Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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= by Jay Lovestone =

"IT'S HELL TO BE A CHICAGO LIBERAL..."

66TT'S Hell to be a Chicago Liberal," is the delicious title of a delightfully stimulating article by Milton S. Mayer in the February 25 issue

of the Nation. We are surprised—pleasantly, of course—to find such an expression in this organ of once-vigorous liberalism—now seriously infected with Bacillus Stalinismus. Here are a few choice excerpts at random but hitting the bull's eye with deadly accuracy:

"The Communist Party and Colonel Robert M. McCormick take great pleasure in presenting their candidate for Mayor of Chicago, the Honorable Edward J. Kelly. This, in case you're a stranger in town, is the same Kelly who had to pay \$105,000 for forgetting to tell the U.S. Treasury about \$450,000 of personal income between 1925 and 1928. It is also the same Kelly who forgot to tell the police not to shoot the steel strikers in the back on Memorial Day of 1937. Colonel McCormick is having his first experience as a fellow-traveller of the Communist Party.'

Well, and if you're a stranger in the western hemisphere—whose unity we're disturbing, according to the Daily Worker-let us inform you this is the same Kelly whose addressing the I.L.G.W.U. convention at Chicago in 1934, before he ordered and then hailed the Memorial Day massacre, caused the same Communist Party to pour its own brand of sulphur and brimstone (just mud) on the leaders of this union. Furthermore, the political differences between the Colonel McCormicks and Top-Sergeant Browders are vanishing faster than even the Indians in these United States. But let Mr. Mayer tell us a little more:

"We knew Kelly wasn't going to reform. But we told ourselves that he was really a purposeless kind of sentimental Irishman who might turn

out all right if he had some nice boys to play with . . .

"So one by one we liberals lined up with McCormick and Kelly. It is well enough to talk about going down fighting and sticking to your principles, but Chicago liberals have learned a lesson from France and Spain. We joined the Popular Front . . .

"So, at last, we liberals are going to reform Chicago, with Ed Kelly's help . . . My friends, it's wicked to be a Tory, but it's hell to be a liberal."

Thank you, Mr. Mayer. We could never say it as well. We merely add, in parenthesis, that the Stalinist agencies (misnamed communist parties) the world over are providing the sinister reactionaries "some nice boys to play with." In France, Daladier was provided with Thorez; in England, Churchill is being offered the simple but inane Harry Pollitt; in the United States, the most aggressive imperialist reactionaries are being offered a junk-yard full of such toys. And, as to Spain, well, it's too tragic to discuss this suicidal "victory" of the People's Front.

LUCKY LENIN!

WHILE "progressive" Mayor LaGuardia's picked police were arresting and slugging peaceful pickets against the Nazi demonstration in the Empire City, the House of Representatives was busy voting a new army bill of \$376,000,000 and stubbornly maintaining the pitifully inadequate relief appropriations. "Heil" the greatest "democracy" on God's green

And while this was going on, the New York mouthpiece of Stalin's foreign office, the Daily Worker, whined on February 24: "House Tories Aid Tokio Aggressors in Defeat of Guam Defense Proposal." Thus screamed its 8-column 60-point headline. The next day, after the smoke of battle had cleared, the same sheet spoke editorially against "the cutting loose of the Philippines from American protection" and cried that "this vote against Guam is a war vote."

Lucky Lenin to be dead and thus be spared the agony of seeing his epoch-making teachings about imperialism trampled in the dust by Stalin

So it has come to pass that, if one votes \$5,000,000 for fortifying Guam (officially called "harbor improvements," of course), he is a revolutionist or at least a ruddy progressive or apple-cheeked liberal! And if not? "Shame on such Tories," "Hang such Red-baiters," "Liquidate such vile enemies of the people"! These and similar battle-cries will stud Stalinist "literature" soon. Incidentally, it may interest our readers that the first statement in support of fortifying Guam came from Representative E. E. Cox of Georgia, a notorious reactionary from one of our most backward

EASTWARD OR WESTWARD?

WE still maintain that the likelihood of a Nazi assault eastwards is more acute than westwards-unless the Soviet-German confabs now going on over trade and other matters come to successful fruition. The Nipponese imperialist threats hurled with such increasing frequency and fury against the Soviet Union in recent weeks are very likely only means of pressure exercised by the Axis Powers on the U.S.S.R. to speed up some momentary understanding and insure substantial Russian concessions in the bargaining. Already Italy has managed to get the Soviet government to supply Rome's navy with desperately needed oil.

But not for a moment should anyone overlook the fact that Hitler and Mussolini can very well utilize these arrangements with the Stalin regime to insure major shake-downs from their French and British imperialist opponents. World tension has reached the trigger point. In such situations, bluff can at any moment turn into grimmest irrevocable reality. Therefore no one can give the slightest credence to Chamberlain's latest "definite" assurance to France. We need but recall that only a few weeks before Munich Sir John Simon at Lanark gave "complete and definite assurance" to Czecho-Slovakia that a war launched against the Prague republic would probably involve England. At first, this was interpreted as a grave warning to Germany. Within less than thirty days it was unmasked in reality to mean the very opposite: Since Great Britain would be involved in such a war, therefore, Lombard and Downing Streets had to do their all to force Czecho-Slovakia to yield its own all to Nazi imperialism.

Two lessons must be drawn in summary: Between the war-makers in the so-called "democratic" countries and the war-wagers in the fascist lands there is, at best, as much difference in their devotion to peace and the welfare of the masses as there is between a satiated mare's shoe and a hungry horse's shoe. The world is no longer living on the edge of a flaming volcano. We are virtually living in a volcano erupting with increasingly recurring frequency and infernal devastation.

Anti-War Bill Revived

Washington, D. C. The first move in the fight for the passage by the present Congress of a constitutional amendment requiring a popular referendum before the declaration of a foreign war, was taken last week when a group of twelve Senators, headed by Senator crats, three Republicans, two Farmer-Laborites and a Progressive, introduced a somewhat modified form of the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment killed in the last Congress thru the efforts of the Administra-

The twelve Senators were Bone of Washington, Clark of Idaho, Clark of Missouri, Donahey of Ohio, Murray of Montana and Wheeler of Montana, Democrats; Capper of Shipstead of Minnesota, Farmer-Labor: and LaFollette of Wisconsin,

Progressive. proposed constitutional amendment, peace or war."

New Deal Ends Reforms

The reform activities of the New Deal have come to an end; now all efforts will be concentrated on "recovery," Harry L. Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, told the Des Moines Economic Club last week in have been calling "the Valley Forge and address which was his first "policy" declaration since he left the LaFollette and including six Demo- W.P.A. The tenor of his remarks was to "reassure" business of the Administration's good will and desire to create an environment in which private capital will be encouraged to invest."

"With emphasis shifted from reform to recovery," Mr. Hopkins said, "the Administration is now

(Continued on Page 3) said: "The referendum principle as Kansas, Frazier of North Dakota sumes that the people, in the end, and Nye of North Dakota, Republare best able to decide whether or licans; Lundeen of Minnesota and not they want to fight in Europe or Asia and for what goals. Those who have to do the fighting, make the supreme sacrifice and in the end pay Senator LaFollette, in a state- the staggering cost of war, are enment calling for the support of the titled to make the vital decision for

AT FIRST GLANCE A.F.L., C.I.O. to Resume Unity Talks

UAW Meet Opens In Detroit

Great Masses of Auto Workers Back Martin in Fight for Autonomy

Detroit, Mich. emergency convention of the United Anderson, Ind.; H. H. Miller, Local Automobile Workers of America opening here in Moose Hall on Local 159, Pontiac; D. R. Sherwood, March 4 The deliberation of Local 169, Control of the Control of actions of this convention are bound to have a decisive effect upon the Jerome Augustine, Local 464, Cleveto have a decisive effect upon the future of this powerful mass-production union whose few years of existence have already been so full of strife and struggle.

The Detroit convention will reconsolidate the union after the split by the group of former Board members under the direction of the Communist Party and with the blessings and support of the top leadership of the C.I.O. All indications during the last few weeks go to show that the Martin organization has the backing of the great majority of organized and aircraft in the United States.

The three most important convention committees, on resolutions, credentials and constitution, have algo into session immediately.

The resolutions committee con-Final preparations were under sists of: Dewey Smith, Local 84, way last week for the momentous Detroit; Leland Fisher, Local 146, March 4. The deliberations and Local 206, Grand Rapids; Joseph land.

> The members of the credentials committee are: Roy Pelletier, Local 190, Detroit; Walter Williams, Local 249, Kansas City; J. A. Cotton, Fryling, Local 501, Buffalo; and Paul McGuire, Local 161, Canton,

The following make up the constitution committee: Ed Hellkamp, Local 131, Norwood, Ohio; Gene Plus, auto workers in every part of the Local 365, Long Island City, N. Y.; country. The convention that will Emil Smith, Local 87, Muskegon; meet here the coming week will be living proof of the fact that the George Grisham, Local 265, Evans-U.A.W. of which Homer Martin is ville, Ind.; Fred Durrance, Local 203, president is the bona-fide organiza- Detroit; Al Stuhr, Local 228, Los tion of the workers in automobile Angeles, Cal.; Elmer Dowell, Local 193, Kansas City. Two places on this

committee are still to be filled. The union's W.P.A. division and omen's auxiliaries are to meet in national conference during the ready been set up and will probably course of the U.A.W. convention, ac-(Continued on Page 4)

F.D.R. Reported Set to **Force Labor Unity**

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. ROOSEVELT's letters to Green and Lewis were the outstanding topic of conversation in Washington during this past week. It is generally agreed that it will be difficult this time for any leader in the C.I.O. or A.F. of L. to refuse to accept reasonable peace terms. Sources close to the President have revealed to me that F.D.R. stands ready to put on the heat, if there is any attempt to evade the issue or to refuse to unite. This informant having said to me, "It is labor peace, or else!" I asked what "or else" implied. I was told that the President thought that it would be sufficient to threaten to reveal to the rank and file of labor and the general public the names of labor leaders standing in the way of unity choice in 1940. The Republicans are in order to bring them into line.

Behind this move of the President's is concern about the labor vote in 1940 as well as a desire to stimulate business recovery. This is part and parcel of the new Wall an unqualified progressive move, in terms of motivation. The unity which the National Association of Manu-I don't imply that unity, therefore, is not highly desirable. The prob-lem facing progressives in the landless may be may be may be supported by the support of th bor movement is to make sure that whatever is accomplished by these negotiations does not pledge the lapor movement to uncritical support of the New Deal section of the Democratic party, to "recovery" defined as cutting federal spending for relief and rehabilitation and to the encouragement of a war "to make the world safe for democracy."

NEW DEAL AT VALLEY FORGE

Hopkins's Iowa speech and the plea for labor peace made by Roosevelt are a part of what the columnists experience" of the New Deal. There is a good bit of evidence that the New Deal is inclined to surrender, if big business will accept its sword.

Down here in the center of "world democracy," as the Fellow-Travelers say, the outlook for a Democratic victory in 1940 is not so bright. There is a curious defeatism among the New Dealers which has developed during the past few weeks. This is the dope, as of today: Farley will dictate the choice of a rightish middle-of-the roader not fully acceptable to Roosevelt. F.D.R. will ing Company of Terre Haute, Ind., nominally support the Democratic had refused to bargain collectively candidate but a whispering cam- with a union whose striking members paign will make clear that he is not the Board had demanded should too happy about the matter. Cor- be reinstated. The court held that coran and Co. will do a quiet job the Board's contention that the comof convincing labor that perhaps it pany had declined to negotiate was should support Tom Dewey, the Re- "without support."

PRANK HOWARD is the pen-name of a wellknown journalist at present stationed in Washington, He is in very close touch with events and personalities in political circles and the labor movement. His dispatches from Washington, to appear regularly in these columns, will throw valuable light on important developments in the nation's capital.—Editor.

bad and it will teach that s.o.b. Garner a lesson, because we will be back in power in 1944." These rumors may be circulated for the purpose of scaring the daylights out of Cactus Jack and forcing him to accept Roosevelt's suspicious of this willingness of the Rooseveltians to give up the ship during the Spring of 1939. However for whatever they are worth, these are the dominant rumors that have come to my ears. Of course, a nice Street-Washington axis. It is hardly big war, would upset all these calculations.



Labor Must Have Unity!

EVERYONE who has the welfare of the labor movement genuinely at heart will rejoice at the resumption of peace jective of Administration policy, negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Certainly, it would have been much better had the move come at the direct tions, the anti-New Deal trend in the initiative of the labor movement itself rather than at the call of Democratic party and the attack on the White House. But however that may be, the prospect of the the Wagner Act and other New leaders of the two sections of organized labor getting down to Deal legislation in Congress. business face to face at the conference table is a welcome one indeed for the great masses of the workers thruout the country. Key West but probably prepared

It is surely unnecessary at this stage of affairs to make a case mand for unity among the rank and for unity or to rehearse the disastrous consequences of the civil file of American labor as well as war raging in labor's ranks. There is not the least doubt in the among the officers of both federaworld that the overwhelming majority of the workers in the A. F. tions, as could be judged from the of L., C.I.O. and outside of both, as well as of the officers of these mass of messages received in recent organizations, want the speediest possible unification and are months by himself, Secretary of Lakeenly aware of the terrific price that is being paid for the prevailing dissension. Unity is literally a life-and-death question for the A. F. of L. convention at Denver. labor movement today.

But let there be no mistake about it—even with the best will in the world, there are still a number of serious obstacles that will have to be cleared before unity is achieved. It is true that the issue of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries has already been largely settled by history itself, and there are abun-movement]." The President partidant signs that important sections of the A. F. of L. leadership have cularly pointed to the "hazards and come to realize this fact: let us recall that at the December dangers to which the labor move-1937 negotiations, the A. F. of L. committee was ready to grant ment is subject, both internally and complete industrial charters for the steel, auto, rubber and other from without, if it cannot find a mass-production fields. But many sore points of jurisdictional pattern of unity" as well as to the conflict arising out of real dual-union situations still remain and these will have to be ironed out with patience and mutual concessions. There are significant differences, too, between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. on questions of political tactics, on attitude to the Wagner Act, etc. Perhaps these problems will have to wait for a real solution within the united federation. Then there is the difficulty raised by Stalinist infiltration and domination in certain sections of the C.I.O. Of course, the Stalinist influence will be of both labor organizations have thrown, secretly and behind the scenes, under cover of deceptive been going on to explore the posphrases about "unity," against any real effort to achieve peace. sibilities for unity. "The Secretary Yet, however real and formidable the obstacles in the way of of Labor tells me," Mr. Roosevelt inpeace may be, they are not insurmountable. Let the responsible formed Green and Lewis, "that after leaders of both sides get together determined to work out a sound careful investigation and prolonged basis for a constructive, negotiated peace, and peace there will be. conversations with responsible lead-

Even at best, however, it should be recognized that it will take be no insurmountable obstacles to some time to achieve complete unification. But the dissension in peace and that in fact there is a real labor's ranks must not be allowed to continue for another and honorable desire for unification moment. The first task facing the negotiators will be to arrange for an immediate armistice, an immediate truce in the conflict, pending further deliberations. The basis for truce, even for collaboration in certain fields between the two organizations, M. Harrison, chairman of the old already exists despite their serious differences. Not one moment must be lost in bringing to a halt the self-destroying fratricidal Sidney Hillman of the C.I.O., with

The sincere hopes and wishes of the great masses of American workers go with the peace negotiators who will soon convene at again present, brought together Washington. A great deal, indeed, depends upon them and their Philip Murray and Matthew Woll,

facturers wants is unity on a "safe-and-sane don't-rock-the-boat" basis. Supreme Court Outlaws London, Paris **OK Franco**

terpretation of a contract.

In each case, the dissenters were

The majority opinion admitted

that Fansteel had been unfair in la-

it maintained that the "unlawful"

actions of the workers in seizing the

buildings, etc., gave good reason for

their discharge, so that they ceased

could not therefore be reinstated.

to be employees of the company and

The Reed-Black dissent, written by

Justice Reed, held that under the

employees and entitled to the pro-

(Continued on Page 2)

pursued by Justice Hughes.

tection of the act.

Frankfurter did not participate.

Ruling in Three Cases Hits N.L.R.B.

|Justice Roberts, defeated a Board Washington, D. C. The sit-down strike as a weapon order against the Sands Manufacof labor in industrial conflict was turing Company of Cleveland, the outlawed by the Supreme Court last | majority holding that there had been week in one of three 5-to-2 decisions thru which heavy blows were dealt to the National Labor Relations Board in its administration of the Wagner Act.

In a majority opinion by Chief Justice Hughes, the high court denied the Board the right to order the reinstatement of sit-down strikers in the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation's plant at North Chicago. The Hughes opinion also denounced the sit-down strike itself and condemned the Board for exceeding its authority in ordering the reinstatement of men who, according to the court, were no longer in the employ of the company.

Justice Stone, for the same majority, rejected a Board ruling that the Columbian Enamelling and Stamp-

publican nominee. "Dewey isn't so | The third decision, written by

U. S. To Follow Lead

Of "Democracies"

Amidst catcalls and cries of from Labor opposition benches and cheers from his supno discrimination or refusal to bargain collectively, as charged by the and unconditional recognition of the Board. The dispute was over the in-Franco regime by Great Britain. The same day, the French cabinet took a similar step by unanimous Justices Black and Reed. Justice vote. The House endorsed Prime Minister Chamberlain's action by a vote of 344 to 177 after a debate in which Anthony Eden openly supported the government. bor practises before the strike. But

In Washington, there was no official comment on this development but informed sources expressed the opinion that American recognition of the Franco regime would soon be forthcoming, perhaps accompanied by some face-saving devices.

Wagner Act, strikers, even the en- P.O.U.M. Leaders Escape

gaging in sit-down tactics, were still London, England. The P.O.U.M. leaders who were imprisoned in Barcelona, including Justice Stone concurred with the majority altho he limited his reason-Julian Gorkin, Bonet, Andrade, Giing to only part of the argument ronella and Solano, the youth leader, have managed to reach France in Last week's decisions, especially safety. Fenner Brockway, of the the vitally important Fansteel British I.L.P., met Gorkin in Paris opinion, are the first real blows and received a full report of the

F.D.R. Calls For Renewed **Parleys**

Green, Lewis Apoint Committees To Meet In Few Weeks

The issue of unity in the labor movement suddenly came to the fore again last week when President Roosevelt sent nearly identical letters to William Green, president of the A. F. of L., and John L. Lewis, president of the C.I.O., calling upon them to "end the breach" which has divided their organizations for three years by concluding a "constructive, negotiated peace with honor" in the interest of a "united and vital labor movement." The heads of both labor organizations were asked to appoint committees to resume peace negotiations as soon as possible.

Unity in the labor movement is

some time before, stressed the de-"The government of the United States and the people of America,' the President added in his letter, "believe [peace] to be a wise and almost necessary step for the further development [of the labor to a united labor movement."

PRIVATE MEETINGS

The Roosevelt letter confirmed the rumors recently circulated that informal conferences between leaders of the labor movement among all parties concerned." It is reliably reported that the first of the private meetings referred to was between George A. F. of L. peace committee, and Father Francis J. Haas, present for Secretary Perkins. The second secret meeting, at which Father Haas was for the first time. At both meetings. the big question was the actual meaning of the "unity" resolution adopted at the C.I.O. convention in November. A. F. of L. spokesmen declared themselves of the opinion that the resolution was merely a reiteration of the ultimatum issued by Lewis in December 1937 and rejected at that time by the A. F. of Among the C.I.O. spokesmen, however, there apparently was some difference of opinion. Some agreed that the C.I.O. convention resolution was merely a reaffirmation of the old Lewis stand but others appeared to porters, Prime Minister Chamber- be of the opinion that it cleared the lain last week announced in the |deck for fresh parleys "without ul-House of Commons the formal, full timatums or committments by either

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William Phillips Editor, Partisan Review

speaks

FRIDAY, MARCH 10 8:15 P. M.

"Left Literature In America"

Admission 25c

THE INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 West 33rd Street New York City

Crisis in the New York Teachers Union

Stalinist Totalitarian Control Menaces A.F.T.

By D. BENJAMIN

of the A. F. of L. (New York Times, February 6, 1939) upon the leadership of the New York teachers locals, the crisis affecting the New York teachers-union movement took an membership of the union! Considereven more serious turn, with definite implications for the entire American Federation of Teachers. The possible revocation of the charter of the A. F. of T. loomed on the horizon unless the situation prevailing in New York was examined and changed.

The crisis did not begin with Matthew Woll's attack nor was the attack the chief cause of the crisis. The problem facing New York Teachers Locals 5, 453 and 537 has been in existence for several years, with events of deep import succeeding one another with great rapidity during the past two years, bringing matters to a climax with Woll's sharp statement.

Last year, Local 5 (largely publicschool teachers) was suspended from totalitarianism itself reigns supreme. the New York Central Trades and At delegate-assembly and member-Labor Council and was expelled from ship meetings, the lynch atmosphere the Joint Committee of Teacher Or- is the rule. Booing and hissing are ganizations of the city. This past the continuous rewards for those year has witnessed the dramatic re- who dare disagree with the ruling | CENSORSHIP signation of Profs. Childs, Hacker and others from Local 537 (college dependent Group, introducing an the New York Teacher (monthly teachers), accompanied by sharp opposition resolution at the last magazine of Local 5) and of the public criticism of the leadership of membership meeting (February 17) | College News Letter (paper of Local that local by Professors Counts and was interrupted by systematic 537) are thrown open to but one Hartman, who remained within to hissing. Another Independent told viewpoint on the question of the fight. In Local 453 (W.P.A. teachers), the workers-educational project that if they insisted on hissing him, on the issues raised by Professors division of the union, there is breaking out open revolt against the lead- not interrupt him later-and, true to additional proof to the charge that ership of the local. Recently, Locais 453 and 537 were suspended from the multiplied form. An administration press, that the union paper is being Central Trades and Labor Council, just as Local 5 was last year. Ob- and hissing were "spontaneous" out- so-called democratic forms of the viously, the crisis was not caused by anything that Matthew Woll did, but resulted from factors and conditions in the teachers locals themselves. Even if Mr. Woll had never said a single word, the crisis would be there just the same.

In what does the crisis consist? Briefly the answer can be sum marized as follows:

1) the totalitarian regimes in these locals; 2) the Stalinist control over these unions, which has made them

auxiliaries of the Stalinist party.

SITUATION **VERY DANGEROUS**

teachers, defending and improving their conditions and rights, and bringing unity into the ranks of the teachers-union movement. In Local 5, there is a claimed

membership of 6,500. However, apin arrears in dues payments (more than one year in arrears). A large have to be dropped. Hundreds upon hundreds more are not in goodstanding (more than six months behind in dues). The proportion of new recruits to the union coming from the category of regular school N.L.R.B. to designate industrial teachers has been dropping of late. It is very likely that the net membership of the union of those in good-standing at the end of this school year will be less than the number of such at the end of the last school year. Events have caught up with the growth of membership, about which the present Local 5 administration boasts so much. The ruinous effects of the present administration's methods and policies are beginning to assert themselves. These figures and facts, as well as their significance, should be the aligned against each other on the property and concern of the entire membership of Local 5 and should bargaining unit, the dispute "was be compared with the padded figures and incorrect picture given by the Local 5 administration. This situation should be contrasted with that existing in Chicago* where there are 9,000 union members, in a city where the teaching staff in less than onehalf of that of New York City. There has been a notable drop in

the membership during the past few argument that "the industrial form years. In the last elections for offic- of organization affords all em-

*The Chicago local is not Stalinist-controlled. On many important craft organizations," a type of questions at the last A.F.T. convention, it was in opposition to the agitation in favor of industrial leadership of the New York locals.

"State of American Civilization"

March 10. — William Phillips WIDENING (Editor, Partisan Review); Left Literature in America.

March 17.-Ludwig Lore (Columnist,

March 24.—Horace Coon ("Money

To Burn"): Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life. March 31.-Will Herberg (Editor Workers Age): Trends in American

April 7.—Bertram D. Wolfe ("Portrait of America"): Whither America?

Fridays at 8:15. Admission 25c

Governmental Structure.

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd Street

ers and executive board, less than round of applause! WITH the sharp attack of 50% of the membership participated, Matthew Woll, vice-president which is a low figure for teachers. In the membership meeting called to consider the statement of Matthew Woll, not more than 1200 were present—less than 20% of the stated ing that the Stalinist fraction is said to be 700 to 800 strong, the figure is even more striking. Whereas union committees in 1935 and 1936, immediately after the union crisis of 1936, were large and well-attended, union committees now are in an hour, the opposition was limited most cases in the opposite condition. to four three-minute speeches, while The large, well-oiled, and obedient the administration viewpoint was Stalinist fraction has hitherto supplemented by five more speakers. always conveyed the impression of the membership as a whole participating in and determining the

> pression is far from accurate. This well-organized minority runs the union in a way that can only be characterized as totalitarian, And, within this organized fraction,

> conduct of the union, but the im-

bursts of the members and were arguments of the opposition. This was answered properly when it was pointed out that Southern lynchers also claim "spontaneity" of feeling and action for the lynchings there. Another administration leader admitted it was wrong and unfair to conduct a discussion with hissing, etc., and appealed against it. For this, he was given a great round of

applause. In the very next sentence,

he threw the responsibility for such

actions upon the opposition and for

this he was given an even greater

"Those who criticize the union administration are playing the game of the Dies Committee," was a favorite "argument" of the spokesmen of the ruling group. And with this, of course, they hoped to silence all criticism. Those who took issue with the methods of the administration were called "splitters," "disrupters," "partners of Dies, McNaboe and Co.," and the like. After President Hendley reported for the administration's viewpoint for almost Thus were the two viewpoints on the crisis presented in the atmosphere described above. This was but a duplication of the delegate-assembly meeting where the criticism of Professors Counts, Childs and the others was under consideration, of the meeting where Professor Speer spoke one and a half hours for the administration, with no time left for the opposition or for the member-

FACTIONAL

let them do so then and there and Counts and Childs. This but adds form, the request was granted in there exists a censorship of the spokesman stated that the booing used in a factional manner, that the union are belied by the anti-democbrought forth by the nature of the ratic character of the administration in its conduct of the discussion and examination of basic questions facing the union.

In its answer to Matthew Woll the Local 5 administration categorically denied the charge of Communist Party domination. Yet here is the picture of Local 5 trailing behind the Stalinist American League for Peace and Democracy in the latter's turns and twists to keep up with the C.P.'s changes of policy on the armament question. Local 5 (Continued on Page 4)

Unless these conditions are changed by the membership of the New York locals and by the A.F.T., the results are bound to become even more disastrous, with adverse effects upon the problems of uninnzing the bound of the problems of the problems of uninnzing the bound of the problems of uninnzing the problems of uninnzing the problems of uninnzing the bound of the problems of uninnzing the bound of the problems of uninnzing the problems of uninn

NLRB Survey Reveals Wide Coverage

Washington, D. C. of greater "industrial-union consciouness" and the cutting of craft proportion of these will ultimately lines, was disclosed recently in a special memorandum of the National Labor Relations Board dealing with administrative problems.

In this report, it is revealed that A. F. of L. affiliates have asked the units as collective-bargaining agencies in more than twice as many cases as they have called for many cases as they have called for craft units. Industrial units were requested or accepted in 173 cases, as compared to about 84 cases in which craft units were desired.

Special stress is laid on the point

ISSUE IN A.F.L.-C.I.O. CONFLICTS

hat in many cases in which the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. were issue of the kind of collectivenot [over] craft versus industrial unit at all but merely [over] the scope of the industrial unit." "Not infrequently," the report continues, 'A.F. of L. unions themselves have requested broader industrial units than either the companies or the opposing unions," sometimes C.I.O. affiliates. In such cases, the A. F. activity and interest on the part of of L. claims were backed up by the ployees greater economic strength and better production than separate argument made familiar by C.I.O.

> unionism. This situation, the N.L.R.B. report nakes clear, was to be found not merely in new fields but even in oldestablished jurisdictions where A. F. f L. affiliates requested that several separate crafts be included in one ndustrial jurisdiction.

JURISDICTION

The Board's report confirms indications that have appeared from time to time in the A. F. of L. that New York Post): American Foreign the craft unions, which used to insist on close adherence to craft autonomy, were systematically widening their jurisdictions and scope with the full agreement of the Federation. Considerable hospitality to industrial unionism in A. F. of L. circles was also manifested at the

so-called peace negotiations in Washington in December 1937, where the Federation committee declared itself ready to grant full industrial jurisdictions for the C.I. O. unions in the steel, automobile, textile, rubber, oil and other basic

These and other facts make it clear that the fundamental original also that, at the earlier unity nego-

lobjective of the C.I.O .-- to bring very significant development in about an acceptance of industrial industries—is well on the road to attitude emphasizes the possibility, and should facilitate the achievement, of unity.

(Continued from Page 1)

side." It is regarded as not without significance that the Advance, official paper of Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers of January 1939 issue, in commenting on the C.I.O. convention, that "when men of good will in both camps recognize the need for peace, there can be no insurmountable obstacles to its realization.'

organization in the mass-production for. realization; industrial unionism is beginning to make headway in the A. F. of L. also. This shift of

GREEN AND LEWIS ACT

Immediately upon the receipt of the President's letter. Mr. Green issued a statement accepting the suggestion to resume peace negotiations and appointing a committee of three, Matthew Woll. Daniel Tobin and Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers Union, for that purpose. (Tobin later declined the appointment.) Mr. Green's statement stressed that the A. F. of L. would insist on "the preservation of the structure of the A. L. of L. and the preservation of its democratic principles" and would not compromise" its "economic and political philosophy." After a few days silence, Mr. Lewis replied to the President in a short and somewhat brusque note, informing him the C.I.O. committee would consist of Mr. Lewis himself, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. The inclusion of Mr. Lewis in this peace committee caused considerable comment in la-

PROSPECTS

Despite the rather uncompromisng attitude on both sides, observers believed that the new peace negotiations, scheduled to begin at Washington next week, held out some prospects of tangible results. It was pointed out that Mr. Roosevelt would hardly have risked a direct public appeal in his own name had there not been some previous indication of a favorable outcome. It is certain that the utmost Administration pressure will be exerted in this direction. It should be remembered

Just to Let You Know

(From the Feb. 3, 1939 issue of the Moscow Pravda, leading Stalinist paper in Russia.)

CCORDING to press reports, Martin is carrying on negotiations A with yellow bosses trade unions, organized by the automobile manufacturer, fascist Ford, deadliest enemy of the workers movement and the only one of the large manufacturers in the United States who did not allow the workers in his plant to be organized into industrial unions

The splitting work of Mr. Martin is being directed by the automobile manufacturers. They are trying to destroy the trade unions with the help of Trotskyite-fascist agents and the reactionary A. F. of L. leaders. In this case, these A. F. of L. leaders are again playing the role of enemies of unity of the working class

The expression of reaction and the Trotskyite agents in the automobile union are characteristic phenomena of the inner-political situation in the U.S.A. Reaction is mobilizing all its power for an offensive on the growing anti-fascist movement, on the standards of living of the workers and for a fight against the democratic front.

$N.\,Y.\,Legislators\,Hit$ Discrimination

Propose Measures Against Race Bias

importance."

Albany, N. Y. or color, pnishable by fine and im-In a joint statement, issued with

WIDESPREAD discrimination prisonment.
In a joint York's 500,000 the summer. Negroes in the fields of employment. housing, education, recreation and of the commission, and Assemblyhospitalization is charged in the man Andrews, vice-chairman said: summary of a report made to the State Legislature last week by the temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Negro Population, an official legislative body after a two-year study of the prob-

Fourteen recommendations outline the proposed reforms. Their aims are as follows:

1. To deny the benefits of the State Labor Relations Act to labor organizations which deny persons membership or equal treatment by reason of race, creed or color.

2. To strengthen existing provi sions of the law regarding employment by public utilities and to provide for maintenance by all public utilities of a merit system of employment with provision for public announcement of vacancies, rating of applications and maintenance of

3. To strengthen existing legislation prohibiting racial discrimination in employment by contractors who perform state or local public works contracts and by public utili-4. To prohibit any form of racial

or religious discrimination in public employment and to set up procedures for inquiring into and rectifying any such discrimination. 5. To amend the Civil Service Law

by requiring appointing officers who may pass over an eligible in favor of a lower eligible to make sworn proximately 1,400 of these are badly A the A. F. of L. in the direction unionism as the standard form of certification of the reasons there-6. To make provisions for extend-

ing to all cities in the state formalized procedures in the selection of teachers in the public schools, such, as now are in force in the cities of New York and Buffalo.

7. To regulate contracts of public utilities with their employees to the end that a labor union having a closed-shop contract with a utility may not practise discrimination against applicants for membership.

8. To prohibit racial discrimination or segregation in any housing project operated by a public-housing authority or owned by any limiteddividend company enjoying tax exemption.

9. To regulate the procedure for America, declared editorially in its admission to public educational institutions to insure that qualified applicants for admission shall not be second year at Labor Stage, by MonTo Work," the celebration of the excluded by reason of race, color or day evening, March 6, when the last successful termination of a strike;

10. To make definite the withdraw- Green," is put into the show. al of tax exemption from educational institutions which deny the use of their facilities, by reason of race or color, to persons otherwise qualified.

11. To supplement existing laws designed to insure all persons equal facilities and privileges in places of nublic accommodation by providing for the suspension or revocation of the license of any place of public accommodation denying such equal facilities or privileges; and enlarging the defininition of places of public accommodation.

12. To amend the law to deny exemption to non-sectarian corporations and associations holding real property (presumably hospital and cemetery corporations) and denying use of its facilities to persons by reason of race, color or creed.

13. To empower the State Labor Department to investigate complaints of discrimination by publicworks contractors and grant redress to affected persons.

14. To amend the penal law to make discrimination in civil-service employment, by reason of race, creed

tiations in December 1937, the A. F. of L. spokesmen finally went as far as to concede unrestricted industrial jurisdictions to the C.I.O. unions in the steel, automobile, textile, garment, oil and rubber fields.

In some quarters it is said that the probable outcome of the new conferences, at least for the time being, would be a truce agreement, delimiting various fields reserved for each of the two federations and still other fields for their cooperation.

(Read the editorial on page 1.-Ed.)

Dress Union Fights Truck-Owners

Gigantic Demonstration is Held in Market

By F. L.

New York City FACT-FINDING committee, ap-A pointed by Mayor La Guardia to investigate the conflict between New York dressmakers determined to maintain union conditions and chiseling truck-owners who are encouraging non-union shops by carting dresses of bootleg manufacturers produced under sweatshop conditions, began its sessions on Tuesday, February 28. Members of the committee are George W. Alger, impartial chairman of the cloak and suit industry; Mrs. Anna Rosenberg, regional director of the Social Security Board, and George Z. Medalie, ormer United States Attorney.

The appointment of the LaGuardia committee followed a tremendous mass demonstration staged by the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union, I.L.G W.U., and the threat of strike action to enforce the provisions of the collective agreement in the dress industry being violated by a group of truck-owners who are conspiring to upset the agreement in order to get more business for themselves.

BACKGROUND OF

DRESSMAKERS DEMONSTRATE

truck-owners in New York. Addressing the crowd is Saby Nehama, or-

ganizer for Local 22. At his right is Minnie Lurye, chairman of Local 22.

Five new numbers will have been terial in the I.L.G.W.U. musical.

added to "Pins and Needles," the They are "I've A Nerve To Fall In

Harold J. Rome, the original lyricist | "Lorelei On The Rocks," a lament

HAROLD J. ROME, brilliant lyricist and composer of

'PINS and NEEDLES' and 'SING OUT THE NEWS', has written

three new numbers for his first love, the irrepressible and gay

WE PROUDLY PRESENT

"PAPA LEWIS AND MAMA GREEN"

"BACK TO WORK"

"I'VE THE NERVE TO FALL IN LOVE"

And a new hit by the latest 'PINS and NEEDLES' discovery JOHN

LATOUCHE (assisted by Arnold Horwitt and Bernece Kazounoff)

"BRITANNIA WAIVES THE RULES"

NEW DANCE NUMBERS by FELICIA SOREL

SETTINGS BY S. SYRJALA

ROBERT H. GORDON Director of all new numbers

These TIMELY additions to the revue make

it more outstanding than ever . . .

LABOR STAGE
Mat. Weds. and Sat. 2:40, 55c-\$2.20

New York City | and composer of most of the ma-

Add Five New Numbers

To "Pins and Needles"

of them, "Papa Lewis, Mama

The addition of these numbers is

part of the general process of spruc-

ing up "Pins and Needles" for the

Three of the numbers are by

expected World's Fair crowds.

THEFT

the summary of the report, Senator Schwartzwald, who was chairman The dressmakers The dressmakers demonstration came in answer to the rupture of negotiations on the part of the truck-"We realize that there is need for owners. These negotiations were bestate-wide action beyond what can ing carried on in accordance with be accomplished thru legislation the new collective agreements for alone. Laws can set the pattern for the dress industry signed in Jancommunity improvement, but they uary, which provided for the negoreach maximum effectiveness only tiation of a pact between the Joint with the support of an aroused pub- Board of the Dressmakers Union lic opinion which understands their Cloak and Dress Drivers Union, Local 102, I.L.G.W.U., the dress-employers associations and the truck The legislative commission came nto existence in 1937 as an afterowners. By the terms of the agree math of protest demonstrations in ment, the truck-owners would stop Harlem some time before. Public deliveries of non-union dresses and hearings were held in cities thru become a party to the enforcement out the state, with field surveys in of the general collective agreement areas where no hearings were held. in the industry, in return for which

-Photo by Harry Rubenstein

a "Papa Lewis, Mama Green," a

witty commentary on the C.I.O.-A.F.

The other two numbers are "Bri-

tannia Waives The Rules," a highly

successful satire on the Chamber-

lain policy of appeasement, and

of L. rift. All have music.

they would be given all the dress shipping business in the city. After two weeks of discussion, during which progress was being made toward an agreement, the negotiations were suddenly and mysteriously called off by Barney Shapiro, executive director of the Affiliated Ladies Apparel Carriers Association, the federated organization

of the truck-owners. The dressmakers immediately accepted the challenge and swung into action. Truck drivers Local 102 held a membership meeting at which full cooperation was pledged to the dressmakers union. The Joint Board held a mobilization meeting of active members of the dressmakers unions, where enthusiasm mounted high and determination was expressed to answer the chiseling truck owners with strike action if peaceful negotiations failed.

The order went out for all dressmakers to stop work at 3:30 P. M. on Tuesday, February 21. The order went out on Monday. That evening Local 22 held a mobilization meeting of its own. And on Tuesday afternoon the dressmakers punctually stopped work and poured into the

They came from everywhere, these dressmakers. Within half an hour of the stoppage, 35th Street from 7th to 9th Avenue was jammed. Adjoining streets overflowed with dressmakers. Not a single truck could pass thru 35th Street. where many of the non-union jobbers are located. There were no deliveries of non-union dresses while the dressmakers jammed the streets.

DRESSMAKERS SHOW THEIR SPIRIT

In the middle of 35th Street, between 7th and 8th Avenues, was a platform from which leaders of the dressmakers addressed the crowd. Mass singing, led by Minnie Lurye and Saby Nehama of Local 22, surged upward thru the canyon streets and expressed the solidarity and determination of the dressmakers.

The spirit of the demonstration was expressed by Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, who acted as chairman. "We want to settle this question by conference." he said. "But, if we cannot settle it by conference, we shall settle it in the manner by which our union has grown and become stronger-on the picket line." General Manager Hochman, Man-

ager Saul Metz of Truck Drivers Local 102 and Assistant Manager Gelo of Local 89 addressed the crowd and emphasized the determination of the union to end once and for all the menace to their standards.

Dressmakers are determined to prevent the reappearance of the atsnop. While waiting for the fact-finding committee to report and for Mayor LaGuardia's action, they are mobilizing and preparing.

Supreme Court Bans Sit-Downs

(Continued from Page 1)

delivered by the Supreme Court to the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. Twenty thousand dressmakers in big demonstration against chiseling Hitherto, except for a minor setback in the Consolidated Edison case, the Board had won an uninterrupted series of victories before the Supreme Court.

Îmmediately after the court ruling in the Fansteel case, Senator Wagner, author of the National Labor Relations Act, issued a statement indicating general approval of the decision. Labor Board officials, however, felt that the sweeping latitude of the Hughes decision would tend to encourage employers to discharge strikers for all sorts of alleged "offenses" in order to obstruct union organization and collective bargaining. The employers, it was forecast, would now try to feel out how far the courts would go in permitting the discharge of strikers merely for their tactics during a strike.

over the decline of German culture since the advent of Hitler. "Britannia" is by John LaTouche and Arnold Horwitt, and "Lorelei" is by LaTouche alone. Both have music by Bernece Kazounoff.

Two additional numbers will be added shortly.

Robert H. Gordon, prominent in left-wing theatrical circles, directed all the new numbers. and S. Syrjala designed them. Felicia Sorel, who achieved a personal success with her work in "Everywhere I Roam," staged two dances-one in "I've A Nerve To Fall In Love" and another in "Papa Lewis, Mama Green."

Read — Spread WORKERS AGE

Full Synopsis - Outline of the course on "DEMOCRACY, FASCISM,

SOVIETISM" by Will Herberg

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After the Lima Conference

Dictatorship Rife in South America

By ELLEN WARD

(Concluded from last issue) ROM Panama to Tierra del Fuego, Germany is conducting a wellorganized offensive by which the political ideology of the Nazi state is urged on Latin Americans in return for commercial advantages. It is always on the alert to make use of and against the United States. It exploits each campaign cleverly and did this especially effectively with an editorial appearing in the New

York Times on December 24, 1938,

quoted in part, said: "The main question at Lima is how to stimulate investment of idle American nations which so badly when it is used constructively. Perhaps some progress is being made and the surrounding nations. behind the scenes in dealing with reason to hope so."

gentina to have the Pan-American other states. conference agree that no diplomatic action follow seizure of property of more and more South American foreigners was defeated at Lima. countries will insist on exploiting The resolutions were tabled and re- their own resources for their own ferred to a small committee of "ex- benefit and, as far as they can, the perts" to report at the next confer- | British Foreign Office officials are ence five years hence.

that in a city as cosmopolitan as for Britain in her hour of need." Buenos Aires, for example, every statement about "democracy" is met embarked upon a series of conferwith a cynical sneer. Here Jew-bait- ences with individual Latin American ing is even on the increase. Several countries. On January 15 of this synogogues have been sacked and year, Roosevelt announced the inburned recently; Jews on the streets vitation to Dictator Vargas of Brazil are accosted, mocked and often to send his foreign minister to

play down the "unpleasant" features of Latin American life?

"DEMOCRACY" IN LATIN AMERICA

Early in January, a group of Salvadorean and Guatemalan journalists decided to hold a meeting to discuss the campaign for the defense border between the two countries. When the dictator governments of both countries learned of this scheduled conference, they forbade the meeting and prevented the respective journalists from reaching

their destination. In Brazil, Peru and thruout Central America, a new political term has been created, "constitutional dictatorship," under which the peoples of Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Honduras are now suffering. .In Salvador, President Martinez's term has been "extended by Congress" for six years from March 1, 1939 when it was due to expire.

In Nicaragua, the same is true of President Somoza; in Guatemala, of President Ubico; and of President Carias Andino in Honduras. And, of course we have all heard the famous story of how "Congress had to persuade the unwilling dictator Benavides of Peru to extend his term for an additional six years," after the president elected by the opposition had been counted out.

In all of these countries, these policies have been invoked as a result of active aid and propaganda by the fascists and the Nazis. In Salvador, for example, the German consul. Baron von Huendelhausen, is manager of the government-owned Farm Loan Bank. Another German consul, General Bonstedt, is the director of the military school and instructor of the army. The press in all these lands is perfectly free to attack democracy but not totalitarianism. An editor of a leading newspaper in Salvador published an editorial complimenting the French on Bastille Day and as a result was exiled, and now he has to live in

At the Lima conference, the Brazilian delegation, backed by the Peruvians, refused to support the Hull formula on continental solidarity until the word "democracy" had been deleted from it. And, despite all this, the curious American formula perists: "Defense of democracy." One is tempted to ask: "What democracy?" Stumbling thru those endless proceedings, one begins to big business. to feel something of the helplessness of the two Spanish shoemakerphilosophers, Apolonio and Belarmino who could find no comfort in the world of crazy words about them and who decided that, before a new and better world could be built, truer and better language would have to be created!

DEFLATION AT

LIMA—AND AFTER With each day, it becomes increasingly clearer that, despite the great promises, Hull returned from Lima with a deflated pouch. But it is naive to presume that the battle ended there. Lima was only the beginning of the struggle for the control of Latin America and for the maintenance and widening of its warm response among big-business

| markets. The basic plans will be more discrete and quieter now. Both the United States and Great Britain have a long-range program worked out in considerable detail. On December 26, close to the last session, the New York Times carried a significant dispatch from London, summarizing part of the British plan:

"Some months ago, all British every bit of material in its own favor | diplomatic missions in South America were ordered to work in the closest harmony with their American colleagues, because her interests as well as those of the United States are equally affected by the attempt on the eve of the termination of the of the dictators to establish their Lima conference. The editorial, own brand of political ideology. Britain is also equally concerned over her foreign trade. British officials believe that South America is American capital in the South one of their strategic necessities. If war comes they believe Latin Amerneed it and how to assure this cap- ica must feed Britain and, even more ital that its rights will be respected important, the largest source of oil for the British fleet is Venezuela

"Britain, after the rift with these questions. There is every Mexico, is now urging British companies all over Latin America to The fascist press was also quick come to terms with their South to point out and stress the fact that | American employees and forestall the efforts of Chile, Mexico and Ar- action similar to that of Mexico in

"It is believed here (Britain) that trying to make sure that Britain And all of this propaganda is hav- will meet that threat in a way that ing serious effects everywhere, so will insure South American trade

As for the United States, it has Washington to confer with the

All this news is played down in American State Department. Minisour press, which is under the con- ter Aranha has already arrived to trol of the A. P. and U. P., in co- "discuss events that have arisen its "Great Ukraine" policy, on the operation with our State Depart- during recent months of great imment. For, if the United States is portance to our two governments. embarking on a giant armaments There will also take place discussions program for the "defense of democracy" in the southern hemisphere, does it not behoove us to ways for implementing trade agreements in order to promote greater American trade in Brazil where the United States and Germany are now running neck and neck." The United States has also offered to lend Brazil American agricultural experts. Also, "the broad national-defense picture is to be considered from the standpoint of hemisphere needs." And the press continues: "It is quite possible of democracy in Central America. press continues: "It is quite possible that this visit may be followed by others from a number of Latin-American governments in order that the United States has more or less Pan-American understanding and held its own-as by the fantastic good feeling may be cemented." And then, as an apparent non-sequitur,

> "Recently, Warren Lee Pierson, president of the Export-Import Bank, went to Brazil to study business conditions there. . . . Presumably means for facilitating trade thru credits from this bank, may enter into the discussions here. . . Also the five-year plan for financing shipments of U.S. railway material and road-making machinery and for building waterways and ports in Brazil, and several small warships and river ships are to be taken up." The program doesn't end there. It is only the beginning of the that the purpose at Lima was not wrapping of America's golden chain only to give more practical applicaaround Brazil's five-year plan and tion to the Monroe Doctrine but also

the story ends with the following:

These discussions not only with Brazil but with other Latin-Amer- government itself, a basis which had ican countries will help complete the extensive survey of the aircraft could proceed to legislate on Presand transportation business in South America. All this is, of course, nothing more than an adjunct to America's giant "defense program." This plan advertised as a survey foreshadows government assistance in improving the Latin-American thruout the world and to strengthen to self-determination, and, at the markets now endangered by Ger- America's position in the next war.

End of Reforms

(Continued from Page 1)

determined to promote that recovery

command." Lack of "business con-

fidence," he added, was a "hard,

stubborn fact," which he did "not

Specifically, Mr. Hopkins recom-

1. No "general rise" in federal

taxes this year and the revision of

tax measures that "tend to freeze

the necessary flow of capital," that

is. of those levies that are offensive

2. Breaking the "log-jam of

private investment in the field of

utilities. railroads and housing.

Restriction of government activities

in these fields so as not to interfer

3. Pressure on labor to make i

display "tolerance and fairness" in

dealings with employers. "Labor on

its side faces responsibilities and

obligations," Mr. Hopkins empha-

sized. In general, his remarks in

dicated that the Administration's

'friendship" for labor was becoming

5. "Assistance" to small business

6. Larger share of national

The Hopkins address found

4. Increased national income.

with private enterprise.

somewhat strained.

income to the farmers.

mended the following things:

propose to ignore."

Hopkins Speech Marks

with all the vigor and power at its from W. Averell Harriman, chair-

ultimately her entire economy.

Why the Wagner Act Is Not "One-Sided"

Law Devised to Offset Existing Anti-Labor Set-up

By WM. M. LEISERSON

(William M. Leiserson is a member the National Railway Mediation Board. These paragraphs are from his recent radio address at America's Town Meeting of the Air.—Editor.)

THE case for revising the Wagner Act is based primarily on the charge that it is one-sided. It prohibits unfair labor practises by employers and says nothing about unfair practises by employees or unions. Employers are not permitted to initiate cases requesting election of employee representatives for collective bargaining. The Labor Relations Board is both prosecutor and judge at the same time.

But, if these things make the Wagner Act one-sided, then the Railway Labor Act and other laws with the same or similar provisions must be equally one-sided. Yet there is no opposition to the railway act and the other laws, and no agitation for their revision. On the contrary, the Railway Labor Act is frequently held up as an example of fair and impartial legislation by the very people who denounce the Wagner Act.

railway act makes them mis- position to prevent, delay and de-

By P. GUILLAUME

▼F you take seriously the inform-

ation in the Stalinist press, you

would be tempted to conclude that

German imperialism can count, for

many and Italy. United States of-

ficials have suggested that this Eu-

ropean competition might be met by

granting long-term credits of the

Export-Import Bank to American

manufacturers. The War and Navy

Departments at Washington are

All of these numerous conferences

much more heavily by Great Britain,

rate of increase in Germany's ex-

ports in the last three years. In ab-

solute quantity, the percentage is

small compared to America's share

but the rate of increase has more

than doubled and the United States

fears that in the next few years Ger-

many's gains will be at its expense

being intensified on two fronts: first

to recapture some of the trade now

going to Germany thru heavy credits

to Latin American countries and

second, thru the same means to tie

Latin-American countries to the

to lay plans for the "national-de-

fense" program of the American

to be determined before Congress

ident Roosevelt's program. The

leaders thruout the country. The

most enthusiastic endorsement came

man of the Union Pacific Railroad.

In New York, Floyd B. Carlisle,

chairman of the Consolidated Edison

Company, and Wendell L. Willkie,

president of the Commonwealth and

very favorably on the speech.

Southern Corporation, commented

It should be perfectly clear now

American war chariot.

Therefore the American campaign is

'lending" of air missions.

No Separatism In

Ukrainian Masses to Resist Nazi Drive

helping promote airplane purchases ists against the victims of the buro-

by South America thru their ready cratic terror in the Ukraine were

are determined not so much by what The numerous leaders of the party,

Germany has been able to take from of the administration, of economic

credit moves to China, as well as paratist Ukrainian nationalism has

plans for similar activity in Latin | never had deep roots among the peo-

America, are, of course, only the ple. The Bolsheviks, repudiating

beginning of a long-range plan to Great-Russian chauvinism, recogniz-

keep American trade channels open ed the right of the Ukrainian people

Soviet Ukraine

Paris, France

parties to such disputes.

In all laws which substitute cease- WHY SO MUCH and-desist orders for criminal pen-OPPOSITION? alties, Congress has used the same device of combining what are alleged to be prosecuting and judicial functions under one authority. The Interstate Commerce Act, the Federal Trade Commission Law, the many others use the same method. are prohibited by both laws. The superior financial and economic

support of considerable elements in

the Soviet Ukraine. In fact, the vic-

tims of the Stalinist purge in the

Ukarine have been depicted as "bour-

geois nationalists" in the pay of the

Gestapo, as people who would have

liked to separate the Ukraine from

the U.S.S.R. But it would be entire-

ly false to believe the Soviet Ukraine

to be a country where separatism,

played up by the pro-Hitler nation-

alistic Ukrainian bourgeoisie, could

meet with any considerable sym-

that the accusations of the Stalin-

falsehoods of the same type as those

in the notorious Moscow "trials."

ing the enemies of Stalin's buro-

cratic regime. In a certain sense, the

accusations of the G.P.U. really

has no serious support in the Soviet

Ukraine. If Stalin throws accusa-

tions of separatism around so free-

ly, it is because he knows that it is

not a real danger. He would surely

have avoided advertising it had such

a dangerous current really existed.

in the Ukraine were accused of se-

paratism, it was done because the

G.P.U. had reason to believe that

The whole history of the Ukrai-

nian working-class movement in

Czarist Russia and later in the So-

viet Union allows us to affirm that

the plan of Hitler for a "Greater

Ukraine" will arouse bitter hostil-

ity in this quarter. Before 1917, the

great majority of the Ukrainian

workers fought against Czarism in

the revolutionary movement together

with the Great-Russian masses. Se-

same time, advised the Ukrainian

workers not to separate themselves

from their Great-Russian brothers

but to carry on unitedly on the basis

of free consent. The separatist adven-

tures of Kada, Skoropadsky and Pet-

liura, Ukrainian governments in the

service of foreign imperialism, fail-

ed because of the resistance of the

workers and peasants of the Ukraine.

The victory of the proletarian revo-

lution in the Ukraine and the crea-

tion of the Soviet Ukraine were the

result of a desperate struggle on

the part of the workers and peas-

As for the present situation, there

is no reason to imagine that the dis-

content created by the burocratic

in the Soviet Ukraine.

On the contrary, if those purged

prove that separatist nationalism

We have every reason to believe

demeanors punishable by fines up to | feat suits for redress of wrongs in \$20,000 or imprisonment or both; the ordinary courts. Therefore, all and each day is considered a sepa- these laws set up boards or comrate offense. The Wagner Act is less | missions, not really to prosecute drastic. It only requires employers and judge, but rather to investigate to cease and desist from engaging in charges of wrong-doing and to the unfair practises. It imposes no make findings of fact with respect penalties, and employers may only to them. None of these boards or be required to make good the losses commissions has final authority to that employees suffer from viola- enforce its judgment. They must go tions. Both laws also provide for to the regular judiciary for enforceelections and for certification of re- ment orders. Since the guilty party presentatives. But, whereas employ- is not punished for offenses against ers have the right to be heard and the law but merely ordered to stop they do participate in representation them, and all such orders are recases before the Wagner Board, they viewable in the courts, the method have no such right under the rail- has been long considered a fair and way act and are not even considered desirable part of our legal and constitutional system.

Why should a procedure recognized as necessary and just in these laws be denounced as unfair in the Wagner Act? Why is there so much opposition to this law and practic-Securities and Exchange Act, and ally none to the Railway Labor Act? The answers to those questions, I From long experience, Congress has think, will show that the Wagner the Zinoviev-Kamenev opposition by the Stalinist terror. In her, the learned that when certain people Act is not one-sided or inequitable, have economic power to oppress but that the proposed revisions of The same unfair labor practises others they can also use their the act, especially those advanced by the National Association of Manufacturers, are intended to restore the days when labor law was class legislation in tavor of the em-

> Up to about a hundred years ago t was considered unfair labor practise for working people to organize to bargain with their employers and improve their conditions of employment. In 1806, a jury in Philadelphia, after being instructed in the law, brought in a verdict finding a union of shoemakers guilty of a combination to raise their wages. The workmen were fined and assessed costs. In 1842, however, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts ruled that a combination of employees to improve their conditions is not essentially different from a combination of people to fight the evils of intemperance. Workmen may join together and refuse to work in a shop in which liquor is furnished, said the court, and they may refuse to work with any employee who habitually uses liquor. So also may they combine to refuse to work for wages they consider too low or to work with an employee

DESPOTIC RIGHTS OF EMPLOYERS

who will accept lower wages.

Since that time, it has been lawful for working people to organize the United States in Latin America

for the losses have been borne

days they used no illegal methods such But, until recently, their freedom to organize meant only freedom from prosecution by the government. It was not a legal right the employer

> regime of Stalin could incite the workers of the Soviet Union in general and those of the Ukraine in particular to any sympathy whatsoever for Hitler-Germany's plans of conquest.

The Ukrainian worker, who in the past has fought and suffered with his Great-Russian brothers, will do the same in the future. He will seek separatism is extremely unpopular his salvation side by side with the Great-Russian worker and not by separating from him and passing under the yoke of an imperialist conqueror.

Another question is in what way the Great-Russian nationalism, lately revived by Stalin, is going to affect the people of the Soviet Ukraine. Surely the attempts to present the Great-Russians as a "chosen people" must repel the Ukrainians and the other national minorities in the U.S.S.R. But, on the other hand, we must not forget that the use of the national language in education and administration is one of the most deeply rooted of the revolutionary conquests which the Stalinist buro cracy has been obliged to respect; and the free use of their national language has always been the chief base of Ukrainian national feeling.

(This is the second article by P Guillaume on the Ukrainian situation. The first article appeared in a recent issue .- Editor.)

PHILADELPHIA I.O.B.A. AUDITORIUM

431 Pine Street

Jay Lovestone

Speaks on

Tragedy of Spain

How Did It Happen? How Does the Present World Crisis Stem from

Spanish Civil War? Why the Defeats of Dynamic Social Forces in Spain?

What Has Been Learned? What Shall Be Done?

FRIDAY, MARCH 17 8:30 P. M.

Auspices: PROGRESSIVE LABOR INSTITUTE

Room 304 - 810 Locust St.

N. K. Krupskaya

NADEZHDA Konstantinova Krup-skaya, widow of V. I. Lenin, and outstanding Soviet leader in her own right, died at 6:15 A. M. on February 27, at the age of 70. She had celebrated her seventieth birthday the day before.

Kruspkaya was one of the pioneers of the Bolshevik movement in Russia. The daughter of middle-class parents, she became a revolutionary socialist while still a girl. She was active in the big strikes of 1896, as a result of which she was arrested and sent to Siberia. There she met young Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) with whom she had been associated in her work in St. Petersburg, and they were married.

The next twenty years were years of great difficulty devoted by her to the closest collaboration with Lenin in building a Bolshevik party and preparing the overthrow of Czarism. For a time, she was secretary of the central committee of the

She returned to Russia with Lenin n April 1917. After the November Revolution, she became a member of the Council of the Commissariat of Education in charge of elementary schools. In 1925, she sided with against Stalin and vigorously denounced the Stalinist policies. Later lost a devoted champion of socialon, however, she withdrew from ism and freedom!



politics and devoted herself to education, altho her hostility to the Stalin regime was no secret.

In Krupskaya, the Soviet masses have lost a great leader, one of the last of the Bolshevik Old Guard that has been so decimated by death and working masses of the world have

was obligated to respect. Employers | issued an injunction to protect the were free to destroy labor organiza- employees property just as employtions, to employ spies to find out ers rights are protected by injuncwho joined them, to discharge those tions. The Supreme Court approved who did join, and to refuse employ- the injunction and upheld the conment to those who became mem- stitutionality of the acts. Then it bers. They might impose "yellow- became plain that employees really dog" contracts on employees binding | had had no right to organize down them not to join a union, and they to the time these laws were passed; could organize company unions, for employers were free to take it force the employees to belong away from them. To be real, one to these and check off dues from person's right must be accompanied wages. Management, organized to by an obligation on the other people bargain collectively for great num- to refrain from trespassing on it. bers of stockholders, was protected The essential and only purpose of in its right to insist on bargaining the Wagner Act is to protect the individually with each helpless rights of employees as other rights worker in need of a job and in re- are protected. fusing to recognize unions organ-

ized to bargain for them. When Congress and the states attempted to put employees and employers on the basis of equality before the law in the matters of bargaining, the Supreme Court declared the efforts unconstitutional in two famous cases. (Adair v. U. S. and Coppage v. Kansas). The court held that an employer's property right in his business included employer has yet gone to jail for the right to discharge or discriminate against employees for any or of workers and union leaders have no reason. Neither Congress nor the served sentences for "unfair" pracstates could protect employees tises against employers. Are not against employers who used their employees rights as sacred as busieconomic position to trespass on the ness property? rights of those who wanted to work for them. No court had authority to hear a case of an employee discharged for exercising his freedom

to join a labor organization. The labor-relations acts changed all this. A United States District judge ruled that the right to organize was a property right, and he

Books =by Jim Cork=

MEN MUST ACT, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1939. \$1.50.

BOOK like this is the proper A subject not for an ordinary book review but for a socio-psychological clinical study. For it reflects in painful form the advanced stage of intellectual and moral disorientation that the events of the past few vears have brought to certain sections of our "liberal" intellectuals. If we are to take this book at all seriously, we must say that Mr. Mumford has been literally driven to distraction by the threat of fascist barbarism. Let the reader judge. Here is what Mr. Mumford proposes, presumably in sober earnest:

As a first step, complete non-intercourse with the fascist powers Germany, Italy and Japan; with-

This or any other book reviewed in 33rd St., New York City.

drawal of all U.S. nationals from these countries; liquidation of all investments there; a complete embargo on all trade with these countries, including American tourist

If war comes, the United States should join in the crusade, tho of course not for "shabby nationalist and imperialist ends." The United States navy should convoy munitions to the "democracies"—and these munitions should be furnished gratis! American military power should be built up so that, at the end of the war, the United States could dictate the peace by throwing its weight on the "side of a permanent organization of peace, based upon an equitable distribution of economic and political opportunities for all peoples." Shades of Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations.

The United States navy is to convoy munition shipments furnished free of charge to the "democracies," that is, paid for by the American people. Would anyone but a hopeless victim of the dread disease of "antifascist" frenzy dare make such a mad proposal?

it deals with the rights of employees only? Are the rights of employers not already fully protected? Are violence, fraud, intimidation by employees not illegal, and do not courts issue and enforce injunctions against such unlawful practises? No violating the Wagner Act, but plenty

you will find that it grants rights to workers, not to unions. The employees may form organizations, and they may bargain collectively with their employers. The unions acquire rights under the act only when they are chosen by the employees to represent them. Of course, union oficers and their members exert influence and pressure to secure votes for the right to represent employees. just as corporation officers and managers exert pressure to secure proxies in voting for the directing management. The pressure within each group, stockholders on stockholders, working people on working people, are not considered coercion unless they involve violence, fraud or illegal intimidation. Then there are existing laws to deal with such coercion. It is not necessary to revise the Wagner Act to prevent coercion of employees by employees any more than coercion of stockholders by other stockholders.

Neither is it necessary to revise the law to secure improvements in its administration. That there are faults and weaknesses in administration may be readily admitted. But it is a serious question if those who are opposing the law and demanding that it be revised are not more responsible for these defects than the Board itself. You will recall that, after the act was adopted in July 1935, a national committee of 58 leading members of the American bar took it upon themselves to declare the law unconstitutional. these columns may be purchased at | More than a hundred court injuncthe Workers Age Bookshop, 131 West tions tied the hands of the Labor Relations Board, and its work all but came to a standstill. Attorneys advised their clients that it was not necessary to obey the law until the Supreme Court said so. Flagrant violations and defiance of the authority of the Board were excused by allegations of unconstitutionality.

This did not set a very good example of obedience to law, but it did accomplish the purpose of demoralizing the administration of the act. The effects of this demoralization are still being felt, and the obstructive policies of those who are opposed to the act are being continued. There is room for much improvement in the administrative methods of the Board, but the act cannot be made to work efficiently until the opposition to it, and the attempts to weaken it by revisions. have ceased.

This does not mean that all amendments to the law should be opposed. To strengthen the act amendments are desirable. I should favor one requiring agreements arrived at by collective bargaining to be embodied in written contracts. But I do not understand that the National Association of

IS WAGNER ACT ONE-SIDED? Is it then a one-sided law because

unions? Read the Wagner Act and

Manufacturers advocates that kind of revision of the Wagner Act.

N a recent bulletin of the American Labor Party there ap-L peared the following notice in the Secretary's Column, signed by Alex Rose, state secretary:

ants.

"It has come to my attention that district-club organizations of our party are receiving numerous requests from many groups and individuals urging them to support various proposals. I found that various local organizations have acted on proposals and publicized their decisions without checking on the position of the party as a whole. You are hereby instructed NOT TO PUBLICIZE any resolution on matters which the State Executive Committee has not acted. In such cases, you are to forward your decision to the County and State offices and wait for further instructions.

We urge our readers who are members of the A.L.P. to read these instructions carefully and see that they are observed to the letter. In this way, it will be possible to protect the A.L.P. and prevent the Stalinists and other irresponsible elements from compromising it with their underhand intrigues and manouvers on behalf of their "party line."

A.L.P. Protects Itself

VOL. 8.

Workers Age

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Editorial Board: Lyman Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, George F. Miles Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1939.

NO. 10.

HE MISREPRESENTS LABOR

IN the Congressional debate and vote over the Administration's naval armaments bill, four men had the courage to stand up against 367 to oppose Roosevelt's drive towards war. But Vito Marcantonio, ostensibly the representative of the American Labor Party, was not among them. When Congress revolted against some of the crasser expressions of the Administration policy, such as is exemplified by the proposal to fortify Guam (our "frontier" 7,000 miles away!), Vito Marcantonio voted with the bitter-end jingoes for this provocative proposal. When Wall Street urged the use of government funds to finance its private profits deriving from Latin-American trade thru the Export-Import Bank, Vito Marcantonio voted for. But when an amendment was made to prohibit Export-Import Bank loans to finance the purchase of airplanes, armaments, munitions, etc. without the consent of Congress, Vito Marcantonio voted against.

How did Marcantonio arrive at this outrageous anti-labor sult the leaders of the party? Or were his advisers the boys on Thirteenth Street, the Stalinist agents of bigger and better wars? Vito Marcantonio gave voice to the pro-war, anti-labor policies of Stalinism, not to the views of the American Labor Party.

That the spectacle of an avowed labor representative lining up with the extreme jingoes could possibly occur, points also to the weakness of the American Labor Party on such questions. Naturally Stalinism and its agents will act in an irresponsible, outrageous fashion every time the bona-fide labor movement gives it the chance! Labor must therefore be on guard.

The American Labor Party, because it is technically a political group of New York State alone, has more or less considered national political questions outside its province. Once it has a congressman, however, the impossibility of maintaining such a position becomes apparent. The A.L.P. is more than the voice of New York labor. It is the center of national attention; it is an inspiration and guide for those sections of labor who are striving for independent political action. In the case of Vito Marcantonio, it is the A.L.P. that is at fault for permitting Stalinism to disguise itself as labor and speak in its name.

The American Labor Party must discuss the war problem and arrive at a position. We hope, and we will strive to make that hope effective, that it will take its stand against the war party, against the enemies of labor.

ANTHONY EDEN, PEOPLE'S FRONT HERO

NLY from the vantage post of Paris, and especially the Quai d'Orsay, is it possible to see how consistently the British government has intervened in Spain in the beginning of of this paper. the civil war. Execpt for this political intervention . . . General Franco could not have won his military victory . . . 'England supported General Franco right from the beginning.' This state ment-off the record-was made to a group of American newspaper correspondents by a key man in the French government."

Thus writes Edward Hunter in the New York Post of February 23. What he says is nothing new. The hostility of the WAR AND British Foreign Office to the Loyalist government of Spain and REVOLUTION its manouvers and intrigues to hamper the struggle of the Loyalists against the fascist insurgents and their Italian-German allies, have been obvious from the beginning to all with eyes to see. But what is of the utmost significance is often forgotten—that British intervention on behalf of Franco began when Anthony Eden was Party was still inclined to be a mere still Foreign Secretary; Mr. Chamberlain merely carried out his tail of the Liberal party. Our papolicy with somewhat more consistency and skill. It was therefore per and the I.L.P. were all the time natural that Eden should leap to the Prime Minister's assistance carrying on the work of socialist in forcing thru the recognition of Franco in the House of Commons. Yet this same Eden is today the fair-haired boy of the Popular Fronters and "collective-security" apostles. In England, the Stalinites and their Liberal accomplices are agitating for a "democratic front" headed by Anthony Eden, the betrayer of paper saved the soul of British so Ethiopia and the strangler of Loyalist Spain. In America, the cialism during the war. Stalinist and "liberal" press were beside themselves with ecstasy at Eden's "brave words" at the National Association of Manufacturers banquet recently.

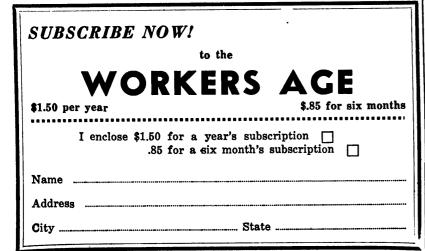
What is this but another example of how Stalinism and Popular Frontism serve merely to ease the way for reaction and fascism?

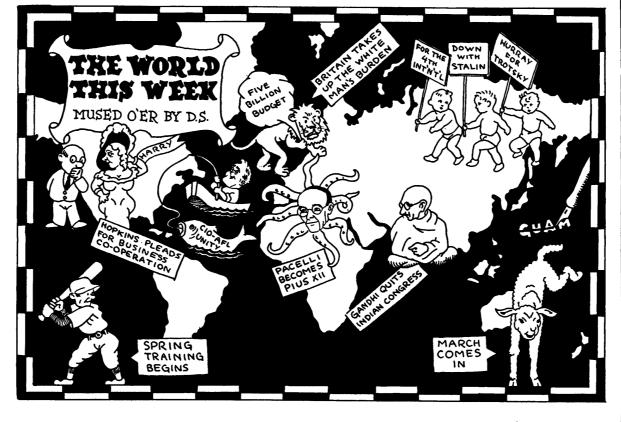
66 A S this column seeks, as much as possible, to stick to domestic matters, it is necessary for us to make some adjustments because of our growing boundaries. Since the United States is now bounded on the North by the Arctic, on the South by the Horn, on the West by the Yangtze and on the East by the Rhine, it must be seen that the beat of a reporter covering domestic matters has been consistently enlarged. With the development of aviation, however, we may find ourselves soon under Mr. Roosevelt's leadership engaged in three-dimensional expansion with a demand for a large appropriation to fortify the moon."-John F. Flynn, New Republic, Feb. 15, 1939.

66 W/HISPERS are heard in well-informed diplomatic and military quarters that all the manouvering to bring on a German-Russian clash may end up with a deal between those two nations rather than a war. Diplomats agree that 'something is up' in the relations between those two totalitarian nations."—United States News, Jan. 30, 1939.

66 WORD is trickling out from Senate cloak-rooms that Vice-President Garner is favoring a plan for outright price-fixing on agricultural products as a means of ending federal government direct subsidies to farmers. The subsidies, instead of coming out of the Treasury, would come directly out of the pockets of consumers in the form of higher fixed prices for food and clothing."—United States News, Feb. 13, 1939.

"The President himself is reported warming to the idea of fixed prices as a way to meet the newest farm problem."-United States News, Feb. 20, 1939.





war-mongering? Everyone knows the threatened war-time dictatorship is brought nearer by approval of aggressive war preparations. Everyone knows that every dollar voted for armaments means two dollars cut from relief. Did Vito Marcantonio, who ran on the Republican as well as the A.L.P. ticket but whose actions are unfortunately laid at the doorstep of the A.L.P., actually consult the leaders of the party? Or were his advisers the boys on

British New Leader Has Served Cause of Labor

(We publish below the leading article) in the Jubilee Issue (February 17) of the New Leader, official paper of the British Independent Labor Party. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the New Leader, we extend to the I.L.P. and to its fighting paper sincerest expressions of fraternal solidarity and comradeship in our common cause, the cause of socialism. Ed.)

THIS is an historic issue of our paper. It is our Jubilee Num-

No one who looks back on our work during these fifty years can be in doubt about its historical im-

Fifty years ago, when our first editor, Keir Hardie, published his first isue, there was no Labor Party, no I.L.P., very little socialist movement in Britain.

Politically, the trade-union leaders vere tied to the Liberal party. Keir Hardie set out to establish a workers party independent of the capitalist parties, with socialism as its object. That was the first mission

In 1893, the I.L.P. was formed. Keir Hardie was not satisfied. The trades unions must be won away from their allegiance to the liberal capitalist party. That was the persistent object of this paper until the

Then came the struggle to make the Labor Party. the Labor Party independent in fact as well as in form, and to inspire it with socialist purpose. The Labor education and inspiration.

In 1914, the I.L.P. celebrated its coming-of-age — and immediately after came the war. Often it has been said that our party and our

great inspiration of the Soviet Revolution. That revolution is still the greatest event in working-class history. Despite some bitter disappointments, it is our duty to defend the workers conquests of October, 1917, and to carry socialism to success in our country, and other countries, so that the hopes of twenty-two years ago may be realized.

COMPROMISES

After the war, the Labor Party grew to great strength. It set out

25 YEARS AGO

MARCH 1-8, 1914

MARCH 1, 1914.—Frank Tannen-baum and a hundred jobless are fed and sheltered at First Presbyterian church after appealing for help from the congregation.

March 1. - Bill Haywood, speaking in Philadelphia, urges the unemployed to live up to the law. "If you can't get food by demanding it, then organize and go and take it. To starve is to die, to commit suicide; and, if you look in the statute books of the state, you will see that an attempt at suicide is a crime. So, I'm only asking you to live up to and controlled by a political group

March 2.-100,000 demonstrate in Hyde Park greeting the labor leaders exiled from South Africa.

189 Wobblies arrested in St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church, 312 Broadway, New York City. He is held on \$5,000 bail; others are charged with disorderly conduct.

March 7 .- Czar Nicholas of Russia writes to Kaiser Wilhelm assuring him that Russia and Germany are on friendly terms and that the war rumors are unfounded.

March 7.-Sylvia Pankhurst is arrested in a suffragette demonstration on Trafalger Square.

Greetings, Comrades!

(The following cable of greetings was sent last week by the I.L.L.A. to the British I.L.P. and the New Leader .- Editor.)

REETINGS on the occasion of your jubilee. We hail your splendid tradition of service to British labor and international socialism. We welcome closest cooperation with you and with other independent revolutionary forces fighting against capitalism, fascism and war. Upon you rests the great responsibility of leading the fight against British imperialism, for socialism.

to become a "national" party, and tions or the so-called "democratic" in so doing, lost much of its work- capitalist governments can be deing-class character and socialist purpose. We had two Labor governments, in 1924 and from 1929-31. The first was disappointing. The second was disastrous. It compromised with capitalism, and particularly with the liberal capitalist party, to such a degree that it sacrificed the poorest workers to save the capitalist class in a crisis.

This compromise with capitalism also meant the betrayal of the peoples of the British Empire. It was a tragic period in the history of the British labor movement.

The I.L.P. and our paper protest-

HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM

Since then, the menace of fascism has become powerful and terrible. ed the principles of independent the principles for which he stoodworkers action for which Keir Har- independent action by the workers die first stood. We ridiculed the idea and the maintenance uncompromised that the capitalist League of Na- of the fight for socialism.

pended upon to resist fascism or to prevent war. Once again, we sounded the call for independent workers

Unfortunately, these ideas are as unpopular in the labor movement today when applied to present problems as they were in the days of Keir Hardie when applied to the problems of his time. Labor leaders recruit for "National" Service on platforms with members of the government, and others plead again for an alliance with the Liberal party.

There are many today who support these policies and yet who pay ed. The I.L.P. M.P.'s voted against tribute to the work of Keir Hardie the attacks on working-class stand- | in his time. Let them not forget that ards of life and on the colonial | Hardie was often isolated and de peoples. Our paper was alone in sup- | nounced in his time as the I.L.P. porting them. It was this which led | and the New Leader are denounced to the break between the I.L.P. and appear to be isolated at the present time.

> REAL TASKS AHEAD

Our work today is as important as his work was then and, despite The danger of war has grown. The all difficulties, we must, in our day I.L.P. and our paper have maintain- and generation, maintain and apply

At the end of the war, we had the Crisis in the New York Teachers Union

(Continued from Page 2) under its present leadership, was based on labor orientation and oropposed to increased armaments and ganization. This will be the best way the militarization of the youth when to preserve autonomy as well as to such opposition was voiced by the fulfill the tasks for which the A.F.T. American League Against War and has been organized. Fascism (as it was then called), which reflected the then policy of free discussion within locals as well the C.P. Local 5 has never officially as the preservation of autonomychanged its position on these questions. Yet, when the last congress of the American League was held, resulting in a fundamental change of line, following a similar change of C.P. policy, Local 5 went along, even tho the issues had never been presented to the membership for action and the union was still officially committed to the old antimilitarist position. In the face of incidents such as this, the administration dares to challenge the opposition to prove that the local is Stalinist-dominated!

DANGER OF PARTY DOMINATION

They do not see that the dominato the job of organizing the mass of union movement and a union run so as to make it an auxiliary and a rubber-stamp, have nothing in common. In fact Stalinist domination of Locals 5, 453, and 537 and the accompanying totalitarian re-March 4.—Frank Tannenbaum and gimes will hurt not only those locals, but other locals of the A.F.T. in various cities of the country.

It is the job of the membership policies that meet the needs of of John L. Lewis.'

| teachers, with unity of all forces

The preservation of the rights of these constitute the bedrock for democracy and vitality in our union. Without these, we lose the very soul of our movement. Without these, we will be paralyzed in the fight against totalitarianism and

UAW MeetOpens From KENOSHA (Wisc.) LABOR In Detroit

(Continued from Page 1) cording to announcements made by William B. Taylor and Mrs. Zola Kennedy, respectively.

In a radio address a few days before the convention opened, Homer tion of a union by any political Martin again directed attention to group is injurious to the union and the dominating issue in the great conflict that has rocked the biggest workers in the field. A really broad of the new mass-production unions the issue of autonomy and democracy. Speaking of Philip Murray's visit to Detroit last week, Mr. Martin said: "He is here . . . to comthe U.A.W. and setting up an Automobile Workers Organizing Committee on the pattern of the S.W O.C. . . . We have information that this is exactly the plan; it is the identical plan put into effect in steel and of the A.F.T. to change this in glass and in the packing-house situation. While insisting on the and textile industries. . . . The ques right of autonomy, the A.F.T. must tion facing the automobile workers take hold of this problem of such of the nation is whether they will national import and restore the have an autonomous union, governed movement to health so that total- by and for automobile workers, or itarianism will be eliminated and the whether they will see their union teachers union become a broad or- destroyed and in its stead an Autoganization of the mass of teachers mobile Workers Organizing Comof all viewpoints, with realistic mittee, under the direct dictatorship

Talking It Over:

Labor Speaks on War

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

QUERY has been made to us of late with increasing frequency: "We agree with the anti-war program of the Workers Age," say a number of correspondents, "but what can so few do against an overwhelming sentiment? We are too discouraged to try anything because your organization is all alone.'

In place of answering this query ourselves, we have called upon the editors of a number of labor papers. We give our column this week to them, or rather to excerpts from their recent editorials on war and superarmaments which have appeared in their papers.

From the RAILWAY CLERK

66A RMAMENT expenditures do not produce real wealth. Economists call such expenditures 'economic waste.' Public debt for low-rent housing, schools, roads and hospitals are investments pure and simple and you have something to show for your money. But the history of the last two hundred years shows conclusively that money spent for wars and armament programs is a total loss. . . .

"Every sound economist knows that the effect of a heavy armament program upon the national economy will be almost as destructive as

"The American Federation of Labor is on firm ground when it warns that planning for increased production should be directed toward the goal of higher living standards for all and not toward undue or unnecessary production for military purposes, that jobs shall be created in industries producing goods needed by the people rather than munitions. . .

"Adoption of a huge armament program will mean that we have started down a road that knows no turning. Foolish, indeed, it would be to hope to defeat fascism by adopting fascist devices, unless we wish to wind up with the foe against which we are arming firmly implanted in

From the UNION HERALD, Raleigh, N. C.

PRICES in the United States can hardly escape being affected by the proposed big new armament program.

"The worker will foot the bill. He will pay and pay.

"These facts are plain.

"Such a program will bring higher and higher taxes. It will bring a period of a declining standard of living-a period into which the whole world seems moving. It will place a load on every citizen, since a big slice of the national income will go into non-productive instruments of

from the PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS JOURNAL

66BUT before the people of a democratic nation like ours agree to shoulder the burden of an increased armament program, they should demand all of the facts and insist that their representatives in both Houses of Congress debate this question openly and fully so that the truth and all the truth may be known. It is more than ever important that the legislative branch of our government surrender none of its rights and prerogatives to the Executive branch when deciding this tremendously important question of increased armaments.

"Also, let not the working people (and especially the millions of unemployed) erroneously think that the building of battleships and war planes and all the paraphernalia of war will mean more jobs and prosperity. A prosperity that is built on war preparations is and always has been for the working people a delusion and a snare."

From the UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKER

66CONGRESS is expected to spend over a billion dollars on an armament program by building more battleships, airplanes, tanks, poison gases, etc., which are implements used in time of war to destroy human lives. We must let Congress know that workers are not interested in expenditures which merely protect the interests of capital on foreign shores and means the loss of our lives. Labor must raise the slogan: Instead of billions for battleships—give us billions for bread!'

From the RAILROAD TRAINMAN

66TF the citizens of the United States are once more to be fattened on war propaganda and fed to the European Moloch, then God help us! Must we be drawn into that debacle again? Why should we not go about working out our plans and living as we were intended to live? Let other people make their beds and lie in them. If they will fight, let them do it, but not in this hemisphere. Defend ourselves? Yes. But let us keep out of their wars. Alas, there is far too much propaganda in our press and radio and out of sources not difficult to trace driving us toward war hysteria. As American citizens, cannot we realize that we have nothing to gain and everything to lose by embarking on the seas of foreign wars? Heaven help us to stay at home and mind our own business.'

From the UNION ADVOCATE

GENERAL Resident Roosevelt's preparedness program for the next two years should cause the entire nation to give pause and thought to what is happening. Millions for defense against what aggressor? Millions of dollars for guns, warships, airplanes, submarines, depth bombs, poison gas and not an enemy within 4,000 miles of our shores. Millionsthen billions-to build a war machine to blast human lives and human treasure into nothingness, and for what? . . .

"Mr. Roosevelt's attempt to make his proposed armament program a 'work-relief program' is just so much bosh, and any effort to disguise this mad war business as a precautionary move to safeguard the independence of the South American republics is simon-pure bunkum. Two-thirds of the South American republics are dictator-ruled, and democracy there means nothing more or less than sandbag democracy enforced by whoever can recruit the largest army with the aid of munitions manufacturers.

"Before undertaking anything so pretentious as a program to safeguard 'democracy' in South America, Mr. Roosevelt and Congress had better contrive some constructive solution of the internal problems in this country. Thirteen million unemployed workers certainly have a greater claim on the U.S. Treasury and the brain power of Congress than have the persecuted peoples of Germany and Italy, and before this country starts weeping tears over the plights of foreigners, it might be well to take a look about home and see if there isn't something pathetic about a country that just got around to freeing Tom Mooney.

66 PAR from desirable, however, are the big increases in armaments to be expected, the extension of American imperialism in Latin America under the guise of protecting democracy, and the virtual halt in domestic reform. In these very things lie the prospects for the eventual destruction of the democracy the President desires to protect. . . .

The armament plans yet to be presented but already well indicated present a grave danger to the American people. Only in small degree will they be concerned with defending our own shores. For the most part, they are intended to help the United States wage war in other parts of the world....

"A true program of national defense must therefore be directed against our own imperialists no less than the imperialists of other countries. Two important elements of such a defense program should therefore be government ownership of all industries producing war materials, and adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring a popular referenplete the C.I.O.'s plans for junking dum before the government could declare war, except in case of invasion

From TACOMA(Wash.) LABOR ADVOCATE

66TT is time that . . . some of those in high places in this nation change I their own outlook and mind this nation's own business, which is not to be wet-nurse to every nation in the world to have it brought up along the lines of democracy. What other nations may do should be their own business, and any interference in its affairs are likely as not to involve us in the world war that may result among the jittery nations of Europe. We tried that once and that should be aplenty. What we got out of it were millions for munitionists, billions of war debts, an unnumbered dead, wounded, gassed and mental wrecks for our pains and we did not make the world safe then for democracy. And we won't in the future.

"If we tend to our own knitting we have social problems to solve that should keep us for a long time yet."