$E^{\rm vents}$  of 1917 show war brings dictatorship . . . by Will Her-

PROGRESSIVE TEACHERS ISSUE ELECTION PROGRAM . . . page 2.

Vol. 8, No. 20.

NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1939.

# AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone =

### SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

TWO vitally significant population problems will demand increasing A attention from labor. This country now records a marked trend towards age increase as well as a passing of the peak of population and the consequent beginning of decline. Here are some dry figures which should kick up lots of mental dust.

Ten years ago, there were in the United States 22,138,000 school pupils ranging in age from five to thirteen. Today, pupils of the same age total but 20,565,000. There is not a reason in sight to alter this trend. Hence, ten years from now we will see unused 2,371,000 of the school desks occupied a decade ago.

Simultaneously, let us draw the strokes in the column at the other extreme. In 1930, the United States had 6,500,000 people over 65 years of age. It is estimated that by 1940 this number shall have risen to 8,750,000 and that in 1950 we will have in our midst 11,500,000 who have seen 65

In short, we have arrived at the point of reversal in our 300-year-old

At the same time, the country today presents a totally new picture in the field of immigration. Within the last eight years, 227,000 more persons left the United States than entered it. This is a picture in sharp contrast with the conditions which prevailed from 1830 to 1930. Within that century, no less than 38,000,000 immigrated to the United States, a population equivalent to that of France proper.

For some time now, American organized labor has had a rigid antiimmigration policy. Many of our unions also have rigorous apprenticeship regulations. The conditions giving rise to both of these positions are rapidly on the wane. These attitudes must now face revaluation. It is clear that the myriad of problems arising from the reversal of these trends cannot be settled by running away from the new or by refusing to realize that international labor cooperation is the first prerequisite for a lasting and sound answer to the resulting questions.

### WHO KNIFED CZECHOSLOVAKIA?

NOR the dominant interests in the giant "democratic" imperialist powers, we have as few good words as for those dictating affairs in the infernos still calling themselves Germany and Italy. Nevertheless, it would be crass falsehood and entirely unfair to fasten sole blame for the tragedy of what was once Czecho-Slovakia on the governing cliques of France and

Within the Czecho-Slovak ruling class itself, the ravaging cancer thrived. The big agrarian and financial interests of this little country are as much to blame as Runciman, Chamberlain and Daladier. In the filthy sell-out, Jaroslav Preiss, director of the Zivnostenka Banka, the biggest Czech financial concern, and president of the Federation of Czecho-Slovak Industries, played an outstanding role. In the important commercial and financial transactions between the ghastly farce at Munich and the seizure of Prague, Herr Preiss also played a profitable role-for himself. We need but cite his clean-up in the sale of the well-known chemical concern, Aussiger Verein, to the Nazi chemical trust, I. G. Farben Industrie, and in the transaction which had brought the Skoda works under Krupp control.

Preiss, Beran, Hodza and Co. operated thru the powerful Czech Agrarian Party which collaborated with Henlein and the big Nazi landowners of the Sudeten regions. Obviously, the menace of fascism to Czecho-Slovakia was rooted at home at least as much as abroad. What is more, there is every reason to believe that, without the domestic encouragement and support, the Nazi imperialists could not have had the walk-over they did have at Munich and Prague. It is with such forces that the "pure democrat" Benes—a People's Front hero—collaborated to preserve the independence of his country.

We have gone into these details merely to emphasize once again that, even in the smaller bourgeois republics, the capitalists cannot be counted upon as defenders of the national independence and existence. The capitalist classes of the smaller countries are dominated by the bigger industrial and financial magnates who are in turn tied up with one or another set of biggest bankers and industrialists in the Berlin-Rome axis or in the London-Paris axis.

# **U.A.W.** Head Warns **Against War Threat**

### Martin Says War Benefits Profiteers Only

By HOMER MARTIN

(The paragraphs are from a radio address delivered by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, on May 2, 1939.

THERE is nothing, it seems to I me, in America today closer to the hearts of the men and women of this country than the cause of peace; and there is no challenge anywhere that calls for a greater devotion, that calls for a greater determination, than the cause of keeping America out of war.

The last war was fought as a "war to end wars." Since that time, there have been seventeen. One is going on today. Since that "war to end wars" and since that "war to make the world safe for democracy," we have had the establishment of the world's most ruthless dictatorships. In fact, we have seen every objective which was sloganized and carried in the hearts and minds of those who fought, and of those who died. and of those who paid—we have seen those objectives swept aside as tho they had never been thought of. The last war proved itself a futile, disastrous blunder.

In Europe, an international chess game is going on, the object of of "saving the world for democracy" which seems to be when and how war will begin—little question that it will begin. It is well for us to consider how we can keep America out of war, and how the sacrifices of the past, with their lessons of futility, can save us from the destruction of another war.

### SERIOUS DANGER

OF WAR Unquestionably, we are in serious danger of war. There is every evidence that leading politicians in war. Altho we are not in any danger of note in the country who says that

ons; and politicians are proclaiming that the super-navy is all for the protection of the shores of this country. The danger of war does not arise from a possibility of attack.

Primarily, the danger to America's peace lies in the mistakes that may arise out of a false national and international policy. We may go to war tomorrow or the next day or next month if certain things are permitted to go on in America, if certain trends, if certain things are permitted to happen and continue to

First, we undoubtedly may quickly become involved in a deadly war if America is allowed to act as the police force of the world; if we are going to be led to believe that it is our business as a nation to furnish a police force for Asia and for Europe. America must be kept out of the "quarantine" business if America is not to be involved in a war. And I submit that it isn't America's business to police the Yangtze or the Mediterranean.

Second, we may become involved in a war if we allow the present depression to drag on to the point where it may become expedient to have a war to escape the depression. Of course, it will be under the guise of "restoring orderly processes," or or of "making the world safe for democracy." But it will be a war primarily to "end" the depression.

Third, we may be involved in war if certain ones make their usual profits out of it-super-profits, And almost any sort of slogan, unless we are well aware of what is going on, may be used, or almost any incident may be used, to usher in that state out of which war will arise to

swell profits. Fourth, America may become involved in war if it permits its neu-America are thinking in terms of trality laws to be wielded in such a manner as to actually throw the of attack—there is not a militarist forces of America in one direction or another. The matter of neutrality America is in danger of an attack— is so important to the cause of peace provisions are now being made for that, at the very least, the Congress increasing the armed force of the of the United States should main-

### Who Wants War?

should result in

**Greater Demand Higher Prices** 

> CRUDE OIL and consequently

Larger Returns

from PRODUCING

OIL ROYALTIES Investigate this form

Offerings on Request

of investment Descriptive Literature and

T. G. WYLIE & CO., Inc. 535 Fifth Avenue New York

An advertisement in the financial section of the New York Herald Fribune of April 30, 1939.

# War Poll on In Congress

Washington, D. C. A renewed drive for amendment of the Constitution to give the voters of the nation power to decide whether this country shall ever again participate in a foreign war was sub-committee last week.

Speaking on behalf of the eleven Senators who sponsor the amendment resolution, Senator Robert M. LaFollette opened the hearings by urging that it be adopted as a precaution against involvement in a world war which, he said, would inevitably destroy civilization.

LaFollette agreed that the adopion of the referendum resolution would constitute a blow to the Administration's foreign policy, but this policy, he stressed, was not one

Senator William E. Borah, a member of the sub-committee, backed up CIO Fights Trust LaFollette. He insisted that "there are no democracies in Europe for this country to help." He contended, too, that a referendum on war would be merely an extension of American democracy, not a basic change in the form of American government.

Morris Ernst, well-known lawyer, who followed LaFollette to the witness chair. He denied the charge that the war-referendum proposal would conflict with traditional there is something essentially bad bout newness."

laws and to wield power over any situation that might plunge this country into a world conflict.

Fifth, we may become involved in war for any or all of these reasons if the right to declare war and the last say about war is left in the hands of one man or a few men. ossibly know the international ramifications of any international incident. There are some of us who beat all, it ought to work in the ques-

### **USSR** Wooed By Britain And Reich

Moscow-Reich Talks On Way; Britain Presses "Mediation" In Crisis

Speculation as what Soviet Russia's next move would be and in what direction Soviet foreign policy would proceed in the immediate future, was the dominant note in international politics last week. From Moscow no answer was forthcoming but there were already signs showing which way the wind was blow

In a startling reversal of the situation since Munich, both of the two western imperialist blocks were wooing Soviet Russia last week. The Anglo-French forces were trying to commit Moscow to their coalition but, with an eye to the ever-present alternative of "appeasement," they refused to give reciprocal guarantees to Russia, especially in the Far East. In Germany, the removal of Litvinoff was openly hailed as a "step in the right direction" as marking a turn away from the Anglo-French alignment. Inspired articles in the Nazi press spoke of the desirability of "normalizing" relations with the Soviet Union and of a Soviet-Reich rapprochement.

From Moscow no official indication came as to which way things were heading. Observers noted certain signs, however, which were regarded as significant. It was an open secret in Moscow that discussions of one sort or another were under way with Germany, in the first place for a commercial arrangement along the lines of the recent Soviet-Italian trade pact. But the talks went beyond to political matters also, it was understood. Interest was also aroused by a startling editorial in the Moscow Bolshevik, an official publication of the Stalin party, speaking of a "just and holy war for the triumph of communism" should the Soviet Union be drawn into a world conflict. This was followed by an editorial in Izvestya demanding complete "reciprocity" in any collaboration with England and

The manouvering for position in the connection with the Polish crisis continued thru the week. After Polish Foreign Minister Beck's address in which he barred "one-sided" surrender but opened the way to bargaining, talk of "mediation" became widespread. But who was to be the "mediator"? An effort of the Pope to play that role, and thus assert the influence of the Vatican in world politics, proved abortive. The British Foreign Office was pressing its "mediation" offer with great energy, seeing in this an easy road to "appeasement." But from all appearances Warsaw did not favor mediation," preferring to reach an agreement with the Reich over

Washington, D. C. The C.I.O. last week opened a The C.I.O. last week opened a drive for amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to make it to- will be the chairman of the Securities This point was elaborated by tally inapplicable to labor unions. fense committee to rally aid in fight- episode is as disgraceful an example ing the decision of a Philadelphia of stupidity, planlessness, reaction, Federal Circuit Court of Appeals Stalinist machinations and the holding the hosiery-workers union ruthless clash of personal ambitions

Apex Hosiery Co.

There are some people who believe tion of war. Why leave the matter, that only the President of the especially in a foreign war, of going man. You will read in the A.P. United States or only Congress can to war across the sea, why leave that matter merely to a few? Labor F.D.R. and his cronies outwitted is concerned with the matter of them on this front. You will not war. Labor is concerned because lalieve that if democracy is to work | bor is, including the farm groups (Continued on Page 3)

# A. F. of L. Against War

6650 essential is it for our country to do its part in maintaining peace between nations that in my opinion we should do everything possible to avoid raising any doubt as to our wish to remain aloof from the ing Henderson for all he was controversies of other countries.

"The workers of the United States want peace. We went thru the racing down the home stretch, a lot World War, doing our full part. The lessons of that experience have con- of young New Deal upstarts actually vinced us that world problems can be solved only under conditions of peace and thru the instrumentalities of peace. The working people of this country are firm in their desire to avoid entanglement in the intrigues of nations seeking aggrandizement of territories or protection of the gains of former aggression.

"American labor is disturbed by obvious efforts to promote war nysteria. We cannot forget the loss of life and manhood when a generation of young manhood was conscripted for the World War. Labor thruout the length and breadth of the United States is opposed to sending another generation into the trenches of war and we urge that every possible safeguard be taken to avoid anything that would needlessly contribute to a war development."-William Green, president of the A. F. of L., in his nation in the line of defense weap- tain its right to control neutrality statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

# The Enemy Is At Home!

FROM the reliable report of Arthur Krock in the New York In Deadlock Times of April 28, we learn that some months ago "President Roosevelt sounded out Benito Mussolini, and thru him Adolf Hitler, on a plan to meet him at sea, or near some neutral island. . . . The President's purpose was to learn from the dictators at first hand their minimum terms for pledging lasting peace and, if he found these practicable, to offer his services as intermediary."

This information is enough to stun anyone who has the slightest notion of the consequences and implications of such a

Where did President Roosevelt get the authority to inject himself, and therefore the United States as well, into the imperialist embroilments and predatory power-politics of Europe, without even the knowledge, not to speak of the consent, of Congress or the people?

Where did he get the right to offer to serve as "intermediary" between the two imperialist coalitions now striving for domination over Europe and Asia? Is the foreign policy of the United States something over which Congress and the people have any control or is it entirely at the arbitrary whim and inclination of the President? Remember that at bottom foreign policy means miners continue work during the war or peace, life or death!

What the Administration is out for should be abundantly clear, even without Mr. Krock's startling revelations. In line with the strivings of American big-business imperialism, it wants to middle of last week, after five weeks involve this country in the imperialist conflicts of Europe, to line of stalemate, the conferees were up the United States with the great plutocracies, misnamed "democracies," England and France. And the strategy of the Ad- House and told that they would ministration is to get the United States entangled somehow in have to reach a settlement by midthe spider's web of European diplomatic intrigue, by fantastic night, May 10. Midnight came and "conferences" with the dictators, by secret commitments, by went, however, with no settlement. peace messages," by offers to serve as "intermediary," by any. The only thing that came out of the thing at all that will fulfill the purpose.

It begins with a barrage of notes and messages; it ends with by Dr. Steelman that the union sign barrage of shrapnel. It begins with diplomatic fencing and up with individual operators ready manouvering; it ends with machine guns and poison gas.

This was Wilson's road to war-and this is now Roosevelt's road to war.

President Roosevelt is the most dangerous man in the country today. We make this statement advisedly and after mature deliberation. His foreign policy is a national menace, a national calamity.

What he is doing threatens more harm to this country than all "foreign menaces" combined. For he is planfully and deliberately driving this country into war.

War will bring fascism and military dictatorship to America. War will bring the destruction of the labor movement and the annihilation of the gains achieved by labor in the last seven years. such individual settlements would be War will bring impoverishment and death for the masses, swollen made with the Appalachian operafortunes for the rich. War will bring a jingoistic madness that will tors on any significant scale. corrupt and degrade our culture for generations to come. War will bring the extinction of all democratic rights, the prostration of our entire national life under the iron heel of a ruthless militarism.

This is what the President is preparing for us. All of his reforms of past years mean nothing. Let war come and they will all be wiped out overnight or turned into instruments of authortarian dictatorship.

If we want to save the future for labor and democracy, we must fight with every ounce of our energy to keep America out of a coal shortage.

And in this fight, let us never forget that THE ENEMY IS AT HOME—the war-makers and war-mongers of Wall Street and Washington!

# Jerome Frank Slated Danzig and the Corridor by direct For SEC Head

### Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

reputed "terrible Red"-could have had the job. I simply say, and know what I am talking about, that

the Communist Party and all the

publicly known and unknown satel-

lites could have thought of dozens

of persons they would have prefer-

red for this lofty position-more im

portant now than a whole handful

of Cabinet posts. They don't like

Jerry's attitude toward them and

their ways. They especially don't

like his book, "Save America First"

and his strong anti-war tendencies.

Anybody who gets around down here

knows that this kind of character

assassination goes on. Fortunately,

Frank alone was the logical man for

the job. He deserved it and he will

make an able chairman. I hope he

keeps it and does not go away this

three cheers for the new chairman

Summer, as is still rumored. So

of S.E.C. He is not socialist. He

is an honest independent liberal and

they are far too few these days so

they justify special attention in a

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. and Exchange Commission, I hope. At the same time, it named a de- It is in the cards, finally. This whole Americanism. The case against the liable under the Sherman Act for as has been observed in these parts amendment, he said, "is based on the argument that it is new and sit-down strike at the plant of the Deal. Arthur Krock and Pearson and Allen in their columns have made The committee, made up of eleven clear how Healy and Matthews, con-C.I.O. labor leaders, is headed by servatives and Republicans on the James B. Carey, secretary of the S.E.C. (yes, there are members of the Commission as well as a chair-C.I.O. National Director John man), have tried to keep the New Brophy declared application of the Dealers and the one Democrat (old-Sherman Act for "union smashing" style), Eicher by name, from gang-"prostitutes" the purposes of the ing up on them. They didn't like Henderson joining them on the fiveman board but they certainly did not want him or Frank to be chairdispatch in your morning paper how read how the New Deal boys, within and without this exceedingly important body, fought among themselves. You will not read how the job of commissioner and then chairman was promised to Dr. Hutchins of the University of Chicago by one of the "Corcorans," while another \*Corcoran" was promising Frank actually sailed, loaded with its royal worth. While these "winners" were

lationist" Frank. In its final stages,

I do not claim there was any like-

lihood that Henderson—as a new S.

E.C. member and in Wall Street, a

VERY FRIENDLY, INDEED! Whatever else the actual sailing of the King and Queen of Great Britain means, it obviously means that, at the last minute, the British Foreign Office was willing to bet that there would not be war until July or the Fall. Before word was flashed here cargo, one could get responsible sources to bet that they would not sail. The general consensus of opinion was that it was a 50-50 proposition and, as I reported a few week ago, the State Department was thought they had a chance. The at that time sure they would not Commission offices were in chaos. visit us. Now that they are coming, You will not read how some New the most fantastic preparations are Dealers-yes, New Dealers-said: being made for their safety in this "Perhaps we better not antagonize very friendly country. I suppose you the country any more by appointing have seen the stories of the bullet another Jew. Of course, you unproof glass that is to surround their derstand we have no prejudice but auto as they ride up Pennsylvania we have got to be tactful." The C.P. Avenue and the bullet-proof glass poys secretly cheered this idea that is to be in every window of because they did not want the "isotheir train. Very, very friendly!

socialist weekly.

(Continued on Page 2)

# Mine Parley **Continues**

Conferees Are Summoned To Washington: Lewis Scores Administration

The deadlock between the United Mine Workers of America and the soft-coal operators of the country continued all thru last week despite the strenuous efforts of the federal government to bring an end to the conflict. The possibility of an early settlement was, however, indicated by Dr. John R. Steelman, federal conciliator.

The virtual lock-out of what finaly came to amount to over 400,000 bituminous miners began on April when the old agreement expired and the operators refused to accede negotiations on the pledge that the operators would make the terms of any settlement finally reached resuddenly summoned to the White White House negotiations up to the time of writing was a suggestion

Mr. Lewis was obviously not very enthusiastic about the idea of individual settlements because of the fear that it might lead to the breakdown of uniform union control in the industry. He sent out telegrams to the U.M.W.A. locals in the outlying territory (outside the Appalachian region) instructing them to make all settlements possible but only on the basis of the inclusion of a closedshop clause in the contracts. There seemed little likelihood that any

Upon being summoned to Washington, Mr. Lewis issued a strong statement sharply scoring the Roosevelt Administration and Secretary of Labor Perkins for having refused to exert pressure to get the operators to accede to his plan of keeping the mines running pending negotiations, thus avoiding the danger of

Most of the issues in regard to wages, hours and working conditions were settled during the first few days of the conferences in March. The negotiations deadlocked on the union's demand for the closed shop and the check-off to be incorporated in the contract or else the elimination of the "penalty" clause on strikes. These provisions the union officials have considered necessary in order to prevent the A. F. of L.'s Progressive Miners from invading the soft-coal fields.

(Read the editorial on page. 4.—Ed.)

### **Army Plot Bared** In Ireland

(Special to the Workers Age)

Dublin, Ireland Behind the postponement of the visit of Premier de Valera to the United States is the discovery of a plot within the army to bring about a coup d'etat during his absence. By way of a counter-move, young officers in the army with definite Republican sympathies have been promoted.

The Blue Shirts (fascists) staged one of the largest farmer demonstrations of recent years when a monster parade marched thru Dublin on the day of the 24-hour strike in which the farmers refused to send supplies to the British and Irish

The Catholic Church is quietly making it known that it is opposed to any alliances on the basis of antifascism or anti-Nazism.

It is this situation that explains the sudden change of front on the part of Mr. de Valera as expressed in his recent neutrality speech at

### **Green Says Unity** that the Empress of Australia had Talks Will Resume

Toronto, Can. William Green, president of the

A. F. of L., told 650 delegates to the annual convention of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees here last week that the Federation is doing "everything in its power to bring about peace in the labor movement.' He told the delegates that confer-

ences extending over several weeks have been held between leaders of the Federation and the C.I.O.

He said these negotiations were halted because of the current strike of the United Mine Workers, which Next to the President's plea to engaged attention of the C.I.O. lead-Hitler and Hitler's answer, the ers, but he expected that they would be resumed soon.

### **UNION ORGANIZING-1939**



It still happens in the U.S.A. in 1939, the seventh year of the New Deal. Elon Keaton (left), of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and I.L.G.W.U. Organizer Billye Bailey support I.L.G.W.U. Organizer Joe Lee Walden, who was brutally attacked and beaten on the picket line by a garment factory owner in Atlanta, Ga.

# **Progressive Teachers** Issue Election Program

### Stalinist Rule Has Isolated Union, They Declare

(We publish below the most imappeal of the Independent Group of New York Teachers Union Local 5, A.F.T., an A. F. of L. affiliate.

THE elections this year come at ers and the educational system. Budget cuts at Albany and at City Hall threaten essential school services. We must, therefore, scrutinize the record of the administration and the policies it has pursued and decide whether the quality of its leadership has prepared the union to protect the interests of teachers. Have these policies strengthened the union? Have they attracted the unorganized teachers? Have they maintained the union's position as the most effective force in the fight for educational opportunity and teachers interests? The Independent Group believes that the answer to these questions is "no."

The Independent Group opposes the present leadership of the Union and has nominated a full slate of candidates in opposition to it bethe following detrimental policies

1. It has jeopardized the further growth of the union by making the union synonymous with "Red" thru a series of ill-considered affiliations, endorsements and associations with leagues, congresses and committees commonly recognized by the labor movement as under the domination of the Communist Party, thereby furnishing ammunition to the enemies of education and teacher organization and frightening away 5, 1938 that the calling of the conteachers who might otherwise have been recruited.

Affiliation to the League for Peace and Democracy, cooperation with the American Student Union, tributions to Spain thru the North operation at all was offered to the ers Union with one political tenpolitical domination by the leader-

2. It has retreated on teacher the devastating effects of the "labeling" of the union by trying to be "good boys" and adopting a conciliatory rather than an aggressive functioning within the union under position on economic issues. The mains because the cause remains, chairman of the Legal Aid and a list of issues is presented.— Editors required the requirement of the Legal Aid and result is that, while the label rethe recruiting power of the union, Grievance Committe because of his which depends on its militant defense of teacher interests, is still further damaged. (Here follows a list of particulars.—Editor.)

portant paragraphs of the election tory, to a pro-war position. Under | It eliminated as many minority the guise of "ensuring peace" and members as possible from prominent "preserving democracy"-the same posts. Minority members are pracslogans used in the last world war tically never asked or allowed to the union is being prepared to

It supports the President's enorma time when there is a con- ous armaments budget at a time certed attack not only upon the when appropriations for W.P.A. and Teachers Union but upon all teach- relief are being cut to the starvation

> It defeated a resolution to Confederal housing projects.

> It has ceased entirely its opposition to R.O.T.C. and militarization in the schools.

mobilization plans of the government which will introduce military dictatorship in the United States upon the declaration of war.

question of U.S. entry into war. It propagandizes for "collectivesecurity" pacts which are, in effect, military alliances, and refuses to open the union publication to any

cause the leadership has sponsored to the American League for Peace filiation jeopardizes.

> reason the "inexperience" of the leadership.

the union was expelled from the affiliation to the National Negro Joint Committee did us great Congress, participation in commu- damage. The irresponsible handling nist-led May Day parades in the of the communications from the past, the sending of all our con- Committee, and the keeping of the membership in complete ignorance American Committee—while no co- of the whole affair, made it possible for the Joint Committee to put the Trade Union Committee for aid to union on the defensive. Had the the Spanish Loyalists!-all these leadership taken the offensive overt acts have identified the Teach- against the Joint Committee for its lack of democratic representation dency despite the many denials of and called for reorganization, we would have gained adherents even

The Steingut-Fischel bill put us in headlong opposition to all other issues in an attempt to counteract teacher organizations, as attacking the merit system.

> 5. It has fostered undemocratic cover of the outward forms of democracy. It ousted Ben Mazen as minority opinions. None of the charges leveled against him has

It refused to permit minority dis-3. It has committed the Teachers of controversial questions relating

It considers continued and Democracy, whose war program it follows faithfully, of greater importance than the welfare and growth of the union which that af-

4. It has isolated the union from labor and teacher organizations. Our expulsion from Central Trades and Labor Council was due to irresponsible action by our leadership. Mr. Hendley admitted to the president of the Central Trades and Labor Council in a letter dated May ference was ill-advised and gave as

ever been substantiated.

cussion in the New York Teacher Union, for the first time in its his- to world events, war and fascism.

# Referendum

By CHARLES CAMPBELL

New York City. IN a referendum sponsored by no less a figure than International President Claude Baker, the mempers of Typographical Union No. 6 New York, again demonstrated their letermination to accept no newspaver contract with the publishers that lid not embody the three main points demanded at the beginning of negotiations, namely: the 6-hour day, elimination of the stagger system and vacations with pay.

After the negotiating committee elected by the membership had ar rived at an impasse with the representatives of the publishers, President Baker arrived, and, as provided by International law, immeliately took over the entire responsibility of negotiating a new contract. The publishers offered a rise n weekly pay of \$2.85 and this was accepted by Baker, in spite of the fact that this offer was even worse than the one turned down by the members by a three-to-one vote two months ago, and in spite of the fact that the entire negotiating committee submitted a resolution to the membership rejecting it. President Baker advised the union to accept the new agreement, as he thought it was the best that could be obtained. In a speech at a union membership meeting, he said that the members had better take it or they would have no contract for many months to come, as he would not come to New York again for a long time. He also stated that he would recommend refusal of a strike vote to the International Executive Com-

The negotiating committee condemned the contract as a "bribe" to the employed members, but forecast that they would not fall for such a tactic, and asked that the contract make reports for committees no be defeated in the referendum. The vote rejecting it was more than

two-to-one. It is expected that at the next membership meeting a new committee will be elected and negotiations with the publishers resumed. The leaders of the union are determined to accept nothing that will not relieve the serious unemployment situation prevalent among the member-

The union election campaign is in full swing, as elections are to take between William Ward, the incum- domination of the union.

## Typos Reject WPA Union Wage Scale Aids Victory **Of Teamsters**

Detroit, Mich. threatened shutdown of W.P.A. A street and alley-paving projects employing 25,000 men was averted last week when the Michigan

Limestone and Chemical Co. accepted a closed-shop agreement with Local 247 of the Teamsters Union (A. F. of L.), William W. Roe, president of the local, and William B. Taylor, national chairman of the United W. P.A. and Unemployed Workers of America, announced.

In a joint statement issued on May 7, Roe and Taylor said:

"All limestone companies supplying W.P.A. are now unionized unions will prevent deliveries and non-union source until Inland signs a contract covering its drivers.

noon but W. G. Atkinson, a represenmising meanwhile not to attempt meeting under the auspices of both deliveries to W.P.A.

"We wish to thank Judge George Murphy for his untiring efforts in reports that the Workmen's Circle, securing settlement of a dispute which threatened loss of livelihood to 25,000 W.P.A. workers and their

Inland supplies only about 15% of the limestone used by W.P.A., thus nsuring enough material delivered by unionized drivers to keep the projects going.

During the negotiations, Judge nterpretation of the Walsh-Healy Act, which provides minimum-wage and maximum-hour requirements for firms selling to the federal govern-

leader of the Amalgamated party. Ward's support is reported as gaining daily. Brown was associated closely with Louis Weinstock in the old "A. F. of L. Rank and File Committee," is active in the American League for Peace and Democracy. was one of the sponsors of the Stalinist-inspired Washington "Unemployment Congress" in 1935 and is a contributor to the Daily Worker. Efforts are being made to acquaint place on Wednesday, May 17. The the members with these facts and to hottest contest is for the presidency, show them the danger of Stalinist

# News of the I.L.L.A.

= by D. Benjamin=

The I.L.L.A. and May Day

MAY Day saw the I.L.L.A. in action in many cities—New York, Philadelphia, Wilkes-Barre, The speakers for the joint May Toronto, etc.

In New York, the I.L.L.A. inrited the Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist-Democratic Federation and the anarchist organizations to a conference to consider arranging a joint May Day mass meeting. The anarchist groups accepted. The Socialist Workers Party rejected the proposal, on the grounds that the resulting set-up would be "too narrow," tho pecuexcept Inland Lime and Stone. Our liarly enough last year it had been satisfied with a mass meeting on the processing of materials from this Moscow trials with Tresca, Wolfe, Shachtman and Eugene Lyons as speakers. The fact is that the S.W.P. "Inland failed to appear for was more interested in holding its negotiations scheduled for this after- own open-air meeting at Columbus Circle. The Socialist Party and tative of the company, telephoned | Social-Democratic Federation did several hours later and agreed to not answer, because negotations negotiate a contract Monday, pro- were under way for a possible joint

of those organizations.

the Socialist Party, and the Social-Democratic Federation were planning to hold a joint May Day meeting These organizations called a conference on Wednesday evening, April 19, for this purpose. The I.L. L.A. sent delegates. Practically every Workmen's Circle branch had delegates, as well as all branches of the Socialist Party and the Murphy stated he would follow up Social-Democratic Federation. Five ramifications of the case involving local unions of the I.L.G.W.U., the Butchers Union, the United Hebrew Trades, and other organizations, also were represented. In the credentials committee, a debate took place on the question of seating the I.L.L.A. delegation. The S.P. favored, the bent. and Elmer Brown, former |S.D.F. opposed. The voice and vote of the Workmen's Circle were Brown is making a strong fight, but decisive. The I.L.L.A. delegation was seated

Within two weeks, there were

The conference, in the opinion of the I.L.L.A., had many short-comings. It was run in a very narrow and mechanical fashion. No effort was made to involve whatever unions were represented, nor the only other labor political organization present, the I.L.L.A. On the credentials committee and the resolutions committee, only the S.P., the S.D.F. and the Workmen's Circle were represented. No executive committee was elected, it being taken for granted that the initiation committee would act in that capacity. The question was not even put to Day meeting under its own auspices, a vote of the body.

At the conference, Jack Altman, speaking for the S.P., emphasized the need for socialist unity. August From JUSTICE

(The following paragraphs are from an editorial in the May 1, 1939 issue of the LL C W II of Labor, the official meekly paper of the LL C W II of LL C W ticipating who believed in "com-munism" or "dictatorship." The Workmen's Circle representatives, I. Baskin and N. Chanin, also spoke on behalf of socialist unity. The latter stressed that the big crime of the Communist Party was that it lacked working-class ethics, that with its policy of "rule or ruin," it had brought havoc into the working-

class movement. The manifesto brought in by the resolutions committee was a very defective one. Outside of its vagueness and verbosity, it virtually working class; instead, the idea of tion of this amazing development.

Day mass meeting had been decided upon previous to the conference and the list was not presented for consideration. In fact, tickets and throwaways including the names of speakers were handed out at the conference. Later, the I.L.L.A. communicated with the initiating organizations and requested that Bert Wolfe be included in the list of speakers. This was not granted, tho the S.D.F. had three spokesmen. It is certainly to be regretted that the conference and mass meeting were arranged in such a narrow and exclusive nanner.

However, the I.L.L.A. had a very good spokesman in the thousands of leaflets distributed, in which it presented its independent position and program for May Day (see the May 3 issue of the Workers Age). The I.L.L.A. naturally takes sharp issue with the spokesmen of the S.D.F. who, at the April 30 Hippodrome meeting, called for sup-port of Roosevelt and for "collective security."

In addition, I.L.L.A. forces actively participated in the May 1 Hippodrome meeting organized by five local unions of the I.L.G.W.U., Locals 22, 60, 62, 89, and 155.

IN CHICAGO

In Chicago, the I.L.L.A. sent delegates to a conference called by the S.D.F., S.P., Jewish Socialist Verband, and the Workmen's Circle. By a vote of 29 to 22, the I.L.L.A. was not seated at this conference, which was obviously considered by its promoters as being more in the nature of S.P.-S.D.F. unity conference. The exclusion did not take place, however, without protest from many of the delegates present.

IN PHILADELPHIA In Philadelphia, the I.L.L.A. participated in a joint meeting with the S.P. and the S.W.P.

IN WILKES-BARRE

In Wilkes-Barre, the I.L.L.A. took part in a meeting under the auspices of three locals of the I.L. G.W.U., three locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, the S.P., and the I.L.L.A.

IN TORONTO In Toronto, the Independent La-bor League of Canada held a May the only May Day meeting held in that city.

(Continued from Page 1) forced resignation of Litvinoff as Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union has wagged more tongues here than any other recent event. Frankly, no one knows exactly what is up. There is one point of agreement and even the Fellow-Travelers can't dispute this one: the old gentleman was not merely sick with heart disease. A major turn in policy is in progress and it is too soon to determine its full nature. It is tragic, when not amusing, to see these "collective-security" disregarded the war question due to who have been hoodwinked by the differences of viewpoint between the C.P., get embarrassed all over when S.P. and the S.D.F. When it did questioned about what may prove touch upon the issue, the orientation to be the smartest trick in foreign as wrong. No mention of interna- policy the Soviet Union has pulled tional labor solidarity and class yet. But I will allow other columns truggle as the way out for the of the Age to give a political evalua-

# ILLA Cloakmakers Branch Celebrates Anniversary

New York City. 1 THE New York Cloakmakers York District Council of the I.L.L. Branch of the Independent Labor League of America celebrated its special stress on the necessity of titude of the investigating committitude anniversary at a banquet in the workers relying upon their own the dining hall of a downtown organization and power to protect restaurant, on Saturday evening, that this, and any number of similar May 6. The place was filled to capacity with members of the branch progressive movements cannot afford and active workers of the Cloakmakers Union, such as shop chairmen, building and block chairmen, and committeemen.

Among the guest speakers were peen largely responsible for discred- R. Zuckerman, chairman of the iting the C.I.O. They will wreck any Cloak Operators Local 117, I.L.G. W.U., Feinberg of the Cloakmakers Branch of the Socialist Party, Belson of the Cloakmakers Branch of the Jewish Socialist Verband (Jewish section of the Social-Democratic Federation), and other leading members of the union. In greeting the I.L.L.A. on the occasion of the third anniversary of the Cloakmakers Branch, the guest speakers were unanimous, on behalf of their respective organizations, in stressing the fact that due to the constructive trade-union policies of the I.L.L.A., they had invariably found cooperation with its members on union matters desirable and valuable to the welfare of the union. They also expressed the hope for continued unity of action and a speedy unification of the ranks of labor, on both the industrial and political

The organizer of the Cloakmakers Branch, George Halpern, spoke on the general political position of the I.L.L.A. and concluded his remarks with an appeal to all present to join the organization.

D. Benjamin, representing the New A., discussed the program and policies of the I.L.L.A., laying their interests and achieve their ends rather than depending on "friends" or political forces from other classes. He warned against the danger of American involvement in another world war and exposed the deceptive character of the slogans 'collective security" and a "democratic war against fascism." I. Stenzor was chairman of the

The affair was distinguished by fine meal and splendid entertainnent in addition to the valuable and nteresting remarks of the speakers.

New Low Price!

**WORKERS AGE** 

Bound Volume, 1937 - \$1.25 Bound Volume, 1938 — \$1.25

**BOTH FOR \$2.00** 

Shipped postfree in the U.S.

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd Street, New York

# Tomorrow's War

JAY LOVESTONE

will speak on

"THE EUROPEAN SITUATION AND THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT"

Thursday, June 1 — 8 P. M.

HOTEL CENTER, 108 West 43rd St. (Between Broadway and 6th Ave.)

Reserved seats: 50c.

General admission: 25c.

Auspices: INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA 131 West 33rd St., New York City

support the next world war. matter how well-informed they are. It has created an attitude towards minority speakers that encourages hissing and heckling. Its lack of tolerance for differences of opinion is illustrated by name-calling: Independents are "ene-

mies of the union,"

inority expression.

"supporters of Woll," "Franco's Fifth Column," etc. Thus there is

whipped up a lynch spirit against

6. It has ceased to advocate in-

dependent labor action, and has

reverted to the outworn practise of

supporting "friends" in the Demo-

It approved the A.L.P. deals with

the Republican party and defeated a

resolution calling upon the A.L.P.

o run independent labor candidates.

Its uncritical commitment to the

candidacy of LaGuardia prevented

the union from criticizing the

Mayor even when he advocated

specific measures seriously endan-

gering tenure, procedural rights at

of thousands of substitutes, as well

as threatening the continuation of

after the other teachers organiza-

tions have taken the lead in protest-

ing the Mayor's action has the union

begun to bring pressure on City

dual "friendly" legislators who must

until he "betrayed" us.

the substitutes.

rogram:

It plays up the good will of indivi-

It relies on the "friendly" Berle

7. It has subordinated the best in-

terests of the substitutes to the

dangerous, get-rich-quick eligibility

bill. Even if this bill were passed, it

would not create a single job, while

endangering all the constructive

features of the substitute program.

The present drive towards consoli-

dation makes such a bill completely

valueless even if the bill itself did

We urge the members to support

Forceful and well-considered

action on teacher issues, with main

reliance on our strength and that

officials and old-line politicians.

Only in that way can we win all

the teachers and achieve full effec-

Cooperation with all teacher, la-

pledge themselves to the following

not endanger the merit system.

Committee which, too, "betrayed"

cratic and Republican parties.

"wreckers."

gress asking that funds appropriated for armaments be diverted to W.P.A. federal aid to education and

It has ceased its opposition to the

It opposes a referendum on the

other points of view.

The circumstances under which

if expelled.

True democratic functioning withn the union, including: tolerance for differences of opinion; removal of censorship from union publications, and filling of responsible union posts on the basis of competence rather than factional lean-

abor movement.

Responsible leadership which places the welfare of the union and the advancement of its economic functions above factional advance-

A program of education for the union membership to foster an understanding of the labor movement and to encourage progressive thought and action on trade union

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE

teachers hearings, salaries and jobs T AST year, as this year, the essential educational activities. Only | L. I.L.G.W.U., as a central body, refrained from taking part in any outdoor May Day demonstration. Four individual I.L.G.W.U. locals, however, last year endorsed the May Day parade which the communists organized. But this year, when our locals received an invitation from soon be labeled as "betrayers." Feld the communist "United May Day was a very good "friend" of ours Committee" to join up with them for a parade, they all, without exception,

declined to participate. Obviously, irked by this rebuke, the communists, operating thru their "nuclei" in some of our locals, are now attempting to create the fiction that they can wield a greater influence within the union than the official and authoritative acts of its

administration. . . . Stripped bare of all camouflage, the communist logic amounts to the following: We don't give a whoop in hell for union decisions, for executive board endorsements or for organizational authority. If we can vheedle some unions into endorsing our "united front," good and well. the Independent candidates who If they get wise to us, we can still take out the inkpot and make it appear that we can do this year four

times as well without endorsements as last year with endorsements. This may be stilted logic and disof the labor movement, rather than on so called "friends" among the ntegrated wishful thinking. But anything is in order if it tends to undermine union authority, to belittle and degrade an official act of a labor union when it is not in line

tiveness in our campaigns. (Here with the policy of the Communist Party. This brazen intrusion into the affairs of a labor union which refuses bor, parent and civic organizations to be a tail to a political kite may on specific issues which will advance startle some innocent outsiders who child welfare, teacher interests and have recently come to believe that the organization of teachers into the Communist Party masterminders have given up their insidious intraunion fractions or nuclei. Only a short while ago, while the C.I.O. automobile workers convention was n session in Cleveland, the Communist Party chieftains proclaimed from within" was to be abandoned and that they would henceforth next to nil.

Labor Against Stalinism

Labor, the official weekly paper the standard railroad unions.—Editor.)

subcommittee of the House A Committee on Appropriations has launched an inquiry designed to discredit the W.P.A., and at the very beginning the communists have supplied the foes of this humanitarian agency with a generous supply of

One of the first witnesses, Herbert Benjamin, secretary-treasurer of the Workers Alliance, testified he has been a member of the Communist Party for eighteen years, and David Lasser, president of the Aliance, gravely declared he could see 'no fundamental conflict between the philosophy of the Communist Party and American institutions of

No one in his right mind will contend that W.P.A. is responsible for the Workers Alliance, or for the peculiar views expressed by its of-

But members of the House subcommittee believe that if they can show any connection between W.P.A. and an organization which admits 'Reds" to leadership, they can prejudice public opinion against the

Labor has no patience with the attee, which is clearly seeking to justify the brutal cuts it has made in relief appropriations, but Labor feels incidents, emphasize the fact that to touch the communists with a ten-

foot pole. The regular labor movement kicked them out long ago. They have cause with which they are permitted to associate.

leave the trade unions alone. To us, however, there is little surprise in this latest communist manouver. To us it is quite clear that it is utterly impossible for commufrom the house-tops that all "boring | nists to desist from disruptive work even tho the returns from it may be

# Greetings from Dressmakers

Frank Bostic

Isabelle Harding A Well Wisher

A Well Wisher Lazar Weiner

Gussie Saltzman Hortensia Vazquez

Sylvia Mentlick Jennie Cudrina Rose Resnick

Lillian Holland Esther Kahn

Ida Merkin

Frieda Zweibom

# NLRB Act Changes Endanger Labor

**Only Labor Unity Can Block Reaction** 

By J. ELWOOD

(Concluded from the last issue) AT this point, it is well worthwhile to set forth the statement of Chairman J. Warren Madden of the N.L.R.B. with respect to "equalizing" amendments, made in his address to the annual convention of the A. F. of L. at Denver, Colorado, October 5, 1937:

"To equalize the law would require that the police first inquire who caused the strife during a strike, and if they conclude that the employer caused it, they should back the police wagon up to his office and push him in, lock him up in a dirty jail, and charge him with vagrancy or being a suspicious person, set his bail or fine so high that he could not meet it, and leave him. Do those who prate of equality really mean equality?

"If they do, but are shocked at the very thought of applying the rough-and-ready tactics which the law applies to labor, to employees who violate the law, the law migh be equalized in the other direction All this swift and severe punishmen which the law visits upon labor might be abandoned in favor of the mild and considerate provisions which the N.L.R.A. applies to employers.

"This would mean that if Picket, a union man on strike, violated the law, the employer would file a charge in our regional office, perhaps some hundreds of miles away. Our office would write a letter or telephone politely to Picket and ask him for his side of the story. An investigator would go out as soon as convenient, and attempt to ascertain the true facts. If the investigation indicated that the employer's charge against Picket was apparently wellfounded and if Picket indicated that he was unwilling to bring himself into compliance with the law, a formal complaint would be issued against Picket giving him not less than five days notice that a hearing would be held before a trial examiner to be sent from Washington.

"The hearing would proceed, and, in due time, the trial examiner would has been without any noticeable efmake an intermediate report. If he feet. Analysis of the cases decide thought Picket had violated the law. he would recommend that Picket 'cease and desist' from further violations and post a notice that he would sin no more. If Picket followed this recommendation, that would be the end of the proceeding.

"If, however, Picket was recalcitrant, the entire record of the hearing would be forwarded to the Board in Washington, which, after studynight make an order similar to the trial examiner's order. This order would be served upon Picket with a request that he inform the Board within a specified reasonable time what steps he had taken to comply with the Board's order. If Picket expressly, or by silence, gave the Board to understand that he didn't intend to comply with the Board's order at all, then the Board would file a petition in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and have the record printed and file briefs and make oral arguments when the Picket case had its turn on the docket. The three judges of that court would deliberate and, if they concluded that the Board's order was supported by evidence and well-founded in law, they would enter a decree that Picket should comply with the Board's order. Then after all these months, Picket would for the first time face the alternative of obeying the law or going to jail

"Are those who clamor for equality really willing to remove the numerous legal burdens which labor carries alone, and which do not touch employers, if in return labor is subjected to the provisions of the N.L.R.A.? Of course not. They would be unwilling to remove one ounce of the legal load which labor carries. They want merely to add to that load. And yet they speak of equality."

As to the means used by unions to extend their membership, in just what particulars is it proposed to make their activities illegal beyond what is already prohibited by existing law? The strike for a closed shop is today even probably illegal in a majority of states. Picketing is subject to many restrictions on the legal ground of its alleged intimidating effect. Where violence is manifested, application to a court of equity by the employer for an injunction is for him a much more satisfactory remedy than would be a provision extending the jurisdiction of the N.L.R.B. to such controversies.

Against the assertion that unions ought to be required to incorporate, it can be said that the act is obviously not one-sided on account of this omission, because the owners of businesses are left free to incorporate or not to; nor does the act require employers associations to incorporate. Furthermore, even without formal incorporation, a union is held suable for damages under the federal anti-trust law (Apex case) and unions may be sued in many states which authorize suits against unincorporated associations.

### PROPOSED

A.F.L. AMENDMENTS

The A. F. of L. too has contributed in no small measure to the general drive to amend the Wagner Act. After the C.I.O. was formed, the A. F. of L. came out in favor criticism will disappear when a naof a statutory amendment for the tional mediation system is estabdesignation of a craft group as col- lished.

lective-bargaining unit whenever the majority in the craft so desire. In August 1936, the N.L.R.B. adopted the so-called Globe Machine and Stamping Co. doctrine which practically followed the proposed A. F. of L. amendment. In substance, this doctrine provides that, whenever the Board finds that the considerations for and against a craft unit are equally balanced, the deciding factor must be the desire of the workers themselves, gathered from the vote for the craft union in the smaller unit-a procedure which sounds very democratic but which is full of serious implications for industrial

It is interesting to note what Wiliam Green, the present champion of the craft-unit amendment, had say four years ago in his emarks on the very same question it the hearings on the Wagner Act pefore the Senate Committee on Iducation and Labor:

"Collective bargaining can obiously succeed only when majority ule is made effective . . . The atempt to bargain with a number of groups not only destroys that ability but it makes possible the ontrol of the employer over the or-;anization of his employees . . . I the employees and the employer ar not able to agree as to what con titutes the bargaining unit, I be eve the N.L.R.B. should decid vhat the bargaining unit shall be.

And, indeed, it would be difficulto formulate a reasonable and prac ticable way of fixing the appropri ite bargaining unit that does not in some way depend upon Board discretion.

It should be noted that this pro posed amendment generates more heat than actual experience would warrant. In most cases, application of the Globe doctrine virtuall achieves the effect which the A. F of L. amendment intends. It is als interesting to note that the New York State Labor Relations Ac contains a proviso for craft-uni preference identical with the pro posed A. F. of L. amendment to the Wagner Act. The record in New York State shows that this provision by the New York State Board reveals that the craft provision has never yet been invoked in any C.I O.-A. F. of L. case.

#### INVALIDATING CONTRACTS

Another major amendment pro posed by the A. F. of L. Executiv Council is that "the power of the Board to invalidate contracts mus definitely curtailed." The N.I R.B. has on several occasions in ralidated A. F. of L. contracts when t considered them part or conequence of an unfair labor practise such as a closed-shop contract with minority union, for example. Tha s the big reason behind the pro osed amendment. To regard ar agreement entered into as a resulf unfair labor practises by the em ployer as sacred and to permit it to emain in effect would obviously b o perpetuate and protect the very infair labor practises which were esponsible for the situation in the irst place. Such an amendmen: vould mean that, if an employe violates the act and these violations ear sufficient fruit to lead to ontract, then that contract remove he employer beyond the pale of the ect and its penalties; such a doctrine as little in common with a con istent effort to assure employees the ight of free choice and free or anization.

The dangerous character of this mendment was well brought out by Goard Chairman Madden in the

# W. M. Leiserson

United States News, April 25, 1939) DEPEAL of Wagner Act can b desired only by persons who do ot believe that the right to organ ze and bargain collectively should e protected by law. Courts have reld that this right is a property ight, and surely employees should ave the same protection of their property rights that the law afords to employers.

Revision of the Wagner Act in procedural respects may be necesary, but, until the principle of protecting the employee's business of organizing and bargaining as a property right is much more generally recognized than it is at the present ime, it would be unwise to undertake a revision of the act.

There is room for much improvement in the administration of the Wagner Act, but this requires experience and training for the personnel, not changes in the law: The legitimate complaints against the Wagner Board arise from administrative difficulties and from the absence of national legislation for mediating labor disputes, which the Board is not authorized to do.

The Wagner Act does not need revision or amendment. It needs to be supplemented by legislation establishing an adequate national mediation system. Labor disputes not involving unfair labor practises would then be clearly distinguished from the work of law enforcement, which is the duty of the Wagner Board. Much of the present confusion and

# Danger Ahead!

CENATE Bill 1677 and H.R. 4678, introduced in the Senate by Senator Walsh of Massachusetts and in the House by Representative May of Kentucky, March 2, 1939, referred to the Senate and the House Committees on Military Affairs.

#### What the Bill Does

This bill imposes a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than two years or both on anyone "who advises, counsels, urges or solicits any member of the Army or Navy of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing the Army or Navy or the orders of a superior," and on anyone who "publishes or distributes any book, pamphlet, paper, printed article, letter or other writing," which does any of these things.

Members of the militia, when called out for federal service, become members of the Army. This means that in case the militia is called out by the federal government in labor disputes, any spoken or printed or written criticism would subject the person making it to severe punishment.

The bill further provides that any written or printed matter may be taken from any person in whose possession it may be found, or from any house or building without a normal peace-time search warrant, but merely with a search warrant issued under a war-time provision on the basis of unproved information presented by any

### Why the Bill Must Not Pass

If passed, the May bill would destroy freedom of the press, deprive citizens of freedom of speech, the clergy of freedom to express in their pulpits opposition to militarism or to war if any member of the Army were present, prevent public opposition to the use of the military forces to suppress strikes and prevent labor from agitating for better conditions for soldiers and sailors.

The application of the law to any "writing" is particularly dangerous, since to whomever originally directed, written material might come into the hands of a member of the Army or Navy and subject the writer to punishment.

Editors, ministers, labor leaders, citizens, would be subject to prosecution and punishment for any inadvertent act or statement contrary to the bill, for the bill does not recognize innocence of motive or intent as a defense.

This bill menaces the most precious democratic rights of the American people—freedom of speech and the press. It must be fought by the entire labor movement, by all who value freedom and real democracy.

# Books of the Age

by Jim Cork =

Press, New Haven. 1937.

THESE two volumes by Professor roblems. They are clearly and well bove all, they show some undertanding of the underlying forces nd contradictory aspects of the laor movement, as well as an ability o make an objective analysis and

Mr. Brooks's earlier work is a

peech to the A. F. of L. convention aoted above: "If this law should

happy-hunting-ground for the re now accepting one or the other i the great national organizations s the lesser of two evils, will fly Movement in An Evolving Society," nmediately to their real love, is lost for the same reason. ie . . . company unions formed by hemselves and for themselves, and ill . . . kick out the national unions hich they had imposed upon their .nployees.'

The A. F. of L. officials also adocate an amendment which would uarantee to employers the right to cpress opinions "on matters of inerest to their employees or the ıblic, provided such opinions are ot accompanied by acts of discrimiation or threats thereof." Such an mendment, if adopted, would go r towards the destruction of the lagner Act. It would go far towards ne nullification of the prohibitions irected against unfair labor pracses. An employer's opinions "on natters of interest to their emloyees," where these opinions inolve questions of trade-union afiliation, usually amount to an rder or a command. Such an mendment, writes Louis Waldman (New Leader Feb. 18, 1939), "would pen the floodgates of employer ropaganda against trade unions, oth by word of mouth and in writ-

### ABOR UNITY

**INLY WAY OUT** By now it should be quite clear hat the concerted campaign to lestroy the heart of the Wagner Act by amending is a grave menace to he entire labor movement. C.I.O. against it. The most effective step owards such action would be a reunification of the trade-union novement. Such unity would. first of all, eliminate most of the A. F. of L. pressure for amending the act. Secondly, such unity would relieve the Board of tasks which it was not primarily created to handle. Last but not least, such unity would mean gains thru the N.L.R.A.

state legislatures to enact restrictive legislation of the type proposed on movement. The time to act is now. | which we live!

spots rather weak, sketch of trade-

union history in Chapter II and by

the account in Chapter VI of the

But Mr. Brooks's book was first months before. Now the Fall of loyer's choosing (and that is what serious evils in the set-up, leaderhis amendment might come to ship and policy of the C.I.O. had a nean. — J. E.), then all the rest big effect in shifting the course of f the law should be repealed, development to entirely new lines. or America will have become again | Many of the author's estimates and forecasts sound rather quaint today ompany union. The employers who in the light of present reality, and some of the value of even his thoughtful final chapter, "The Labor

> Mr. Brooks's second book, 'Unions of Their Own Choosing," is somewhat more limited in scope but is an equally competent piece of work. It is a clear and quite free of all partisanship, even wholly on the side of democracy." tho his conclusions are mainly in

HEN LABOR ORGANIZES, by veritable "small encyclopedia" of la-R. R. Brooks. Yale University | bor problems associated with organization. Realistically, he describes NIONS OF THEIR OWN CHOOS- how a union is organized under ING, by R. R. Brooks. Yale University Press, New Haven. 1939. and strikebreaking practises with which it is confronted; the "business," welfare and benefit policies of unionism; the problems of union Brooks are a valuable addition finances, administration and leaderthe serious literature on labor ship; and the relations between the labor movement and political action. ritten, sober, thoro and intelligent; These "problem" chapters are given

fore presumably written some problem of the I.L.P. relations with ver be amended so that, in words 1937 was the great turning-point in were motions covering conditional r in effect, it should say that em- the recent history of the labor affiliation, unconditional affiliation, oyees shall be permitted to be movement. The Little Steel disaster and status-quo with numerous epresented by a union of the em- and the outcropping of a number of amendments. In addition, a docu-

of controversy that has arisen around the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B. is thoroly and dispassionately examined in the light of a reasoned analysis. And Mr. Brooks's conclusion is:

National Labor Relations Act is the encouragement of collective bargaining as a means toward industrial peace. Its more remote objectives include the improvement of the lot of American workers not only thru collective bargaining in industry but objactive account of the Wagner also thru encouragement to indus-Act, its background, its operation trial and political democracy in lothru the National Labor Relations cal and national life. In the contem-Board, and the problems that have porary conflict between democracy arisen in connection with it. The and dictatorship, whether political or author believes in the principle of industrial, the National Labor Relacollective bargaining embodied in tions Board is in the center of the the act and says so; otherwise, he is struggle. Its influence and power are Reviewed by W. H.

# **Democracy Shelved**

66 N warning the Labor Opposition against forcing a general election I on conscription," reports the New York Post of April 27, "Chamberlain declared that 'a very heavy responsibility would rest upon those who force such a conclusion at this time.

'An election,' he declared, 'would leave the country in a state of confusion and uncertainty, postpone for what might be vital weeks measures the government thought necessary, check the output of munitions vital to us at this time and distract the attention of those who are responsible for government departments.'

Here we have in classical form the logic of imperialist "democracy" turning into totalitarianism!

Democratic processes are unquestionably a fine thing-say the Chamberlains, Daladiers and Roosevelts-but only in "quiet" times, for 'ordinary" occasions. At this critical moment, however-and what moment is not critical nowadays?—democracy "would leave the country in and A. F. of L. alike, and labor must a state of confusion and uncertainty, postpone vital measures, distract of a delegate that the N.A.C. should ake vigorous and prompt action attention. . . . " Therefore democratic procedures must be suspended. of course, and more "direct," "flexible" and "efficient" "temporarily," methods applied. In the end, democracy dies of inanition and all of these "flexible" methods add up to totalitarianism. "direct," "efficient,"

In France, Daladier has a very high respect for democracy, of course, but France is beset with grave dangers; and so he puts democracy on the shelf and installs a full-fledged decree dictatorship. In Great Britain, Chamberlain thinks the world of de-mocracy, Anglo-Saxon model; but "the situation is extremely difficult": so he institutes conscription and threatens those who demand that the people be consulted thru a general election on this most vital the immediate mobilization of the departure in policy. In this country, Roosevelt never tires of singing the under capitalism the alternative entire organized labor movement to the praises of democracy, but "conditions around us are increasingly unsheck the reactionary drive of the stable"; so he demands more and more arbitrary power for himself employing class to destroy labor's and denounces those who urge the idea of a popular referendum before the declaration of a foreign war. Democracy is all very well in its way, If the schism should continue, we according to these great "democratic" spokesmen, but apparently it is

will soon witness a drive in various hardly the thing for these troubled times. Democracy—capitalist democracy, imperialist democracy—is turning into authoritarian dictatorship before our very eyes, reflecting the the West Coast, which would curtail headlong rush of the imperialist "democracies" to war. The struggle to and cripple the labor movement. The preserve and extend the democratic rights of the masses, just like the recent Gallup survey should be a struggle to stave off another world slaughter, is at bottom a fight to the warning and an alarm to the labor finish against the war-making system and the war-making regime under

# ILP Holds Annual Party Conference

### War Policy, Labor Party Tie Debated

double-crossing were true, he was to join the Labor Party but that the obviously an unfit person to be party | party should not affiliate. Maxton secretary. He told the delegates told the conference that the N.A.C. in detail what steps had been taken was equally divided on this report. at the time of Munich over the M.P.'s speeches and why he had felt it necessary publicly to dissociate himself from them.

Brockway then turned to the political argument. In his view, (1) policy of "appeasement"; (2) policy of lining up behind the democratic powers block; and (3) opposition to both a bad war and a bad peace. Congratulation was ofnothing said in denunciation of the was a criminal peace.

Aplin, St. Pancras, one of the wo members referred to by McGovern, ignored the personal reference, and said that the point of issue was whether the attitude of the I.L.P. group on Munich was in the interests of the international working class. He went on to say that the breathing space gained by Chamberlain had been used to impose National Service on the country. The issue was not that of a capitalist war or a capitalist peace. For the I.L.P., the issue was the demand for working-class ac-

Maxton associated himself with had put the party policy as he understood it. The House of Commons was panic-stricken at the time, and there was no suggestion that the whole thing was bluff. He was hurt by the action of John Aplin and Fenner Brockway and the London comrades in repudiating him, and if he had realized that five words of his speech would have caused six months of controversy in the party, he would not have used

George Johnson wound up the lebate on behalf of the N.A.C., leclaring that Maxton's speech was magnificent socialist utterance. On a card vote, the reference back

was defeated by 65 votes to 43. Conference then expressed its iew by votes on the resolution and amendments. The motion to repudiate the M.P.s was defeated, as background by the brief, and in was also an amendment to congratulate them. The motion to expel was defeated by a large majority.

#### unions in a number of important LABOR PARTY

On Monday morning, the delelgates returned to wrestle with the the Labor Party. On the agenda

one direction. Virtually every aspect

"The immediate objective of the

(Continued from last issue) ment prepared by a special committee was presented. It urged that the charges of sabotage and I.L.P. members should be encouraged

Speaking on behalf of the Alexandria branch, who wanted the termination of negotiations with the Labor Party, David Gibson ridiculed the idea that going into the Labor Party would bring an influx here were three alternative policies: of new members into the I.L.P. He maintained that if all members had really worked during the seven years since disaffiliation, the party would not now need to consider the question. Affiliation, in his view, fered to the Prime Minister and would not open more doors to the working class. Already the contacts infamous Munich agreement, which available were not being properly used. The Labor Party was more reactionary and burocratic than ever it was, and those who desired affiliation were prepared to let the I.L.P. fail the working class by lining them up behind "national unity."

Jennie Lee, for Lochgelly, made when the Labor Party is disinte-I.L.P. chooses to consider going considerably less.

Bob Edwards had the job of putting the case for the special com- The second type of house has not mittee's report. In his view, even been provided by anybody. The peoif the document were not accepted, ple who live in such houses as a rule it had served the purpose of bring-McGovern in maintaining that he ing out in sharp relief the present cast-off houses of others, like the isolation of the party. He explained that the committee responsible for clothes. the document had consisted of representatives of every section of thought on this subject, and they \$3,500 cannot be built any more at had reached unanimity because they a profit by private industry and to the issues squarely.

> tute for it a Labor government. mittee was that the best assistance pay for. would be thru work within the Labor Party. It was time the party membership was sent into the Labor Party to fulfil its revolutionary the building industry which make

> been a signatory to the report, ex-plained why he had withdrawn his some of the methods of financing, when, as a disciplined revolutionary limited number of houses and apartbody, it could work with advantage ments have been built under the within the ranks of the Labor direction of the financing of the Party. But the debate on the Munich issue had disillusioned him. He \$5,000. But this has no bearing on maintained that the provisions of low-cost housing. the report could only be carried thru by a revolutionary party united on principles. There was work to do symbolic of the way the grand done by some individual members, but there was much more work to ndustrial field.

Sawyer, of Manchester, thought it would be possible for the I.L.P. to stand firmly for its principles even tho it were inside the Labor Party.

Brockway wound up the debate. Warns of War He maintained that, as a revolutionary party, we should regard the whole question of affiliation from the point of view of how we could most effectively work for the revolutionary socialist view. He hoped, whatever the decision, the party would act as a disciplined unit.

The party must do its work in the wider mass movement. Can the freedom to do this be secured by affiliation? The Labor Party will accept the I.L.P. into its ranks if the I.L.P. will accept the constitution of the party. We can remain an organized unit so long as our activities do not conflict with the constitution. There remain the difficulties of parliamentarians only being allowed to abstain and not vote against the party whip, and the question of international affiliations. If these obstacles led to the rejection of affiliation, the problem still remained, and, in his opinion, was solved by the committee's document which allowed individuals to work inside the Labor Party without the affiliation of the I.L.P. The voting resulted as follows:

Affiliation defeated by 63 to 45. Committee report defeated by 68 to 42.

Conditional affiliation carried by 69 to 40. J. Maxton said that he inter-

preted this decision as a desire by the conference that negotiations with the Labor Party should continue. He agreed to the suggestion publish the conditions acceptable to the N.A.C.

#### CAPITALIST PEACE

A resolution in the name of the Lancashire Division was moved by Walter Sawyer (Manchester). It urged that war is "the major calamity of capitalism," and therefore the I.L.P. "opposes war, even is an unjust peace." At the same time, parliamentary votes should not be given for an imperialist peace, but an independent workingclass policy should be advocated.

the resolution, saying that the present statement of I.L.P. policy on imperialism is enough.

Patterson (Clapham) moved an amendment which he said was against. "based on Trotskyist principles"

# New Deal Fails In Housing

By J. P.

DERHAPS nowhere is the failure of the New Deal as obvious as in the field of housing. From all that nas been said and written in the last six years, from all the grand pronises, pledges and plans that have been offered, one would think that great deal has really been done in he way of getting houses built fd people in the low-income brackets But this is far from being the case

#### TWO DISTINCT PROBLEMS

One is the problem of getting houses built for those who are able to pay rents that will yield a 'reasonable" profit to the agencies supplying the housing. Here should be included those who can afford to live in homes costing over \$3,500 and able to pay a rental of at least \$25-\$30 a month—that is, people with incomes of \$100 a month upl wards.

The other is the problem of getting houses built for those sections of the people that are not able to pay rents yielding such a profit. This group might be roughly classithe point that just at the moment | fied as including those who must live in dwellings costing not over \$3,500. grating and lining the workers up They are people with incomes of less behind the government for war, the than \$100 a month, in some cases,

The first type of house always has been provided by private investors. have to content themselves with the wear second-hand

The problem, therefore, has been to find out why houses costing bring about the necessary corrections in those conditions. The prob-The main issue for the workers lem for the second type of housing of this country was to get rid of the is to organize a government-financed National government and substi- and directed administration to provide houses in these lower-cost How could the I.L.P. assist in that? brackets which people with moder-The unanimous opinion of the com- ate incomes can afford to live in and

It is not too much to say that neither of these problems has been dealt with. All the many abuses of private residential building an un-Aplin (St. Pancras), who had profitable business remain untouchsignature. When the report was they are worse today than ever. As drafted, he said, he believed the for the low-cost construction field, I.L.P. had reached the position nothing at all has been done. A

This failure of the New Deal is n the Labor Party which could be promises of the "Roosevelt Revolution" have turned into ashes because the Administration could not prebe done by the party on the wider vail upon itself to "go too far," to infringe upon the interests of "private enterprise" (private profit) in this field as in others.

# **Auto Union Head**

(Continued from Page 1) und the white-collared workers called upon to do the dying in war. War may mean profits to some, but to labor it is synonymous with leath.

#### LABOR DOES NOT WANT WAR

Labor is concerned about why we 30 to war, when we go to war, and whether or not we go to war at all. But the all-important question is: 'What can be done about war?" and vhether or not labor can prevent unother war, whether labor can be successful in a battle against war tself. It is my opinion that the greatest force against war is the establishment and maintenance of a strong, intelligent, responsible labor novement. We say, without hesitation, that labor is concerned with war more than any other group and hat labor doesn't want war.

And we conclude by saying that the United Automobile Workers of America, as a part of the organized abor movement, will utilize its every resource to prevent America eing involved in another war. It will utilize its full strength to see dopted a sane international policy which will guarantee to the workers of this country and to the peoole as a whole the kind of a national and international program which will lead along the lines of sane, progressive activities, and which will prevent our becoming involved in the game of international power-politics which is going on in Europe today. America has enough to do if it takes care of its own business, if it takes care of its own business properly.

described by him as "modern Marxism." He said that the war issue would be decided not in Parliament but by "economic forces."

J. Maxton, whilst indicating his opposition to the resolution, said that the N.A.C. was equally divided on it. He agreed that party policy Wilson (Bradford) moved the required further definition and that deletion of the greater part of the N.A.C. should give serious con-

sideration to the matter. Both the amendments and the resolution were defeated. The vote on the resolution was 41 for, 54

(Concluded in the next issue)

# Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Wednesday by the Workers Age Pub. Ass'n. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282.

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

VOL. 8. WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1939.

### "GOOD NEIGHBOR" TO DICTATORS

NOTHING, perhaps, is so revealing of the direction in which the Administration is heading as the character of the official reception given to Anastasio Somoza, Nicaraguan president, upon his recent visit to this country.

Who is this Somoza? He is one of the most ruthless dictators on this hemisphere, perhaps in the entire world. When U. S. Marines held Nicaragua in their grip, they made him commander of the Nicaraguan National Guard, the instrument of Washington-Wall Street domination over that unfortunate land. Thru treachery and violence, he got rid of the Nicaraguan patriot, Sandino, and then threw his uncle out of the presidency, which he took over himself. The regime he thereupon set up has had little to learn from Hitler or Mussolini in the way of ruthless dictatorship and savage repression.

This is the man to whom President Roosevelt gave an official reception that was the most elaborate war show staged in this country in the last twenty years. Five thousand troops lined the streets from the Union Station to the White House. Fifteen army tanks headed the procession and fifteen more clattered at the rear. Overhead were more than fifty military planes, including ten flying fortresses. Twenty-one guns were fired in salute. Nothing like it had been seen on these shores since the return of General Pershing and the A.E.F. from France.

What was behind this vast warlike display to welcome the bloody dictator of Nicaragua. It was obviously part of Mr. Roosevelt's own campaign of "appeasing the dictators," the dictators in this case being the autocratic rulers under whose iron heel the great masses of Latin American people groan. In current New Deal lingo, this is known as cementing the "union of the western tive security" and in a "collectivedemocracies"; in actual fact, it is an effort to build up a united war front of the western hemisphere under the economic and forces to task editorially for inmilitary hegemony of Wall Street imperialism.

Thru the rose-colored glasses of imperialist interest, Dictator totalitarianism and military dicta-somoza becomes a great "democrat," to be welcomed with open torship at home. This is "loose thinkarms by Mr. Roosevelt, just as Butcher Batista was a few months ing" says the New Leader: To ago. "It is very gratifying to me," Representative Knutson caus- make such a statement, according to tically remarked in Congress the other day, "to observe the dictator the social-democratic paper (April of Nicaragua and that great Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, riding down Pennsylvania Avenue together. It shows the lamb can lie down with the lion."

But there is still another and perhaps even more important reason for the lavish military display that marked the Somoza reception. The whole spectacle was part of the deliberate effort of the Administration to build up a war atmosphere and a war psychology so as to facilitate its war-making foreign policy. This was so obvious that even friends of the President were shocked.

"I am not one who has much patience with the charge that President Roosevelt is deliberately fanning up a war scare for political reasons," said Raymond Clapper, the well-known Scripps-Howard commentator in his column of May 5. "And I don't lie President-dictator will regulate elecawake worrying about the various moves he has made in the European situation.

"Then Mr. Roosevelt spoils it all, as far as I am concerned, by using the visit of the President of Nicaragua as the excuse for staging a mammoth military display more suited to Berlin and Rome than to the capital of this peaceful democracy.'

There is reason to believe that the military show put on for Dictator Somoza was a dress-rehearsal for the reception of the king and queen of England, the titular heads of that "great de- by the War Department and ready At Leavenwort's Barracks, "during mocracy" known as the British Empire. It's only the beginning for enactment on M-Day, the day the first week, they stand with their folks, it's only the beginning!

### THE ANSWER IS UNITY

IF you want to get an idea of the terrific damage that the dissension in labor's ranks can do, look at the situations that have developed around the Wagner Act and the renewal of the collective agreement in the soft-coal industry.

Because of the drive to "amend" the Wagner Act, the hardwon rights of labor to self-organization and collective bargaining are in jeopardy. Once open the sluice-gates of revision, and the deluge will sweep everything away. Yet a good part of the impetus behind the movement to revise the N.L.R.A. comes from mechanism of universal conscription the A. F. of L., which feels that the procedure and regulations of the N.L.R.B., within the limits of the act, are improperly biased in favor of the C.I.O. and are greatly to the detriment of the Federation and its auxiliaries.

In the bituminous crisis, the United Mine Workers of America has been forced into the uncomfortable position where it has to hold out on strike for issues that are hardly comprehensible to the public at large—the inclusion of the closed shop and the check-off in the agreement for the first time or else the lifting of the penalty clause on strikes. And why? Because the A. F. of L.'s Progressive Miners of America is invading the coal fields and

WAY 11, 1914.—President Wilson

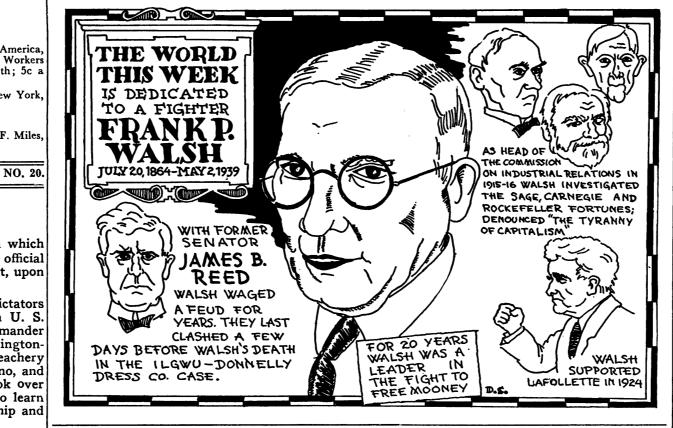
In both cases, no doubt, the Federation high command is services held at Brooklyn Navy Yard following a short-sighted and self-defeating policy. The under- for 17 marines and sailors killed at mining of the Wagner Act as a result of the campaign of revision, would damage the entire labor movement, A. F. of L. as much as C.I.O., while any weakening of union control in the soft-coal industry, which would necessarily follow a defeat of the U.M. W.A., would indeed be an all-around disaster. From the standpoint of "carrying the war into the enemy's territory," it may be good tactics; but there are surely higher considerations involved, dictated by labor's long-range interests, of which the Federation should never lose sight.

But the main point is that neither situation would have arisen had there not been a deep cleft in the labor movement and a state Office has accepted bribes from of virtual civil war in its ranks. The A. F. of L. campaign for Krupp in return for military docuamending the Wagner Act has meaning only in terms of its clash | ments, and that high state, army with the C.I.O., for the grievances against which the Federation and naval officials were on direccomplains are themselves the result of the coexistence of two rival federations. Nor could there possibly have been any serious challenge to U.M.W.A. control in the coal fields under conditions of labor unity. With the labor movement reunited, the issue of Wagner Act revision would virtually disappear in the ranks of organized labor and Lewis would certainly not be in the corner he is today in his negotiations with the coal operators.

And unity is the only way out. As long as there exist two labor federations facing each other as hated rivals, no laborrelations act and no labor-relations board can conceivably function to the satisfaction of both sides. As long as civil war persists in labor's ranks, short-sighted considerations of tactical advantage are bound to prevail over the more fundamental interests of labor as a whole, to the detriment of all sections of the movement. Reasoning and preaching are of little use in a war situation; the only solution is peace and unity!

SIGNS OF THE TIMES: "The First German Presbyterian Church of Orange, N. J., has changed its name. The word, German, is not very popular with people here,' explains its pastor. Hereafter it will be the William Street Presbyterian Church."

Remember the "good old days" when sauerkraut was rebaptized "Liberty cabbage," when German was barred from the schools, when Goethe, Schiller and Beethoven were "Huns"? Well, they're on their way



# **Events of 1917 Show War Brings Dictatorship**

### S.D.F. Editor Ignores Lessons of Past for Future

By WILL HERBERG

THE New Leader (of New York), believing so ardently in "collecsecurity" war, takes the anti-war sisting that American involvement in a totalitarian war will bring 22, 1939), is equivalent to saying "that the President will become dictator; that political parties, trade unions, cooperative and cultural societies will be crushed; that all publications, radio stations and publishing houses will be taken over; that storm troopers will be organized and concentration camps established; that libraries will be looted and 'undesirable' books burnt: that Jews will be hunted down, tortured and expropriated; that a Gestapo will have its agents in every city block, in every village and town; that the tions to have his own clique returned

state governments.' Let us examine each of these counts one by one.

lictators to displace all city and

"That the President will become dictator, then the word has lost its meaning.

"That political parties, trade unions, cooperative and cultural societies will be crushed": It depends what you mean by "crushed." Trade unions and similar organizations will be placed under strict government control (see the M-Day bills) and the government will have the power to crush and cripple them by a variety of means, especially thru the and "selective service" (see Chapter 7 of Stephen and Joan Raushenbush's book, "War Madness"). As to political parties, even the New

### 25 YEARS AGO

addresses mourners at burial Tampico, Mexico. "War is a symbol of duty. . . . It is hard to do duty when men are sneering.'

May 11. — Colorado legislature authorizes bond issue of one million dollars to cover cost of military expenses arising out of coal strike. May 11. - Daniel De Leon dies at age of 62.

May 11.-Karl Liebknecht charges in Reichstag that the Prussian War torate of a prominent optical firm and got 150 marks for every field glass sold to the army.

May 11. - Villa's forces blow up Huerta's gun-boat.

May 11. - Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison freed by Supreme Court in connection with 1911 contempt charge growing out of the violation of an injunction. May 13. - Court martial proceedings started against 39 officers and men of Colorado state militia on

Ludlow massacre. May 14. — Colonel James Lockett issues order forbidding coal companies from importing strike-breakers to Trinidad but will allow "men seeking work" in oClorado to enter

murder charges growing out of

May 16. - Dutch marines land in Mexico to guard oil wells.

May 16. — Representative Otto Winto of Arkansas urges annexation of Mexico. "Make the Panama Canal our southern border.

Leader editor cannot doubt that any | made a good start in that direction serious criticism of the war, war during the last war. Give them anaims or war methods would lead to other chance and see what they will "crushing" in the most liberal sense

"That all publications, radio stations and publishing houses will be taken over": Whether they will actually be taken over or not, rigid government control and censorship vill undoubtedly be imposed and the New Leader editor can think back to 1917-1920 to get a faint idea of what that would mean.

"That storm stroopers will be orvanized and concentration camps established": As to "storm troopers," they may be formally organized or not-remember the "Home Defense Guards" in 1917 and 1918-but the well-established fact that during the war months between April 1, 1917 and May 1, 1918, there took place 124 authenticated "political" mobbings and lynchings in the United States (and probably many more about which no data are available) should teach us something for the future. As to concentration camps, let the New Leader editor read Norto Washington while he will appoint man Thomas's "Conscientious Obectors in America" or the account n the Nation of December 7 and 28, 1918, and see what war did once bring to this country. "Men (i.e., conscientious objectors and other dictator": Read the so-called "in- radicals.—W. H.) were spreadeagled dustrial-mobilization" bills drafted and otherwise sadistically punished. war is declared. If these bills do not hands crossed at their breasts: durmake the President a full-fledged ing the second week, they hang by their hands." And remember Gene De's in prison. This was during the last war. In view of the strides capitalist civilization has made since, are we not justified in expecting full-dress concentration camps with regular Nazi technique in the next?

> editor of the New Leader remember stricted and limited democracy of the wild jingoistic frenzy that overwnelmed this country during the last | dismantled in preparation for the war? Were not libraries "looted" of | next war to "make the world safe the works of German art and cul- for democracy." ture and books "burned," either lit-erally or figuratively? Was not one really be said to live up to his Goethe a "Hun" and did not the responsibilities as a socialist leader New York Philharmonic Society ban Beethoven? Was not the study of of another holy crusade for "dethe German language barred in many schools? Were not teachers dismissed and hounded in the best Hitler manner? And that was in 1917-1920: what may we expect in 1939 1940 or 1941? Already disoriented liberals such as Van Wyck Brooks urge the public burning of German fairy-tale books and German toys as a "protest" against Hitler. How far will the category of "undesirable" stretch when war breaks out?

"That Jews will be hunted down tortured and expropriated": Do you recall the wave of lynchings and "race riots." that accompanied the war and continued beyond it? Then it was Negroes who were "hunted down, tortured and expropriated"; there are many signs that the Jews will be with them the next time. Remember the K.K.K. that flourished in the aftermath of the last war. What will it be in the next?

"That a Gestapo will have its agents in every city block, in every village and town": A. Mitchell Palmer and his Department of Justice

"Faculty of the New School for Social Kesearch:

"The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war. . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free." (Frieda Wunderlich, "Labor in Wartime," pp. 257-258).

"The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war. . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free." (Frieda Wunderlich, "Labor in Wartime," admensional trends a war. . . The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war. . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free." (Frieda Wunderlich, "Labor in Wartime," admensional trends a war. . . The distinction between democracy and dictatorship tends to disappear during a war. . . The trend in any totalitarian war will be to transform the country into an immense camp in which no one is free." (Frieda Wunderlich, "Labor in Wartime," pp. 257-258).

"That a Gestapo will have its agents in every city block, in every and tactics or with respect to the technological aspect of military strategy and tactics or with respect to the technological aspect of military strategy and tactics or with respect to the technological conditions approaches the totalitarian type regardless of the political organization of society" (Hans Speier, "Morale and Propaganda," p. 324). "race riots" that accompanied the

"That the President-dictator will regulate elections to have his own clique returned to Washington while he will appoint dictators to displace all city and state governments": Let serious social disturbance arise during war time or immediately after and even this horrid picture will not eem so preposterous or fantastic.

"Oh, but Roosevelt will be in power," it will be objected. "Roosevelt, the New Dealer, the apostle and champion of democracy. A man like Roosevelt will never commit such atrocities or permit them to be committed." But remember the Roosevelt of the last war-Woodrow Wilson. Was he not the fervent apostle and champion of democracy? And yet it was under him and with his approval that the nightmare of terror and repression swept the country in the four years following the declaration of war in 1917.

All this was twenty years ago, in world where capitalism was still flourishing, where modern totalitarianism was still unknown. What, then, will happen in the next war with a tottering capitalism striving desperately to perpetuate itself, with totalitarianism overshadowing the

earth? Let the editor of the New Leader onsult the socialist publications during and immediately after the last war, particularly the New York Call. Let him study such works as "M-Day" or "War in Our Time."\* There he will see why once the U. S. A. is involved in a war of any character today, it will be compelled to conduct that war by means of a regime that will itself be increasingly totalitarian, a military dictatorship along totalitarian lines. "That libraries will be looted and Let him look at France and England undesirable' books burnt": Does the and see how democracy, even the recapitalism, is being systematically

These are simple facts. Can anywho is so intoxicated with the vision mocracy" that he cannot remember yesterday or foresee tomorrow?

\* "M-Day," by Rose M. Stein:

"M-Day," by Rose M. Stein:

"The basic fact must be faced that modern war cannot be conducted save by dictatorial power, and the democratic framework, even if it is allowed to retain its existence and identity, is relegated to a position subservient to that held by the clique in authority" (p. 161).

"It is a foregone conclusion that, in the event of war, the Unied States will adopt the Industrial Mobilization Plan with its stringent controls over labor and public opinion. There is no assurance whateve, that the Plan will not be permanently retained. If the integrity of capitalism is threatened after the war, the retention of the Plan is practically certain."

"War in Our Time," by the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research:

"The distinction between democracy and

# Louis Adamic Inquires:

Editor, Workers Age

AM in the midst of a two-year tions: L survey of the various racial and of United States, which is to serve Nation of Nations," to be published copy of my broadside questionnaire "Plymouth Rock and Ellis Island."

In my project, I need and seek the help of workers in the various industries all over the country, and write to me individually in answer along in your shop, mill, mine or

to some or all of the following ques-

What is your racial or national national elements of the population background? Are you an immigrant or American-born? Were your as the basis for a book entitled "A | parents immigrants? Do you, in seeking work or on your present late in 1941 or early in 1942. I can- job, have to cope with prejudice not outline here the full scope of my against your race or nationality, or idea and purpose; those interested against "foreigners" generally, on may drop me a card (my address | the part of employers and their peris at the end of this letter) and I sonnel managers or bosses? Or are shall be glad to send them free a you preferred as a worker because of your race or nationality. What have been the experiences of other workers of your acquaintance on this point?

How do the workers of various I hope the readers of this paper will | national and racial backgrounds get Talking It Over:

# The Question of Unity

=by Bertram D. Wolfe =\_\_\_

MAY DAY come and gone, and the unity of the labor movement and the unity of the revolutionary movement as far away as ever and never in our history more needful. The treason of the ministerial socialists during the world war shattered the Second International into fragments. And the treason of the People's Front (ministerial socialism in time of war preparation) and the great purge (labor totalitarianism), have foundered the Third International in a morass of blood and betrayal, And the Fourth International was stillborn as a pathetic inversion of the Third, believing in an infallible single leader and Russian dominance but substituting a Trotsky for a Stalin, using freely the evil weapons of slander and misrepresentation and divisiveness, and, after the nature of sects, finding its point of honor not in what joins it with the rest of the labor movement but what separates it.

Add two auto unions where one is needful, and two organized labor movements in America, making easier the employer offensive against meager gains and the government drive for war and direct control of labor, and with C.I.O. and A. F. of L. leadership each according to its lights setting obstacles in the path of labor unity—how then could May Day this year be any more than a review of labor's impotence and division and a mockery of all that May Day should signify?

Yet there are signs that the receding tide has at last reached its ebb, and is slowly beginning its turning. The Versailles system is in ruins, both the imperialist system with its treaties, proscriptions and indemnities, and the system of labor radicalism that issued out of the world war. As the world staggers compulsively towards the second world war, it is better that the ruin and untrustworthiness of existing organizations should have come prior to war this time, than as in 1914, after its outbreak. At least we have a little time to gather the fragments that are still useworthy and begin, while peace unstably endures, the task of reconstruction that last time we had to attempt under the incredibly more difficult conditions of war already waging. That is what gives its tremendous significance to the conference just held in Paris of the International Workers Front Against War, on which Jay Lovestone, on his return, will report at Hotel Center on June 1.

### THE VOICE OF LABOR

DOWN in the ranks of labor, the longing for unity is slowly growing and finding a voice to express itself. Presidents Green and Lewis have felt its pressure, tho for a variety of reasons Green has yielded to it more than Lewis. In each auto plant, those elements who may envisage nothing but internecine war to the benefit only of the employers will soon learn that it is a mighty and irresistible current. Even in radical circles, where splittings and splinterings and hairsplittings and factional fury and breakdown have gone farthest, there are small sure signs that a turn is beginning. Especially among the youth, unencumbered by the deadweight of old hatreds and often outlived old differences, there is a slowly growing impatience with needless division and a growing understanding of the few large issues on which division really represents two sides of future barricades. Youth feels the need for unity most and the simplicity of the really fundamental issues, because youth feels the brunt of coming war more than the older generation. And it is the needs of the struggle against war, now and in eventual war-time, that constitute the one sure line of division and the one overwhelming force requiring and compelling the unification of all those who now, and in war-time, would wage the struggle against it.

### LETTERS FROM READERS

THIS paper has recently been receiving a number of letters in favor I of unity. First there came a single letter, unsolicited, which we printed. Then two or three on that one, then a steady trickle in constantly increasing numbers. They are some of them not thought thru but all of them glow with an ardent desire for unity, which compels us all to do some thinking till we have thought thru that central problem. Incurable sectarians or leaderets fearful for their little organizations and places of leadership will find that they cannot too long ignore this, nor comfort themselves as one tried to by suggesting that there is no such burning desire or need but that these letters are concocted in the Workers Age office or written by I.L.L.A. "plants" in the various organizations and outside of them.

### SOME OBSTACLES TO UNITY

THOSE who oppose ,or are sceptical about efforts for unifications are on firmer ground when they point to the obstacles that lie in the path of it. Take, for instance, the Socialist Party and the Social-Democratic Federation. Any unification at present of groups that are separated on grounds that are obscure and inadequate will help to clear the air by reunification, or an adequate clarification-in public-of the conditions that facilitate or hinder it. The division in this case was never a clean-cut one, and caused by factors that were largely temporary and

Yet that there is a real obstacle in the way was proved by the spectacle of their temporary get-together on May Day. First, there is the sectarian way in which they, like the Stalinites, instinctively tried to turn May Day into a party monopoly and then expected trade unions which include men of all parties to group themselves under their party banner. Such sectarianism is more a matter of ineptness, and with goodwill and determination is doubtless curable. A good sign was the pressure of the Workmen's Circle delegation majority in favor of broadening the May Day auspices and arrangements. When mass organizations make this pressure greater, professional politicians will perforce have to yield to it or yield their leadership to others who see its importance.

But the real nature of the fundamental obstacle to Socialist-Social Democratic unification was revealed in the May Day speeches. Both organizations are heterogeneous, yet among the Social-Democratic Federation leaders, there seems to be a majority for pro-war "collective security" and among the Socialist Party leaders a majority for an anti-war position. This difference should be publicly clarified. Unless there is agreement on this matter, all unification can only be a loose federation which will transfer the discussion into one inside the united organization. In actual war-time, it would inevitably provoke new division, but such division as is wholesome and necessary and in the real interest of the needs of the workers and of mankind.

COLUMN space is about exhausted, but not the subject nor the need . for its discussion. I shall return to it at an early date, and would be glad to hear from our readers regardless of party affiliation.

so, what form does it take? Are grounds differ in your own union? animosities decreasing or increas- Have you found that some workers ing? What effect have the drastic of this and that nationality do not developments in Europe on the rela- join unions because the unions are tions among workers you know? led by men of another nationality How many workers of German or Italian origin or background do you the membership consists of workers know who are—or are not—inclined whose background or origin is difto sympathize with Hitler or Mus- ferent from their own? I should like solini? I should like to hear from Germans and Italians on this point. Is there much calling of one an-

other as dagoes, wops, hunkies, kikes, Polacks, Litvaks, squareheads, etc.? And, if so, is this "kidding" or derogatory, or both? along with Negro workers with whom you come in contact on your are some of your problems, if any,

because of your color and race? How will those problems be solved? Do you know of workers in your present or past places of employment who have invented gadgets or improved methods which now are a part of American production efficiency in general? If so, what is the nature of their inventions or improvements? What are their names, their racial or national origin or background, and their present address if you happen to know it?

To what extent, if any, do the workers various racial and national backgrounds or origins enter, so far as you have observed, into laborunion problems? What are the rela-

office? Is there much "kidding"? If | tions among members whose backor race, or because the majority of to hear from organizers and union officers.

If you are an immigrant or the son or daughter of immigrants with a name which is not easily pronounceable by people of other racial and national groups, especially by If you are white, how do you get old-stock Americans, have you any serious difficulties as a worker and an individual on that account? Do job? If colored, how do you get many workers change or simplify along with white workers? What their "foreign" names? Have you changed yours? Why?

Do you prefer to work where several other people of your race and nationality are employed? If so, why? Or is it all the same to

General question: What have been some of your interesting experiences as a worker? All of us have personal problems which are part of our national problems; in which direction do you think lie the solutions of your problems?

Please feel free to write at any length. If you like, mark your letter "confidential," and it will be considered as such.

LOUIS ADAMIC, Milford, N. J.