

SEVEN PROMINENT AMERICANS GIVE THEIR POINT OF

You have read what these seven Americans feel about NEW MASSES.

And you agree with them. We are sure you must, for if you didn't, then NEW MASSES could not have remained alive as a champion of peace, of liberty, of democracy. It would have died years ago.

But you did stand with these seven, you did keep the magazine alive to fight in the front lines for these thirty years. It marched again this May Day in a thousand cities and villages of America where men voiced the ideas this magazine stands for.

You want to keep it marching; we know you do. But we must tell you the harsh truth that NEW MASSES is in the gravest crisis of its history.

Our business manager just reported on our financial status. The creditors will close the magazine down by May 15 if we do not have \$5,000 for them by that date.

We need not reiterate here that the magazine requires a \$25,000 drive every spring to pull through the year. We have not even reached the half-way mark. To date we have raised only \$12,426.

We believe this, know this: that if you, our readers, truly understood how critical matters were here, you would not hesitate. We would hear from you by return mail.

We know that your attention is taken, and justly so, by a dozen other calls. You are not rich people. But we emphasize this: can these other causes be successful if NEW MASSES dies? It is the fountainhead of many of them, a spokesman for all of them. We believe that all progressive life in America will suffer if there is no NEW MASSES to speak out.

You know that Mr. Knox, Secretary of the Navy (publisher of one of the country's biggest papers) will not speak for you. Nor will Roy Howard, nor Ralph Ingersoll, nor Col. Adler, nor any of the host of publishers who have just finished their annual meeting madly cheering Mr. Roosevelt's war song.

NEW MASSES alone remains the weekly organ of the people who dream of security, of freedom. And who work for these goals.

On this May Day seven prominent Americans have written us their opinion of NEW MASSES. They say this magazine must not die. We believe, we know, you agree with them.

But your regard, your love for this magazine, will not save it unless you are moved to immediate response.

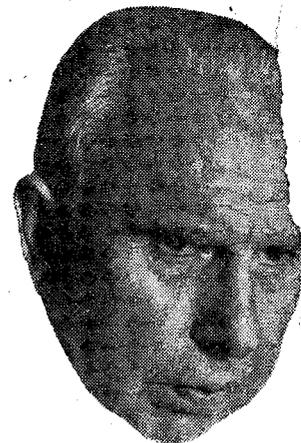
THE EDITORS.

(Please turn to page 28)

"The most important magazine in the country, in my opinion, is NEW MASSES which has carried the banner for honesty in writing for some thirty years. I think it's putting up a damned good fight to keep America from sending another couple of million boys to be slaughtered off in a war that isn't ours."

THEODORE DREISER

—Dean of American letters, author of "An American Tragedy," "Sister Carrie," and many other best-sellers.





your state because you are equally concerned about your country? Are you betraying your country if you are also an internationalist—dedicated to the brotherhood of man? Only workers are forbidden to be internationalists. It's perfectly proper for J. P. Morgan and Henry Ford; for the bankers, the munition trusts, the chemical companies. It's proper for scientists, stamp collectors, athletic associations, musicians, spiritualists, people who raise bees, to be internationalists—but not workers. Only the clasped hands of the workers across the boundaries are struck down in every country. It will pass for an anthropologist to say in abstruse language, "There is but one race—the human race!" But let a worker say, "Brother, fellow worker, comrade"—and there's hell to pay. He should be sent back where he came from! He should be deprived of his citizenship; he should lose his job; he should be jailed! If a Christ-like voice should challenge them: "But what about loving thy neighbor as thyself?" the wild man from Texas would roar: "Who said that? He's a Red, subversive, a trouble maker!" Let us be not dismayed in the slightest by all this

frenzy. Let us remember the cool words of Lenin: "*Acting thus the bourgeoisie acts as did all classes condemned to death by history.*" Every beautiful May Day of solidarity, triumph, and hope is another reminder to us to take "the long view"—the Bolshevik view of passing events. The road ahead may be rougher but it is shorter than the road behind.

Once they laughed at us, these rulers of America. We were still, small voices, crying in the wilderness, we were dreamers of idle dreams, Utopians; we couldn't change human nature. What would the world be without the profit incentive? Answer that now, you agitating soap boxer. We were as Vanzetti said: "Talking at street corners to scorning men!" But this was two decades ago. Now they know, the rulers of the world, that the era of socialism has begun. They have been tried and found wanting. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics not only guarantees a peaceful, happy, secure life on one-sixth of the earth's surface to nearly 200,000,000 people. It is a constant inspiration to downtrodden and exploited workers in every capitalist

country in the world to "go thou and do likewise!" On May Day we salute the Soviet Union—land of socialism—land of peace and plenty, the great ideal of labor since time immemorial, the cooperative commonwealth of all who toil. "It works, brothers!" they say in the deep, dark mines; "It works," they say by the blazing furnaces in the steel mills; "It works," says the tenant farmer; "It works," says the sailor in the hold of the ship and the truck driver rushing through the night. No bosses, no landlords, no bankers, no munitions makers, no loan sharks, no employment agencies; no child labor; no prostitution; no unfinished educations; no broken old age; no long hours; no low wages; no speed-up; no unemployment; no rich, no profiteers, no capitalism. Organization is the stage we have advanced to now. Music to the ears of an old time agitator is all the justified scorn and contempt the average worker expresses uncompromisingly of the boss class. These workers don't take off their hats; they don't say "Sir!" They are unafraid. There is a fighting class spirit abroad in this land today among the people.

MAY DAY traditionally celebrates victories won; makes new demands; presses forward slogans of immediate action. Have we won victories in 1941? You tell it, you hundreds of thousands, union men of Bethlehem Steel; US Steel; Allis Chalmers; International Harvester; New York Transport Co.; Ford Motor Co. Ten million organized workers in America today and more to come. Skilled and unskilled, black and white, native and immigrant, man and woman, young and old—shoulder to shoulder. Let the war mongers shout; let the profit-mad rave. "*We shall not be moved!*" retort these millions of American workers on May Day. There is nothing to be despondent about; nothing to be weary about—not so long as we are organizing and fighting. Not so long as we are holding what we have won in an iron grip; are moving forward, getting more. Not so long as there is unswerving resistance to the Roosevelt-Willkie war party among eighty-six percent of the American people. *Organize, Fight, Press Forward*—that's the spirit of America's May Day in 1941.

Organize and fight, to stay out of war! Against all imperialism and fascism, including American! Protect labor's rights to organize, to make demands, to strike. No blackout of the Bill of Rights. Defend the rights of minority parties—the Communist Party—vital test of the people's rights to free elections. Stop war profiteering. Lower the cost of living. Resist wage cuts and longer working hours. Free all fighters against imperialist war. *Free Earl Browder! End Jim Crowism and anti-Semitism in our country. Cement a friendship with the Soviet Union.* These slogans are aloft, the fighting slogans of America's May Day everywhere. *For peace and socialism* is in the hearts, in the minds, on the lips of millions around the world May First, 1941. The "sun of tomorrow" shines upon us. The future is ours.

NEW MASSES

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Editors

BARBARA GILES, A. B. MAGIL, RUTH MCKENNEY,
BRUCE MINTON, JOSEPH NORTH, JOSEPH STAROBIN,
JOHN STUART

Business Manager

CARL BRISTEL

★

Robbery by Taxation

THE tax program of the Roosevelt administration is the mirror of its foreign policy. No other domestic measure so clearly expresses the reactionary meaning of the whole war effort. The tax proposals mark the public abandonment of the economic theory which was the mainspring of the New Deal social program even when achievement fell far short of promise: that the increase of purchasing power in the hands of the people would set in motion the wheels of recovery and result in rising living standards and the elimination of unemployment. This theory had its shortcomings. But what is left even of the pretense of the New Deal when the administration now announces that one of the prime objectives of its new tax bill is to *reduce* purchasing power?

In his budget message last January 8 President Roosevelt said: "I am opposed to a tax policy which restricts general consumption as long as unused capacity is available and as long as idle labor can be employed. . . . The additional tax measures should be based on the principle of ability to pay."

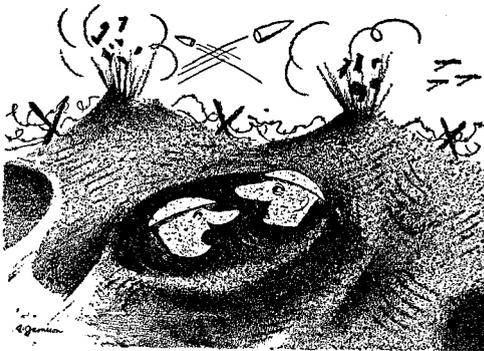
How does the Treasury Department's tax plan conform to this pledge? In about the same way as the administration's foreign policy conforms to the principle of "steps short of war." It is proposed to raise \$3,500,000,000—the largest tax rise in the country's history—through the following increases: income taxes, \$1,521,000,000; corporation taxes, \$935,000,000; estate and gift taxes, \$347,000,000; and excise taxes on articles of consumption such as cigarettes, gasoline, liquor, matches, etc., \$1,233,000,000. The excise taxes are, in fact, sales taxes, hitting principally those least able to pay. Only the increases in the corporation, estate, and gift taxes fall primarily on the wealthy. In the light of the fabulous profits now being made by big business and the generous tax concessions handed to it last year, the proposed modest increase in corporation taxes reveals once again the tender solicitude of the Roosevelt administration for the architects of war and fascism.

THE INCOME TAX PROPOSALS offer further proof of the negation of the principle of taxation based on ability to pay. The sharpest increases are reserved for those in the low- and middle-income groups. So drastic are these rises that even the *Wall Street Journal* is con-

strained to speak of "a design to proletarianize the middle classes." The counter-proposals made by the House Ways and Means Committee—whose members, unlike Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, must stand for election—relieve the burden somewhat on these groups, but also involve substantial increases. In his statement to the Ways and Means Committee, Morgenthau made clear that, apart from helping to finance the huge arms budget, the administration's tax plan aims to reduce "the amount of money that the public can spend for comparatively less important things" and "to prevent a general rise in prices by keeping the total volume of monetary purchasing power from outrunning production." This is a scheme for legalized robbery of the people, for cheating the American workers out of the small wage gains that some of them have been able to achieve during the recent stormy weeks through their organized efforts.

This assault on purchasing power is part of a larger plan for the further Nazification of American economy through the curtailment of the production of "comparatively less important things," that is, the things the people need (the twenty percent cut in auto output is one of the first steps of this kind), and the ruthless expropriation of the masses. Secretary Morgenthau gave a further indication of what's in the wind when he proposed a slash of about \$1,000,000,000 in "non-defense" expenditures, including farm aid, the National Youth Administration, and the CCC. In other words, the first casualty in the war to establish the four freedoms, including freedom from want, is to be the American standard of living.

It need hardly be added that the way to prevent a general rise in prices is not by creating an artificial scarcity of consumers' goods and then knocking the bottom out of purchasing power, but, on the contrary, by expanding the consumers' goods industries to keep pace with expanding purchasing power. But that would presuppose a concern for the defense and improvement of the way of life of the majority of Americans. The calculating men of wealth, who have bent the men of government to their will and driven our country out upon the chartless seas of this tragic imperialist war, have, of course, other ends in view.



"That last shell didn't sound like 'campaign oratory.'"

The Miners Advance

THE runaround did not work. The coal operators began negotiations with the United Mine Workers last March with the firm intention of putting the miners and their leader, John L. Lewis, "in their place." They could count on administration support, and more than that, on the Red-baiting, vengeful maneuvers of poll-tax congressmen from the South. They could be sure that Mr. Knudsen and Mr. Hillman, from their high seats on the Office of Production Management, would "befriend" labor by knifing the miners in the back. They could bank on the Defense Mediation Board's eagerness to rob the UMW of its bargaining power, to "arbitrate" any dispute in a nice way that would protect the mine owners, rob Mr. Lewis of leadership, disrupt and eventually destroy the UMW.

It was all planned and prepared. But it didn't work. The miners wrested a new contract for the North, a contract raising wages substantially, improving working conditions, strengthening the union by acknowledging its effectiveness. The Southern owners, stooges for the Northern operators, remained the last line of resistance. The family quarrel between corporations of the North and those of the South, ballyhooed as a "split" among the operators, was in reality a second line of defense to which the corporations fell back after their first defeat. Still the miners pressed on, determined to destroy the two-wage system. The miners, who could not be split, now return to work with the pledge that the Southern mines will negotiate wages and that scales agreed upon will be retroactive.

The fight of the UMW has been most revealing to the labor movement. It proved that militant unity can surmount the haggling of the great owners and the pressure of administration-appointed, strike-breaking boards; it can overcome the anger of President Roosevelt intent on "showing" John L. Lewis; the old game of delay and the hostile misrepresentation of the press. Even more, the United Mine Workers proved that organization powerfully united behind a courageous leader who speaks for the rank and file brings victory. For Northern miners are never safe in their union, never secure in their hard-won victories, so long as their brothers in the South are victims of fierce discrimination. The battle against the wage differential is by no means ended. But the UMW and John L. Lewis have advanced powerfully. In their solidarity, which has successfully overcome every strike-breaking trick in the brimming bag of the employers, they find good reason for confidence in the outcome of further negotiations.

Two Decisions

WE WISH it were possible to welcome without reservation the Supreme Court decision that Negroes traveling from one state to another are entitled to railroad accommodations equal to those of white passengers. Unfortunately, however, while the decision