

NEXT WEEK:
THE LOGIC OF CAPITALIST
INSANITY
by Lyman Fraser

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

THE PRESIDENT'S DIRTY GAME

FOR his conduct in the W.P.A. wage dispute, for his denunciation of the spontaneous revolt of the W.P.A. workers against the addition of thirty to sixty hours a month without an increase of pay, President Roosevelt deserves the severest condemnation and most decisive repudiation at the polls. In the entire relief question, the President has in recent months been playing a dirty—and not always open—anti-labor role. In fact, his very appointment of strikebreaker Col. F. C. Harrington was an insult and a challenge to the labor movement.

In our issue of January 2, 1939, we warned: "We look askance at Roosevelt's appointment of Col. F. C. Harrington, a regular army officer, as chief of the W.P.A. . . . An army man in full charge of relief is more than an ordinary gesture of friendship for biggest business. It is symbolic that a military man should be put in charge of this department precisely at a moment when our inadequate social security is being seriously endangered by a campaign for more adequate 'national defense' . . . Watch Harrington—and Roosevelt."

And let no one forget that Roosevelt himself proposed a budget which cut the "recovery-and-relief" items by \$921,500,000—almost a billion dollars. Then he got into a fight with Congress over a further cut of about \$100,000,000. This "fight" he waged with more than ordinary demagoguery by posing as the friend of the jobless and the hungry. Who was it who prayed to God about being saved from his friends?

The same sort of political football the President is now playing with the social-welfare agencies of the land thru his appointment of the arch-reactionary Paul V. McNutt (once called a brutal fascist by the pro-Roosevelt Daily Worker) to be head of the extremely important new Federal Security Administration.

On this occasion, it might not be out of place to draw the attention of our readers to two significant sidelights of the entire controversy. Neither Roosevelt, nor Harrington, nor Congress shows the slightest concern over prices paid and profits accruing to the owners of commodities and supplies sold to the government agencies. When these "servants of the people" whine about "economy," they have no such mundane matters as profits in mind. And the leaders of our pink-slip prosperity administration never think of lowering the huge salaries paid to the top W.P.A. executives but only of hour-lengthening and wage-cutting for the sake of so-called "economy." For instance, Howard O. Hunter, deputy W.P.A. administrator, is pulling down an official salary of \$10,000 a year. Col. Harrington himself is getting his pay and allowances as an army officer plus an additional sum to make his total compensation \$10,000 while running the W.P.A. Several assistant administrators are getting an official salary of \$9,000 a year.

No one should have the slightest faith in William Green's advice to let the matter rest in the hands of Congress. Why? Let Mr. C. Norman Stabler, financial editor of the New York Herald-Tribune, tell us why the New York stock-market jumped five points in response to the statement of President Green of the A. F. of L. (July 13, 1939): "Referring of the question to Congress is just what those who have bought stocks and bonds in American institutions would wish . . . Consequently, the apparent breakdown of the strike and the opposition which is developing to it played its share in yesterday's bullish demonstrations."

Labor must fight to the finish against this Roosevelt-Harrington attack—and must battle in the spirit of the ringing remarks of George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor: "Let us remember, as trade unionists, that a union man carrying a card, does not work below the union scale of wages for anybody." We rush to add, and at any time.

A SIGN OF PEACE

DESPITE lots of loose, wishful talk about improved prospects for peace, I can see nothing at hand to justify optimism. But one fact has come to hand in recent weeks—one fact that might be taken as a sign of reduced outlook for a world-war scare, and hence a source of some hope for peace. I have in mind the fact that on July 13 Liverpool wheat touched the lowest price in modern history—the lowest since 1892.

Here is no positive sign of peace. Here we have, at best, only a negative sign—that is at most a lack of evidence of immediate hostilities. We strike this feeble note of hope as garnered in the current price weakness in bread grain despite the fact that it is due primarily to the bumper crops expected in Canada and Argentina.

What a sad commentary on our tragic times! To say another word would be merely to rub in a very melancholy truth.

London Gives In to Japan's Demands

Britain Yields Recognition Of Jap Army's "Specific Rights" In China

Great Britain yielded to Japanese demands last week as Sir Robert Craigie, British Ambassador, accepted a formula, approved by Hachiro Arita, Japanese Foreign Minister, recognizing that "the Japanese Army has specific rights" in China and pledging that the British government "will refrain from all acts and measures that might impede the aforementioned purposes of the Japanese Army." It was not made officially known exactly what this formula might imply but in informed quarters it was said that a far-reaching "understanding" on the Far East was expected between England and Japan, and that any English assistance to China, direct or indirect, would be barred.

Meanwhile, in London, there were official admissions that a tentative move in the direction of "appeasing" Germany (and perhaps Italy as well) was being made by the Chamberlain government. The offer was said to consist of a huge loan immediately, with colonies and other concessions also on the list. For this, Britain was said to demand some arms "reductions" from Germany. Danzig was not specifically mentioned but (Continued on Page 2)

House Votes Investigation Of N.L.R.B.

Probe to Supply Material For Attack on Wagner Act In Coming Session

Washington, D. C. By a vote of 258 to 131, the House of Representatives last week ordered a sweeping investigation of the National Labor Relations Board. A resolution creating a five-man investigating committee was put thru the House by a majority composed of Republicans and conservative Democrats.

The instructions to the investigating committee were defined in so broad and all-inclusive a manner that the committee will undoubtedly have a completely free hand in opening up any field of inquiry it may desire to for any reason, however far it may be from the subject in any real sense.

The House investigation of the N.L.R.B. is intended to provide ammunition for conservative forces in Congress to open an attack on the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. as soon as Congress convenes in January. The campaign to "amend" the Wagner Act did not make much headway during the past session but it will certainly be resumed in the early part of the next.

AFL Maintains Strike On WPA, Plans Spread

Workers Alliance Scabs On A.F.L. Relief Strikes

The Workers Alliance, Stalinist-controlled company union on W.P.A., showed its true colors last week by taking official action to scab on the scores of thousands of striking A. F. of L. workers on W.P.A. construction projects throughout the country. In accordance with a decision of its national committee in Washington, the Alliance called upon all its members to return to work—at a time when the A. F. of L. unions were making strenuous efforts to maintain and spread the strike to preserve union wage scales on W.P.A.

The Workers Alliance justified its strikebreaking decision by stressing a desire not to "embarrass" the New Dealers in Congress. In its statement, it took occasion to plume itself on the "cooperative attitude" it was showing toward the New Deal (Continued on page 2)

Considered General Strike on All Federal Works in N. Y.

New York City Undaunted by President Roosevelt's pronouncement that "you can't strike against the government" the New York Building and Construction Trades Council, representing 125 A. F. of L. unions, voted last week to continue the W.P.A. stoppage until union wage rates were restored on work-relief jobs. Thomas Murray, president of the council, reported that there was increasing sentiment for striking all federal projects in this city as a "last resort." A meeting of the Building Trades Council, he added, would be held next week to consider this question. Such a stoppage would involve over 50,000 A. F. of L. construction workers in this city.

The stoppage on W.P.A., Mr. Murray announced, was still effective, despite over 10,000 discharges. Where striking mechanics had been

replaced by unskilled workmen, the A. F. of L. leader said, operations were at a low ebb and a great deal of valuable material was being wasted.

Meanwhile, in Washington, efforts to reach a compromise solution of the crisis along the lines proposed by A. F. of L. spokesmen and Mayor LaGuardia, continued. This would involve the restoration of prevailing wage rates on projects which were in progress on July 1, when the new relief law came into effect, but not on those initiated after that date. Since very few new projects would be initiated anyway, that would leave matters pending until next January, when the new session of Congress would have a chance to modify the law. The question was referred to Attorney General Murphy for an opinion as to whether such procedure could be followed under the present law.

Some hope was expressed that certain action might still be taken by the present session of Congress. Mayor LaGuardia met with the mayors of Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland and Detroit to draft a plea to Congress for modification of provisions of the new federal relief act. Unless some prompt remedial action was taken the mayors said, there was danger that the whole W.P.A. system would collapse.

In A. F. of L. circles, sentiment grew stronger for taking W.P.A. out of the construction field altogether, provided that the funds now allocated to building with relief labor were turned over to the P.W.A., where full-time work at prevailing wages is provided. In certain Administration quarters in Washington, on the other hand, there appeared a marked tendency to shift as much government construction as possible to W.P.A. with its reduced standards.

The meetings of the New York Building Trades Council that voted continuance of the W.P.A. strike was marked by the unanimous adoption of a recommendation by Mr. Murray and the Executive Council that members of Congress "who abandon labor . . . be repaid in kind when they come up for reelection." That this policy might also be applied against President Roosevelt was indicated in an article in a special issue of the Labor Chronicle, official publication of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, half a million copies of which were printed for wide distribution among union members in the city.

The article sharply criticized "persons, no matter how high their positions, who have tried to smear the building workers by calling their refusal to work a 'strike against the government,'" and advised unionists not to forget the conduct of public (Continued on Page 2)

F.D.R. Desperate at Neutrality Reverse

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. F.D.R. was finally convinced last night (Readers, you know my deadline!) that he cannot get any legislation amending the Neutrality Act thru this session of Congress. At first, he threatened to take the matter to the country thru a freestyle chat. Knowing of the consideration given by the President to every possible means of circumventing the obvious and considered stand of Congress, I urge again that the readers of the Age make it one of their main tasks this Summer to get as many people as possible to write to their Congressmen and to the President expressing their sentiment emphatically against the Administration's foreign policy. In doing so, you should make clear that you are anti-fascist but that you believe fascism cannot be defeated by involving the United States in any war of European imperialisms. You might suggest sound ways of block-

ing fascism—for example, more adequate unemployment and old-age benefits.

McNUTT SLATED FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

McNutt, that Great Big Beautiful Doll, is slated to be the vice-president candidate in 1940, according to present plans of F.D.R. His appointment to his new job and his increasing favor with the White House does not please genuine progressives among the New Dealers one little bit but they are inclined to keep their mouths shut and accept it as an inevitable part of playing Hochpolitik. Vice-President Garner has come out for social equality for Negroes! That's startling news, says I, when I heard about it from a fellow news-hawk. He showed me a copy of an interview in the Washington Afro-American for July 15. Garner says: "Social equality is a personal thing. It affects a man's home and he is privileged to invite within its thresh-

(Continued on Page 4)

That's the Spirit—But . . .

WELL, we're out again this week—but only because of the timely response of some devoted friends of the Workers Age. Here's a letter showing the spirit that has sustained the Age thru these last few most difficult weeks:

The Workers Age,
131 West 33rd Street,
New York City, N. Y.
Gentlemen:

In your hour of need—you direct your appeal for help to labor. This is right—but what of the others not known to labor?

May some one who is only a human being—with great sympathy for labor—in its broadest sense—and who appreciates the swell job you have done and are continuing to do—help to the extent of his abilities? Check for \$25.00 enclosed herewith.

Thank you for the privilege.

T. S.

We appreciate the spirit of this letter. It is the spirit that has kept us going despite mountains of accumulating hardships. It is the spirit that has hitherto enabled us to accomplish the "impossible".

But we need more of this spirit if we're going to pull thru with the Age this Summer. Only the prompt, generous aid of our readers and friends can save the Age from skipping issues during the coming month. IN FACT, ONLY AN IMMEDIATE RESPONSE TO THIS APPEAL WILL ENABLE US TO GET OUT THE NEXT ISSUE!

Send every cent you have or can collect WITHOUT DELAY to: WORKERS AGE, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City.

Save the Weekly Age!

Workers! Close Ranks to Save Relief!

THE long-threatened offensive against the unemployed and relief workers, and thereby also against the employed workers, has begun. The signal was given by the passage in Congress of the infamous relief act some weeks ago, and was immediately taken up by the Administration and the W.P.A. officialdom. Now the drive is in full swing, bringing not only distress and increased hardship to millions of unemployed but also the danger of the destruction of hard-won standards to labor as a whole.

The 1940 relief act is one of the most vicious pieces of legislation passed by Congress in recent years. It cuts the total work-relief appropriation by about a third as compared to the amount spent for this purpose last year, thus necessitating the dropping of over a million workers from the relief rolls at a time when there are already over 11,000,000 out of jobs in this country.

It destroys the system of prevailing wages on W.P.A., embodied in every relief bill since 1935 and so vitally important to organized labor.

It orders the wholesale dismissal of 650,000 people from W.P.A. under the savage 18-month clause.

It abolishes the federal theater project and virtually scraps the other art projects.

It prescribes outright wage cuts for W.P.A. workers in large parts of the country.

And even this list does not exhaust its iniquities by any means.

Who is responsible for this relief bill? Was it all the evil work of a handful of "economy" maniacs, a group of "fascist-minded" Congressmen, flying in the face of the Administration, as some would have us believe, while the New Dealers were stainless knights in shining armor battling on behalf of the unemployed? Let the facts speak for themselves.

"In most instances," reports the New York Herald Tribune in its June 17 issue, "Representative Rayburn (Majority Leader of the House) found himself

battling on the side of Representative Clifton A. Woodrum . . . who, as floor manager of the bill, led the fight for the more conservative appropriation. . . . Attacks on the bill by the radical fringe were met by Representative Woodrum with the statement that the Speaker of the House, Representative William B. Bankhead of Alabama, and the House leadership were supporting it. Representative Rayburn (House Majority Leader) at one time said that he thought that 'all in all, the committee has done a good job.'"

And all the while, of course, the President let it be known that he was "against" the Woodrum bill—all the while that his key men in Congress were working hand in glove with Woodrum to put it thru!

What is this but the well-known political double-cross?

The Administration Shows Its Hand

THE Administration has shown its hand even more openly in enforcing the new relief bill. When A. F. of L. members on W.P.A. jobs went on strike all over the country in a determined effort to protect their wage standards, President Roosevelt made it quite plain that he approved the destruction of union wage rates on W.P.A. (Why not? Wasn't the whole idea of so-called "subsistence" wages against prevailing wages originally put forward by President Roosevelt way back in 1935?) Then he and his Attorney General hurled threats at the scores of thousands of men out in defense of their hard-won standards for daring to "strike against the government". His W.P.A. Commissioner, Col. Harrington, was given free rein in breaking the strike by reprisals and mass dismissals, by bullying and browbeating, by "back-to-work" movements and all the other methods borrowed from the arsenal of the open-shoppers. Meanwhile, authorities in many states announced that they would deny even home relief to those dropped from W.P.A. for striking.

This is the record of President Roosevelt and his Administration in the present relief crisis!

Labor Defends Its Hard-Won Rights

FORTUNATELY, the hostile attitude of the Administration has not been able to cow the spirit of the striking A. F. of L. workers on W.P.A. or to break the resolution of the A. F. of L. unions to protect their wage standards even against the government if necessary. They have clearly understood that if union wage scales are allowed to go by the board on W.P.A., it would be the signal for a drive to destroy these standards all along the line, in private industry as well. The

militancy and determination shown by the A. F. of L. in this most difficult fight to preserve the gains of decades of hard struggle, should be a source of inspiration and courage to the entire labor movement. The W.P.A. strikers well deserve and must receive the solidarity and support of all sections of the labor movement and of all real friends of labor.

Wholesale Dismissals Begin on W.P.A.

WHILE the Administration is striving to break down union scales on W.P.A., it has already begun the wholesale dismissal of hundreds of thousands of relief workers under the brutal 18-month clause. Over 75,000 are to be laid off in New York City alone and a total of 650,000 throughout the country, all before September 1. Who can describe the misery and distress that these sudden, arbitrary dismissals will bring to those many thousands who are thrown off work-relief and told to go out and find non-existent jobs at a time when there are already over 11,000,000 unemployed in the United States?

Attack All Along the Line

THE unemployed are under attack all along the line. Wage-cuts, increase of hours, dismissals, reduced appropriations, are coming thick and fast. Influential voices (such as General Harbord's, for example), are even being heard urging that those on relief be deprived of their franchise and their rights as citizens! The attack on the jobless, however, is only an advance notice of a similar attack on all labor, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed. The jobless are the weakest and most exposed section of the working-class army, so they are made to bear the brunt first, but the attack is coming all along the line—unless labor rallies its forces in time and meets the challenge with closed militant ranks.

The present moment is a critical one for the labor movement. If labor acts decisively now, with militancy and determination, it can well beat back the gathering attack and even go forward to new gains and achievements.

Labor Must Unite Its Own Ranks

FOR such action, the first requisite is labor unity. Unless the civil war raging in labor's ranks is

brought to a speedy end, the prospect is dark indeed. If complete unity is something that requires extended negotiations over a period of time, let a truce be declared immediately. Let A. F. of L. and C.I.O. get together without delay for joint action in this grave emergency. Let them get together and work out a program of united action to have the 1940 relief bill amended, to protect union wage scales, to stop the wholesale dismissals, to aid the jobless in their distress. There is no time for delay!

The Unemployed Need A Militant Organization

NOW as never before do the unemployed and relief workers need a strong, fighting nation-wide organization of their own. The Workers Alliance, Stalinist-controlled, is nothing but a W.P.A. company union, concerned not with the bitter needs of the jobless but with the political fortunes of the Administration. A number of independent unemployed organizations exist throughout the country. Let them get together and unite their forces into one nation-wide movement of the unemployed, which will then be in a position to establish fraternal relations with the trade-union movement.

Labor Must Rely On Its Own Organized Might

BUT above all, organized labor must come to realize that it can rely on nothing but its own organized power as an independent force. Labor has trusted implicitly in the New Deal and in President Roosevelt as a sincere friend of the workers, and the Administration has answered with hostility and contempt, with wage-cutting and strike-breaking. How many more experiences of this kind, the thousand and first in the long history of American labor, will the labor movement require before learning its lesson? Reliance upon either of the old-line employing-class parties, or upon any "friends" in these parties, is suicidal. At one point or another, when the critical moment comes, when labor really needs its friends, these "friends" will be found on the other side of the fence. In the long run, labor can rely only on its own organized might, upon its own forces and upon those other sections of the people that are joined to it in the fight for a better life and a greater measure of freedom. Only independent organization and action can accomplish anything on the political as well as on the industrial field!

C.I.O. Warns of Packing Strike

Chicago, Ill. The Packing Workers Organizing Committee gave notice last week that it would call a strike against the four big meat-packers, largest in the nation, if they refuse to negotiate for wage contracts.

Nearly 1,000 delegates, representing 75,000 packing-house employees who are members of unions affiliated with the C.I.O., attended a P.W.O.C. national policy convention and voted unanimously to give their leaders power to call strikes.

John L. Lewis, head of the C.I.O., spoke at a meeting of 12,000 union members. He promised that the C.I.O. would back packing unions in "any struggles into which they may be forced by the large corporations of the industry." He predicted a new C.I.O. campaign in the steel industry for contracts from Little Steel firms.

The P.W.O.C. claims a majority of employees of all the four big packing firms—Armour, Wilson, Swift and Cudahy—who produce two-thirds of the country's meat. The strike authorization gave leaders power to call a strike against Armour if peaceful negotiations fail, and against the other firms and independents if they "maintain the same attitude as Armour and Co. in refusing to confer" with the union and negotiate contracts.

The P.W.O.C. charged that Armour has refused to negotiate with union bargaining committees for contracts despite National Labor Board elections which, the union said, declared the P.W.O.C. the representatives of workers in some Armour plants.

The Wage-Hour Act Aims and Functions

Federal Regulation Necessary for Control

(The effort now being made in Congress to undermine and destroy the wage-hour law thru "amendments" brings this important piece of legislation again to the forefront of political controversy after it has been in operation for one year. In order to provide a better understanding of the law and its workings, we begin publication of a series of brief informative articles on the Fair Labor Standards Act. The second article will appear in the next issue.—Editor.)

Washington, D. C. REGULATION of the wages and working hours of labor goes back quite a bit in the history of this country.

For fifty years or more, many of the states of the Union have had laws limiting hours in certain kinds of work. The first of such laws were passed in the interests of safety. It was found, for instance, that long, fatiguing hours on the railroads led to more fatal accidents to passengers and train crews than short hours. Working hours in mines and in other hazardous occupations are now generally regulated by the states.

Nearly thirty years ago, the states began to regulate the hours of women and children in industry. Many now also provide for minimum wages for women and children. Most of these regulatory laws have had the support of organized labor.

It had been seen for a long time, however, that state regulation, though desirable, was not enough. Some measure of uniformity throughout the country was considered desirable for the protection of both employers and employees, and only the federal government could bring about uniformity. As early as 1913, a bill was introduced in Congress setting a \$9 weekly minimum wage, but it failed of enactment.

In part because of the depression, the demand for national minimum-wage and maximum-hour legislation was revived on a wide scale. It seemed absurd to many people that some of those who had jobs should be forced to work 50 or 60 or even 70 hours a week, while millions didn't have any jobs at all.

It also seemed unfair that many should be working long hours for wages so low that they couldn't possibly live on them. The taxpayers had to come to the rescue of such people by supplementing their low wages with relief. It was felt that employers had no right to call upon the public to subsidize them by feeding and clothing their workers and that an employer who did not pay a living wage should not be subsidized in competition with one who did.

A wage-and-hour law was introduced in Congress in 1937. It failed of passage that year but the following year a bill, which became known as the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, was enacted. It was signed by the President June 25, 1938, and its wage and hour provisions became effective October 24, 1938.

The law begins with this statement:

"The Congress hereby finds that the existence, in industries engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers (1) causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate such labor conditions among the workers of the several states; (2) burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; (3) constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce; (4) leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; and (5) interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce.

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of this act, thru the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the several states, to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the conditions above referred to in such industries without substantially curtailing employment or earning power."

The law applies only to workers engaged in interstate commerce or in the production of goods for interstate commerce. It prescribed that these "covered" workers must be paid not less than 25 cents an hour the first year (from October 24, 1938, to October 24, 1939), not less than 30 cents an hour from October 24, 1939, to October 24, 1945, and not less than 40 cents an hour after October 24, 1945.

It prescribes a maximum work-week of 44 hours from October 24, 1938, to October 24, 1939; of 42 hours from October 24, 1939, to October 24, 1940, and 40 hours after October 24, 1940.

An employee may work longer than the prescribed maximum work-week provided he is paid time and a half his regular rate of pay for overtime. The overtime pay is not based

upon the minimum wage, but upon the regular hourly wage. If the worker is regularly paid \$1 an hour, then he is entitled to \$1.50 an hour for each hour of overtime worked.

Where an employee is employed on a piece-work basis, the regular hourly rate of pay is the total earnings per week (including production bonuses, if any) divided by the number of hours worked. Thus, if the total earnings in any work-week of 48 hours are \$24, the regular hourly rate of pay is 50 cents, the compensation for each of the last four hours is 75 cents and the total wage \$25 (44x50 plus 4x75).

Democracy Means Right to Strike

"THE right to strike is the bulwark of democracy for the working class. What meaning has democracy to a man if he is bound to his job like a serf to the land? Labor will do well to protect this right with every resource at its command." — Eugene V. Debs.

"WE sometimes protest either silently or openly against strikes and the great public inconveniences resulting therefrom. When faced with such a situation, it is well to bear in mind that strikes and democracy go hand in hand."—William Green.

WPA Union Denies Break in Ranks

Declares Report of Joining CIO False

(We publish below a letter of correction recently sent by the United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America to the New York Times. The information it contains is especially interesting in the light of the frantic campaign waged in the Stalinist press in the past two weeks on the basis of the alleged "defection" of the unemployed organization.—Editor.)

Detroit, Mich. Editor, New York Times:

In your paper dated July 10, there appears an article by Louis Stark dealing with recent events in the organization known as United W.P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America. The caption reads "Martin Reputated by a W.P.A. Union." The whole article purports to tell how this organization has gone over, lock, stock and barrel to the C.I.O. We are amazed that such a prominent and usually reliable journalist as Mr. Stark undoubtedly is, should write such a story, which is factually incorrect almost the whole way thru.

The story omits in the first place that Messrs. Silver and Taylor (whose statement seems to be the basis for the article) were asked to resign by request when it was found that they were dickering with the C.I.O. and that they were already out of the organization at the time they made their statement. Mr. Stark also fails to comment on the significant fact that these men failed to claim even one local as their own, and that the reason they "advised" their adherents to join the C.I.O. was because that was as far as their actual power went. The facts are that the National Committee of our organization refused to support these men, and further,

not one local in any district is supporting either of them. At the very time that Taylor and Silver were being asked to resign, a meeting of local executives from all over the country voted unanimously to stay out of the C.I.O. We might concede them a few individual members if we could find them, but none have appeared up to date. We feel that Mr. Stark might have taken the trouble to find out the facts before he wrote such a fanciful story.

Mr. Taylor imputes some statements to Mr. Green, president of the A. F. of L. Why were such statements kept from the National Committee for three weeks? Obviously, because Mr. Taylor was engaged in trying to sell the organization to whoever would bid highest. The C.I.O. may have made a deal with them, but they were unable to deliver the goods. Taylor and Silver have repeatedly told members of the union that they would have to quit, because their families had to be fed, and they would have to go where the money was. We have one such statement in writing.

The demonstrations here on July 10 are sufficient indication of our strength if any is needed. The local press and radio conceded us first place in the fight against W.P.A. cuts.

National Committee UNITED UNEMPLOYED AND W.P.A. WORKERS OF AMERICA

Trade Union Notes

by George F. Miles

SUICIDAL SPITE STRATEGY

THE A. F. of L. strike on W.P.A. has shocked all who had talked themselves into the illusion that the C.I.O. had become the repository of all militancy in the labor movement. Yet, despite the sweep and militancy of the strike, success is in doubt for many reasons.

The initial failure of the A. F. of L. to speak up with sufficient energy against the 1940 relief bill has given President Roosevelt an excuse, no matter how poor, for his strikebreaking declaration. The A. F. of L. is also paying the price for its lack of interest in the field of unemployed organization. Today it finds itself knifed by the only two national organizations of unemployed workers: the Workers Security League, because of its ineptness and lack of vision, and the Workers Alliance, because it is little more than an unofficial agency for the relief administration. (See the editorial, "Workers Alliance—Company Union", on page 4—Editor.)

The C.I.O., approaching the W.P.A. strike from a purely factional viewpoint, has given it little more than lip service. It appears to be blinded by the prospect of weakening the building-trades unions which, consisting to a large extent of skilled workers, are hardest hit by the new relief provisions. That in the not so distant future living standards of the entire working class, employed as well as unemployed, will be affected by present relief regulations, appears to be of slight importance to those intent on securing a momentary advantage for their faction.

An example of this type of strategy is a recent event in Pennsylvania. A construction project, managed by A. F. of L. members, where the prevailing wage was observed, was attacked by "farming" elements in the vicinity. The not members of the A. F. of L. unions, they insisted on being placed, ultimately won, and thereby destroyed all prevailing-wage provisions on which the project had been operating and, to all intents and purposes, deunionized the project.

I place the word "farming" in quotation marks deliberately, for I am reliably informed that the "farmers" were in large part unemployed members of the United Mine Workers of America. This group, ultimately securing work on this project, then applied for membership in the C.I.O. The implication in this incident is too obvious to require comment.

Popular Frontism In Action

IN the course of the Zurich Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Leon Jouhaux of the French C.G.T. became very indignant over a remark made by Walter Schevenels, general secretary of the I.F.T.U., in his written report to the Congress. "Schevenels attempted," according to the Daily Worker, "to compare the capitulatory position of the German trade unions after the war with the position of the French C.G.T. and attacked the Communist Party which, he said, bore part of the responsibility."

Mr. Jouhaux rose in defense of both C.G.T. and Communist Party. The policy in Germany, he said, was one of "compliance with regard to social retreat." But in France, "there is constant resistance and action against the government's anti-labor and anti-social policy."

Mr. Jouhaux is correct. The policy in France during the hey-day of the Popular Front can hardly be called complacent. More accurate would it be to refer to it as one of violent resistance against the attempts of the workers to hold on to their hard-won gains of June 1936 by militant strike action. Mr. Schevenels is open to criticism only on the charge of understatement because the attitude of the C.G.T. officialdom and of the Communist Party was little short of strikebreaking.

We call upon Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, to bear witness. The Manchester Guardian of November 6, 1937 reports a speech delivered by Thorez, in the course of which he said:

"We are determined to do everything for the Front Populaire, for the Front Populaire represents the union of the working class and the middle class. AT PRESENT THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF CLASS WAR. The present problem is to defend democracy against fascism. But the Front Populaire must not be merely a parliamentary coalition. THE FRONT POPULAIRE MUST BE A COHERENT THING. THAT WAS WHY WE SHOWED GREAT MODERATION LAST JUNE IN RESTRAINING THE STRIKES."

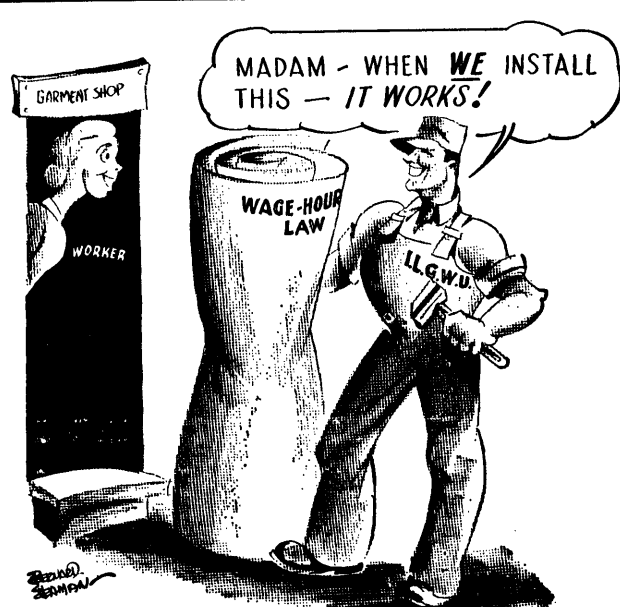
This is as close to an admission of strikebreaking as a politician can make without completely discrediting himself. What becomes of Mr. Jouhaux's "constant resistance and action against the government's anti-labor and anti-social policy?" Thorez has disposed of it very effectively.

Stalinism in Wisconsin C.I.O.

The plague of Stalinism still tortures the Wisconsin state organization of the C.I.O. For a time, C.I.O. spokesmen kidded themselves with the fond hope that the outcry

(Continued on page 3)

MAKING THE LAW STICK



—from Justice

The Structure of the Unions in the A. F. of L.

N.L.R.B. Economists Analyze Basic Trends in Changes

By DAVID J. SAPOSS and SOL DAVISON (Concluded from Last Issue)

Trade Unions

Number—13 Membership—814,800

A trade union includes the interdependent skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers that make up a particular trade.

This is a particularly miscellaneous group. Many of the unions in this category are former craft unions which have extended their jurisdiction to include the less skilled members of their trade, this extension of jurisdiction frequently being due to the division of labor and the introduction of machinery which has permitted semi-skilled workers to enter the trade. For an illustration of the trade union, see the following section on semi-industrial unions.

The organizations coming under the head of trade unions are:

- Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America.
- International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers.
- International Brotherhood of Blacksmith, Drop Forgers and Helpers.
- International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers.
- International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.
- International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers.
- International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America.
- International Seamen's Union of America.
- International Typographical Union.
- Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union.
- Retail Clerks International Protective Association.
- Sheet Metal Workers International Association.
- United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters.

Semi-Industrial Unions

Number—27 Membership—611,000

The semi-industrial union claims jurisdiction over the basic occupations of an industry—the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled—but not the auxiliary trades and occupations, such as maintenance employees, members of the shipping

and renewing departments and those engaged in hauling and delivery.

In many respects, unions of this group resemble the trade unions. At times, it becomes almost impossible to differentiate between the two. On the whole, the distinction may be drawn by pointing out that the semi-industrial union will include all skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled necessary in a particular industry, whereas the trade union will include some of the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled necessary to carry thru a particular process. Thus, the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants Union of North America includes "printing pressmen, offset pressmen, assistants, paper handlers, roller makers, newsboys, carriers," a combination of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. Yet these do not include all the workers in the printing industry.

Other skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled employees of the printing industry belong to different printing unions. Hence, we have called this union a "trade union." On the other hand, such unions as the United Garment Workers or the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers have for members all but those engaged in maintenance. Hence, these are semi-industrial. It should be pointed out, however, that some of the unions in this classification function at times as a trade union and at other times as a semi-industrial union. The Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, for instance, in organizing plants manufacturing electrical equipment act as a semi-industrial union. In building construction, they become a trade union.

The organizations coming under the head of semi-industrial unions are:

- Allied Stove Mounters and Stove Processors International Union.
- Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.
- Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of North America.
- Boot and Shoe Workers Union.
- Brotherhood of Operative Potters.
- Cigar Makers International Union of America.
- Commercial Telegraphers Association.
- Glass Bottle Blowers Association.
- International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.
- International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers.
- International Association of Marble, Stone and Slate Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Workers Helpers.
- International Broom and Whisk Makers Union.
- International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
- International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
- International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.
- International Glove Workers Union of America.
- International Jewelry Workers Union.
- International Ladies' Hat and Bag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union.
- International Molders Union of North America.
- International Union of Elevator Con-

struction, Operators and Starters.

- United Garment Workers of America.
- United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.
- United Leather Workers International Union.
- United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
- United Wall Paper Crafts of North America.
- Upholsterers, Carpet and Linoleum Mechanics International Union of North America.

Industrial and Multiple-Industrial Unions

Number—10 Membership—815,000

The industrial union includes the skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled and the auxiliary trades and occupations engaged in the performance of a particular service or the production of a particular commodity.

The unions in this group differ from the semi-industrial unions in that the former include the maintenance workers and other auxiliary occupations, in addition to all the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled. In this group, perhaps more than in any other, there is considerable overlapping. Many of the unions exhibit characteristics of the other categories. Thus, the International Association of Machinists act, at various times, as a craft union, a multiple-craft union, a trade union, and a semi-industrial union, as well as a full-fledged industrial union. It includes and has locals of, as well as makes agreements for, the highly skilled tool and die makers. At the other extreme, it has made agreements with aircraft companies covering all the employees engaged in the industry. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America includes highly skilled craftsmen. In the construction industries, it acts as a trade union. In the furniture and wood-working factories, it becomes a semi-industrial union. In the lumber and logging camps, it becomes a full-fledged industrial union.

In this group, too, we have in-

(Continued on Page 4)

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE

HAVE YOU READ...

- WHERE WE STAND: PROGRAM AND POLICIES OF THE I.L.L.A. 10c
- NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR, by Jay Lovestone 15c
- CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN, by Bertram D. Wolfe 25c
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- THINGS WE WANT TO KNOW, by Bertram D. Wolfe 15c
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- THE POPULAR FRONT IN FRANCE, by Charles Vincent 25c
- CHALLENGE OF LABOR IN U.S.A., by Bob Edwards 5c

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Workers Alliance Scabs

(Continued from Page 1)

and to differentiate itself carefully from the "uncooperative" A. F. of L. "We have Senator Murray's authority," ran this statement, "to inform our membership that he and his group are... encouraged by the cooperation shown at least by the Workers Alliance..." (emphasis ours.—Editor.)

In the face of this open and outright scabbery, the stoppages called by the Workers Alliance last week were indeed farcical. The leaflets and appeals issued by the Alliance for these stoppages repeatedly stressed that it was not "striking against the government" (against whom was it striking then?), that it absolved the Administration of all responsibility for the relief crisis, and so on. The character of the demonstrations can best be seen by noting that the so-called "monster rally" at Columbus Circle began by reciting an oath of allegiance to the Constitution!

Under such circumstances, the Workers Alliance stoppages were not demonstrations of the jobsless

against the Administration that is slashing their wage scales, and taking away their relief jobs but were really pro-Administration demonstrations calculated to advance the President's political interests against his opponents in the Democratic and Republican parties. Roosevelt's entire strategy in the relief crisis has been worked out from the point of view of 1940 politics and the Workers Alliance, as a semi-official Administration agency, is eagerly playing its part.

The servility of the Workers Alliance to the Administration has naturally intensified the bitter hostility of anti-Administration elements in both parties, and has led to reprisals. Upon orders from H. Ralph Burton, chief investigator for the House committee investigating the W.P.A., lists were made of all those participating in the Workers Alliance stoppages and transmitted to Washington. What use will be made of these lists is not known, but it is said that they will be turned into a blacklist to bar Workers Alliance adherents from reemployment on W.P.A.

On the Political Nature Of the Stalinist Party

Lust for Power Motivating Force of CP Machine

By WILL HERBERG

EVEN those who consider themselves well-versed in the intricacies of American "left-wing" politics must confess to a feeling of bewilderment at the recent behavior of the Communist Party in this country. It is, of course, no longer a novelty for prominent Stalinists publicly to disavow any connection with their party and what it is supposed to stand for. But at the American Youth Congress sessions some weeks ago, a new aspect of Stalinist strategy was dramatically displayed which proved most baffling to the uninitiated. In the course of this convention, a Stalinist spokesman (Carl Ross) pronounced a resolution condemning communism for its hostility to "the principles of a belief in God, the inviolability of human rights, private ownership of property and internal peace" to be "innocuous" although he opposed it, he said, because it manifested a spirit of "intolerance." A day later, the Stalinist stage-managers of the convention instigated and arranged the introduction of another resolution proclaiming opposition to "all forms of dictatorship, regardless of whether they be communist, Nazi or fascist." More than that, the secretary of the Young Communist League, Gil Green, got up and officially endorsed this condemnation of "communist dictatorship!" In other words, the Stalinists publicly denounced themselves in a resolution introduced at their own initiative! Nothing like this had ever been seen anywhere before and it is no wonder that most commentators on the A.Y.C. convention betrayed hopeless confusion and seemed utterly unable to make sense of what was going on before their own eyes.

The difficulty in understanding Stalinist methods is rooted in a failure to grasp the fact that the present-day Communist Parties in foreign parts—that is, in the non-Russian world—represent an entirely new type of social and political structure, bearing only a superficial resemblance to the traditional types of parties, whether bourgeois or working class, in the democratic countries, and therefore not to be comprehended in terms of traditional political concepts.

The conventional political party represents certain social interests in the country and has a program and principles that reflect the aims and aspirations of these interests. Within the framework of its general program, professional politicians build up their machines, scramble for jobs, divide the spoils of office. But fundamentally the party is out for certain things, and these things are

always discernible behind the complicated interplay of machine politics and vote-catching demagoguery. Of course, with radical or minority groups, the basic political program plays an even bigger role, for these parties are generally not yet fully institutionalized or anywhere nearly as much absorbed in spoils politics, if only for lack of opportunity. At any rate, with the traditional party structure we are on firm ground; we know what interests it represents, what principles it stands for, what aims it is out to promote. We can understand the behavior of such a party in terms of its interests, principles and aims.

But how different is the situation when we turn to the Communist Party! Considering the period from 1935 to the present day, is there a single principle which the Communist Party can be said to stand for or represent? Would anyone, even the most loyal supporter of this party, venture to name a single "communist" principle of today with the assurance that it will not in all probability be branded as "social-fascism" or "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" tomorrow? Even opposition to private property in the means of production, which for generations has served as the hallmark of socialism, can not be taken for granted. Was not Stalinism the most fervid defender and champion of private capitalist property in Loyalist Spain? Did not a Stalinist spokesman at the A.Y.C. convention proclaim a resolution exalting private property to be "innocuous"?

Let us recognize this fact: There are no such things as principles, there are no such things as programmatic aims as far as the present-day Communist Party is concerned. The party is not out to promote any principles or to realize any program. It is out simply and solely to get power and control. It is an unprincipled power-machine in the most literal sense of the term. Its purpose is to gain control of whatever it can—labor unions, professional societies, writers leagues, religious groups, summer camps, anything. And remember that this control is usually, even regularly, remote control, exercised at a distance, so to speak, thru "confidential agents", members or "fellow-travelers" of the Communist Party, who of course publicly disavow any connection with this party under cover of indignant cries about "Red-baiting". The people in the Stalinist-controlled organizations are not brought any nearer to "communism", however that may be interpreted at the moment by the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, strenuous efforts are frequently made to avoid

the least breath of suspicion of "communism"; it would only spoil the game. The game, of course, is to gain power over these people thru controlling their organizations, and for such ends as the current "party line" may dictate.

There is therefore no real cause for astonishment when Communist Party leaders sponsor resolutions denouncing communism, or when Communist Party agents deny any connection with communism and its works and parade as "Jeffersonian Democrats", "Lincoln Republicans", "Debs socialists", and perhaps in some localities as hard-shell Baptists or old-line prohibitionists, for all I know. For, let me emphasize it again, the Communist Party is not a political organization in the usual sense of the word; it is not interested in "communism", however you may define it. It is almost entirely a power-machine; it is interested almost exclusively in gaining power, capturing control, extending and tightening its grip. Everything else is secondary, necessary perhaps to achieve the primary goal of power but otherwise entirely without significance. To the dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist, bred in the all-devouring cult of the great god Power, the very notion that there may be principles and ideals of supreme value in themselves, in the service of which alone power gains whatever moral legitimacy it has, is genuinely foreign and unintelligible. Power is the great all-in-all.

(Concluded in the next issue)

Towards Totalitarianism

GREAT Britain's vast rearmament program appears to be gradually forcing the country into the "type of regimented economy which it is preparing to combat in Europe," the Foreign Policy Association said recently in a report prepared by James Frederick Green. Already the program has carried Great Britain "halfway thru the transition between peace-time and war-time economy," the report said.

"British expenditures for national defense," it continued, "have increased more than five-fold during the past five years, the present estimate for 1939 being \$2,950,000,000. These rapidly rising costs are due to strategic and military requirements. Appropriations for the British navy total \$669,000,000. Although the navy is ordinarily the most expensive of the three services, it was surpassed this year by both the army and air force. Army estimates provide for an expenditure of \$772,600,000 in 1939, but recent changes will require far greater funds. Improvement in airplane production, which was widely criticized as inadequate during 1938, is reflected in the air force appropriations of \$976,000,000, which is more than the entire defense expenditure in 1936.

"Modern warfare," the report proceeded, "makes it necessary for each belligerent to enter another world war with even greater military and economic organization than it possessed in 1918. This means that Great Britain—like Germany, which adopted a war-time economy in 1933 must prepare its mobilization of man-power and wealth in advance of the anticipated conflict. The National government, headed by men from the business world, hesitated until early in 1939 before introducing the political controls over

labor and capital necessary to safeguard its diplomatic position. Its rearmament program, already far in excess of the original 1937 estimates, will probably show an increasing rate of expenditure thru the present fiscal year, even though war does not occur."

While men, plant and capital will probably be available in 1939 for most of the requirements of rearmament, the report said, many serious problems may be expected to arise in the future.

"The danger of inflation will grow as defense expenditures continue involving competition for raw materials and labor, and straining 'the balance of international payments,'" it added. "The difficulty of returning to a balanced budget will grow as the national economy becomes dependent on borrowing for current outlays. The need for industrial regimentation will increase with the appearance of bottlenecks in production and shortages of skilled labor in specific trades.

"Thus far Great Britain has enjoyed all the advantages of business recovery and rising employment that the stimulus of government credits—even for unproductive purposes—can provide. In the future, it will be faced with the many difficulties of reversing this present trend toward full economic mobilization.

"Altho it is impossible to predict the long-term consequences of the rearmament program, Great Britain appears to be confronted with the dilemma of effecting an economic mobilization sufficient to enforce its diplomatic objectives, but without resort to the totalitarian methods of fascist states."

Economy of Decay Faces America

By ROBERT WALTERS

EVEN the most superficial acquaintance with the vast mass of statistics piling up in government bureaus is enough to indicate that the United States is now in the midst of a period of economic development fundamentally different from anything that has gone before. It is a period of economic decline, of a contracting economy, whether "recession" or "recovery" happens to prevail at the moment.

Thus, in 1937, for the first time in our history, industrial production in the United States went over the top and into a recession without having surpassed the peak of the preceding boom. In fact, the 1937 peak was actually 7½% below that of 1929, and on a per-capita basis, 13% below. As shown in the table below, there was an average annual decline of around 1½% in per-capita industrial output between the two years.

Up until the 1920's, growth in the United States was taken for granted. Population continually grew. Industry grew faster than population. Industrial production per-capita, since the earliest dates for which figures are to be had, was constantly increasing—that is, up to 1929. Yes, as shown in the table, the rate of increase was almost constantly declining.

Annual Percent Per-Capita Growth of Industry by Periods, 1839-1937	
1839-59	7.0%
1859-72	5.6%
1872-82	3.6%
1882-91	3.6%
1891-06	3.0%
1906-17	2.6%
1917-29	1.0%
1929-37	-1.4% (decrease)

As can be seen from the table, the zero point came somewhere in the current decade. This suggests that we may have reached a time when not much further increase in per-capita production can normally be looked for.

In other words, we may have reached a time when the "normal" trend of industry over a period of years will parallel, possibly even fall short of, the trend of population. And the growth of population, as now estimated by leading authorities, has fallen quite low.

The condition is possibly somewhat exaggerated by the showing of the table. The drop recorded for 1937 may be corrected before the current "great cycle" of business is completed. Most economists look upon 1937 as an "intermediate" peak. Guesses center around 1943 for the major post-1932 peak.

By that time, population will be about 10% larger than in 1929. If industrial output shows the same rise (which would mean that per-capita output would show no change for the 1929-43 period), the Federal Reserve Board index will advance to around 130. The 1929 figure was 119.

In the decade before 1929, per-capita output maintained an average annual growth of approximately 1% a year. If industrial expansion should recover to that rate for the period of 1929-43, the F.R.B. index would rise to 150.

But we have now, and for the past year have had, on a level of 96, some 10 million persons unemployed. Would an increase in the production index to somewhere from 130 to 150 in the next four or five years reemploy all these workers? Economists strongly doubt it.

They estimate that at least a six-point rise in the F.R.B. index is necessary to make one million jobs. There are, according to the best-recognized computations, not only 10 million now needing work but more than 2 million more to be added in the next four years by natural increase in the working population. To create 12 million new employment opportunities would require—on the above basis—a 72-point rise in the production index; a 54-point

S. C. Cohen

S. C. Cohen, veteran member of the I.L.L.A., died on Wednesday, July 19, at the age of 44. He joined the Communist Party (Majority Group), forerunner of the I.L.L.A., in 1929, in the split of the Communist Party, which he had joined in 1919, on its formation.

As a millinery worker, S. C. Cohen was a member of Millinery Workers Union Local 24 and took an active part in union affairs. In recent years, he changed his trade to dress-making and affiliated with Dressmakers Union Local 23, I.L.G.W.U. There, despite doctor's orders, he gave a good deal of his time and energy to serving the union.

He was also a member of the American Labor Party, belonging to the 6th A.D. in the Bronx.

The greater part of his life's efforts, S. C. Cohen devoted to the cooperative movement. He was one of the sponsors of the United Cooperative Association, which founded Camp Nitgedaiget and later the cooperative houses in the Bronx. For several years, he was executive secretary of the organization.

Despite his failing health, he remained active in the labor movement to the last day of his life.

rise to 150 would reemploy only 9 million out of the 12.

The very best that these authorities foresee, therefore, is a possibility of some reduction of unemployment for a year or two at the top of the next hoped-for boom.

Despite all qualifications and uncertainties, the general lines of development are clear—a definitely contracting economy. The traditional "automatic" system of private enterprise and private profit can carry the country no farther ahead.

The reasons for the dwindling rate of industrial progress are a mystery to most economists. In recent months, the phenomenon has been associated with the slowing down of population. But that seems scarcely adequate, since industry is slowing down even faster. The declining productivity of natural resources and the rapid exhaustion of great undeveloped resources on the American continent have been suggested. But these factors, while not to be ignored, do not in themselves seem to be adequate.

The real source of the decay of our economy is to be found in the workings of the capitalist system itself. Marxist economists (see Lewis Corey's "Decline of American Capitalism") have shown that the very process of capitalist profit-making and accumulation, especially as carried on under conditions of present-day monopoly control, creates a widening gap between the productive capacities of industry and agriculture and the consumptive capacities of the people (that is, their purchasing power). This gap, which all of the efforts of the New Deal over a period of seven years have not been able to close very materially, is at bottom responsible for the "sickness" of our economy. And the gap cannot be closed, nor the "sickness" overcome, save thru replacement of the outlived system of private property and production for profit by a socialist system of collective ownership and democratic operation of the means of production under a common plan for the general welfare.

Appalling Conditions Bared in West Indies

Only Solution Is Rise of Native Leadership

By A. WELDELL MALLIET

(This article is taken from a recent issue of the New York Amsterdam News, a leading Negro weekly in this country.—Editor.)

STANDING at the crossroads of a destiny, 3,000,000 Negroes in British West Indies look to the report and recommendations of the West Indies Royal Commission to open the way for a New Deal.

The Royal Commission recently completed a thoro investigation of social and economic conditions in the West Indies and British Guiana and returned to London, where it is continuing its inquiry into conditions in the West Indies in the most comprehensive manner that any British commission has ever attempted to explore the causes of social unrest.

Goaded into action by the strikes and massacres in Trinidad in 1937 and Barbados and Jamaica in 1938, in which hundreds of workers in oilfields, cane-fields and sugar plantations were shot down by government orders, Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, acting on instructions from Parliament, selected a commission composed of ten men and women known to be sympathetic toward the problems and aspirations of the working class and the colonial peoples.

It was inevitable, in the logic of the situation, that individuals such as Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trade Union Congress; the late Morgan Jones, Labor Member of Parliament; Sir Edward Stubbs, a former governor of Jamaica; Dr. Mary Blacklock, and Dame Rachel Crowley, experienced social workers, should have assumed the important duties assigned to them with unusual seriousness.

Forecasts of the commission's recommendations published in English and West Indian newspapers include not only sweeping reforms on a wide front, but also condemnation of some of the policies and practices of the colonial governments. The commissioners have not failed to express their amazement at the abject poverty, and ignorance, unearthed in the British Caribbean colonies.

The commission was told in England that "a social and economic study of the West Indies is necessarily a study of poverty. A medical study of the West Indies, too," it was said, "is a study of poverty, with ignorance super-added."

Housing conditions in the West Indies were called "deplorable". Most of the poorer laborers are housed in unsanitary, overcrowded dwellings which are frequently in a state of extreme disrepair.

"It is not only in Trinidad, as the commission on the disturbances there found," it was said, "that employers failed to realize their responsibility for supplying workers on their estates with the common decencies of home life and permitted the existence of housing conditions which provide grounds for justifiable discontent."

The 1938 West Indies Royal Commission is the fifth commission appointed to study with a view to improving conditions in the West Indies since 1920, but very little has been done in that direction.

The West Indies has been visited by the Wood Commission, 1921 to 1922; by the Education Commission, which did most of its work in Trinidad; by the Sugar Commission, of which Lord Oliver was the chair-

man; and by the Closer Union Commission, with Sir Charles Ferguson, chairman. Withal the reports and recommendations from these commissions, West Indian problems have grown worse and the people have continued to suffer from exploitation without any attempt to relieve their distress, poverty, and ignorance.

Certainly, no West Indian should attempt at this time to condone the crimes against society and humanity that have been committed in the West Indies by the British government, thru its agents at the Colonial Office and in the West Indies. British power has used every means to exploit the people and suppress their natural aspirations for a larger share in their own government as well as in the products of their own labor, and to keep them enslaved as a colonial people.

British power has employed the class and color prejudices, which it fostered, to frustrate all efforts toward unity among all classes of the people. It has used empty honor and the lure of high office to divide the leadership of the native population, and when these methods failed, the government resorted to measures of repression, persecution, and terror.

A New Deal for the West Indian people must come out of intelligent, aggressive and courageous native leadership. It will not result from a leadership in which the West Indians are clearly unable to cope with the governors and the coterie of English and native bureaucrats—and unfortunately this is the situation that exists in the West Indies today.

A study of the elected side of the Jamaica Legislative Council will reveal a group of men who are, beyond any shadow of a doubt, unfit to hold the high and important office that has been thrust upon them by an electorate that is crying in the wilderness of failure for leadership.

In Trinidad, the leaders merely toy with government, and because of this, they are led and misled by the specious arguments of officials whose duty it is to deceive them. Libel laws, defense of the realm acts, and seditious laws beat down progressive movements, and the leaders do not even know how to meet such governmental tactics and methods.

One thing is certain, and that is, a New Deal for the West Indies will depend upon native leadership to a very great extent. It will depend on the plans of the West Indian people, and already it is the belief that very little is likely to be achieved in that direction. The conflict between economic exploitation by the ruling class and the struggle for bread and the more abundant life by the people will always occupy the center of the West Indian stage.

Australian Labor Bars Aid to War

By JACK RYAN

Sydney, Australia, June 15, 1939

IF there is one thing consistent about Tory governments in Australia, it is their readiness to follow in the wake of British governments. To know what the British government does one week is to know what the Australian government will do as speedily as circumstances permit.

When Britain broke all peace-time records of armaments expenditure, Australia followed suit with a war budget of \$350,000,000 spread over three years. This is a pretty big effort for a population of seven millions; especially when wheat is selling at less than half a dollar a bushel, wool prices are below average, and soil erosion is converting millions of miles of once useful land into desert.

There is no money available to arrest soil erosion, none for slum clearance (an urgent need despite the comparatively short history of Australian cities), only an incredibly small dose for the unemployed (about \$1.50 a week for each adult). But there are ample funds available for war purposes, to defend British "rights" and possessions in the Far East and South Pacific.

When the National Register was introduced in Britain, no time was lost by the Australian government in placing a similar yoke on the people of Australia. In contrast to the British Trade Union Council, however, the trade-union movement has expressed uncompromising hostility to the National Register, branding it as a prelude to conscription both for military and industrial purposes.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions and the trades councils in every state of the continent have denounced the National Register and are organizing to combat it by direct action.

At a big meeting of union executives from the principal unions, held in Melbourne last week, it was decided to boycott the National Register, the executives themselves to take the initiative in defying the government. A comprehensive resolution detailing agitation and organizational measures to be set in motion was unanimously adopted. One clause of the resolution reads: "That we, the members of executives of unions affiliated with the Trades Hall Council, pledge ourselves that we will not apply for forms or register under the National Register Act, and if fined for such refusal, will refuse to pay any fine inflicted, and in the event of any trade unionist being imprisoned for non-compliance with the terms of the National Register Act, it be a recommendation to the Trades Hall Council that it direct such industrial action be taken as is necessary to defeat the provisions of

Trade Union Notes

(Continued from Page 2)

of Stalinism was a fantastic concoction of the progressives in the U.A.W. and a product of the factional war. But such was decidedly not the case. Long after the split in the U.A.W., we note a report in the Kenosha Labor that a number of unions—very loyal to John L. Lewis and the C.I.O.—flatly refused to affiliate with the state organization because of its party label. Among these was the U.A.W.-C.I.O. in Wisconsin. The latter even elected a committee to investigate the state organization.

What the investigation showed we don't know but we note an interesting item in Kenosha Labor of June 30 which we reprint in full:

"An affidavit by a former state official of the Communist Party, made public last week, renewed charges that leading officers of the Wisconsin C.I.O. are members of the Communist Party and take instructions from it concerning their conduct in the union movement.

"Perrell Schnering, former editor of the communist Voice of Labor and now a lecturer for the Catholic Youth organization, named as Communist Party members Emil Costello, president of the Wisconsin Industrial Union Council and former Kenosha assemblyman; Gunnar Mickelsen, secretary-treasurer of the Wisconsin Industrial Union Council; Harold Christoffel, president of the Allis-Chalmers local of the U.A.W.; and Cedric Parker, president of the C.I.O. council in Madison.

"Costello, who is organizing for the Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee in Illinois and is now virtually inactive in the Wisconsin labor movement, was not reached for comment, but Mickelsen denounced Schnering's statement as 'malicious lies.'

"Schnering contended, however, that he himself had sponsored Mickelsen's membership in the party.

"Schnering claimed that the Milwaukee Industrial Union Council, presided over by Christoffel, had appropriated union funds for communist-controlled organizations."

They're Out For Blood!

THE Daily Worker announces jubilantly: "Marine Union Parley Ends With Ranks Firmly United". In a limited way, the headline is correct. There is no doubt whatever that for the time being, what's left, after the breakaway of the Gulf Dis-

trict and a few expulsions of other leaders (William C. McCuiston, F. P. O'Donohue, Arthur Thomas), is completely and firmly united—until the next crisis and the next split. Such is the practise and logic of unionism under Stalinist domination.

Another very interesting item involves the socialist, Edward Levinson, formerly labor editor of the New York Post and now a loyal worker for the C.I.O., serving as publicity director for the U.A.W.-C.I.O. and editor of its paper. Somewhere, Mr. Levinson had a blot on his escutcheon. He knew it and worked all the harder to show how worthy he was of the confidence of C.I.O. leaders. To demonstrate his loyalty, he even printed in his paper an attack against the Lovestones in which the religious issue was dragged in.

But all to no avail. It seems that Levinson had "given open assistance" by way of some articles in the Post to the anti-Stalinist opposition in the National Maritime Union, and despite all his "peccavi" shouting now, the N.M.U. honored him with the following special resolution:

"Whereas, each national and international union, affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has a certain responsibility to other affiliated organizations and the labor movement generally affiliated with the C.I.O.;

"Whereas, the official organ of each national or international union should be a weapon for unity of the entire labor movement, and

"Whereas, one Edward Levinson, director of publicity for the United Automobile Workers, has given open assistance to a group of C.I.O. enemies working within the National Maritime Union; and

"Whereas, these enemies not only tried to destroy the National Maritime Union, but repeatedly pledged support to Homer Martin, proved enemy of the C.I.O. movement; therefore be it

"Resolved, that this convention call upon the C.I.O. Executive Council to conduct an investigation into Levinson's connection with known C.I.O. enemies and that the C.I.O. Executive Council request Levinson publicly set forth now his position regarding the National Maritime Union."

Now that he has been denounced, his days are numbered. He must pay for a few days of self-respect, when he wrote what he really believed, by being fired. And yet he is getting away with "murder". If the Stalinists had him where they want him, he would not only be fired—he'd be

fired on.

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Well, Well!

THE United Press reports:

"BERLIN, July 17.—Diplomatic quarters discussed with interest today the presence of George Astachov, Soviet Russian Charge d'Affaires here, at a ceremonial luncheon given by Adolf Hitler at Munich yesterday in connection with an exhibition of Nazi art.

"Astachov was the only prominent diplomat present, other than envoys of Italy and friends of the Berlin-Rome Axis."

We'd be pleased to hear the explanation of the Daily Worker.

Indict American Medicos For Jim-Crow Bias

Richmond, Va. Association for the Advancement of Colored People supports the Wagner health bill, with amendments safeguarding the rights of Negro physicians, nurses, technicians and the race as a whole, Dr. Wright said.

"We want these safeguards in the law, as we do not want to leave our fate in the hands of the American Medical Association. Great tribute is due to the A.M.A. for its fight to protect the public against fraudulent claims for drugs and foods, and for its efforts to educate the public on matters relating to health, but it has been, during the past few years, promoted from a mild academic body into a powerful political organization.

"Altho a Negro, I am speaking generally and I trust correctly, when I say that organized medicine is morally guilty or socially or mentally incompetent to meet the needs of the American people for adequate health protection and service."

THE American Medical Association was denounced here recently before the thirtieth annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as an organized group of American medical men that has "demonstrated as much interest in the health of the Negro as Hitler has in the health of the Jew."

The statement was made by Dr. Louis T. Wright, of New York, chairman of the N.A.A.C.P.'s national board of directors, in an address before the conference.

Speaking on public health, and the relationship of the Wagner health bill to the welfare of the Negro people as a whole, Dr. Wright spotlighted the A.M.A. as an organization whose policy of excluding Negro physicians in the South has resulted "in the unwarranted deaths of thousands of persons whose color happened to be black."

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STRIKING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

"YOU can't strike against the government!" How many times in the past few weeks have we heard this pronouncement hurled at striking W.P.A. workers from the highest quarters in Washington, how many times have we seen it gleefully displayed in full-page headlines in the metropolitan press! But what does it mean?

At the moment, this high-and-mighty proclamation of the President and his saintly Attorney General "outlawing" strikes against the government may be only part of the campaign to terrorize the W.P.A. workers and bludgeon the strikers back to work. But it is not difficult to see that it has much more fundamental and far-reaching implications.

Once any group of workers in this country can by law or by Executive edict be deprived of the right to strike, you have the makings of an authoritarian regime under whatever shingle it may operate. Government employees are not essentially different from other employees. They frequently do the same work under the same conditions, suffer from the same abuses and complain of the same grievances. If those workers who are employed by the government have no rights just because they work for the government, how about workers in similar occupations employed by contractors working for the government? They too are engaged in public works; are they too to be deprived of their right to strike? And how about those who supply materials to the government? And how about employees in industries "affected with a public interest"?

Nor is the right to strike essentially different from other civil and political rights. If the government can deprive its employees of this right, can it also deprive them of the right of publicly criticizing their employer, that is, of the right of free speech?

This entire problem is no mere academic one by any means. For the present-day tendency is undeniably in the direction of the government taking over and operating ever bigger sectors of the national economy and establishing indirect control over even wider areas. As the government extends its economic activities, are larger and larger groups of workers to be deprived of their fundamental rights? If the railroads or the coal mines are nationalized, as is being widely suggested today, are the railroad men or the coal miners to be robbed of their right to strike? According to President Roosevelt, they apparently would be, for they would be working for the government and "you can't strike against the government". Is American labor ready to accept such a prospect?

At bottom, the workers of this country, as of any other country, cannot be half free to organize and strike and half enslaved in subjection to the government-employer. Give the government power to rob millions of workers engaged in expanding "public" industry of hard-won rights gained through decades of struggle, and how long will the workers in private industry be able to retain these rights?

If labor has any regard at all for its own future, it will face the issue squarely. The right to strike must be sustained against all encroachments of the government. No restrictions whatsoever—not even for government employees—must be tolerated or else this right, established thru so much sacrifice and suffering, will soon be whittled down to nothing.

The logic of present-day capitalism in crisis is driving compulsively towards totalitarian control of industry and labor, indeed, of all social and economic life. Along that road lies strangulation of the labor movement thru legislative regulation and overhead governmental domination. The effort now being made to limit the rights of workers employed by governmental institutions, clearly goes a long way along that road.

The A. F. of L. leaders, despite their traditional horror of coming into conflict with the government, seem to have realized the gravity of the situation and at least some of the issues involved in it. From a trade-union angle, labor's standpoint was well formulated indeed in the answer given by A. F. of L. spokesmen to the charge of "striking against the government":

"If the government undertakes to go into the construction business, the workers have a right to protect their hard-won standards by striking, if necessary. . . . A union man with a union card will not work below the union scale anywhere, for anybody."

WORKERS ALLIANCE—COMPANY UNION

ONE thing the present W.P.A. crisis has done and that is to expose the scabby role of the Workers Alliance as a contemptible lackey of the Administration, a W.P.A. company union in the literal sense of the term.

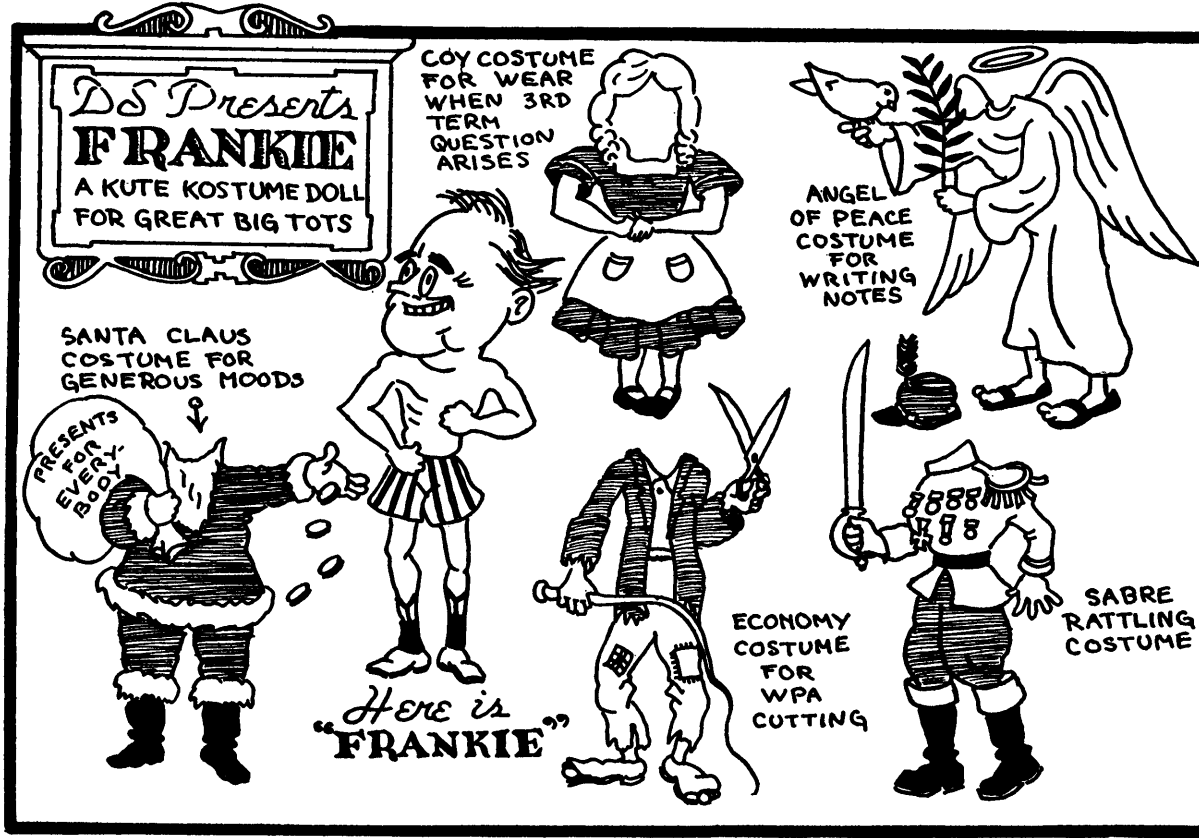
When Congress passed the vicious 1940 relief bill with the open aid and assistance of Administration spokesmen, the Workers Alliance played the Administration game of covering up President Roosevelt's tracks and throwing all responsibility on "certain fascist-minded Congressmen". "Certain fascist-minded Congressmen", indeed, when the highest vote registered in the House against any feature of the Woodrum bill was no more than 80-odd, while the vote in favor reached 321!

When President Roosevelt began to show his hand more openly and avowed publicly his approval of the destruction of prevailing wage rates on W.P.A. and his opposition to any remedial legislation, the Workers Alliance continued its game of whitewashing the Administration. At this point, David Lasser issued a savage denunciation of the fact that the President was being "badly advised". The King can do no wrong, you understand; the trouble is he has had ministers. . . .

When the highest quarters in Washington, from the President down, began to thunder threats against the striking W.P.A. workers on the ground that "you can't strike against the government", what did the Workers Alliance do? It meekly announced that "it had no quarrel with the Administration" and that its farcical one-day "stoppage" was by no manner of means to be interpreted as a "strike against the government". And, to cap the climax, it actually called upon its members to return to work while the A. F. of L. unions were striving to maintain and spread the strike! If that wasn't outright scabbing on the embattled W.P.A. workers and joining in the shameful hue-and-cry against them for daring to strike to defend their union wage scales, what was it?

In the entire crisis, the Workers Alliance has acted not as a representative of the unemployed and relief workers—which, indeed, it is not—but as an agency of the Administration and the W.P.A. officialdom. Its every effort has been directed towards sustaining the W.P.A. authorities against the victimized relief workers and the Roosevelt Administration against the rising resentment of the masses on W.P.A. It is this close tie to the Administration, rather than any non-existent "militancy" on its part, that has aroused such hostility against it in anti-Administration circles in Congress.

The Workers Alliance is a company union, pure and simple. It is an agency of the wage-cutting, strikebreaking government. It is poison to the relief workers and the unemployed. What the relief workers and the jobless need more than anything else in the present critical situation is a genuine unemployed union of their own, a strong, militant nation-wide organization that will be really concerned with their interests and needs and will not be afraid to fight on their behalf.



Germany—Key to Chaos Of Tomorrow's World War

Aid of "Democracies" to Fascism Proves Boomerang

By JAY LOVESTONE

WHY the war? Only the purblind can see ideologies or ideals as the cause. Last mid-April, Roosevelt put his finger on the sorest spot when he emphasized the difficulties in the world market. That's where the crisis is rooted. Hitler was for once telling the truth when he said: "Germany must export or die." The key to the whole war crisis is to be found in German capitalism and its pivotal role in international economy. Hence, an evaluation of German capitalist economy today is the first prerequisite to an understanding of the aggravated world crisis.

With the help of American capital, German economy gained great industrial strength in the twenties. By 1928, the German bourgeoisie controlled a mighty productive machine geared to pouring out vast quantities of commodities into the world market. But soon came 1929 with its world crisis—the profound and world-shaking consequences of which none can overestimate. And German industry? Precisely because of its very high technical development and productive capacities, German capitalism was among the severest hit and most rudely shaken by this crisis. Grave social repercussions were the inevitable consequence. Internal crisis followed upon internal crisis. Fascism was the political culmination—a ruthless political receivership over a society in economic bankruptcy.

A TERRIBLE MISCALCULATION

All the whys and wherefores of the smashing victory scored by fascism in Germany, I am not examining at this point. No doubt the post-war Social-Democratic party contributed heavily towards the disaster. With equal emphasis, I must stress that the attempt to have Germany copy or set up a proletarian dictatorship on the Russian pattern caused a deep and fatal cleavage in the German working class. Without this breach in the ranks of the German proletariat, Hitler's Nazis could never have broken thru and marched to power. However, the point I am underscoring now is that the world's great "democracies" really rejoiced at Hitler's ascendancy because they saw in it a solution of Germany's grave labor problems and social questions. The powers-that-be in these "democracies" thought, felt and hoped that thru fascism Germany's bourgeoisie could alleviate, if not actually overcome, the social crisis and thus not become torment-

ing competitors in the world market.

The best minds of the "democracies" miscalculated fatally. Equipped with a splendid industrial machine, freed thru fascism from the immediate problems of working-class resistance to deadening speed-up, low wages, long hours and deteriorated social services, Nazi imperialism became a more serious menace and powerful competitor in the world market than Kaiser imperialism ever dreamt of being. Here is one of history's most decisive miscalculations. Today, German capitalism is a far more dreaded rival in the world market than any other ever faced by the British or American master classes. And this in a world market originally disrupted and steeped in chaos as a result of a devastating war and world crisis!

GERMAN ECONOMY TODAY

Germany's industrial might is now gigantic. The Greater Reich has a home market catering to a population of about ninety millions. Except for the Americans, the German bourgeoisie now exploit the largest contiguous economic area and possess the finest technical machine in the entire capitalist world. But there is no such thing as a special Nazi economy. Fascism is a new type of state to maintain essentially old class relations. Fascism represents a significant change of state form to maintain the basically old class system. Fascism, or its specific German expression, Nazism, is not a social system like feudalism, capitalism or socialism. Countless false and costly conclusions flow from failure to understand this vital reality. Under Nazi leadership, the German bourgeoisie are still the dominant economic class and more and more turn to the development of state capitalism to hitherto unheard-of levels. Without denying in the least the Nazi import of this development, I must heavily underscore that state capitalism is only a variant capitalist economy. Of course, not all state capitalisms are alike. For that matter, not all "free individual" capitalisms are alike.

At this moment, German capitalism, ruthlessly maintained by the Nazi state, is booming. Fantastic and feverish armament production has undoubtedly shot the general economic trend skyward. Today, German economy is experiencing a big boom—largely, primarily, but not solely, an armament or cannon boom. German industry and agriculture are short of labor. There is a dearth of basic raw materials, a marked lack of tool and machine-making machinery. We are witnessing under the lash of the savage Nazi taskmasters the expansion of old and the creation of new industries. The capacity to produce substitutes or synthetic products is growing more rapidly in Germany than we realize or want to believe. Here are all the classical characteristics and unmistakable earmarks—and fatal flaws and dangers as well—of wild booms in capitalist economy.

But for a number of reasons which I am not going into at this time, these flaws and dangers spell more ghastly consequences for German capitalism regimented by the Nazis than for other lands. Of this, Hitler and the giant German industrial and financial overlords are by now fully aware. Hence, they are desperately seeking to avoid inflation and the diseases of the devastating "runaway boom" by rigidly controlling wages and farm prices (downward), thru complete foreign exchange control, and thru countless stringent currency regulations. At most, these remedies and preventatives are of only temporary aid. In a fundamental sense, these very quack cures are only aggravating and not overcoming the inherent ineradicable contradictions of capitalism.

SOME SIGNIFICANT FIGURES

A few figures to illustrate the above estimate. Greater Germany's

share in the world's total industrial production is now 15% in comparison with 8.3% in 1932. The terrific role of armament production to which the entire economy is geared is revealed by the fact that while total working income rose 64.2% between 1933 and 1938, the production of consumption goods increased only 29.5%. The authoritative Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft of Berlin, in its latest quarterly report, tells the world that the index of "production-goods" industries (largely armament) leaped from 45.7 in 1932 to 145.3 in April 1939, while the index of "consumption-goods" industries rose in this period only from 74 to 112.8. And let me not make any mistake. A good deal of the consumption goods turned out are not for immediate use but are stored for later consumption by vast armies in military combat.

The entire "boom" is decisively state-financed and not an expression of upward private capitalist enterprise and development. Only two of the twelve billion marks spent last year in building construction went into housing. The rest was devoured mainly by monstrous military expansion and needs. From March 1933 to March 1939, the Reich's debts have nearly tripled and the currency circulation has almost doubled. Then there are in circulation armament certificates amounting to many millions of marks which have not been included in the official total of Reich debts.

Last year saw a shortage of seven to eight hundred thousand laborers in agriculture alone—despite the importation of about 200,000 land workers, mainly Poles. The Nazis who promised to take women out of the industrial plants and put them into the home kitchens are confronted by such a serious dearth of laborers that they have been compelled to "import" labor from annexed lands and to force into the factories more than 600,000 women who never before worked for wages. Furthermore, the Nazis who were supposed to be the great saviors of the German middle class have been responsible for a cruel and calculated speed-up of proletarianization in the Reich. Last year, the Hitler regime, facing a shortage of a million workers, forced 100,000 artisans to give up their economic independence and to slave as laborers in arms and munition plants.

(Continued in the next issue)

Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

(Continued from Page 1)

old whomever he desires. There are a lot of colored people I would rather have in my home than many of the "onery" whites among my constituents." And in speaking of private homes, Garner is reported to have said to the reporter that he did not mean places of public accommodation, but that all citizens have a right to go any place which is open to them under the law. He also definitely expressed himself as opposed to the Texas "white primary" but is said to take the position that there is nothing that can be done about it right now, unless the Supreme Court changes the opinion which it rendered in the last appeal which went up to that tribunal.

It is not surprising that the writer of the Afro-American Garner boom story states: "Garner knows a lot about colored people, is entirely conversant with their problems, and has a lot of ideas about their progress and citizenship, surprisingly broad and in many of his attitudes and privately expressed opinions, almost beyond liberal." I might add that I doubt if Eleanor Roosevelt would say as much for a southern white syndicate. Obviously, I cite this story, to show how even Garner, of all people, is desperately fighting for the Negro vote in 1940. What amuses me is the probable reaction of some of his "onery" white constituents and other southern Democrats when they hear about it.

Talking It Over:

Poetry's Refuge

by Bertram D. Wolfe

THERE has been much discussion among critics as to whether poetry can survive the age of machinery and modern science. Indeed, many critics maintain that poetry is already dead, and what passes for such in our time are but the ultimate products of decomposition of an exquisite corpse. Even if we did not have a different opinion of the work of men like T. S. Eliot, we could not hold with these critics for we are faithful readers of the ads.

Take this line, for instance, from the Sunday Times:

"It costs so little to be lovely."—Lord and Taylor.

Has that not imagination-stirring, myth-making force, music, rhythm, inevitability of phrasing, the power to transport us from the city of subways and sewers, of pimples and acid skin and things your best friend won't tell you, to a fairy realm? Try to replace it in some other words and watch the wonder vanish and the music melt away. As for instance:

"It costs so little to be beautified", or

"Our toilet preparations are really not expensive", or

"Make-up is cheap at our store" . . .

Did Shakespeare have anything that Mr. Lordan Taylor ain't got?

AND for stirring prose with overtones of sentiment and feeling, we offer this from Rich's department store in Atlanta, Georgia:

"Have you the audacity to flaunt this daring odor? With DANGER, you proceed at your own risk, warned . . . and warning! DANGER is a perfume whose spirit is emotionally courageous, disarmingly frank. Be woman enough to wear it—be man enough to give it, and face the consequences! DANGER is not for the timid. \$27.50 in a distinctive crystal-black bottle."

A beautiful piece of suggestiveness emanates from an ad of jaythorpe on Fifty Seventh Street West (the very typography is distinctive) which offers "Grand Prix by Charbet, perfume in diminutive leather riding boots, \$14.00. The pair, \$28.00." illustrated in the Times with a picture of a riding boot. It is made of genuine bootmaker's leather; the perfume pours out at the top and a shining spur is fastened at the bottom. "Olet Stabuli", as our Latin teacher used to say when we offered a translation at a gallop, aided by a pony's trot.

AND speaking of boots, Bergdorf Goodman is offering a shoe (at least it looked something like a shoe) which is described as Delman's latest creation, and has a genuine hole bored into the heel (you can look right thru it if you ever sink so low), and describes it in the following language:

"For those who love air-flow and speed and the Day-After-Tomorrow. The velocity hull (try and walk in it) looping under the foot. An original Delman—in suede—henna, gold, purple, black or speed-demon red \$32.75."

Which proves that the language of the modern machine is not incompatible with the imagination-stirring, myth-making power, after it does seem that the poetry in this case lies principally in the price.

THEN there is I. Miller, who gives you a guarantee that the once too, too solid shoe is now to be classed with all fleeting joys and evanescent things.

"Spring? Summer? Fall?" it asks. "Ever heard of them, America is moving fast today. The world of creation is fertile. Styles come and go almost every week. No longer can we think in terms of Spring and Summer and Fall. Our swifter moving minds (not to speak of feet?) need speedier expression." They end with a guarantee that the shoes shown this month will not be included in their clearance sale next month. We may not get much chance to use our feet if we are backseat drivers, but our shoes will go fast just the same. In fact, they may not outlast the week. Sic transit gloria mundi. Which, as Max Shachtman once explained in an article on purges, means: "You're here today, and gone Monday."

AND that you may go the faster, and more streamlined, we will close A by letting you in on a marvellous opportunity offered by Saks 34th Street (not to be confused with the much steeper Saks Fifth Avenue) which offers the following to those who can afford to eat too much, and worry about it:

S A L E !
Youth-o-lator
with rare irradiated oil
Regularly \$10
\$5.95

The Youth-o-lator, you know (ashamed to confess we didn't), is the astonishing scientific beauty wand that, in ten relaxed minutes at your own dressing table, brings you beauty benefits equal to weeks of careful care. Now obtainable at this remarkable saving of \$4.05.

And we going around looking the way we do!

Perhaps we should explain to the reader that the way the Youth-o-lator works is that when you buy it you can't afford to eat for a week, which does the trick.

Structure of the A. F. of L. Unions

(Continued from Page 2)

cluded what may be called the multiple-industrial union. An example is the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America. The jurisdictional claims of this union include all the employees in a number of industries.

The organizations coming under the head of industrial and multiple-industrial unions are:

Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Operators.

Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America.

Building Service Employees International Union.

International Association of Machinists.

International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America.

Laundry Workers International Union.

Progressive Miners of America.

Tobacco Workers International Union.

American Brick and Clay Workers of America.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Miscellaneous Unions

Number 4 Membership—304,600

To add to the difficulty of structurally classifying the unions, there are several that defy all classification—unions whose members bear no relation whatsoever in skill to each other. Thus, the only relation that the various groups in the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees have to each other is that they are employed in various occupations by a transportation company. The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees has for its members all the unskilled employees in foundries who are not claimed by other unions. The remaining unions of this group

contain various grouping of miscellaneous occupations.

The organizations coming under the head of miscellaneous are:

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees.

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America.

International Longshoremen's Association.

An examination of this classification of union structure shows that the craft union is relatively unimportant in the A. F. of L. Out of 85 unions only 12, with a membership of 25,800 out of a total of 3,030,100, may be considered craft unions by a liberal estimate.

Examining the classification in terms of number of affiliated unions makes the semi-industrial union the most important. In terms of membership, however, the industrial union becomes the most numerous.

Type	No. of Unions	Membership
Craft	12	25,800
Multiple-Craft	19	458,300
Trade	13	814,800
Semi-Industrial	27	611,000
Industrial	10	815,600
Miscellaneous	4	304,600
	85	3,030,100

It is difficult to determine what a craft is in modern industry. It is difficult to draw up a classification which will preclude any overlapping. In our study of the structure of A. F. of L. unions, we were constantly confronted with the problem of overlapping and the lack of consistent policy on the part of the union. It remains clear, however, that in modern industry craft has ceased to be important and the structure of the A. F. of L. unions reflects this change.