

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 3.

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U. S. Jobless 10 Million

Huge Totals Revealed By Census Ignore Recent Crisis Lay-Offs

Having finally set into motion the unemployed census, the federal administration, which had long insisted that such a scheme was merely a feature of Hooverism, now finds its census practically out-of-date due to the new millions thrown out of jobs by the new crisis.

Using the method of postcard-volunteered information as the basis for its census, the authorities discovered a total of 7,822,912 unemployed. Of these, 5,821,035 were totally unemployed, while 2,001,877 were engaged in various forms of work-relief, properly considered as unemployed in this survey.

In view of the weaknesses of a voluntary registration, a check-up was made by a house-to-house canvass in 1,864 areas, distributed thruout the United States. This survey showed that approximately 72% actually reported their unemployment. Applying this ratio to the entire survey, it can be seen that the ranks of the unemployed reach about 10,870,000—for the period covered by the census.

However, it is important to realize that this period, November 1937, represents the first period in which the effects of the new crisis were beginning to be felt. Since then, there have occurred additional huge lay-offs in auto, steel and other industries. It is quite certain that the complete effect of the new crisis, has not yet been felt by the workers, that the maximum of lay-offs will not be reached till March at the very earliest.

The fifth year of the New Deal brings the masses of workers in this country to essentially the same point as it started with, as far as unemployment is concerned. The recently completed census, which appears to be a very sober, conservative estimate of the number of unemployed, is testimony to the ravages of the capitalist system and the unceasing agony which it imposes upon such a huge section of the population.

Tobin Checks CIO Story On "Peace"

In a signed editorial in the January 1938 issue of the Teamster, Daniel Tobin, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and member of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, last week confirmed the account of the breakdown of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. "unity" negotiations given by Philip Murray, head of the C.I.O. negotiating committee. "The committee representing the A. F. of L.," Tobin declared, "had no power to make any kind of agreement without reporting back to the Executive Council." He furthermore stated that the Federation had agreed to take back only the ten or twelve "original" unions but had refused to open the door to the C.I.O. as a whole.

In these respects, Tobin's statement flatly contradicted the version of Matthew Woll and agreed with that of Philip Murray.

DEMOCRACY IN ALABAMA

THE election of a Senator is a simple and inexpensive matter in Alabama, one of the great divisions of our "great democracy." When it came to filing the Senate seat of Justice Black, Governor Bibb Graves of that state announced that the candidate winning the Democratic primaries would be considered elected without further ado and thus the commonwealth would be spared the additional expense of a general election! Such touching regard for public economy is another evidence of the advantages of democracy—not to mention, of course, the opportunities it affords for the people freely to express their desires and preferences thru their political parties.

Form L.N.P.L. In California

A.F.L. and C.I.O. Forces Join To Set Up Labor Political Group

Los Angeles, Cal.

The initial convention of the California branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League was held in San Francisco, December 11 - 12, 1937.

There were 355 regular delegates, representing 215 organizations, including 74 A. F. of L. locals and 7 A. F. of L. Central Labor Councils and 96 C.I.O. locals and 14 C.I.O. local councils. In addition to the regular delegates, there were 71 fraternal delegates.

A. F. Gaynor, legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, was elected state chairman and Vernon Burke, San Francisco web

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Business Hails Roosevelt Talk

Message Calls For Billion Dollar Arms Outlay And Relief Cuts; Threatens Labor With Restrictive Laws; Reaction Finds Policy "Reassuring"

Within a few days after the delivery of opening address to Congress, President Roosevelt transmitted to that body his budget message. The budget for the fiscal year 1939 amounts to about seven billion dollars, involving a \$950,000,000 deficit. It calls for approximately one billion dollars for relief and an equal sum for rearmament, especially naval construction. But, whereas the sum set aside for relief implies a reduction of one-third below the present appropriation, the billion dollars for arms represents a tremendous increase, a record-breaking peace-time budget for war preparations.

A carefully studied effort to reassure big business marked the Presidential message on the "state of the Union" delivered last week before a joint session of the two houses of Congress. Extremely conciliatory in tone, the message was substantially a mild restatement of recent New Deal objectives, coupled, for the first time in Presidential messages, with a sharp rebuke to labor and a thinly disguised threat of restrictive legislation in the future.

Summarized, the main points of the President's message were:

1. **Foreign policy:** Reiteration of the theory that the "democratic" powers, such as the United States, Great Britain and France, are truly peace-loving and that the only war-makers are the fascist governments—followed by a ringing call for a vast rearmament program and huge naval expenditures for America.

2. **Business.** A plea to big business to cooperate with the government to help remove certain "abuses" of the capitalistic system so as to preserve and strengthen the system itself. The President made it clear that his criticism referred to only a "small minority" of business men presumably responsible for these abuses. There was none of the slashing attack upon the "economic royalists" and "business overlords" that had characterized the President's earlier pronouncements or the more recent addresses of Secretary of the Interior Ickes and Assistant Attorney General Jackson. The President announced that existing laws would have to be changed to regulate "the relationship of government to certain processes of business," details to be supplied later in a special message. At a press conference the next day, the president indicated that, despite all the recent "trust-busting" talk, what he really had in mind was some arrangement to enable business and the government to determine production policies, as under the N.R.A., without regard to the anti-trust laws.

3. **Budget:** No possibility of a balanced budget for the fiscal year 1939 but a decreasing deficit.

4. **Taxes:** Modify certain provisions of the tax laws "where they are proven to work definite hardship" but no decrease in the total income of the government. A revision of the taxes especially obnoxious to big business is, therefore, to be expected.

5. **Relief:** A vague and general promise to provide work relief for the unemployed.

6. **Agriculture:** Continuation of the crop-control and "ever-normal granary" program, as initiated at the special session of Congress, with the declared objective of raising the purchasing power of the farm population.

7. **Wage-hour law:** A general reiteration of the necessity of such legislation to increase purchasing

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Support the LaFollette- Ludlow Amendment!

BY their enemies shall you know them!

The united front of the warmongers that has been built up against the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment calling for a referendum before a declaration of war by Congress, should be the best recommendation of this measure in the eyes of the masses of the people.

Henry L. Stimson, Herbert Hoover's Secretary of State, is against it. And so is Cordell Hull, Roosevelt's Secretary of State. Alf M. Landon, defeated candidate of the Liberty League in the 1936 elections, is against it. And so is Franklin D. Roosevelt, New Deal President. The New York Times has devoted a whole series of editorials to a bitter attack upon this proposal, in which it has been seconded by almost the entire press, reactionary and liberal alike. Most vociferous in its hostility to the war-referendum plan is the Daily Worker, the organ of the Stalinites, who denounce it as a "fascist maneuver"!

Why this united front from Landon to Browder against a proposal to allow the American people to vote on whether war should be declared or not? Why such frantic abuse poured on a measure providing that "Except in the event of an invasion of the United States or its territorial possessions and attack upon its citizens residing therein, the authority of Congress to declare war shall not become effective until confirmed by a majority of all votes cast thereon in a nation-wide referendum."

We are told that it would "impede" American diplomacy and undermine "national unity." What is

meant is that it might possibly hinder the imperialistic intrigues of the State Department designed to protect the interests of big-business and financial groups at the expense of the masses. What is meant is that it might possibly hamper the war-makers in whipping up a frenzy of jingoism in support of their imperialistic adventures. They are so furiously opposed to the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment because they want to leave the road open and clear for war!

But the masses of the people think otherwise. The masses hate war and want peace. They are suspicious of the intrigues and manipulations of imperialistic diplomacy. They don't want to be driven headlong into another world slaughter as they were driven into the World War, simply and solely in the interests of Wall Street. That is why they support the war-referendum idea so overwhelmingly. According to recent surveys, 73% of the people as a whole are registered in favor of it. They look upon it as some sort of protection against the swelling tide of artificially created war fever threatening to overwhelm them.

We understand quite well that the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment is by no means an infallible remedy against war. For one thing, it provides for a referendum on a declaration of war—but wars nowadays are usually not declared; they are just waged and then it is too late to debate about declaring them. Even on the referendum itself, the war-makers are likely to have the press, the radio, the movies and all other instruments for creating pub-

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French Tax Rise Voted

Thru skillful manouvering based on an understanding that the communists and socialists would not abandon the People's Front no matter what the price, Premier Chautemps and Finance Minister Bonnet put over the new French budget which places an increased tax burden on the masses. Not only were new taxes imposed but a 10% rent-reduction decree, originally issued by Pierre Laval three years ago, was abrogated.

While the Chamber of Deputies, nominally People's Front, raised some protest, in practice, it followed the dictates of the Radical-Socialist Senate, which led the fight for placing the burden on the masses. That the Radical-Socialists are in the People's Front is a bitter commentary on the increasing strength of the reaction and the leaderlessness of the workers and petty-bourgeois masses, hog-tied by the communists and socialists thru the People's Front.

The number of those insured under the national insurance scheme, has been increased by a decision that all those earning under 25,000 francs (about \$1000) must pay their share. Taxation on movie fees as well as bus and subway fares have also been raised. These and other taxes will considerably increase the already high cost of living for the French masses and will naturally intensify the friction within the People's Front. The Radical Socialists in the meantime are taking full advantage of the political impotence of the masses to jam thru their program of reaction.

JAY LOVESTONE SPEAKS TO DRESSMAKERS

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PEACE MOVEMENTS

AS the war-like aims of the administration's foreign policy become more clearly defined, there is beginning to emerge a strong peace sentiment among large sections of the American people.

Indeed, a "peace movement" is already beginning to arise in various sections of the country and the war-mongers are beginning to adapt themselves to it and to carry on their nefarious activities in the name of "peace."

First, there are the bourgeois isolationists, those who advocate a "hands off" policy in foreign affairs as far as Europe and the Far East are concerned either because they are primarily interested in the exploitation and enslavement of Latin America or else because they sympathize with Italy, Germany or Japan.

Then, there is the fraudulent "peace" movement of the Stalinites and their "liberal" allies. In the name of "peace," they support Roosevelt's rearmament program, oppose the withdrawal of American Marines and war vessels from China and denounce the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment.

But apart from these two groups, which are apparently so different and yet fundamentally so much alike, there is a genuine peace movement of large sections of the people who remember the last war and are, therefore, gravely alarmed at the prospect of being driven into another one under the same old, blood-drenched slogan of "making the world safe for democracy."

I.L.P. LEADER TELLS OF P.O.U.M. IN PRISON

(We publish below some paragraphs from the report of John Mc Govern, Independent Labor Party member of the British Parliament, on his recent visit to loyalist Spain. Mc Govern formed part of a socialist delegation to investigate the condition of the anti-fascist prisoners in Spain. The full report appeared in the London New Leader of December 10, 1937.—The Editor.)

WE had a two-hour interview with Senor Irujo (Minister of Justice) and his personal secretary. We had a very frank discussion over the question of prisoners and the possibility of an amnesty for all anti-Fascists. Senor Irujo informed us that the question of an amnesty had been considered by the government and that every member, with the exception of the communists, had been wholly in favor of releasing every genuine anti-Fascist prisoner.

I raised the question of the exchange of Joaquin Maurin, who is now in Saragossa Prison (in Franco's territory). I submitted a list of possible persons in government prisons. Senor Irujo again informed us that the question had been before the government and that all but the communist members were in favor of an attempted exchange.

He finally assured us of his genuine desire to speed up the machinery and gave us an official letter to the Director of Prisons to inspect all prisons and to interview prisoners. Both the Minister and his secretary repudiated the suggestions of communists of association between the P.O.U.M. and Franco.

Our first prison visit was to the Carcel Modelo Prison, where there are 500 anti-Fascists, 500 Fascists and 500 criminals. The director and doctor gave us complete freedom. We spent two hours interviewing anti-Fascists. We were locked in the prison wing and freely interviewed members of the P.O.U.M.

like imperialism abroad. They are, therefore, still very, very far from any revolutionary socialist struggle against war. But they are against war, according to their own lights and within their own limitations.

at the side into which, he was informed, his body would be thrown after he had been shot.

We met Senor Fernandez, who had been in prison for over three months. He was the Chief of Police when John McNair and I arrived at Barcelona in November 1936.

The Director asked us to go quietly. He had never seen the prisoners so moved and feared a revolt. Here was indeed a tragedy: hundreds of genuine anti-Fascists crowding at the iron bars with clenched fists that were half salutation and half defiance.

The Home Secretary, Senor Zugazaotgia (of the Prieto wing of the U.G.T.), saw us for a further two hours. He deplored the disappearance and death of Andres Nin and Kurt Landau and assured us that he was still having energetic inquiries made. The accusations of association with Franco were, he believed, outrageous.

I asked: "How is it that Fernandez, Chief of Police in the previous government, is in prison for the killing of an official by his men while Burillo, communist Chief during Nin's disappearance and murder, is free?" He could not explain why. He answered, in reply to an allegation of Cheka domination: "Well, we relieved aid from Russia and had to permit certain actions which we did not like."

Our most sensational, illuminating and tragic experience was our attempt to enter Calle Vallmajor Prison, which is held by the communists. We had credentials from the Director of Prisons and the Minister of Justice but these were treated with contempt. We were met with a complete refusal to allow us to see either prison or prisoners. Following this, we went to the Cheka office but again, from a Russian and a German, we were refused permission.

This was indeed a challenge to the government. We were now on tip-toe of expectation as to the result. The secretary of the Minister of Justice assured us that he would secure our admission. He said: "You must not leave Barcelona with the impression that the government does not govern this prison." We waited. We paid three further visits by arrangement, to the secretary. He could not secure a permit.

We saw one remarkable drawing by an Italian prisoner. The scene was an underground cellar with an armed guard at the door. The prisoner was pinned against the wall by two armed guards with rifles and bayonets and a Cheka officer was pointing a revolver at his heart. There was a large sewer

like imperialism abroad. They are, therefore, still very, very far from any revolutionary socialist struggle against war. But they are against war, according to their own lights and within their own limitations. And it is our task and duty, as revolutionary Marxists, to cultivate every spark of anti-war sentiment among the masses; to prevent the camouflage-chauvinists operating in the name of "peace," the bourgeois isolationists and Stalinites, from smothering it; to feed it and purify it and fan it into a vast flame that will drive the war-makers of all stripes to cover!

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Soviet "Elections" Characterized As Stalinist Political Humbug

London, December 27, 1937.

THE following facts cast a most revealing light on the hidden political significance of the Soviet elections.

1. Of the candidates registered in the original lists, 41 were stricken off, among them the brothers Mezhlauk, one of them a Central Committee member, for many years secretary of the C.C., Commissar for Machine Industry, etc.; and Alksnis, head of military aviation and one of the alleged judges at the alleged secret trial of Tukhachevsky and the other Soviet military leaders.

2. Of the 71 members of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., only 28 are to be found among those put up for the Soviet parliament; of the 68 alternates, only 14.

3. Of the 618 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, the old Soviet "lower house," only 43 were again slated for office. Of the 150 members of the Council of Nationalities, the old Soviet "upper house," only 11.

4. Of the 66 elected deputies of the Red Army, all are officers with the exception of 4 non-commissioned officers. Not a single rank-and-file soldier is to be found in the delegation.

This is indeed a "Stalinist parliament!"

ACCORDING to official sources, 99.15% of the Moscow electorate voted, 96.3% in Leningrad and 99.8% in Minsk.

The entire party and soviet apparatus was mobilized to bring every voter to the polls. Considering the tremendous pressure exerted by these organizations, the results were not surprising. It was impossible to stay away from the polls or to strike out the official candidates or to vote for other than the official candidates. The "elections" were staged merely to show the power of the bureaucracy.

"It is impossible to describe the noble sentiments that swayed the people of the Soviet Union during the elections yesterday. . . . It was a magnificent triumph of Soviet democracy. . . . in voting for the candidates of the Communist Party and for the non-partisans, everyone voted for Stalin, first in the heart of his people."

Thus, Izvestia after the elections! With the exception of the Stalinites, nobody outside the Soviet Union has even pretended to take the elections seriously. The Soviet masses obviously did not believe this hocus-pocus. The Stalin bureaucracy was so afraid of any opposition that it did not permit any free choice between several candidates as originally promised by Stalin, and as provided by law; nor did it permit a negative vote.

In his last speech to the voting public, Stalin reminded them of their right to recall any deputy at any time and to have a new election. The right of recall is an integral part of proletarian democracy. Under present conditions, however, under the terrorist rule of the Stalin clique, this reminder merely signifies that Stalin is already taking measures to prevent any opposition that might arise in the Soviet parliament, tho all the candidates were carefully selected by the Stalin bureaucracy.

The "elections" proved the following: 1. That the Stalin bureaucracy was strong enough to carry out this farce; 2. That the Stalin clique is so panicky that it would not grant the slightest concession along democratic lines.

The elections were organized to assure Stalin's personal dictatorship. The party press views the results in this light. All preparations have been made to give the actual personal dictatorship its official cloak. Stalin himself said in his speech of December 11th: ". . . You may rely unhesitatingly on Comrade Stalin!"

STALIN'S terror campaign has now invaded the diplomatic field. The following diplomats have either been demoted or arrested: Krestinsky (Litvinov's under-secretary), Karachan (Ambassador to Turkey), Bogomoloff (China), Jurenjev (Germany), Rosenberg (Spain), Kollontai (Norway), etc. Litvinoff alone remains. For how long? The disruption of the Soviet diplomatic staff signifies the collapse of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which has been based on an alliance with "democratic" imperialism. Those who carried out Stalin's policy will, as usual, be made scapegoats.

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What Kind Of Wage-Hour Bill?

By M. PETERS

ON the second anniversary, almost to the day, of the Supreme Court's nullification of the N.R.A., President Roosevelt sent a message to Congress urging adoption of a wages-and-hours bill that was recognized by all to be the re-encarnation of a section of the N.R.A., drafted in such a way as to evade the constitutional obstacles which brought the N.R.A. down.

In the months since that message was sent to Congress, the Black-Connelly bill, known as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1937, has gone thru a transformation so complete that there is virtually no resemblance between the original bill and what was sent back to committee by the special session of Congress.

The sad fate of the Black-Connelly bill may be attributed not only to the misfortunes of the Roosevelt administration in the first year of its second term and the rapid retreat of the New Dealers from their own liberalism, but also to the division and confusion of the labor movement. John L. Lewis appeared before the joint Congressional hearings on the bill to oppose an important part of it, but Sidney Hillman hastened to Washington to "correct" the impression created by Lewis and to offer a hearty endorsement of the bill as introduced by the administration without any significant amendment.

On the other side, William Green, in the unenviable position of being a hostage of the craft-unionists, hid his outright opposition to any sort of minimum-wage legislation behind an alternative proposition, the introduction of which seems to have been timed so as to do the most harm.

For the labor movement today, the problem is not simply to restore the bill to its original form for, just as its predecessor, the N.R.A., the Black-Connelly bill contained much that was objectionable together with a measure of benefit to labor. The problem today is to work out a program completely adapted to labor's needs. To clarify the issues involved, it will be worth while to review the original bill as well as its legislative history.

The Original Bill Declaring that the employment of workers under "sub-standard" labor conditions in interstate commerce burdens the free flow of goods in interstate commerce, the bill would empower a Labor Standards Board of five to enforce "non-oppressive" labor conditions. Tho it was not specified in the bill, it was understood that the minimum wage would be 40 cents an hour and the maximum work-week would be 40 hours, with provisions for time-and-a-half for overtime in certain exceptional circumstances with the permission of the Board. In addition to the wages-and-hours standards set in the bill, the employment of child labor and the use of strikebreakers or labor spies were expressly forbidden. These minimum standards were to be considered not as either "fair" or "reasonable" but rather as the rock-bottom conditions for any kind of labor in interstate commerce on the basis of the demands of "health and decency" standards. The powers given the Board to enforce these standards were wide enough to guarantee fairly rapid application.

Trotskyism And Stalinism Today, therefore, in all countries, Trotskyism is a by-product of the Communist Party. . . . Trotskyism is a political sickness in the body of the Communist Party. The more it is treated by Stalin's methods, the more it spreads. However much Stalin combats the Trotskyists, he is only striking at phantoms created by himself.

Therefore, the international labor movement cannot hope from Trotskyism the salvation which it has expected in vain from Stalinism. It must reject the former as decisively as it condemns Stalinist terrorism.

AN ALIBI FOR CAPITALISM

THE charge that there has been a deliberate strike of business against the administration is encouraged here to establish a popular excuse and to offer the public an easily visualized villain. But, in private, when considering what ought to be done, the administration does not take that talk seriously. —Raymond Clapper, in the New York World-Telegram, January 5, 1938.

The Roosevelt administration is anxious to cover up the bankruptcy of the economic system of capitalism as well as the failure of its own measures to rehabilitate this system. It is, therefore, intent on establishing a "popular excuse," an "easily visualized villain"—in short, an alibi for itself and capitalism. Hence the theory of the "sitdown strike of big business." And the Stalinites, ever-ready to lend a hand to capitalism in difficulties, chime in with the same reactionary cry: "The capitalist system is sound—the misdeeds of a small group of capitalists are responsible for all our troubles."

It was against this section that considerable opposition was expressed by John L. Lewis, and it was this section which was most warmly defended by Sidney Hillman and various spokesmen of the administration as the very heart of the bill. This section became the point of departure for every attempt to formulate a position on the Black-Connelly bill—and quite naturally, since it is at this point that labor's independent aims in wage-hour legislation diverge from

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Industrial Spying In Trade Unions

By D. S.

AN important chapter was added to American labor history with the publication, on December 21, of the report of the LaFollette Senate sub-committee on labor espionage. Dunn, Howard, Levinson, Huberman and others have written extensively on this cancerous core of capitalism but their exposure has always bred in the popular mind the suspicion of partisanship and propaganda. But the indictment in the LaFollette report is authoritative and indisputable because it bases every paragraph on the voluminous testimony forced from unwilling witnesses at the Senate hearings.

Notice that these figures are from only one agency and cover only five or ten per cent of the spies active in unions. Unpalatable tho it may be, there is only one honest conclusion to be drawn from them—that detective agencies and their slimy minions are one of the important forces in the American labor movement. In the guarded filing cabinets of Burns, Pinkerton and Corporations Auxiliary lies a secret history of trade unionism perhaps more complete than any scholar has ever published.

The techniques of the labor spy, outlined in the report, are fairly familiar from previous studies on the subject. Providing material for blacklists of active unionists, fostering inner-union dissension, undermining morale—these are the stock activities of the spy. A new light was shed on the spy-employer's side of the picture by the account of the triple set of spies hired by General Motors and the vast network of conspiracy and counter-conspiracy that resulted from the corporation's distrust of its corrupt hirelings. Just as the partners in a bucket-shop spend as much time cheating each other as they do their customers, so in this tainted business both the spy-hirer and the spy-supplier view each other with blackest distrust.

A dismal picture indeed is that painted by the LaFollette report. It shows not only how widespread is labor espionage but how deeply ingrained it is in the history and traditions of business. The ruthlessness of American employers, their inbred hatred of unionism, their determination to fight it to the last ditch, have made the labor spy a vital and, from the employer's viewpoint, an essential part of every major industry. Herman Weckler, general manager of the DeSoto Corporation, stated this viewpoint succinctly, saying: "Labor espionage has been a practice that has been in existence for years. It is a practice we have grown up with."

In considering the Soviet Union from our point of view, we may calmly ignore the outbursts of reaction, the complaints of disappointed scribblers and, just as much, the petty-bourgeois, reformist "cleverness" which seeks to prove to us, from the example of the Russian revolution, that every revolution must inevitably lead to such degeneration and that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a disaster, since it means the destruction for generations of any socialist hopes of freedom.

Workers, do not let yourselves be duped by anybody with such theories! If the Soviet Union, after twenty years, shows aspects which alarm us, that gives no ground to the socialist working class to believe the petty bourgeoisie and the reactionaries who see in these aspects the "true nature of communism."

We must understand and explain to the whole working class that every people can only build further on the basis of its own traditions, its own high or low level of culture, its own narrow or wide past experiences, which weigh heavily on the minds of the present generation and that, accordingly, all new initiative also bears the stamp of the past.

The characteristics of the Russian past up to the revolution, were inhuman slavery, serfdom, the police knout, enslavement and forced labor, the brutal Czarist bureaucracy and the spiritual misery of the masses. This helps us to understand the difficulties of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, to understand the severity and long duration and also the present degeneracy of the dictatorship. But it proves to us also that a decisive turn in the development of the Soviet Union can only be brought about by successful working-class revolutions in the advanced capitalist countries.

A real change in political methods will only come if the advanced and highly trained European working class, in the great decisive conflicts, foreshadowed in the political unrest of our time, takes to heart the revolutionary energy of the Russian example and, in exchange, lends to the Russian working class the strength to finish the work begun and to crown their many victories by the ultimate triumph of true socialism, by the complete emancipation of mankind. Study—Not Copy—Russia The working class in the advanced capitalist countries will not copy the Russian revolution but will everywhere make its own revolution in such forms as circumstances may dictate. It will overcome the phase of dictatorship, historically necessary for the destruction of the key positions of capitalist-class domination, more quickly where the economic conditions of a country are more favorable and the masses more politically mature. It will preserve, even in the midst of revolution and in the difficult period of socialist construction, as much freedom as it develops within its own party. Even tho the Russian workers are still far below that higher range of personal and material liberty which only socialism can foster, yet they have achieved infinitely great things. Above all, we see the unquestionable realities which the power of the workers has brought about: the destruction of feudal and capitalist power; the abolition of private ownership in the means of production and of capitalist economic chaos; the initiation of socialist planned economy and the construction of a powerful, modern industrial system, without profit or exploitation. . . . Therefore, we, too, join in union with the world's down-trodden millions: Long live the Socialist Soviet Union! Long live the workers' revolution! (Continued on Page 4)

Austrian Socialists on U.S.S.R.

(Concluded from last week)

SINCE the Russian Communist Party has created a god of Stalin, from whom all wisdom and good is derived, it needs a devil for all faults, errors and calamities which cannot be denied. This devil is Trotsky and Trotskyism.

But we, on the contrary, must point out ever and again that the imperfections in the Soviet Union of today are an unfortunate inheritance out of the past. We must point out that the Stalinist terrorism and the principal political features of Trotskyism are both of the same origin, despite all personal feuds and political antagonisms; that Trotsky, historically, is partially responsible for the vehemence of the internal conflicts within the Russian Communist Party and for the barbarous methods used in settling political differences in the Soviet Union; that the political complex of both sides has been formed under the special Russian conditions before and after the revolution, when an undeveloped working class could give to the socialist party the strength of its revolutionary passion indeed, but not also a proper valuation of intellectual independence, nor a respect for inner spiritual freedom and the energies which spring from it.

Today, therefore, in all countries, Trotskyism is a by-product of the Communist Party. . . . Trotskyism is a political sickness in the body of the Communist Party. The more it is treated by Stalin's methods, the more it spreads. However much Stalin combats the Trotskyists, he is only striking at phantoms created by himself. Therefore, the international labor movement cannot hope from Trotskyism the salvation which it has expected in vain from Stalinism. It must reject the former as decisively as it condemns Stalinist terrorism.

POUM ACTIVE THRUOUT SPAIN

(The following report on the advance of the revolutionary forces in Spain comes from an article by Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, in the London New Leader of December 24, 1937.—The Editor.)

DESPITE the forced resignation of Senor Irujo, it must not be assumed that the Communist Party is increasing its influence in Spain. In government circles it may still have power but, among the mass of the people, there is evidence that its influence is dropping. I have spoken to many recent visitors to Spain other than McGovern and they report that mass indignation is rising against the Communist Party not only in the ranks of the C.N.T. but in the U.G.T. and among workers generally.

At the same time, the revolutionary sections of the working class are becoming bolder in action. This is specially true of Valencia and Madrid. The P.O.U.M. is supposed to have been declared an illegal organization but it is now acting openly in both these towns.

At the recent Valencia demonstration to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of Durutti, the P.O.U.M. representative was publicly advertised as such to speak at the meeting. He has remained on the City Council ever since the suppression of the party; his fellow-members, C.N.T., U.G.T. and liberal, declined to depose him. It was after the Durutti meeting that thousands of workers

demonstrated outside the prison, demanding the release of the P.O.U.M. leaders and others.

At Madrid, where the C.N.T. was comparatively weak at the beginning of the civil war, its daily newspaper now has a circulation greater than the combined circulation of the right-socialist and communist papers.

All the signs indicate that the social revolution will come back in Spain.

Rail Union for Labor Embargo

London England.

The national executive of the National Union of Railwaymen met in London recently. The question of the union taking action, calling on the men not to handle Japanese goods, was raised. A vote was taken after a very lengthy discussion resulting in 11 for the union taking immediate action and 11 against. A further resolution was put, asking the Trade Union Congress to take action, calling on all workers and affiliated organizations not to handle Japanese goods. This second resolution was carried and, altho it takes away from the N.U.R. the necessity for giving a call and delays the decision, it nevertheless shows that, among the leading committees of the most important trade unions, there is strong desire for independent working-class action. It is significant that the N.U.R., which is not noted for its left-wing executive, should record such a close vote.

L.N.-P.L. IS SET UP IN CALIFORNIA

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pressman, was elected state secretary.

Elected by caucuses of delegates from the various counties, the state executive board includes 15 A. F. of L. unionists and 10 C.I.O. unionists.

No candidates were endorsed at this convention; a special meeting will be called sometimes between May 1 and June 12, 1938, for this purpose.

However, it is clear that a policy of "capturing" the Democratic Party will be followed. A resolution introduced by I. Feinberg of the I.L.G.W.U. which would have laid the groundwork for independent working-class political action outside the old parties, was defeated. While he was speaking in favor of his resolution, Feinberg was booed by the Communist Party people and their stooges as an enemy of "progressive unity".

While all progressive trade unionists in California will hail the formation of the California section of Labor's Non-Partisan League as the initial step toward working-class political action, care must be taken that we do not become the dupes of capitalist politicians, no matter how "progressive," and that we unceasingly work to build a bona-fide labor party.

D. BENJAMIN

speaks on

War and the Workers

Sunday, Jan. 16th - 11 A.M.

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

Murray at ILGWU Meet

More than 1,500 dressmakers attended the first of the five monthly C.I.O. forums being conducted by the Educational Department of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., to hear an extremely interesting address on "Labor in Steel" by Philip Murray, chairman of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O.

The chairman of the forum was Charles S. Zimmerman, Manager-Secretary of Local 22, who recalled that at the A. F. of L. convention two years ago the leaders of the opposition to industrial organization had said: "Show us." And, declared Zimmerman, "the C.I.O. has shown them by organizing nearly 4,000,000 workers."

Philip Murray paid a high tribute to the work done by the I.L.G.W.U. for the C.I.O. and the principles of unionism that it represents.

The audience was tense as Mr. Murray told the dramatic story of the struggle to unionize the steel workers, and the story was punctuated by round after round of applause.

As head of the C.I.O. committee that discussed unity with the A. F. of L., Murray spoke at some length

STALINITES IN THE C.I.O.

"NOR, of course, is the C.I.O. a communistic outfit. It is a mass trade-union movement. . . . Lewis and the rest of the C.I.O. were unwilling to engage in Red-baiting, which would only confuse things.... It is true that, every once in a while, General Secretary Earl Browder of the Communist Party sends out a release boasting of how much his party is doing to keep the C.I.O. going, but that is for his superiors in Moscow. Incidentally, he acts as a hollow, pretentious stooge for Bill Green and Tom Girdler." —Louis Adamic, in the Forum for November, 1937.

on the great need for labor unity. He denied vigorously and unequivocally the charge that the C.I.O. was opposed to unity and that it was responsible for the breakdown of the unity negotiations. "Labor unity, which we all want," he said, "must assume a form that permits organization of the millions of unorganized workers in mass production industries."

ROOSEVELT TALK HAILED BY BUSINESS AS "REASSURING"

(Continued from Page 1)

power, with emphasis on the retention of geographic differentials and the avoidance of "too drastic" a change of conditions under which industry operates.

9. Labor: A sharp rebuke to labor for the division of its ranks and for "putting class-consciousness ahead of the general weal," that is, for its recent militancy. In the same connection, the President reiterated more than once that labor must show the "responsibility" that accompanies its power. He also repeated the demand, raised in his recent message on housing, that hourly wage-rates, especially of the building-trades workers, be slashed.

As may be imagined, the Presidential message was received with enthusiastic applause by the employing-class press thruout the country, altho occasional disagreements on specific issues were voiced. Trailing after and clutching at the coat-tails of the capitalistic press came the Daily Worker, the organ of the Stalinites, which hailed the Presidential address as an "encouraging New Year's greeting to the American people."

As a matter of fact, the latest Presidential message is, from the viewpoint of labor, the most ominous administration pronouncement made in a long time. The conservative political commentator, David Lawrence, gleefully points to this aspect of the message in his column in the New York Sun of January 4:

"There are phrases in the message that should be read and reread. Taken in the smooth flow of words, they seem casual. Excerpted and held up to view, they carry a new significance. The warning to labor is a case in point. . . . For years, the National Association of Manufacturers and kindred bodies have been saying . . . that assumption of power by labor organizations must be commensurate with responsibility. The President takes their phrase and applies it to both capital and labor but it is the first time he has said it bluntly to labor. . . . So far, the conservatives will be inclined to agree because all along they have been urging that the President say something to labor about its responsibility."

It is obvious that the President's remarks on this subject were deliberately calculated to prepare the

way for federal legislation "regulating" the trade unions, perhaps in the form of amendments to the Wagner Act. Senators McNary and Copeland have already declared their intention of introducing such legislation and have pointed to the Presidential message as their justification. Chairman Norton of the House Labor Committee has stated that she would not oppose amending the Wagner Act if it would "strengthen" it.

But most pregnant with danger is the President's reiteration of the line of foreign policy laid down by him in the notorious Chicago address and pursued in recent months. It is a policy of huge armaments and war preparations under cover of "peace" talk; it is policy of the militant pursuit of the imperialistic interests of American big business and finance under cover of maintaining "national integrity." It is a policy that leads straight to war and military dictatorship.

SUPPORT LUDLOW AMENDMENT

(Continued from Page 1)

lic opinion on their side, enabling them to misrepresent the issues, deceive the people and inflame the war-spirit to the point of endorsing a declaration of war.

But we also understand that the present sentiment for a war-referendum amendment is an expression of the deep and sincere, tho not always very clear, hostility to war so widespread today among the masses. The issue raised by the LaFollette-Ludlow proposal is already beginning to set apart the pro-war from the anti-war forces in this country, those who are heading for war and military dictatorship from those who demand some measure of democracy on a question of such direct and vital concern to the people. Under present conditions, with popular opposition to war as yet in its most elementary stages, a powerful campaign to win broad mass support for the war-referendum amendment is one of the best ways of rallying and strengthening the anti-war movement and of driving it forward to higher stages of consciousness and clarity.

Stimson and Landon and Knox

Wages-Hour Bill Needed

(Continued from Page 3)

anti-New Dealers in the ranks of the employing class.

New Deal Aims

In passing judgment on the Black-Connelly bill, it is well to bear in mind the different aims embodied in it. On the part of the administration, minimum-wage legislation does not have as its primary purpose the raising of general labor standards. Thru such measures, the administration is trying to act as the direct agent of the capitalist class as a whole, intervening to eliminate some of the more extreme "abuses" in the capitalistic system in the interests of the system itself, even tho certain sections of the employing class may not relish it. Thus, President Roosevelt pointed out in his wage-hour message to Congress:

"The truth of the matter is that the exponents of the theory of private initiative want to improve the lot of mankind. But, well-intentioned as they may be, they fail for four evident reasons—first, they see the problem from the point of view of their own business; second, they see the problem from the point of view of their own locality or region; third, they cannot act unanimately because they have no machinery for agreeing among themselves; and, finally, they have no power to bind the inevitable minority within their own ranks."

Frances Perkins further revealed the underlying aim of the administration at the Congressional hearings on the Black-Connelly bill, when she said: "I hope that the committee . . . will not be deterred by the objection raised in some quarters that a bill which contains merely labor provisions is one-sided. . . . One of the objects of such a bill as this is to make certain that competition will work in favor of efficient management and high standards of productive quality. The overwhelming majority of American business men will gain a new sense of security if the law provides that basic labor standards be stabilized and hence removed from the arena of unfair competition. Only where there is definite uniformity of labor standards can management be assured that efficiency will be rewarded."

From these two quotations, the whole pattern of the N.R.A. clearly emerges. It is the attempt all over again to center control of competition, prices, and wages in the hands of the administration.

(Concluded next week)

and Roosevelt and Hull and Browder and virtually the entire employing-class press are against the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment. For exactly the same reasons, we favor it and must do our utmost to rally all trade unions, all working-class and middle-class organizations behind it!

CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

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