-war elements. Such "unity" was, of course, an impossibility.

At the last moment, however, after elaborate preparations had been made, the Stalinist leadership guilefully ordered that the open "collective-security" slogans be dropped from the official A.S.U. demonstrations, the list of speakers (Stalinist chosen) remained the same. That this, and other such devices failed to accomplish their desired ends was attested to by the lack of enthusiasm and militant spirit of the A.S.U. affairs—in spite of pretty balloons and clever costumes; (2) by the general lack of attendance; and (3) by the appearance in many colleges of separate demonstrations by students who oppose "collective security" and favor the Oxford Pledge.

It is significant that at Newark University, where the local A.S.U. chapter voted in favor of a program in opposition to "collective security" and the Roosevelt war preparations, the Young Communist League, in the name of their puppet organization, the League for Peace and Democracy, urged the student body to boycott the official demonstration! These are the same persons who are continually ranting about dualism in the student movement.

At George Washington University, the student demonstration voted to support the May 30th convention of the Youth Committee Against War at Washington, D. C. The students of the University of Kentucky participated in an anti-war demonstration whose program was, generally that of the Youth Committee. Thruout the country, many student adherents of this newly-formed anti-war organization (affiliated to the U.S.P.C.) took part in genuine anti-war demonstrations in opposition to the Y.C.L.-dominated jingo "peace meetings."

This is the logical outcome of last year's A.S.U. convention at Vassar College. At that convention, the traditional anti-war program of the student movement, embodied in the Oxford Pledge, was completely thrown out at the behest of the Young Communist League leadership, which substituted in its place the Roosevelt "collective-security" swindle. Opposition to this drastic reversal of policy was finally crystallized in the annual student anti-war strike of April 27 when many students in strong disagreement with the change of policy found it once again possible to express their militant opposition to war and the governments which make them.

The Stalinists have succeeded in confusing and disorganizing the student movement. Their rule-orient methods in the A.S.U., plus their crass support of Roosevelt's war-fostering policies (e.g., their refusal to demand withdrawal of American battleships from the Far East), greatly weakened the anti-war strike this year, at such a critical time. But a new and encouraging note was sounded as far West as California, where, in numerous colleges, students responded militantly to the call for genuine anti-war strikes around the Oxford Pledge. Only such an aroused student movement can fight against war and imperialism. For, unless the yoke of Stalinist jingoism is quickly and effectively removed from the campuses, history will repeat itself.

BOOKS

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MODERN BRITAIN, by J. H. Clapham. The University Press, Cambridge. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1938. \$7.00.

SUCH a book as this is no longer common in our day. Professor Clapham, as befits a British academician, has labored long and hard to set down, in something over five hundred pages, a statistical account of industry in Great Britain in the period 1887-1914. To this is added an epilogue, repeating the structure of the book itself, to bring the work down to 1929. The pages roll on in unquestioning, and probably unquestionable, detail of information; a wealth of data on capital export, real wages, wage fluctuation and cycles, housing etc., is included. Four huge chapters give an extraordinary picture of the technological, financial and organizational changes that have taken place in more than two dozen industries and in agriculture as well. The same devotion is lavished upon a business man's survey of financial statistics as upon the real wages of the miners over thirty years. The story of the militant strikes that marked the fifteen-year period 1898-1913 is told in the same even tones in which the transformation of the communications industry is described.

For the author, both trade unionism and imperialism are part of things-as-they-are, and therefore to be discussed, statistically, in an atmosphere of judicious calm. Nevertheless, this book forms an important compendium of economic trends in imperial Britain, a rich source of material for the active economists of today—the leadership of British labor. Especially significant is the final chapter of the book, a history of British trades unionism in terms of wage cycles, hours and strikes.

It is amazing that such a work, even if planned in the tradition of the financial supplement of the Times, should not have led the author to some sort of viewpoint on this vital period. Here and there are indications that the professor's formulations contain hidden significance, as, for example, his passing comment on Lloyd George's Liberal party: "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." Consider, too, that such a work has a great tradition of literature behind it, part of which is closely connected with Karl Marx himself. Had some Professor Clapham written such a work seventy-five years ago, perhaps we might now have Capital in a more complete form, for Marx had to devote as much time to collating material from original sources as to whipping it into shape and analyzing it in the search for underlying tendencies.

You cannot go to this treatise for that sharp presentation of massed data and statistical trends which illumines the pages of less specialized historians; nor do broad deductions guide and organize the array of figures. But within these limitations, the student can find a great deal of value in the work.

M. S. M.

BOSTON, MASS.

Friday, June 3, - 8 P. M.

BRADFORD HOTEL

Jay Lovestone

"The Tragedy of Austria"

Trade Union Notes

By Observer

RESPONSIBLE leaders of the labor movement should give serious attention to the public-opinion poll recently conducted by the Gallup Institute of Public Opinion on the question of the Wagner Act. For the last year or so, the forces of big-business reaction in this country have been carrying on a concerted, well-planned drive to destroy labor's rights of self-organization and collective bargaining by discrediting the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. How has this drive told on public opinion?

The Gallup survey finds that, in answering the standard question, "Do you think the Wagner Act should be revised, repealed or left unchanged?", about half of the people say they have not formed an opinion one way or the other. Of the rest, 43% are in favor of "revision," 19% in favor of repeal and 38% in favor of leaving the Act unchanged. Even among Democrats, whose party sponsored the measure and stands committed to it, about half are in favor of "revising" (39%) or repealing (11%) it. Of course, the term "revision" is very vague, since some may conceivably mean modifying the Act in order to make it even more effective from the point of view of labor; but without doubt the great majority have in mind taking the teeth out of the Act, so that their votes are to be regarded adverse or hostile.

What does this mean? It means that the reactionary campaign against the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. has already made considerable headway among the people to the point where those who come out in favor of retaining the Wagner Act as is constitute hardly more than a third of those who have any opinion at all, and no more than a sixth of the people as a whole. Contributing to this result are: first, the traditional suspicion and latent hostility of large sections of the middle class towards organized labor; second, the insensate, suicidal campaign of the A. F. of L. leadership against the N.L.R.B., which reacts, of course, against the Wagner Act itself; third, the criminal irresponsibility and destructiveness of the Stalinites in a number of fields, which have served to alienate public opinion from the labor movement; fourth, the state of aggravated civil war in the ranks of labor, which fosters confusion and demoralization; and, fifth, the virtual failure of the organized labor movement to make any serious, planned effort to "sell" itself and its aims to the public at large.

The results of the recent Gallup poll, like those in a number of previous ones, point to a grave situation. It is time that labor sat up and took notice.

BIG PROGRESSIVE VICTORY

The progressive forces scored a big victory in the elections held recently in nine New York locals of laundry workers affiliated with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Fully 12,000 votes were cast in these elections. On the vote for president of the respective locals, the progressives totalled 6,703 votes as against 2,733 votes for the candidates of the "rank-and-file" group, a Stalinist outfit.

The progressives made a clean sweep in seven of the nine locals and won a majority of the executive boards of the remaining two.

The new joint board will consist of 35 progressives and about 5 of the "rank-and-file" group.

Facts Speak Louder...

(Continued from Page 1)

ing, the Soviet Union was studiously ignored. Today, it stands completely isolated in the international arena, its pacts with France and Czechoslovakia hardly worth the paper they are written on.

Don't these facts mean anything? Don't they cast any light on what "collective security" means in real, sober earnest?

Whom are we asked to appeal to with the idea of setting up a "common front against fascism"? "Democratic" England, which is now consummating its successful courtship of Mussolini? "Democratic" America, which has given its public blessings to this courtship and its consummation? "Democratic" France, the mere shadow of the Tory Foreign Office and about to begin some "wooing of the dictators" on its own account? Is there one grain of sense left in turning to these powers with a proposal for "collective security against fascism"? Is there any one still so blind as to believe that Chamberlain's England, Daladier's France and Roosevelt's America can be gotten to join hands in a crusade against the fascist warmakers in the name of democracy and international peace?

No, the "collective-security" dream is a mere delusive will-o'-the-wisp leading nowhere. But it is even worse than that. Under the cover of a slogan so "idealistic," imperialistic governments may go a long way in preparing their military alliances for the coming war. Under cover of the "quarantine" policy, which is the American version of "collective-security," for example, the Administration has been trying to create favorable opinion for an Anglo-American military alliance against Japan in the Far East, an alliance that has already been in existence in fact for some months and that needs only a measure of public support for its open avowal. That is what "collective-security" means in terms of the practical power-politics of imperialism!

Theatre Benefit

for

George Bernard Shaw's
"HEARTBREAK
HOUSE"

Mercury Theatre
Monday Eve. June 6, 1938

Wage-Cut Drive Sweeps New England Industries

By JACK LONG

(Our New England Correspondent)
Boston, Mass.

THE real meaning of what the manufacturers want by a "breathing spell" is eloquently expressed in the newspaper headlines of Lawrence and Lowell, Mass., the textile centers of New England. For four successive days the headlines blared, "Wage cuts in Stevens Mills," "American Woolen Plants Post Notices of Slashes in Wages," "Four More Lowell Woolen Mills Announce Pay Cuts." These mills are the largest textile mills in New England and they have been traditionally notorious for low wages. A pay cut for the workers employed by these mills literally means starvation existence.

When the Textile Workers Organizing Committee called meetings to protest these cuts, the local government immediately took a hand to show what is meant by government cooperation with business. The Mayor of Lowell, at the request of the mill owners, announced that he would conduct a poll "really expressing the wishes of the workers." Ballots were printed by the Mayor, each ballot numbered and mailed to the workers homes, with the number of the ballot recorded against the name of the worker. The ballots were tallied in the mayor's office by number and name. Of course, under such conditions, the workers could do naught else but vote for the cut or be fired. The T.W.O.C. is charging the Mayor with violation of the National Labor Relations Act.

LABOR'S NON-PARTISAN LEAGUE

Recently a Massachusetts state convention of Labor's Non-Partisan League was held in Boston. The Communist Party, thru the mobilization of its educational clubs and white-collar organizations, dominated the convention. With control of the convention in their hands, they proceeded to give an unexcelled lesson in "pure democracy." When a resolution endorsed by the delegates from the I.L.G.W.U., S.W.O.C., U.A.W. and other large unions was introduced calling upon the convention to support the Ludlow-LaFollette Amendment, the Stalinist-dominated resolutions committee refused to even consider the resolution. When an I.L.G.W.U. delegate and a member of the resolutions committee demanded that the resolution be brought to the floor of the convention, the resolutions committee refused to grant the convention this elementary right. The report of the resolutions committee was not presented to the convention until a half hour before adjourning. Needless to say, the resolution on war was not included in the report. When a number of delegates demanded that the resolution be discussed by the convention, the Stalinist floor leader announced that a discussion on such a "controversial" question would be unhealthy for the "unity" of the convention and therefore should not be introduced. On the basis of this enlightened announcement, the coterie of C.P. hand raisers voted the anti-war resolution out of existence. Of course, a resolution

supporting Cordell Hull's "peace" policy was passed, exhibiting, no doubt, the "health" and "unity" of the convention.

It is necessary that a word of criticism be said of the actions of the unions at this convention, especially the I.L.G.W.U. and the Amalgamated. Tho these unions are fully cognizant of the dangers of Stalinist factionalism in their ranks and take appropriate action, they are blind to the same dangers in labor's political life. The unions are inclined to dismiss the possibility of Stalinist disruption at political gatherings and do not organize to prevent such a possibility. Had the unions headed by the I.L.G.W.U. and the Amalgamated organized and prepared for this convention, there would be no question that they could have controlled Labor's Non-Partisan League in Massachusetts.

A.F.L. Raids C.I.O. Union in Louisiana

By LILLIAN BENSON

New Orleans, La.

In the fall of 1937, the A. F. of L., with a few members in the Todd-Johnson Dry Dock, Inc., of New Orleans, petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for certification as the collective-bargaining agent for all workers at the Yard, and was so certified without an election. After being appointed as bargaining agent for the dry-dock workers, the A. F. of L. did little, if anything, to improve the conditions of the workers.

The workers soon saw the failure of the A. F. of L. and started to join the C.I.O. shipyard union. During the last month alone, more than 500 signed up. The A. F. of L. officials saw their membership deserting for the C.I.O. This resulted in a frantic effort to stampede the few members left into a strike. The A. F. of L. officials feared to take any other action as an election would have disclosed that they were in the minority. The few members voted a "strike." It is said that some of the Yard foremen voted in favor of the "strike."

The real Yard workers would not picket, so it became necessary for the A. F. of L. to hire pickets at \$5.00 a day. There were several clashes between the pickets and the New Orleans police, with the usual broken heads and arrests. For some

F.D.R. Bars Aid to Spain

All hope of lifting the embargo against Loyalist Spain disappeared last week as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted 17 to 1 to postpone any action on the question until the next session of Congress. This decision was made at the direct suggestion of the State Department.

Some days earlier it was understood that the Administration was ready to yield to the wide popular demand for the lifting of the embargo, hoping to utilize the situation to break down the whole structure of neutrality legislation. At the last moment, however, the President, back from his fishing trip, intervened and caused a change of policy. As is indicated in Mr. Hull's letter to Senator Pittman, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Administration is still determined to get rid of the present neutrality law but intends to approach it from another angle than the Spanish embargo. The lifting of the embargo would apparently be unwelcome to Great Britain as well as to reactionary Catholic opinion in this country.

reason that has never been explained satisfactorily, nearly all of those arrested are members of the C.I.O. The pickets were armed with pieces of pipe and hose. The police did not interfere. Why not?

The Yard soon entered into negotiations with the A. F. of L. to settle the "strike" and grant a closed shop and wage increases. The A. F. of L. wants to get the contract so that they can continue to maintain their grip over the Yard workers against their will.

The Yard was willing to deal with a practically membershipless union but refuses to meet with the C.I.O. which controls about four-fifths of the workers. Should this trick have worked as the Yard expected, it would have been used to permanently eliminate all C.I.O. workers and place the entire matter in the hands of the A. F. of L. dictators. The Yard plans did not work out due to the foresightedness of the C.I.O. membership. The entire matter is now before Mr. Henry J. Kent, examiner for the National Labor Relations Board. Judging from present indications, justice will be done in New Orleans and the entire matter settled in a fair and democratic manner whereby the majority will receive what is due them and the minority will be obliged to recognize the will of the majority.

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