NEXT WEEK: CHAOS IN N. Y. JOBLESS INSURANCE

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

CHIEVEMENTS OF KNITGOODS A UNION . . . by Louis Nelson . . . SUPREME COURT SHIFTS IN LABOR

OUTLOOK . . . by Robert Walters . . .

5 CENTS

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AT FIRST GLANCE

= by Jay Lovestone =

SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS

NO one can exaggerate the import to be attached to the findings of the National Labor Relations Board in regard to the A. F. of L. and industrial unionism. We are underscoring this, particularly now, because of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity negotiations now being resumed

Here are some of the pointed conclusions arrived at by the Labor Board:

A. F. of L. affiliates have asked or accepted some form of industrial union organization in 173 cases as against 84 for the craft basis. Here's a ratio of more than 2 to 1 for industrial unionism. Incidentally, this same memorandum reveals that "in some cases the C.I.O., altho based on the principle of industrial unionism, has insisted on craft-line demarcations" (Friedman Blau Farber Co. and the Portland Gas and Coke Co.). From the A. F. of L. brief in the Pacific Greyhound Lines case, the Labor Board cites, in confirmation of this conclusion, the argument by William Green's Federation that "the industrial form of organization affords all employees greater economic strength and better production than separate craft

And, according to the Board, in some other cases the A. F. of L. even went the C.I.O. one better by proposing that the office and clerical employees be counted in the industrial unit along with the maintenance and production workers. Here the C.I.O. insisted that the units be limited to maintenance and production workers.

Time does march on. Without doubt, this reversal of practise and gradual change of policy explain in no small measure the fact that in New York State, the A. F. of L. has, in the last eighteen months, won in 185 of the 325 cases handled by the State Labor Board. In this period, the C.I.O. won in 50 cases, "unaffiliated" organizations took 45, and 40 instances revealed workers voting against all unionization. The last two expressions must be largely debited to the costly division in labor's ranks.

BLOODY BUSINESS

HERE it is not out of place to draw attention to F. D. R's personal participation in the naval manouvers thus characterized by the Army and Navy Journal of February 25.

"Nor have Italy and Germany lost sight of the indication that the manouvers in progress in the Atlantic are serving as training for a movement towards Europe should developments justify such a step.'

These are words of gravest significance coming from an authoritative and responsible source. It is unnecessary for us to tell our readers that the next American Expeditionary Force will again make the world safe for the same sort of "democracy" in behalf of which millions of workers and farmers were slaughtered in 1914-1918. It's all business-and a bloody, sordid business at that.

In this connection, it is painfully interesting to point out that of the twelve millions tons of scrap iron and steel exported by the United States in the last five years of our "peace-loving" Roosevelt Administration, no would give every man on civilless than 7,500,000 tons of such metal went to Japan. According to Mr. Emory E. Smith, who served with the War Industries Board in the last a transit job, men who have never war, these "exports had first enabled Japan to war on China." Yes, indeed -these are the only ways in which powerful "democracies" like England, It would destroy existing seniority France, and our own U. S. A. have helped and will help weaker lands like China, Spain, Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia. Such collective insecurity is the sole fruit of their joint "peace" efforts. Apparently, all of us live and learn; obviously where there is life there is hope—except, of course, in the case of those who loyally carry out Stalin's orders and those who limp along as "thinking" fellow-bandwagoners.

STALINIST ACADEMICIANS

TT is only under the iron heel of Stalin that a creature like Vishinsky, I who has prosecuted more Bolsheviks than any Czarist official ever did, could be elected to the Soviet Academy of Science. Here we are reminded of the penetrating evaluation of the Inquisition by that noted British scholar, G. G. Coulton, who said: "The man who thus collected so many separate details on injustice from different sources and combined them into one organized whole, was as true an inventor as that other man who first mingled, in their due proportions, the harmless necessary saltpetre and charcoal and sulphur."

Here is the true evaluation of "Academician" Vishinsky. Now we can understand why that once-heralded 1938 census was dropped and what the New York Times correspondent, Harold Denny, in his Moscow dispatch of January 17, 1939, meant when he said: "The abortive 1938 census listed such occupations as tramp, prostitute, governess, and lackey." Superstition (with a rapidly fading veneer of Marxism-Leninism) has replaced critical thought and acquiescence has displaced faith in what was once the U.S.S.R. of Lenin. Stalin with his Vishinskys, Molotovs, Yezhovs and Kaganovitsches can never again be worthy of trust or of service to the working class. Long, long ago it was well said: "Wine may turn into vinegar, but never vinegar to wine."

Despite all that, we think that the spirit of October is still very far from extinct in the Soviet Union. The Stalin burocracy is becoming ever thesis against involvement in war is that he has been subsidized by the eign affairs at his own discretion narrower. The purgers of yesterday are the traitors of today; the purgers expressed with clarity and simof today will tomorrow be disposed of by the Soviet masses aroused to plicity so that even a Senator may statement was timed to appear Congressional or popular control the grave danger that Stalin and Company are to the Russian and world understand what Chase is talking

Wicks Bill on To Ban Free **Transit**

Would Hurt Interests Of Workers,, City, Public, Rose Declares

New York City The American Labor Party has unqualifiedly disapproved the Wicks Bill which deals with the status of employees and their working condiproaching transfer of privately-own-York, it was announced by Alex Rose, state secretary of the party. The A.L.P. decided to mobilize support among its affiliated organizations to defeat this bill in the State Legislature and push for the passage of a law which would protect the interests of the present transit workers and the welfare of the subthat he had mailed letters to the 350 trade unions affiliated with the party and to all local organizations urging them to get behind the drive to defeat the measure.

"The passage of the Wicks Bill will throw out of work a good proportion of the men who have given years of faithful service to the operation of the private subway lines in New York City," Mr. Rose declared. "The Wicks Bill is unfair to the present transit employees. It is unfair to the people of New York.

"The original Wicks Bill turned a cold shoulder to the 29,000 men now running the private subway lines, men who have held their jobs for ten, twenty, thirty and thirty- five years. The original bill would have compelled the present employees to compete with any and all applicants in written, physical and oral examinations.

"The amended Wicks Bill is no improvement on the original bill. Altho it apparently seeks to protect workers now engaged on the lines, it service eligible lists a prior right to worked a day on the subway lines. rights of transit employees. The independent subway employee and and efficient service of running the

Stirs Capital

By FRANK HOWARD

THE Book-of-the-Week in Wash-

ington is Stuart Chase's "The

New Western Front." Someone has

it. It has put some "collective-

Washington, D. C.

Chase's Anti-War Book

put copies of this book into the paper-back covers. Said Senator L.

hands of many Congressmen and to Senator P., according to an in-

Speech

Asks Legislation Against Appeal To Armed Forces FDR Favors Move

Washington, D. C. Present indications are that a strong fight will be waged in Congress against the legislation, sponsored by the Navy, War and Justice tions in connection with the ap- Departments, to curb the circulation of so-ralled "subversive" propaganda ed subway lines to the city of New among the armed forces. This repressive legislation will be fought or the ground that it violates the freespeech and free-press, provisions of the Constitution and that, if the authorities are able to point to any overt offenses, existing laws are fully adequate to cover them.

A few days ago, Acting Secretary of the Navy Charles Edison called way riders. Alex Rose announced in the name of the Navy Department, for the enactment of further legislation to curb the activities of individuals and organizations "seek ing to undermine the morale of the services." From Mr. Edison's testimony, it was clear that the "activities" he was referring to were efforts to bring to soldiers and sailors an understanding of their rights and duties as men and citizens. Mr. Edison confessed that such appeals do not violate the sedition and insurrection provisions of the U.S. Criminal Code, yet he insisted on Congress taking action to outlaw them. His position was supported by

the Army and Justice Departments. The fact that the Navy Department has officially come out for this repressive legislation is taken as indicating the President's approval.

"The only just solution of this employment problem which is created in connection with unification is to continue all employees in their present positions after the lines are taken over by the city. Their merit and fitness for the positions have aland fitness for the positions have already been amply demonstrated by their many years of efficient service. A bill must be adopted which will provide for the equitable transfer of the present transit employees to Wicks Bill would place every single the transit lines acquired by the city. The American Labor Party is every one on civil-service lists ahead |convinced that a solution can be of the 29,000 men who have given found to this problem which will years of their lives in the faithful protect the rights of transit workers, the interests of the city, and the trality legislation at present on the welfare of the people."

A.L.P. Rejects Navy Moves U.A.W. Convention Rallies Masses of Auto Workers

Over 100,000 Represented

THE following is a full list of official and rank-and-file delegates seated at the convention of the United Automobile Workers of America:

Official delegates: Ohio region: Locals 11, 16, 28, 30, 78, 131, 153, 158, 161, 168, 169, 170, 178, 211, 243, 294, 301, 308, 318, 382, 464, 497, 507, 611. Eastern region: 49, 110, 118, 149, 338, 365, 379, 425, 482, 501, 536, 543, 545, 559, 595. Detroit region: 51, 84, 99, 142, 190, 203, 247, 312, 363, 368, 369, 380, 410, 483, 572, 588, 589, 592, 593, 600, 612, 614, 615. Western-Michigan region: 62, 87, 92, 182, 196, 206, 220, 252, 253, 302, 389, 404, 433, 444, 485, 564. 567. Missouri region: 93, 249, 447, 529. Wisconsin region: 95, 121, 209, 225, 232, 233, 244, 273, 283, 323, 333, 345, 364, 384, 386, 477 1533. Eastern-Michigan region: 127 156, 159, 268, 362, 429, 460, 461, 471, 581, 584, 594, 596, 598, 609, 616. Indiana region: 146, 265, 315, 579. California region: 228. Southern region: 239.

Rank-and-file delegates: Detroit region: Locals 2, 3, 7, 80, 140, 154, 155, 174, 205, 212, 227, 235, 262, 490. Ohio region: 45, 409. California region: 76, 216, 406. Missouri region: 325. Eastern region: 424. Eastern-Michigan region: 507, 599,

606. Canada region: 195.

Membership to Pass on Affiliation; **Progressives Consolidate Forces**

(Special to the Workers Age) Detroit, Mich.

The emergency convention of the United Automobile Workers of America closed here late last Wednesday afternoon with the installation of Homer Martin as president, Irvan Carev of California as vice-president and Jerry Aldred of Flint as secretary-treasurer.

Fourteen board members were elected by the delegates in the various regional conferences, the only vacancy being that for Canada. Frank Tucci was reelected from the chosen from the southern region; Elmer Davis and Peter Noll came elected by the Detroit contingent; eastern Michigan region; Lester by his western-Michigan delegates; Earl Heaton was picked from Indiana; George Kiebler from Wisconsin and Illinois; Elmer Dowell from the Missouri region; and Charles West Jr. from the west

A decision of tremendous significance for the labor movement was the favorable vote of the convention on a resolution sponsored and pressed by the progressive forces to elect

Together these delegates represented at least 100,000 good-standing Board. Frank Evans of Ohio was chosen to fill that post. there was visible friction between

FDR Attacks Anti-War

Also Opposes War Polls As Limiting His Power

Washington, D. C. President Roosevelt came out definitely last week against the neu-Senators headed by Senator LaFollette. The President made his attitude public at a press conference in response to questions.

President Roosevelt's opposition to the neutrality law was implied in Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter his message to Congress in January his message to Congress in January his message to Congress in January his heat work a remarks were the but last week's remarks were the first outright statement of his posithat the country may understand and tion. His rejection of the warsupport the amendment to require a referendum idea was expressed emreferendum before embarking on a phatically last year in a public letforeign war. An answer to this book ter to Speaker Bankhead when the will probably be written and sold in Ludlow resolution was before the

The President's hostility to both they are raving-for it or against formant: "Chase has expressed my measures is due to his fixed deterviewpoint perfectly. I am just wait- mination to wrest from Congress security" advocates on the spot. Its | ing for the Daily Worker to charge | greater freedom in conducting for-Japanese Foreign Office." Stimson's and to block any effort to extend shortly after Chase published his over his activities in this vitally im-

Meet Called

N. Y. Labor Groups To

New York City The New York Labor Anti-War The New York Labor Anti-wat Council will hold a conference on Civil Service o'clock,, at Caravan Hall, 110 East statute book. At the same time, he 59 Street, New York City, as part also attacked the proposal for a of a two-day Anti-War Mobilization war-referendum amendment recently | Conference arranged jointly by the revived in Congress by a group of Keep America Out of War Congress and the Youth Committee Against War, scheduled for March 24-25.

Rose Pesotta, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., will address the conference on "What Labor Can Do to Fight War."

Trade unionists and members of labor fraternal organizations will work out plans at this conference for integrating the work of the Labor Anti-War Council in the labor organizations of New York.

The opening session of the New York Mobilization Against War will take place on Friday night, March 24, and will be addressed by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Norman Thomas, trade union and other speakers.

Sub-sessions of church, student and educators division delegates will be held the next day from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m., and sub-sessions of neighborhood, trade-union and settlement-house delegates from 2 p. m. to 4 p. m. The plenary session will be held from 4 p. m. to 6 p. m.

2 Trusts Own 90% Of Railroads

corporations, J. P. Morgan and Co. and Kuhn, Loeb and Co., control nearly 90% of all the major railroads in America, figures given by plying only to civil-service unions the Labor Research Association in-

dicate. The Great Northern-Pacific, the Alleghany, the New York Central. and the Southern lines are among those held by Morgan; among the Kuhn, Loeb railroad holdings are the Pennsylvania and Union Pacific. The Southern Pacific. Baltimore and Ohio, and Chicago and Northwestern are held jointly by the two groups.

LUDWIG LORE

Editor, (Behind the Cables). New York Post

speaks

FRIDAY, MARCH 17 8:15 P. M.

"American Foreign Policy"

Admission 25c

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

were those who had been officially elected by majority vote of their membership to attend the Detroit convention. This group consisted of 251 delegates representing 124 local unions and casting 631 votes. The second group consisted of rank-andfile delegates chosen by minority groups but claiming to represent the majority of the membership in their local unions. This group included eastern region; Irving Brown was 118 delegates from 26 groups, carrying 503 votes—the total voting thru from Ohio; Dewey Smith, Fred claimed to represent. The latter strength of the locals which they Durrence and F. J. McCartney were group of delegates were not seated until a closed session had heatedly Jack Little was chosen from the debated the issue for many hours. The conservative forces in the con-Washburn was returned to the Board vention pressed hard for seating these unofficial delegates, claiming that they really represented majorities but burocratic control in their locals had made it impossible for those majorities to come to expression. The progressive forces claimed that seating these delegates looked too much like packing the convention. They argued that an attempt was being made to establish a nonrepresentative majority in the convention in order to defeat certain candidates for office and certain progressive policies. The body finally voted to seat the rank-and-file delegates with full voting strength. On many issues that came up later,

Reports of the credential commit-

tee indicated that better than 100,000

good-standing members were repre-

sented in the convention. Delega-

tions of two kinds were seated. First

these two groups of delegates. Despite the seating of the large block of conservative unofficial delegates, the convention showed certain strong progressive trends. This ex-Meet Saturday, March 25 pressed itself in the adoption of such resolutions as those favoring

(Continued on Page 3)

Union Barred

Refused Incorporation By State Board

Albany, N. Y. The State Board of Standards and Appeal refused recently to approve a certificate for the incorporation of a labor union of employees of the New York City Department of Parks, all of whom are in the ivil-service system.

The board's ruling in effect would rirtually prohibit any group of civilservice employees, state or local. from forming or joining incorporated unions.

The ruling was made on the application of the Greater New York Park Employees Association, Inc., for approval of a certificate of incorporation as a labor union. The board drew a sharp distinction between public and private employees, as well as between labor unions and associations of civil-service em-

In its written decision, the board held that "actually the governmental employee is a public servant; he is an employee of all the citizens of the state. In this sense, his Two of America's most powerful status differs materially from that found in the ordinary employer-employee relationship.

This ruling, altho at present apseeking incorporation, constitutes a serious menace to the labor movement in its efforts to organize public employees generally, for it virtually condemns such organization as improper and illegitimate. The ruling will probably be appealed to the Supreme Court.

War Training In CCC Hit

Washington, D. C. A proposal to provide military training for the C.C.C. was rejected by House Labor Committee members last week with reference to a bill introduced by Representative James P. Richards of South Carolina to require six hours per week of military training for the 300,000 enrollees of the camps.

Altho the Richards bill was not officially before the committee, the question of military training came up during one of the final hearings on a bill proposed by Chairman Mary Norton calling for the indefinite extension of the C.C.C. and for civil-service status for administrative personnel. After hearing the testimony of Brigadier - General Tyner and James J. McEntee, acting director of the C.C.C., the committee members expressed themselves strongly against militarization of the camps.

(Continued on Page 3) about. Some of the Senators fear revolutionary movements. Labor Peace Conferences Begin

The EACE talks began here last week ganization. President Green and purposes." as the negotiating committees of the L. are to be pensioned off for life A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. met in "for services rendered." their first session at the White House on Tuesday, March 7. For organization is to be "composed submitted. the A. F. of L., there were Mat-thew Woll, Harry C. Bates and F. of L. and the C.I.O., with propor-Thomas A. Rickert; for the C.I.O., tionate representation for the four John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. Dan Tobin later joined the parleys altho he had at first declined appointment to the A. F. of L. committee. Secretary of Labor Perkins was present thruout.

the proceedings with a short talk ing jurisdictional and other conflicts. stressing the universal desire for labor peace thruout the country. To- at the sessions of the all-inclusive wards the end of the period during convention mentioned in point 1. which the President did most of the talking, John L. Lewis created a of L. and C.I.O. are to be held tosensation by handing to those wards the latter part of April to present copies of what he declared pass upon and approve these proto be the C.I.O. proposals for unity. This six-point program, prescribing in advance even the most trivial details, such as time and place of meeting, names to be adopted, etc., ran along these lines:

PROPOSALS 1. Not later than June 1, 1939, a general convention shall be held of all affiliates of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. together with the four independent railroad brotherhoods.

2. "This convention is to organize of Labor," to embrace the abovementioned organizations.

3. Neither Lewis nor Green is to can be accomplished by the issuance

without much apparent result Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of

railroad brotherhoods." The president is to be selected from the

brotherhoods. 5. During the year following the organization of the new federation, the services of the Department of President Roosevelt himself opened Labor are to be available in adjust-

> 6. President Roosevelt is to preside Special conventions of the A. F.

A.F.L. REJECTS PLAN

AS "FANCIFUL" After a brief consultation, the representatives of the A. F. of L. issued a statement rejecting these proposals as utterly "fanciful." 'Anyone familiar with present-day labor difficulties," the statement ran, "will realize that the C.I.O. proposal does not offer any possible

solution to the problems facing us. . . It should be obvious that the only way to obtain peace is for both and dedicate the American Congress sides to get down to consideration of the facts in a realistic way and then negotiate a settlement. Nothing

It was finally decided that the conferees were to reconvene on March proposed by Mr. Lewis. 10 at New York to discuss the Lewis

would abandon their traditional in- the A. F. of L. and the formation of dependence in any such scheme as an entirely new federation into Observers generally were of the

proach to unity was possible along Spokesmen of the railroad the lines laid down by the C.I.O. brotherhoods, while not in a position chief. It was obviously to no pur- inject in his proposals such petty to make official statements, scouted pose, it was pointed out, for Mr.



-from Justice

Washington, D. C. | be eligible for office in the new or- of fanciful statements for headline the idea that their organizations Lewis to demand the dissolution of which all organizations would be admitted indiscriminately without plan as well as all other proposals opinion that no constructive ap- regard to overlapping or jurisdictional conflict. It was a positive obstruction to unity for Mr. Lewis to sniping as the reference to pen sioning off Messrs. Green and Morrison or the minute prescription of every step in advance, even to insignificant details.

LEWIS PLAN FOLLOWS STALINIST LINE

Attention was also called to the fact that Mr. Lewis's proposals were in essence identical with the "plan for unity" laid down by the Communist Party over a year ago as the "party line." Thus, in the Daily Worker of October 20, 1937, William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, had an article entitled "Regarding Trade-Union Unity."
Under the sub-title, "Minimum Unity Proposals," he stated:

"(d) In the fusion of the two movements, the representation on the top committee of the united trade-union movement should consist of an equal number from both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. . . (e) Provision might be made for the holding of a special broad, representative trade-union unity convention, to which the railroad brotherhoods and other independents should be invited." Some months later, at the plenary

(Continued on Page 2)

session of the central committee of

Nelson Describes Achievements of the Knitgoods Union

By LOUIS NELSON

New York City

THE elections of officers in the Knitgoods Workers Union do not mean merely electing one officer or another. Every knitgoods worker knows that elections, especially in a labor union, serve the purpose of taking inventory of past achievements and shortcomings and laying plans for future work. It is essential, therefore, to take inventory of the accomplishments of the progressive administration during the past two years and to examine its program for the future.

During these past two years, when organized labor was facing the offensive of the employers and was itself on the defensive, the Knitgoods Workers Union, as a recently established labor organization, had to face the organized force of the National Knitted Outerwear Association, was confronted with police brutality, with imprisonment of officers and members, with frame-ups and raids on union headquarters. In addition, the union was confronted with a business recession which affected knitgoods perhaps more than any other section of industry.

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

In spite of all this, the progressive administration fulfilled the pledges it had made to the knitgoods workers. One hundred twenty-seven shops were organized. Conditions of the knitgoods workers in those open shops were improved and, in addition to improving the conditions in union shops, the organizational activities of the union forced the employers of many open shops to grant improvements to their workers for fear of

The organization of these 127 mills was accomplished thru strikes and difficult struggles. Not a single plant signed an agreement with our union without a strike. Hillman's policy of secret negotiations with employers and the signing of agreements without gaining improvements, was not practised by our union. One of the planks in our program is: "A class-struggle policy;

against class collaboration." The knitgoods workers and their leadership are inseparable. The Knitgoods Workers Union faced not only the opposition of the individual mill-owners; it was confronted with and is still facing the national organization of the manufacturers, the National Knitted Outerwear Association. The arrest of a knitgoods worker or of one of their leaders would immediately bring representatives and attorneys of the National the courts, and the aid of the chamwas obtained by the employers.

and internationally. Every struggle out the reaction of the employers tofinancial, moral and organizational support of the Knitgoods Workers

The progressive administration, without seeking publicity, has oblief, the union used its influence and taining it for them.

to which every member pays 35 poses a policy of truck with emcents a month, has been a great help ployers, while to the 'rank-and-file' to our members. Over \$22,000 has group (the Stalinists.-Editor) such been paid to sick and needy members and to doctors for them.

WORKERS **EDUCATION**

The progressive administration did reds of our members have attended is of primary importance. classes and have been helped to become conscious, intelligent union the present election campaign is of members. Under the supervision of such a nature that the employers PROGRESSIVES the educational department, recre- reprint almost everything they say ational and cultural activities- because all their agitation is that such as basketball, baseball, man- the union is getting weaker, that the dolin groups, dancing, outings, boat- union is losing membership, and this rides and theater parties—have been | naturally plays right into the hands carried on. The department has suc- of the open shoppers. When the ceeded in developing the idea that president of our International, David a progressive union does not mere- Dubinsky, pointed out in a letter to tions of the industry and in all parts ly fight for an hour less work and a the knitgoods workers that, in 1938, of the country. helps teach its members what to do ed a gain of 25% in membership as

This is a bird's-eye view of our said that Dubinsky was lying! But activities. The opposition in our when we pointed out to them that, union denounced and fought the administration on practically every con-

"State of American Civilization"

March 17. — Ludwig Lore (Columnist, New York Post): American Foreign Policy.

March 24.—Horace Coon ("Money To Burn"): Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life. March 31.-Will Herberg (Editor Workers Age): Trends in American

Governmental Structure. April 7.-Bertram D. Wolfe ("Portrait

of America"): Whither America? Fridays at 8:15. Admission 25c

> INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd Street



LOUIS NELSON Manager, Knitgoods Workers Union

structive plan proposed by the latter. Take, for example, the Sick and Relief Fund. The Stalinist supportup of this fund and almost broke up a membership meeting at which this proposal was discussed. The so-called "communists" are also fighting the educational department. Support to any labor organization or labor publication not in sympathy with the Stalinists is bitterly fought and they have gone so far as to demand the elimination from our union of any workers who disagree with them politically. They have opposed conferences of shop chairmen called by the union at Unity House. They are opposed to the position of our union on the war question while they themselves do not find it necessary to state their own position on this issue. Apparently, the question of war is of no importance to them.

Democracy in our union is not merely a phrase; it is a reality; and the so-called Stalinist opposition cannot deny the fact that, in our organization, democracy is an institution of which the knitgoods workers can be proud.

DISRUPTION CAMPAIGN

As we have already stated, the elections in our union are a time of inventory. However, instead of discussing the issues and problems confronting the union and the knitgoods workers, the Stalinists are deliberately confusing issues and acting generally as tho it were still the "third period" of the Communist Party. Any member who disagrees with them is a "fascist" or a "Nazi." The progressive administration is being attacked with the same Knitted Outerwear Association to methods as were used during the "third period" seven or eight years bers of commerce, of strike-break- ago. In their campaign against the ing outfits and detective agencies administration, the Stalinist opposition is trying to develop the idea in our union that the workers should the Knitgoods Workers Union did not rely upon their own strength. not naglect its duty toward the upon their own militancy. It is imentire labor movement, nationally portant in this connection to point of the working class received the wards the election campaign in the Knitgoods Workers Union.

Writes the Knitted Outerwear Times, official paper of the National Knitted Outerwear Association: without making a lot of noise and "Particularly interesting in the general program (of the progressives .tained relief for practically every Editor) is a plank calling for a member of the union who applied class-struggle policy. . . . This secfor it. Our records can prove that tion in the platform brings out into whenever members were refused re- sharp relief the ideological differences which motivate the two oppressure and was successful in ob- posing groups in the Knitgoods Workers Union. The Nelson group, Our Sick and Relief Fund, a fund dominated by the Lovestoneites, opa policy is not considered to be of

primary importance at the moment." This shows what the so-called "People's Front" policy is in our union. Our progressive administration maintains the position of dea powerful instrument in the hands working class only. We do not want

The literature of the opposition in dollar more pay, but that it also the Knitgoods Workers Union showwith that hour and with that dollar. compared with 1937, the opposition be the same. in 1937, a similar letter from President Dubinsky had shown a decline in membership, they had no answer industry.

************************** Their name-calling and demagogic manner of discussing problems can be attributed only to the fact that they are desperate and are ready to use any and all methods to defeat the present leadership of the union. If they are not successful in doing that, as they will not be, then they will probably try to destroy it. Rule

> Fortunately, the knitgoods workers have already had an opportunity to test the Stalinists as to their leadership. The knitgoods workers have also had the opportunity of testing the present progressive leadership of the Knitgoods Workers Union. At the last membership gram merely for election purposes. meeting, at which the election of an Every plank in this program, if carelection-and-objection committee ried out, will mean the strengthentook place, the knitgoods workers ing of the Knitgoods Workers Union. gave their answer to the opposition. And the progressive administration, And, on March 23, 1939, thru an if reelected, pledges itself to mobilize honest election conducted and super- the knitgoods workers to carry this vised by this election-and-objection program into life.

Dressmakers Win In Truck Fight

Force Owners Under Collective Pact

New York City MAJOR victory was scored last struggle against scabbing truckowners, with the signing of agreements that meet the union's demand for the ending of non-union deliveries by the truckers and their encouragement of open shops.

The victory came in the form of wo agreements signed in the presence of Mayor La Guardia and the fact-finding committee of three ers in our union opposed the setting appointed by him. One agreement was between the dress contractors and the truck-owners, and the other between the truck-owners and Truckdrivers Local 102 of the I.L.G.W.U. These agreements, according to Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dressmakers Joint Board, bring the trucking branch of the dress industry for the first time under the general collective agreements and will end the abuses against which the dressmakers revolted: the bootleg delivery of nonunion dresses and the encourage. ment of open shops.

MILITANCY BRINGS

This victory came as a result of the determination of the union to end an intolerable abuse. It came as a result of scores of strikes against open-shop jobbers and, still more decisive, of the giant mass demonstration held last month when 20,000 dressmakers stopped work in the afternoon and poured into the garment market to prevent non-union deliveries by truckmen and to embody in action their threat of a general strike if their demands were not granted by peaceful conference.

The victory over the truck-owners is not the only achievement. As part of the drive against the truck-owners, the Dressmakers Joint Board A week by the Dressmakers carried on a campaign to organize Union of the I.L.G.W.U. in the non-union shops. The work has been non-union shops. The work has been tremendously successful. During the period from January 27 to March 1, the union organized 47 jobbers, 48 manufacturers and 123 contractors, of whom 51 are out-of-town. There are 64 strikes still going on against open shops.

"We must continue our mobilization against the open shops," said Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, at the local's membership meetings this week. "We must extend our strikes and picketing; we must picket night and day to prevent non-union deliveries. We must beat the racketeering open shops in Brooklyn and bring the out-oftown shops under control. More and more active union members are needed in this drive to maintain and improve standards.

At the Local 22 membership meetings plans were approved for administering the \$150,000 unemployment-relief fund being raised by the local. The various membership district meetings elected ten members to serve on a committee, which includes nine members from the Executive Board.

TN the first ten months of 1938, the United States sent exports of \$192,000,000 to Japan, including \$41,000,000 worth of cotton (part to be used for textiles, part for war) and \$17,000,000 in iron and steel scrap (war's most basic material).-News item.

STRIKING MACHINISTS KEEP PLANT CLOSED

Rules Pact Breach Not "Unfair"

Labor Board Decision Of Vital Importance

Washington, D. C. The National Labor Relations Board ruled last week that a breach of contract by an employer is not a violation of the Wagner Act.

This principle of labor law was laid down by the N.L.R.B. in deciding that a United Mine Workers of America strike against the Sixth Vein Coal Corporation, of Madisonville, Ky., in April 1936, had not been caused by "unfair labor pracises" of the company.

The Board overruled contentions of the U.M.W.A. that the company's refusal to continue operating under a valid labor contract was a violation of the labor-relations statute. It said that "respondent's breach of contract did not constitute an unfair labor practise within the meaning of the act."

The ruling on breach of contract was coupled with a sweeping decision against the Sixth Vein Coal Corporation and three other western Kentucky coal producers whose closed-shop, check-off contracts with a company union, the Independent Miners Union were invalidated. The four companies were told by the Board to reinstate approximately 350 discharged miners.

At the same time, the Board reterated its ruling that an employer could not appeal to individual employees to agree to changes in the terms of existing contracts with labor unions. This phase of the decision also was directed at the Sixth |Vein Coal Corporation in connection with its breach of contract after employees had refused to accept less than the \$4.50 a day fixed in the union-company collective bargaining agreement, resulting in the strike.

Trotskyite Twists In UAW Crisis

SWP Turns Thrice in Three Weeks

By DONALD D. GRAHAM

THE Trotskyites have made another right-about-face in their attitude to the struggle now taking place in the United Automobile Workers of America. This is not the first complete reversal of policy they have made in this field. They are literally spinning like a top. If this matter deserves any attention at all, it is not due to any importance they may have or any influence they may exert among the automobile workers. Rather, it is significant in that it indicates the lack of principle and responsibility of the Trotskyist group in a situation so vitally affecting the interests of the Amercan labor movement. Moreover it in dicates the peculiar Moscow-like regime among the Trotskyists whereby they can swing their membership around overnight again and again and land them with a loud ang even into the Stalinist camp.

FROM STALIN TO MARTIN

Before the Milwaukee convention n 1937, the few Trotskyites in the U.A.W. were members of the "unity" caucus and bitter opponents of the "reactionary" Homer Martin. Their criticism of the "unity" caucus consisted in berating it for not fighting Martin hard enough!

After the Milwaukee convention they moved in another direction opposition to "both gangs." This was transition to a pro-Martin position and an attack on the Stalinist menace in the union. On April 2. 1938, the Socialist Appeal stated: "The Communist Party has initiated its most elaborate and ambitious undertaking in the auto union in a carefully planned, nation-wide campaign to crucify and oust Homer Martin for his opposition to collective security." Thus, one year ago, the Trotskyites saw the beginning of the frame-up drive to remove Martin and realized the implications of the Stalinist campaign.

A month later, May 14, 1938, the Socialist Appeal featured an editorial signed by James P. Cannon, in which he wrote: "In the crisis provoked by the Stalinist bid for power, the militants have no choice but to support the Martin administration as tin-"aggressively."

AGAINST C.I.O INTERVENTION

On June 18, they again backed Martin in the suspension of the four vice-presidents. One week later, they protested against the effort of the Stalinists to have the C.I.O. interfere in the controversy, saying: "The constitution gave Martin as International President power to remove any officer subject to trial. . . There is nothing in the constitution to give John L. Lewis or any other leader the authority to come in from Washington and throw out the

|elected leaders of the auto workers. . . When William Green and Francis Dillon tried this on the A. F. of L. unions, everybody howled dictatorship, and it doesn't make a particle of difference whether the dictator is John L. Lewis or William

On July 23, 1938, they realized that the Stalinist-Lewis scheme was being hatched to split the U.A.W .: 'The intervention of John L. Lewis into the auto workers union battle would mark the end of the autonomous and independent existence of the most militant organization in this country. Lewis would act as a receiver in order to turn the union over to the Stalinists. Martin was completely right when he stated that the U.A.W. was an autonomous body that had voluntarily affiliated with the C.I.O. and that the latter had no authority over any International's internal affairs.'

On September 17, Martin was congratulated on his staunch fight to save the union: "Only a blind man or a fool would deny that Homer Martin has waged a persistent and courageous struggle against the union busters. He has refused to make any rotten compromises, resisted their blackmail, and spurned their repeated attempts to buy him off. . . . It is to Martin's credit that he refused to sell out."

THREE WEEKS-THREE POSITIONS

In January 1939, the culmination of the Lewis-Stalinist conspiracy to grab the U.A.W. was marked by a quick-fire shifting of the Trotskytes to three different positions in

On January 21, 1939, the Socialist Appeal wrote: "The faction fight between the Martin and the Mortimer crowd has again flared up into the open. . . . This time, it appears to be a fight to the finish with both gangs realizing that they have pretty near exhausted their whole bag of tricks."

At this point, they had stopped congratulating Martin on his fight against the Stalinists and had returned to their "two-gangs" theory, appealing to the most backward elements in the union.

On January 28, 1939, these same against the Stalinist-Frankensteen people called upon the auto workers combination, and this support should to send delegates to Detroit, to the be given openly, frankly and aggres-convention called by Martin, and sively. . . . The U.A.W. under the Martin leadership remains by com- land convention called by the susparison the most progressive of the pended Board members: "What-C.I.O. unions and by far the most ever illusions part of the memberdemocratic." By now, the Trotskyists ship may have about the Cleveland had gone over to support of Mar- gathering, whatever locals may in honest confusion send genuine militant delegates to it, it is guaranteed in advance that the Cleveland meeting will be a 100% Stalinist-stooge assembly. Every move, every motion, every resolution, will be dictated by Earl Browder in exactly the same manner that he dictates the proceedings of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the I.W.O. or the conventions of the Communist Party itself."

> One week later, on February 4, the Socialist Workers Party made an about-face and advocated supporting the "100% Stalinist-stooge" Cleveland convention! On February 14, the Socialist Appeal published a statement on the "Policy of the S.W.P. in the U.A.W. Situation," in which it attempted to explain to its 'confused" followers-we quote the Socialist Appeal admission of "temporary confusion"—the reason for "these sudden shifts." And, believe it or not, the reason given was that, in the interim, the C.I.O. had endorsed the Cleveland convention! Only an idiot just arrived from Mars would have been unable to foretell that the C.I.O. (John L. Lewis) would endorse the Cleveland convention. The Socialist Appeal itself had been trying to prove, for almost a year, that the C.I.O. had been leading up to the point of the Cleveland conven-

APPLAUSE FOR FRAME-UP

From this time on, the Trotskyites began aping the Daily Worker in attacks on Martin. They have even gone so far as to endorse and repeat he infamous Stalinist frame-up against Martin on the so-called "Ford conspiracy." These experts on Stalinist frame-up are apparently quite willing to go along on a frameup as long as it is directed against somebody else. How long ago was it that they were writing sanctimonious articles on "their morals and

Today, they are shricking to high heaven about Martin "going to the A. F. of L." How dreadful! They know very well that Hillman and negotiations for months with the leaders of the A. F. of L. And have these last-minute champions of the C.I.O. forgotten their own support

This chapter in the history of Trotskyism is like all others, replete with sudden, unexplained shifts and tricky manouvers, devoid of all principle or even common-sense consistency. Here as elsewhere, Trotskyism Stalinism!

Pickets turn back automobiles carrying non-striking engineers to the Curtiss-Wright plane factory in St. Louis, where 700 members of District 9, International Association of Machinists (A. F. of L.) struck for higher wages and a closed shop.

committee, the knitgoods workers leave them their answer once leave Peace Parley more. By reelecting the progressive administration, the knitgoods worknot forget that workers education is pending on the strength of the ers will again demonstrate that they of labor. An educational department to have any "truck" with employers. they intend to have their union rewas established in the union. Hund- To us and to the membership, this main a constructive force within the

The progressive forces within our union have pledged themselves to the following program:

1. The organization of the unor ganized in all knitted-outerwear centers. 2. The 35-hour week for all sec-

3. Conditions in all knitgoods agreements thruout the country to

4. Jobber responsibility for labor conditions in contracting shops. 5. For abolition of home-work and

6. For unity in the trade-union movement.

child labor in the knitted-outerwear

7. For industrial unionism and amalgamation of craft unions. 8. Against dual unionism. 9. For democracy in the trade

10. For a farmer-labor party and the support of the American Labor

11. For international labor solidar-12. For federal social and labor

legislation. 13. Against war and fascism. 14. For a class-struggle policy.

The present progressive adminis tration does not put forth this pro-

Opens

(Continued from Page 1) Communist Party held in February 1938 (reported in the Communist of March 1938), Roy Hudson stressed the same points. It was this program that made its appearance in gram that made its appearance in Mr. Lewis's startling proposals. It is believed that Mr. Lewis was not ESTABLISHING temporary head-quarters in Washington, D. C., believed that Mr. Lewis was not aware of the source of his plan.

be only along the lines of a negotiated peace aiming at the reabsorption of the C.I.O. into the A. F. of L. The first step would properly be to specify those fields in which the A. F. of L. was ready to grant full industrial charters. Then those other fields in which there were conflicts of jurisdiction or overlapping could be isolated and special committees set up to discuss and adjust each situation. The substantial settlement of these difficulties would make possible the merger of the C.I.O. into the A. F. of L. All secondary questions, such as conventions, dates, places and personnel, with which Mr. Lewis appears to be so particularly concerned, could undoubtedly be arranged after the major issues were

Progress and Poverty

THE O'Mahoney Committee, says • one of the labor papers editorially, has piled up testimony showing how patents have enabled a few men to monopolize the glassworkers has not been emphasized, altho the facts are startling.

Up to 1905, bottles, jars and other clusively by hand. Then came Owen's containers a year to about 245,000. | the Chicago headquarters.

|Red Caps Prepare for Fight On "Tip" Wage System

Employers Seek To Count Tips In Minimum Wage

the International Brotherhood of Red Caps is girding itself with detailed unity, observers pointed out, could preparations for what promises to nificant fights in the short history of this militant union of Red-Caps, station porters and ushers.

The fight will center around the relationship of tips to wages under the new Fair Labor Standards Act, and will be conducted before the Federal Wage-and-Hour Administration. Opposing the International Brotherhood of Red Caps in this fight will be the high-salaried attorneys of the Association of American Railroads.

The Fair Labor Standards Act provides that all employers in interstate commerce shall pay a mînimum of 25 cents per hour to all employees for the first year. The Association of American Rail-

roads has taken the position that tips, when properly accounted for, may be used as wages for the purpose of the act, and has sought to establish this opinion by instructing

machine for blowing bottles. Here is what happened:

In 1899, 28.370 wage-earners produced 1,900,000,000 containers valued at \$21,500,000. In 1935, production container industry. The effect on the had risen to 6,000,000,000 containers valued at \$120,000,000, but the number of wage-earners had dropped to 24,044. The average production per glass containers were made ex- man had gone from about 40,000 urer John L. Yancey is in charge of shows itself to be but inverted

Chicago, Ill. | each Red-Cap to report to the management the amount earned daily in tips, and if the minimum is not earned, a supplement sufficient to meet the requirements of the act is guaranteed by the carriers.

The Red-Caps take the position that tips cannot be used as wages for the purposes of the act, that the position of the railroads is contrary to the spirit of the act, and no accounting of tips given Red-Caps by the public can relieve the carriers of their duty as stated in the law, requiring each employer to pay their employees the minimum wage.

The outcome of this controversy holds great significance for the workers outside the immediate organizational scope of the Internacional Brotherhood of Red Caps. It is estimated that approximately 800,000 service employees thruout the country depend largely upon tips as a form of income. Included among these are restaurant workers, hotel employees, Pullman porters, diningcar workers, etc. While many of these workers are definitely excluded from the provisions of the Federal Murray have been conducting secret Wage-and-Hour Act, the possibility of state legislation modeled upon the federal act is imminent in many sections of the country. Officers of the Brotherhood maintain that a and defense of Lundberg when he precedent on the question of tips |led the west-coast seamen into the established at this time by the A. F. of L.? Federal Wage-and-Hour Administration will have its affects upon future state legislation.

President Willard S. Townsend is directing the work from the Washington office, while Secretary-Treas-

Poland And The Soviet Union

By P. GUILLAUME

Paris, France THE Ukrainian policy of German **1** imperialism has led quite recently to a certain rapprochement between the Soviet Union and Poland. The Stalinists, therefore, feel themselves authorized to depict Poland as a "democratic" and "antifascist" power. But Poland is ruled today, as it was yesterday, by a military dictatorship with fascist tendencies. If we have not "totalitarian" fascism in Poland, that is not the fault of Marshal Rydz-Smigly or Colonel Beck, but it is due to the Polish workers and peasants who, in spite of twelve years of dictatorship, have been able to maintain a splendid fight for freedom.

PLAYING THE LACKEY

Naturally, one cannot demand that the Soviet Union have good diplomatic relations only with capitalist countries of the "democratic" variety. But that does not justify Stalinist diplomacy trying to use the international labor movement as a pawn or a counter in its dealings with imperialist powers. The results of this policy are not only demoralization for the labor movement but, in the long run, the collapse of the Soviet Union's position in the face of world imperialism. The Soviet Union was strong when it held aloft the banner of the world revolution. But when the Stalinist government sells the workers movement to the imperialists, it invites the latter to treat it as a lackey.

The present Polish-Soviet rapprochement was consummated over the corpse of the Polish communist movement. The dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland prepared the way and the deal was completed by Stalin thru the arrest of Polish communists who sought refuge in the Soviet Union.

Of course, these vile services of Stalinist burocracy have not led the Polish government to tie itself body and soul to the Soviet Union.

The Polish military dictatorship continues to play several games at the same time. Beck's visit to Berchtesgaden proves it. The Polish bour- and the right to recall of Internageoisie fears another partition of the tional Board members and officers, country by Hitler but it is also afraid of trusting the Soviet Union, ship and, if passed, to go into efbecause, in spite of all of Stalin's counter-revolutionary deeds, it finds it hard to picture the Red Army in the role of defending Polish capitalism, and furthermore because no matter what the regime of the latter may be, it fears strengthening the power of the Russian state.

THE DOUBLE GAME

While the western imperialist wards, the Polish ruling class is trying to save itself from an attack by Germany by leaving it a free hand in the West, for an offensive against the colonial empires of France and Britain.

Polish diplomacy will continue this manouvering to the degree possible because it knows that while German imperialism is preparing to play the part of a champion of a "Great Ukraine," Hitler is also looking in another direction.

(This is the third article by P. Guillaume on the Ukrainian-Polish situation.—Editor.)

Chase's Book Makes Stir

(Continuea from rage 1) book. It has been pointed out by a government official, on the left, that Stimson backs F.D.R.'s foreign policy with one reservation: he must continue to move to the right on home policy in order for the foreign policy to be most effective. All of these preliminary skirmishes are leading up to the battle of the century over the revised LaFollette war-referendum amendment. This time Roosevelt is going to have a hell of a time defeating it. Recognizing this fact, his friends in Wall Street are beginning to wheel into action their Republican big guns. A statement from Landon is expected soon, similar to that of Stimson. Even Dewey and Vandenberg are Traveler said to me the other day: being approached for a statement by "friends of the League of Na-

"FELLOW-TRAVELERS"

AT WORK Communist Party members in in number but, thru the influence of Fellow-Travelers, they exert an influence here which is both surprising and ominous. In practise, they are to the right of many New Dealers like Mordecai Ezekiel and Jerome Frank. They are tremendously con-Democratic party under the leadership of FD.R. They like to call it. as Earl Browder did the other day in Mexico, the "Roosevelt party." For this reason, appointments such as that of Amlie to the I.C.C. are not considered desirable. A Fellow-

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The Danger Is Growing Fast!

headed by Dr. George Gallup, announced the results of a survey that should prove of vital interest to everyone concerned with the welfare of the labor movement.

The poll dealt with the question of licensing corporations and labor unions—the former in order to facilitate public control, the latter in order to curb and "regulate" the trade-union movement. The results of the poll are revealing to the point of being sensational:

On the licensing of corporations: yes, 57%; no, 43%. On the licensing of trade unions: yes, 75%; no, 25%. In other words, taking the people as a whole, many more by far are in favor of governmental curbs on labor organizations than on corporations!

But the figures become even more astonishing when they are broken down by income groups:

•	License	Corporations
	Yes	No
Upper-income group	38%	62%
Middle-income group	55%	45%
Lower-income group	69%	31%
	License 1	License Labor Unions
	Yes	No
Upper-income group	76%	24%
Middle-income group	73%	27%
Lower-income group	73%	27%
What do these figures mean	? They signify	that:

TNWO weeks ago the American Institute of Public Opinion, | 1. Even among the middle-income and lower-income | opinion" and alienated the masses of the middle class, groups-embracing the workers and lower-middle-class people of this country—sentiment is definitely stronger for The disastrous effects of disunity have been aggravated a curbing trade unions than for curbing corporations.

2. The middle-income and lower-income groups (workers) unions as is the upper-income group (the group that in- thrives on dissension and dissension is multiplied by Stalincludes the employers).

These figures, even if they are only approximately accurate and there is good reason to believe that they are more than that, mean that the great bulk of the whitecollar and middle-class people and a considerable part of the more backward sections of the workers are definitely suspicious of labor organization, perhaps even hostile to it, and are ready to have unions "regulated" and curbed by law. Even among the organized workers there is plainly in-

What do we see thruout the country? A rising tide of sentiment against the labor movement, part of the general conservative trend so strikingly displayed in the elections last November. To a considerable extent, organized labor to greater victories. For this two things are necessary: is beginning to pay the price of its own mistakes. The unity and the elimination of the corrupting influence of suicidal dissension in the trade-union movement has under- Stalinism. Peace negotiations between the A. F. of L. and mined labor's economic and political power, has spread dis- the C.I.O. are just beginning. The negotiators should never couragement and apathy thru the ranks of the workers, and forget that on the outcome of their deliberations hangs a what is perhaps even worse, has antagonized "public great deal of the future of labor movement.

whose good-will it is so important to gain and preserve. hundred-fold by the disruptive intrigues and irresponsible adventures of the Stalinists wherever they have been able are almost as strongly in favor of the government curbing to worm their way into the labor movement. Stalinism ism: both together are largely responsible for a dangerous trend towards the isolation of the labor movement amidst a thickening atmosphere of hostility and suspicion.

The tendency which now shows itself in such threatening form is not new. More than once in the past two years did we call attention to its earlier manifestations and warn against what was ahead unless organized labor sat up and took notice. Now the situation is truly menacing. The tide of reaction is engulfing ever-greater sections of the popudicated a certain indifference and apathy. This may sound lation. The forces of the employing class have launched "discouraging" or "pessimistic"—but, remember, 73% of the an offensive on many fronts to rob labor of its gains of lower-income group are in favor of governmental licensing recent years and to hamstring its organizations by all sorts of unions! Nothing is so fatal as ignoring unpleasant facts. of "regulatory" and "restrictive" legislation. What that would mean it is hardly necessary to say.

The time is short and prompt action is needed. The labor movement can still make good its losses and forge ahead

U.A.W. Convention Rallies Workers

Ultimate Affiliation Left to Membership

(Continued from Page 1) a withdrawal card from a local union independent political action of labor, by any worker who is unemployed separate and distinct from the exist- more than 12 months. Progressives ng major parties; against the fought in vain against the proposal, amendment of the National Labor Relations Act; for strong measures against lynching and persecution of Negroes, election of a Negro to the unions. Board as representative of the thousands of Negroes in the union and the industry; favoring complete unification of the labor movement provided the industrial form of organization is guaranteed for the mass-production industries; providing for the election by referendum this to be voted on by the memberfect at the next convention of the

But on many other questions the shadow of Stalinism and the bitterness of several years of struggle against factionalism and attempts at political domination by the Communist Party made themselves felt. On regional directors rather than the election of Board members who serve also as regional directors, the reactionary elements lined up for super-centralism because it would mean greater control of the regions in case some Board members should "go wrong," just as some of the Board members had gone wrong before. Probably the most stubborn resistance was offered by the progressive trade unionists to this proposal. Their battle-ground was that of democracy and they frankly expressed the fear that rank-and-file opinion might be suppressed and burocratic control installed.

So determined was the resistance of the progressives that they were

able to block this proposal. But the most evident reaction to the manipulations of Stalinism in the union was the constitutional provision which prohibits members of the Communist Party, Nazi and fascist organizations to hold office or serve as spokesmen for the union because of the belief of these organization in dictatorship and totalitarianism. The progressives went along with the proposal guarding the union against those sponsoring these ideologies but fought unsuccessfully in the committees to delete the mention of any specific organizations. An attempt on the floor of the convention by extreme reactionary elements to include in the constitutional amendment the name also of the Independent Labor League of America failed.

Differences also developed over a constitutional amendment calling for

"You know that Tommy Corcoran gave the President some stupid advice on that Amlie appointment." F.D.R. himself can do no wrong!

At a dance one February evening, saw how they work. Between dances and during intermission, Washington may be numerically few dancers usually divide up into groups of six to twelve to discuss affairs. At least one representative of the Communist Party arranges to be in each group. Of course, no one admits party membership. "The C.P. maybe wrong on that point," said one of these Stalinists (in disguise) cerned to insure the unity of the in my hearing, "but you must admit their members surely do work conscientiously to defend democracy." As someone said, the C.P. members have changed from overalls and ragged trousers to plus-fours and white ties and tails from East Side New Yorkese to Harvard long a's. With wares of "collective security," "a democratic front", "that Coughlinite Homer Martin" to the eager and innocent New Deal liberals. I am not Red-baiting. The C.P. has no red wares. They are all yellow and black. Its influence must be exposed because it is virtually a secret-police organization doing its best to drive us into war. It is willing even to sacrifice the mildly progressive tendencies of the New Deal in order and Italy. The people of Spain have to achieve its ends.

pointing to the possible danger to unionism incurred in forcing these

unemployed to leave their local

OTHER RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions were also adopted dealing with the organization of the parts plants, approving Martin's negotiations with the Ford Company and authorizing him to proceed with negotiations, approving the suspension of the Board members, and endorsing the legal action taken against the dualistic split-off group.

The convention organized itself as an independent body. The resolution dealing with the problem of affiliation points out that further relations with C.I.O. "could only be accomplished by sacrificing our demoincoming International Board to affiliation can take place without a guarantee of "autonomy and democratic control" and that no steps by the International Board are to be

membership for approval. thoroly false. The convention show-

The convention did indicate howhas been at work. There are definite lines, which set in during Mr. Roosigns of a growing cohesion of ul- sevelt's first term. Much of what has other, a growing crystallization of must remain a mystery without a the union. Whatever differences ment. there were at the open or closed sesor less the same line-up. The profight was concentrated almost ex-

issue openly with him. almost 400 votes as against 600 for terest. Jerry Aldred.

Books =by Jim Cork=

BEHIND THE BALLOTS: The Personal History of A Politician, by James A. Farley. Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York. 1938.

THIS is a distinctly lightweight but readable and mildly informative work. Mr. Farley, of course, doesn't tell all he knows by any means but the reader cannot avoid the suspicion that even what Mr. Farley knows is rather limited and, in the long run, rather insignificant.

Mr. Farley understands politics in the strictly American sense of the term: winning the nomination and getting the vote. His stories of how these things are done have the advantage of coming from the pen of probably the most eminent practitioner in that line, but they are hardly sensational in the light they cast on dark places. No breath of scandal ever sullies these pages: the politicians Mr. Farley introduces us to would scorn to be underhanded and wouldn't dream of engaging in shady or corrupt practises. They are all sturdy, upstanding Americans who cratic autonomy" and authorizes the don't parade their virtues, of course, but who needn't be ashamed of study the entire problem and take ley's book on American politics lege; that's how pure it is.

In addition to being pure, the work is rather superficial, even withtaken until such time as the Board in its own limitation. True to characsubmits its recommendation to the ter, Mr. Farley exhibits neither interest in nor understanding of the The prophecies of the split-off underlying social and political mean-Thomas faction that the Detroit con- ing of the New Deal; in part, of vention would constitute a group of course, this may be a sort of protec-"Martin stooges" were proven tive coloration, disguising a fundamental hostility. But, considering ed that the U.A.W. is a national that he is the most eminent practical organization, far more national expert on the voting population, it organization than the Cleveland is certainly surprising that Mr. Farconvention will be able to show. In ley should ignore the most signifimembership representation also, it cant development in this field in showed the active support of at decades—the profound structural least 100,000 good-standing workers. change in the voting public from "vertical" (sectional, "racial," etc.) ever that a process of differentiation to "horizontal" (income-group)

tra-conservative elements in the happened even within the realm of union on the one hand and, on the "politics" (in Mr. Farley's sense) progressive thought and opinion in clear grasp of this basic develop-All this, of course, is not to say out its value. It will make him some

sions of the convention showed more that Mr. Farley's book is not withgressive trade unionists fought a well-earned money (that's the reason principled battle on a number of he wrote the book, he says); and it progressive issues. In fact, their will reward its reader with some interesting stories of men and events clusively on issues and much less on and even some grains of political strikes or to the resort to "violence" positions and personalities. An in- wisdom. Almost buried in a mass of teresting feature of this convention threadbare platitudes is a revealing that, if workers go out on strike bewas the first definite sign of a statment like this: "President Roowidening gap between the progres- sevelt was moving about in a leisuresive trade unionists and President ly schedule in which he did little Martin. The former did not hesitate, more than 'shadow-box' with the on a number of questions, to take main issues, taking no chances of losing an election that was sure to The only contest in the election of go his way." And Mr. Farley's effecofficers occured over the secretary- tive sketches of Louis McHenry treasurership. Delegate Dorrio, Howe, Al Smith, Huey Long and backed by the progressives, received others are of more than passing in-

High Court Shifts In Labor Outlook

Recent Rulings Point to Dangerous Trend

By ROBERT WALTERS

L election returns," has been a familiar saying since Mr. Dooley coined it towards the beginning of the century. And it seems as if this is the most plausible explanation of the astonishing reversal of the Supreme Court in its attitude to the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B.

The 1936 elections, a New Deal victory of unparalleled proportions, was followed some months later (April 1937) by the Supreme Court decision validating the Wagner Act. Then followed a whole series of important decisions upholding the Labor Board in its administration of the act, widening its jurisdiction, strengthening its enforcement. A great deal was actually done to guarantee labor its rights of union bargaining and union organization.

AFTER ELECTIONS COURT TURNS

labor-relations case after the elections, the Consolidated-Edison case, the Supreme Court rendered a decision that, in part at least, was unfavorable to the Board?

And now come the three big decisions rendered on February 27. That they constitute a tremendous blow to the N.L.R.B. in its enforcement of the Wagner Act is obvious but the in the Fansteel and other cases may far-reaching than many suspect at the moment.

In all three decisions-in the Sands Manufacturing decisionsthe Supreme Court drastically reon the part of the employers. 1. By the Fansteel decision, the

Board cannot order the reinstatement of employees discharged for committing "unlawful" acts during a strike even tho this strike was called in order to enforce the rights of union organization or collective bargaining. This ruling is far more sweeping than appears at first sight. It is not limited simply to sit-down or the seizure of property. It means cause the employer refuses to bargain with them as he is required to do by law, and they commit some act that may be regarded as "objectionable" or "unlawful," they may be discharged and lose their status as employees and therefore also their protection under the law! The Supreme Court decision is obviously an how far the courts will permit them to go in firing workers for conduct

I during strikes; indeed, it may be expected that efforts will be made by HE Supreme Court follows the anti-union employers to goad workers into acts that might be construed as "unlawful" in order to deprive them of the protection of the Wagner Act. The sweeping significance of this is pointed out in the Reed dissent: "The issue . . . is: Can an employee on strike or let out by an unfair labor practise, be diswith or without cause, so long as the discharge is not used to interfere with self-organization or collective to conduct, from nose-thumbing to sabotage, which will give fair oc-

Labor Act." court ruled that "the [Wagner] Act | where it came from. Then came the 1938 elections, a big does not prohibit an effective disople, especially the middle classes. Fansteel decision by making breach union and labor movement thruout Is it an accident that, in the first big of contract by an employee as well Australia. The federal government's valid reason for discharging him.

Fansteel, Columbian Enamelling and the Board's order favoring the deposits in North Australia, striking union.

4. The Board's discretionary power | TERMS OF stricted the powers of the Board and is further limited. The Board's disopened the way for new methods of cretion is subject "to the limitation evasion and frustration of the act that its actions may not be arbitrary, unreasonable or capricious." What that means can be seen from the further ruling that the Board's action in the Fansteel case "trans- trade unions at Sidney came to cercended" the limit of discretion.

AMENDING THE WAGNER ACT

The three adverse rulings of the Supreme Court, coming so significantly at the present time, are closely associated with the movement in Congress to revise the Wagner Act. Friends of Senator Wagner are saying that with the new "interpretations" of the Supreme Court, amendment of the act is no longer necessary in order to eliminate alleged "abuses": that seems to be the general strategy of the Administration and that is presumably why Senator Wagner was reported as regarding the Fansteel decision as "favorable." invitation to the employers to see But. on the whole, the drive towards revision seems to have been speeded up rather than otherwise by the action of the Supreme Court, for the prestige of the Wagner Act is naturally affected by the standing of the N. L.R.B. A recent informal poll showed that, of those members of Congress willing to commit themselves at this stage (about 60%), the big majority favor some sort of amendment. The Administration is apparently against Congressional revision and seems to be ready to make whatever concessions may be required in order its benefits to the masses. And, if all to head off the movement. One of other means fail, there is resort to the reasons President Roosevelt is so imperialist war. And war conscripts eager for labor unity is his expecta-Ition that peace between A. F. of L. democratic forces. During the war and C.I.O. will reduce considerably the strength of the drive for amendment of the Wagner Act.

In the A. F. of L., there is apparently strong sentiment against the official stand of backing the Walsh amendments to the Wagner The cause of the workers is tied Act. The powerful International Association of Machinists, the Pattern Makers League of North America, and a number of other Federation bodies have come out in dissent.

(Continued on Page 4)

Australian Labor Bars Jap Iron

By JACK RYAN

Sydney. Australia January 23, 1939. ON JANUARY 22, waterside workers at Pork Kembla, a minor port in New South Wales, decided to lift their embargo on a shipment of 20,000 tons of pig iron for Japan. This decision was the culmination of a nine-week struggle that aroused the enthusiasm of people thruout Australia and probably reverberated in other countries too.

Australia's steel trust, the Broken Hill Proprietary Co., sold to Japanese interests 20,000 tons of pig iron to be shipped on the S.S. Dalfram from Port Kembla, close to one of the steel works. The waterside workers at that port promptly expressed their sympathy with the Chinese people by refusing to load cargo intended for conversion into munitions for Japanese imperialists.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTERVENES

Entering the dispute, on the plea that it, and not any section of the population, had the right to determine foreign policy, the federal government, inspired, of course, by big business decided to apply the licensing system to Port Kembla. The licensing system is a part of the Transport Workers Act passed by the government a decade ago to smash a wharf-laborers strike. Under this union-breaking act, a port can be designated under the licensing system and every man has to acquire a government license in order to obtain work. Needless to say, scabs are licensed first and lunion men are given licenses only when the supply of scabs and crawlers is exhausted.

It was the threat of licenses that broke the embargo on tin clippings consigned to Japan at the port of Sydney a few months ago. They are olloquially called "dog-collars."

charged, finally, by an employer so as to be ineligible for reinstatement to break the militancy of the Port Threat of licenses, however, failed under the [Wagner] Act. . . . As Kembla men who, by intense picketnow construed by the court, the em- ing, ensured that nobody approached ployer may discharge any striker, the licensing office. The result was that as only licensed workers could work and nobody, apart from foremen, had obtained licenses, all work bargaining. Friction engendered in at the port was completely stopped. labor strife may readily give rise Some of the pig iron was railed to Some of the pig iron was railed to Sydney for shipment but it was discovered and Sydney watersiders recasion for discharge on grounds fused to handle it. Fearing that the other than those prohibited by the important port of Sydney might also become completely tied up, the 2. In the Sands case, the high powers-that-be quietly sent it back

as "illegal" acts by an employee, efforts on behalf of the steel trust looked fishy, even to its own sup-3. An employer, after breach of porters, because only a few months contract by an employee, is under before the government had placed a no obligation to bargain further with ban on the export of iron ore to the striker or union but may sign Japan on the grounds that the a contract with another representa- proved iron-ore resources of the tive union (an A. F. of L. affiliate in country were not inexhaustible. Even the Sands case). Because one union the most conservative newspapers is the proper sole-bargaining agency demanded an explanation of such inimplications of the majority opinions before a strike, it does not neces- consistency. If iron ore is banned, sarily remain so, according to the why not pig iron?—was the question prove to be even more serious and court in the Fansteel case, if, as a asked everywhere. The answer result of their conduct, some of the seems easy. The Broken Hill Prostrikers are "legitimately" dis- prietary makes a profit on pig iron. charged. Thus the court overruled The Japanese had leased iron-ore

AGREEMENT

After nine weeks of struggle, during which the B.H.P. laid off 4,000 steel workers at Port Kembla, no doubt to aggravate the problem of sustenance, the leaders of the tain terms with the government and recommended their acceptance by the strikers.

The terms are: (1) the Dalfram be loaded: (2) licenses to be removed from Port Kembla: (3) union representatives to meet the Prime Minister and Attorney General to discuss the question of an embargo on future exports of pig iron.

These terms were at first overwhelmingly rejected by the strikers. A day or two later, under pressure from the trade-union leaders at Sydney, the terms were accepted. It will be some time, tho, before the Dalfram can be loaded. During its lengthy stay at Port Kembla, the vessel collected barnacles and seaweed necessitating dry-docking and cleaning at Sydney, where she is due January 24. The terms of settlement are not satisfactory and point three can be wiped out as so much eyewash. Nevertheless, the nine-week struggle resulted in a lifting of the licenses, something never achieved in any other port where licenses were instituted, and the steel-trust heads will think a long time before they attempt to ship any more pig iron to Japanese imperialists.

Timely Pamphlets

PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION by Jay Lovestone

WHERE WE STAND: Program of the I.L.L.A. 5c. NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR by Jay Lovestone

WORKERS AGE BOOK SHOP 131 W. 33rd Street, New York

Democracies" Fear **Democracy**

cism and democracy?

Of the pro-fascist character of governments of Great Britain and France, journals that can not be accused of immoral "isolationism," journals like the Nation, bear sufperfect Jesuitism, they sell their ficient evidence. If war breaks out between the fascist and pro-fascist governments of Europe, the cause will be the same as that of World War-the war will be, as it was then, a clash between rival imperial-

> The ruling class of Britain and France today fear the democratic movement on the tide of which they were brought into power no less than the fascists rulers of Germany already paid a terrible price for their

New York City | wishful belief in the "democracy" of | Democracy is a dynamic force. Its HOW can a war between fascist the governments of France and Great enemies are always those who profit and pro-fascist governments Britain. Soviet Russia finds itself from the status-quo. The "satisfied" be represented as a war between fas- isolated for cherishing such a delu-

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

by Will Herberg

24 pages ---- 25 cents INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C. democrat of today is an incipient fascist. Rather than risk his privileged position, he will deny democracy, he will oppose the extension of the worker in the service of antiand its colossal preparations, the worker is blinded by a temporary boom to this fact. But, when the war is over, unemployment and under-

paid employment open his eyes to the terrible truth of his conditions. up with democratic movement, but a democracy that ceases to move is no longer a democracy.

FRANK D. SLOCUM

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 15, 1939.

THE FIGHT'S ON AGAIN

IF the Administration ever thought that the defeat of the Ludlow resolution, achieved with such great difficulty at the last session, would kill the movement for a war-referendum amendment, it must certainly realize its mistake by now. For essentially the same proposal providing for a nation-wide referendum before Congress can declare a foreign war has just been reintroduced in Congress by a group of twelve Senators headed by Senator La-Follette. The fight is on again and this time it must be fought out

We have often pointed out that we do not regard the warreferendum proposal as in any sense a cure-all or guarantee against war, and it is not necessary to belabor the point here. In spite of this, the fight for the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment is a most vital phase of the general struggle against war and, in the next few months, will probably take foremost place in this struggle.

The war-referendum idea is a direct challenge to the arbitrary power of the White House and the State Department to manouver this country into war by secret diplomacy carried on behind the back of the people. It is a demand for the most elementary democracy where democracy counts most. As Senator LaFollette put it: "Those who have to do the fighting, make the supreme sacrifice and, in the end, pay the staggering cost of war, are entitled to make the vital decision for peace or war."

The State Department has already opened fire against the LaFollette proposal and we may expect to hear from the President before long. Two weeks ago, the sanctimonious Mr. Hull damned the idea on the ground that it is incompatible with our "American system of representative government" which gives the right to your general position. make such momentous decisions to Congress and not the people. If that is true, it's about time that we took action to change that the Socialist Party for a long time, system to something more democratic. The Stalinist, Stalinized- I have had as a perspective the unity "liberal" and war-mongering press generally denounce the idea because it would "aid Hitler." Let us not forget that every opposition to American involvement in the World War was denounced a quarter of a century ago by the patrioteers of those days as "aiding the Kaiser." What new "arguments" will be discovered as the fight gets hotter it is impossible to tell, but we may be sure that the entire war-propaganda machine at the command of the tually no differences of principle in White House, from New York Times to Daily Worker, will be set in motion in the cause of secret diplomacy and reaction.

Fortunately, the great masses of the American people are overwhelmingly in favor of the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment. More than anything else do they fear American entanglement in a foreign war and they can be gotten to support any move that gives some promise of hampering the intrigues of the war-makers. To the average American the demand that the people have a right to vote on the declaration of a foreign war seems eminently reasonable and proper, whatever he may think about "national defense" or a big navy. And to him it seems to be a queer sort of a "war for democracy" that begins by denying democracy at home.

The fight for the war-referendum amendment is the biggest thing facing the anti-war movement at this moment. Last year, the Administration succeeded, by straining all its resources, to block the move by a very narrow margin in the House. This year the fight must be carried thru to victory!

A REAL DANGER

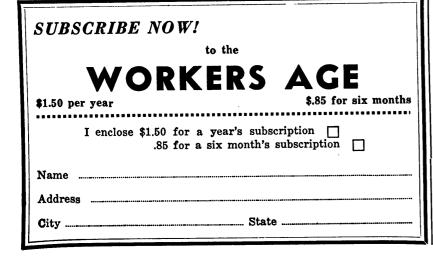
A new danger is arising on the horizon, the danger that the anti-war sentiment of the American people may be perverted into some form of anti-radicalism and anti-Semitism. This subject has drive for unity. Negotiations must be hitherto been generally avoided in print but it has been widely open and above-board. It might be discussed by word of mouth. The time has come to face the prob- well to get the S.W.P. in on the nelem frankly.

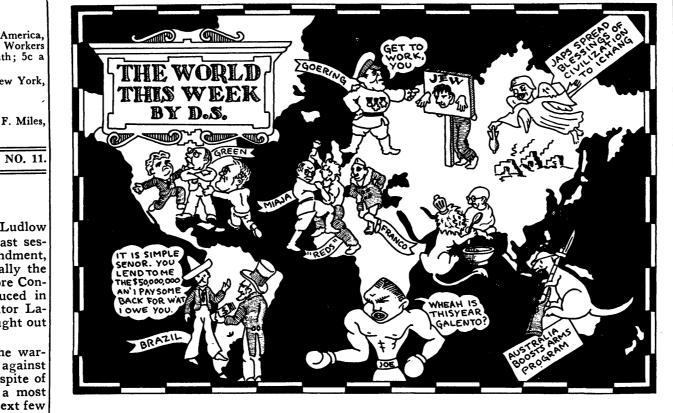
The great masses of the American people hate war and fear more than anything else that this country may be involved in war have no justification for being split. because of foreign entanglements. They view every move that that confuses workers and saps our may conceivably be connected with involvement in war with the utmost alarm and suspicion, as the popular reaction to the Roosevelt airplane-deal scandal proves. Above all, they are intensely there been any for a long time. Why hostile to any group engaged in activities in any way calculated to drive the United States into war. And all indications go to show that increasingly Jews and radicals are beginning to be looked upon as active war mongers.

For this disastrous turn of events the Stalinists and their "liberal" auxiliaries are primarily responsible. The Stalinists, of course, are open war mongers, carrying on a loud and persistent war propaganda under whatever slogan may seem best suited to the momentary situation. In certain Jewish groups, too. war MARCH 8, 1914. — Mrs. Emthe momentary situation. In certain Jewish groups, too. war war propaganda under whatever slogan may seem best suited to mongering in the name of "anti-fascism" is not altogether un- speaking at St. Andrews Hall, Glasknown. The impression begins to spread, and it is helped along gow. Many police injured by barbed by cunning demagogues who are on the look-out for just such wire hidden by flowers around the opportunities, that the "radicals" (for the Stalinists are still platform. regarded as radicals by most people) and Jews want war and are carrying on sinister manipulations to bring it about. "Rapid Mexico urges sending the army and growth of this feeling [anti-Semitism] is reported in some navy to Mexico to protect American localities," Raymond Clapper writes in the New York World-Telegram of February 20. "The feeling frequently takes the form of a question: 'Are we going to fight a war to save the Jews in Germany?' In explanation, it has been suggested to me by one sent to work farms. observer that this phenomenon is not so much actual feeling over Semitism as it is a perverted form of objection to intervention in Europe."

Here you have fertile soil for fascism, anti-Semitism and other such noxious growths. The whole situation is just dynamite into Mexico to recover body of a and may go off when least expected. What may come of it is slain American. really dreadful to contemplate.

There is no use in trying to bring the Stalinists to their senses, for they are mere puppets in the hands of their master in the Frank M. Ryan and 23 officers of Kremlin. But the Jewish groups involved ought to be made to Iron Workers Union. realize that they are playing with fire, that in their eagerness to strike a blow at Hitler they are actually promoting the spread of Hitlerism in this country. But above all it is necessary for the meeting of 100,000 held on the Piazorganized anti-war movement to convince the masses of the za del Popolo demanding up-to-date American people, even the most backward, that the real "radicals" and the rank and file of the Jewish people of this country do not want war and are in no way to be identified with the war mongers.





Letters to the Editor

On Socialist Unity

suffers.

February 2, 1939

Editor, Workers Age:

HAVE been receiving the Work-■ ers Age now for almost a year

Altho I have been a member of

Now I realize the lack of any intelligent conception as to the mechanics of internal democracy in the S.P. will certainly wreak havoc in a united organization, just as it has plete expression of all viewpoints in the S.P., even tho there are virour programs. Therefore, unity should take place with the careful consideration of how to maintain majority rule and complete minority internal expression without hurting the party, and how to intelligently foster activity and not factional perspectives.

Our united party could be a bridge to the further unity with the S.W.P. The S.P. made a mess of unity with the Trotskyites because it had no organizational safeguards to prevent rupture and factionalism; no internal organs for internal discussion, no organizational magazine to develop a spirit of activity among the membership, etc.

It is superfluous to dwell on the advantages of unity. I recall in an issue of the Workers Age some of both organizations to open the gotiations at the outset. It is quite obvious that the three organizations strength. There are no real political differences any longer. Nor have

25 YEARS AGO

MARCH 8-15, 1914

March 8.—Senator Fall of New

March 8.—Gov. Glynn of New York urges that the unemployed be

March 8.—8,500 unemployed driven out of Sacramento by police using fire hoses and pick handles. March 9.—Texas Rangers cross

March 9.-U. S. Supreme Court

refuses to review the conviction of March 9 .-- A one-day general

hospital services. Demands granted

March 9.—Bethlehem Steel lends China \$25,000,000 and starts work on a naval base at Fuchow.

March 9. - Congressional inves-

March 10.-Germany demands three Cardinals in the Sacred Col-

March 11.—On representations by Senator Sheppard and Representative Garner of Texas, two regiments support myself if given opportunity. of infantry are placed on the Mexican border.

March 11.-Relatives of those burned to death in the Triangle fire, military service? who had brought suit against the company, settle for \$75 per body. March 13.-Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and daughter Sylvia released

from jail after hunger strike.

Economics New York City | has there been no initiative for unity on the part of any of these three

66 NOW we are embarked on another adventure in armament . . . used and exorganizations whose combined panded to create 'prosperity.' strength would at last provide the This is what has happened to base for a truly mass party? Germany and Italy. Not a man Meanwhile, the socialist movement is idle in either of these two dictatorships today because The united organization's program these nations have become a must be loyally adhered to by the great arsenal and a vast muninembership but internal discussion tions plant all financed by borshould go on without halt. It must rowed funds. be sensibly controlled, however. The

Armament

"Already not only some business men but the President himself have called attention to this as if it were something we might well investigate to our advantage.

"[This] would be, perhaps, the greatest crime that has ever been committed against the American people." - John T. Flynn, in the New York World-Telegram, Feb. 20, 1939.

with an organization with which concerned about losing our war posi- there would be little programmatical tion in unity with the S.D.F., these difficulties? And these comrades comrades say, why didn't we approach the I.L.L.A. first for unity

The Editor Answers:

ruin of the S.P. is a beautiful ex-

ample of inverted monolithism gone

mad. I feel an internal weekly bul-

letin which will allow for the com-

and thus stifle rumors and intrigue

will also stymie the development of

caucuses and power-politics. And the

establishment of an organizational

magazine will stimulate immeasur-

Since the S.D.F. negotiations,

many comrades at my initiative are

beginning to raise the question of

unity with the I.L.L.A. If we are so

ably the spirit of party activity.

WE fully share our correspondent's they may appear at first sight. What we keen desire for esciplish arising the same and the same appear at first sight. of laying the basis for the development that what really stands in the way of of a powerful socialist force in the unity with the Trotskyites (Socialist tain degree of demoralization and, what grained factionalism. In our opinion, it slaves can be nurtured. is perhaps most important, the discred- is these questions-granting a minimum working class. Anything that will make should be considered and discussed in IF THIS BE TREASON for substantial unity is certainly to be welcomed.

tion: Unity for what? We are not here the problems raised in our correspontions, differences on which are probably of reply. neither as great nor as important as

keen desire for socialist unity. mean is agreement on essential tasks Such unity would, of course, greatly and the road to the be followed in the facilitate our main task today, the task coming period. For example, we believe iting of "radicalism" in the eyes of the agreement on socialist principles-that relation to unity.

We would heartily welcome expres-There does, however, arise the ques- sions of opinion from our readers on referring to so-called "doctrinal" ques- | dent's letter as well as in our few words

What Does "Democracy" Mean to Jobless?

By DOROTHY D. BROMLEY | son entitled to it? 'Democracy'-

66 PEAR Bromley,"—a straightfrom the shoulder letter-writer begins—"'Democracy,' yelled thru WHO'LL ANSWER? radio and news pictures and written in newspapers, what does it mean to me? I ask. I am an unemployed plumber, have no unemployment in- and tell John Maly, part-time plumsurance, no relief and no W.P.A. job. I live in the slums of New York City, \$15 a month for four rooms, no heat, no hot water, for which my brother pays out of \$25 a week salary and my sister out of \$8 a week. Live in a family of five.

"On January 3, 1938, I applied for unemployment insurance. On October 1, 1938, after waiting ten months, received partial answer saying I was not entitled to benefits. I canceled all claim in disgust. My case is that of temporary employee, wherever I can find work. I averlaged two and a half months work the past five years and not more than twice that amount for a number of years before.

REFUSED RELIEF

"Again applied for unemployment benefits on January 9, 1939, and have received no check. Was told to go to relief office if in need. At relief office was refused relief because of brother and sister having income. tigation reveals that mine guards At State Employment Buro was were bribed to incite-riots in order told those over twenty-one years of that detective agencies might do age should be self-dependent. Yet was refused opportunity to become so by Relief Buro (which is step to aid in the form of highway con-W.P.A. job).

> "Why should my brother and sister be compelled to support me? I am trained, able and willing to In time of war, I would not be excused, would I, from military service because I had a brother already in

meant for needy only. I know nections. Isn't an honest needy per- 27, 1939.

what does it mean to me in this con-

I wish Messrs. Moss Hart and George Kaufman, authors of "The American Way," would step forward ber, with emphasis on the part-

Difference

66 BUSINESS men side with Mr. Byrd and the economizers and budget balancers as against government spending. In theory. When it comes to practice, business men make exceptions.

"Railroad equipment men in New York this week advocated a government subsidy to the railroads of more than \$100,000,000 a year-so the railroads can buy equipment. The Agricultural Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce met here this week and a direct subsidy for agriculture was Maly's case. advocated.

"Why do they think a subsidy for HUNT A JOB, YES! farmers is necessary? Because manufacturers have a subsidy—in the form of the tariff. And the tariff, if memory serves, was not the invention of New Deal theorists but of business. Commercial truck and bus lines receive enormous government struction. Aviation and shipping are kept going only by grace of government spending. Except for government spending the railroads never would have been built-they obtained huge chunks of free land, which they sold off.

"Government aid is something the other fellow shouldn't have. Spending for you is bad. It is good for me. "Home relief and W.P.A. are Mr. Eccles and his theory are denounced in theory and followed in several undeserving dishonest ones practice."-Raymond Clapper, in the getting relief thru tricks and con- New York World-Telegram, Jan.

Talking It Over:

It's A Free Country!

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

THE Assistant Secretary of the Navy has just caused to be introduced L into Congress a bill drafted in the Navy Department which would impose a fine of \$1000 or two years in prison for "inciting disobedience to military orders or regulations." The penalty would apply to any person or persons "who advises, counsels, urges or solicits soldiers or sailors to disobey orders of superiors or military regulations or who publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter or other writing containing such advice." Such are the measures proposed by a "democratic" government that is preparing for war in the name of democracy. It is only one of a growing crop of noxious weeds springing up in the rich manure of military preparedness and jingoism fostered by the Administration, by reactionary Republicans, by Stalinists and by professional "liberals" alike.

Let us be clear on this measure and its meaning. Present laws are inadequate, says Secretary Edison, because those responsible for the issuance of this propaganda may "avoid the use of the mails." Already a postal censorship is in existence! Present laws (which include the inamous Espionage Act under which Debs, Ruthenberg, Bentall, the 110 I.W.W. leaders and others were sentenced to terms up to twenty years!) are further inadequate because the literature he wants to get is the kind that is "carefully worded to avoid the insurrection and sedition provisions of the criminal code." In other words, those who urge the armed forces, for example, not to fire on their own countrymen engaged in a strike, are not breaking any existing law. But the Administration proposes new laws which will make such actions as urging a soldier, sailor or guardsman to remember his duty as a worker, as a farmer, or simply as an American and a human being, criminal acts punishable by law. This, Edison assures Congress in his letter proposing the legislation, "does not infringe upon the rights of free speech or a free press." Freedom apparently consists of the freedom to advocate the breaking of strikes by the armed forces, to advocate the killing of one's fellow-workers and fellow-citizens, but not the opposite.

DISCIPLINE OF SLAVERY

THE armed forces are being built up in fantastic fashion. Naturally, it will become, under the proposed new law, a criminal act to urge the soldiers that they are not to engage in agressive warfare in other lands. That aspect we will discuss further at some other time. Now we want to imit ourselves to the use of the army which is "to defend our shores," not overseas but at home, not against working men and farmers in uniform in other lands but against American working men. Is the use of the armed forces in such cases also "defense of democracy" or freedom; is it 'defense of our shores"?

But, urges Edison, soldiers are not to feel solidarity with fathers, and brothers not in uniform; they are not to reason as to whether a command is for democracy or against it; they are not to consider whether they are being used to enslave their fellow-citizens, that tomorrow (as yesterday) they will be out of uniform themselves, fighting for a job and the right to live; they are not to ask whether the cause they are being used against is just, whether the order represents an act of tyranny THEY ARE SIMPLY TO OBEY ORDERS.

When such is the conception of soldierly duty, we have a true measure of the democracy involved. Where soldiers are thus deliberately cut off from their relatives and friends and the civil population generally, freedom and democracy end, and military tyranny and oppression begin. The soldier becomes an automaton, a slave, compelled to outrage his real sense of duty and justice, his sense of kinship with the citizens of his own land, the population of his own town or village, the members of his own class, even of his own family. What has this conception in common with freedom and democracy and all the fine words so lightly used by those who see in them only slogans to recruit public opinion for preparedness

Blind obedience—is this not the foundation of all military dictatorship? Is it not thus that soldiers become converted from means of "defense" into tyrannized-over instruments of tyranny? Would not the turbulent history of Latin-American military dictatorships be far different if soldiers there did not blindly follow their superior officer's commands in every coup d'etat? Military discipline is not, as Edison pretends, a good in itself, but, like all forms of discipline, a means to an end. When the end is good, and those who serve it do so voluntarily and consciously, then months ago an article proposing American labor movement. The present Workers Party) is not so much their discipline is good, for it serves to increase the chances of attaining those THIS is a time for plain speaking, even if the truth is unpleasant. such unity. That letter could now state of division, quite apart from particular Trotskyist dogmas as their ends. But the discipline of freemen can, in the long run, be only a discipline everything else, brings with it the dissipation of much valuable energy, a cer- to the labor movement and their in- at and the means used to attain it. In any other form of discipline,

T remains only to dot the i's and cross the t's, and we have said enough for the present. Here goes:

1. We are opposed to the bill drafted by the Navy Department and resented by Assistant-Secretary Edison. It does infringe upon the rights of free speech and free press, the rights of the soldiers and sailors as "citizens of a free country" and the rights of the civilian population from which they come and to which they are bound by ties of blood and interest. We will work for the defeat of the proposed new measure and the repeal of such dictatorial hangovers of the last war as the Espionage

2. We are opposed to the use of the armed forces of the United States against the citizens of the United States and believe it the duty of soldiers and members of the national guard not to use their guns against strikers, picket lines, mass-meetings and assemblages of their fellowcitizens to discuss or demand redress of their grievances. The passage of no law can turn the use of the armed forces in such cases from an evil

If this be treason, Mr. Edison, make the most of it!

us "to get sad enough and mad enough about democracy," and "put its defense into heart and belly phrases" as Walter Winchell does, would remind us that democracy is as democracy does.

I wish the editors of the Survey ica," challenge-to-democracy number, on the static unemployment problem in the U.S.A.

I wish the Congressmen who cut down the W.P.A. appropriation by interminable conflicts in the courts \$150,000,000, instead of increasing it and be of considerable advantage to to take care of all the John Malys the employers in hampering union who are dependent on impoverished organization and collective bargainfamilies, would tell this man how he's going to find a job and selfrespect. I wish Representative Woodrum, Merwin K. Hart, Mrs. Sarah Hulswit and all others who talk about slashing relief, would take time out to consider John

doubt, from their comfortable arm- union, also an A. F. of L. affiliate. chairs that this man could get work The machinists union has so broadthe year round if he tried. Yet his ened its jurisdiction of late years letter sounds like that of a man that it would in many cases be badly who's desperately eager for work, and the State Employment Agency ratism. And so we find that the could not help him get any. And the machinists-union officials are makrelief buro would not give him a ing the same kind of argument chance to get on W.P.A., because he against the Walsh amendments as has a brother who pays \$15 a month | we are accustomed to hear from the for an unheated apartment for a industrial unionists. family of five.

I hate to think how many John free saying bitterly to themselves: "Democracy—what does it mean to stimulated by the election results. So me in this condition?"

(This article is taken from the February 15 issue of the New York Post,, daily column.—Editor.)

what democracy is doing for him. 1 wish Mr. Stanley High, who wants High Court Shifts In Labor Outlook

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(In the A. F. of L., such dissent is quite possible; how would it be in the C.I.O.?) Letters addressed by would tell John Maly why there's high officials of the machinists and no article in their "Calling Amer- pattern-makers unions to John P. Frey, chairman of the Metal Trades Department of the A. F. of L., stress that the Walsh amendments would strengthen company unions, result in

Particularly significant is the complaint made by the International Association of Machinists that the A. F. of L. proposal to make it mandatory for the Board to fix a craft group as a separate collective-bargaining agency should the workers in that craft desire it, would embarrass it (the machinists union) in The slashers would say, I don't a jurisdictional dispute with another hit by mandatory craft-union sepa-

All indications go to show that the Supreme Court decisions are part Malys there are in the land of the of the swing to the right registered in the 1938 elections and immensely is the movement to take the teeth out of the Wagner Act by amendment. The threat is a grave one. Never did labor need unity and where Dorothy Dunbar Bromley has a singleness of purpose more than it does today.