

WORKERS AGE

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. IV, No. 22.

New York, N. Y., Saturday, June 1, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

IN these days of loose talk about "Every Man a King," it is appropriate to single out at least one American king that is falling. We have in mind the collapse of "King Cotton." The plowing under of cotton, Roosevelt's morphine measure of fixing prices for the staple in utter disregard of those prevailing in the world market, the intensified international competition—these are only some of the factors making for the undoing of this commodity long occupying a dominant position in Southern economy and in American exports. In 1911 the U. S. produced 69% of the world's total. This year's cotton crop will be only about 40%. Throughout the world, spinners are adjusting their machinery to non-American cotton.

This undermining of American cotton-production economy is pregnant with social and political consequences of major dimensions. The Cotton Belt of yesterday and today must find a new economic position. Will it be new industrialization characterized by the last word in technique? Very probably. What of the dismantling of the present vast machine with its huge investment in compresses, gins, and warehouses? What of the loss of jobs for the hundreds of thousands of workers involved? And what of the "surplus" of cotton farmers and the millions of share-croppers literally torn out of and cast off by the reduced productive process?

Here are forces making for a fundamental change in the entire economic life of the Southern states and of the country. Here is fertile soil for deepgoing political changes. The plight and militancy of the sharecroppers, the bitterness of recent Southern labor struggles, the savagery of capitalist suppression below the Mason and Dixon line are organically bound up with the sweeping economic changes now going on in this section. They are rumblings announcing an impending social and political storm attendant to economic readjustment.

What better reason for labor solidarity—Negro and white—with the workers in the cities and on the land throughout the country?

OUR very unworthy contemporary, the "Daily News," of tabloid infamy, deserves a vote of thanks for plain talk. Rushing to the support of Roosevelt's coolie wage scales, it denounced Green's indictment of the New Deal route (19-94) to starvation in the following measured and significant words: "As for the implied threat of violence if the President doesn't jack up the relief wage scales—it may be a harsh thing to say, but we have police and militia and soldiers to take care of violence and we will have to use them if relief workers get too fresh in any considerable numbers . . ."

Certainly this is no mincing of words. Even the most regular reader of this sheet can understand this threat. Even the most loyal reader can now see "for what, and for whom" is the U. S. army. Surely the most politically prurient stenographer can tell who the "we" is in the editorial of her gazette. To the "Daily News" editor we might offer just one piece of advice: There comes a time when the workers hunger for bread will be transformed into a thirst for revenge.

Indeed this should wake up at least some of the too many jobless workers reading this patriotic paper to the one simple fact stated with such straightforwardness in the above-cited editorial: The government of the U. S. is a strike-breaking racket, an infernal machine in the hands of the bosses against workers. For a worker to trust the Wall Street government, commanded by the wage-wrecker Roosevelt, is like touching pitch.

What the "Daily News" now says the government ought to do to the workers, we communists have warned long ago it would try to do. Let labor begin to stir, to stop wishing for good deeds from the counterfeit Samaritan in the White House. Let labor develop the will to fight against hunger rations and their legal protectors. This is the only road out of the miserable mess into which Roosevelt now seeks to shepherd us.

SOME months ago we urged every labor organization, every enemy of Nazi savagery to prevent Hitler Germany getting credits in the U. S. The Chicago Federation of Labor, Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U., and other working class organizations responded promptly and pledged resistance to the extension of such credits for stabilizing and extending the life of this gangster government that is butchering labor.

Now we learn that for some weeks

THE WAGNER BILL

LABOR is at the point of winning a Pyrrhic victory. We are at the point of scoring a success that will go a long way towards undermining the vitality of the trade union movement, the very right of workers to organize.

It appears likely that the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill will be enacted into law. Senator Wagner has, for some time, been hailed by conservative labor officialdom as "the best friend" of the workers in Congress. Recently much homage has been paid to Wagner especially because of his Labor Relations Bill. Not only has the dominant leadership of the A. F. of L. been whooping it up for Wagner's measure, but even amongst progressive workers there are altogether too many illusions about the intentions and efficacy of the Wagner bill as a measure against company unionism.

Threat of Government Domination

A careful analysis of the Wagner bill, particularly in the light of so-called normal interpretation of such provisions in recent years, clearly establishes that the measure is not at all in the interests of labor, that it is not against company unionism. Much worse than that. If enacted into law, the Wagner Labor Relations Bill will open the flood-gates of Government domination of the trade union movement. The Wagner proposal leaves the labor organizations wide open to arbitrary rule, to reckless interference, to dictation by hostile government boards, as well as by a hostile President. We underscore the word "hostile" because there hasn't been a President and there hasn't been a government board which in practice was not doing the bidding of big business against labor, particularly in fundamental issues. Certainly labor's experience with President Roosevelt, General Johnson, Chief Coordinator Richberg, confirms our conclusion beyond challenge.

In Section 9 of the Wagner measure we get a glimpse of the sweeping powers to be accorded to the new Labor Relations Board. Here we find the following:

"The Board shall decide in each case whether, in order to effectuate the policies of this Act, the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit, or other unit."

Thus, the Board is to have the power to decide what is a genuine union, who is the spokesman of labor, how jurisdictional disputes between labor organizations are to be adjusted. This Section deliberately leaves vague and hazy the meaning of the word "Unit". This is an old

game of corporation lawyers. It is a game in which labor always loses. No one need wonder why Wagner refuses to define the word "Unit" in his bill. It is not because he is illiterate; it is simply because the Wagners and their ilk see in such vagueness a clear and open path for ignoring and vitiating the interests of labor. With such planned vagaries labor has already had disastrous experiences. Witness the nurturing of company unionism by the Wolman Board in the auto industry.

Then again every worker should ask what does Wagner mean by "the employer unit"? What does Wagner mean by "or other unit"? Here are two expressions, here are formulae thru which company unionism can drive with comfort and full legal protection.

Basis For Anti-Labor Injunctions

Furthermore the Wagner Bill gives the Government unlimited legal power not only over forms of labor organizations, but also over the sundry activities of the trade union membership. No other meaning can be attached to Section 1 of the Labor Relations Bill which says:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to remove obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to provide for the general welfare by encouraging the

practice of collective bargaining, and by protecting the exercise by the worker of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of his employment or other mutual aid or protection."

This section is loaded with poison for labor. On the pretense of trying "to remove obstructions to the free flow of commerce" judges have time and again handed down vicious anti-working class decisions. Under the guise of seeking "to provide for the general welfare" an increasing number of powerful figures in the United States Government are now seeking to foist upon us incorporation of the trade unions. This was a line of argument pursued by General Johnson when he challenged labor's right to strike because the unrestricted right to strike, in his opinion, was contrary to "the general welfare". It was this shibboleth which General Johnson and the textile magnates peddled about the country during the textile strike while they were seeking to mobilize sentiment against the workers and for the bosses.

(Continued on Page 4)



Roosevelt: "Nothing for you, Buddy"

Union Leaders In Rally for FD

Green Converts Garden Meet Into Roosevelt Rally—F.D.'s Starvation Scale Forgotten

When the huge labor rally at Madison Square Garden on May 23 opened the band played first "The Star Spangled Banner" and then the "Internationale". That symbolized the meeting. Thirty thousand workers had come to hear the leaders of American labor put forth their fighting program. What they heard was a Democratic campaign rally.

The rally had been planned by the Central Trades Council, the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated and the Capmakers to boost the NRA. But when President Roosevelt announced the \$19-\$94 relief-work wage the workers were told that the character of the rally had changed—that it was to be a protest. But the speakers had been told something else. No one of these leaders of the A. F. of L.—Ryan, Dubinsky, Hillman, Zaritsky, Green and Lewis—breathed a word against these slave wages. Instead they vehemently attacked the mysterious "interests" who oppose NRA extension, called for the passage of the vicious Wagner Disputes Bill and the 30 Hour Law. Especially was fire directed against the Democratic Senators who had the temerity to defy the orders of the President.

Progressives Protest Against NRA Ballyhoo

In the midst of this orgy of Rooseveltian hymns the Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. and the administration of the local were the sole voices raised in protest. Though the great majority of the needle trades leaders are nominal Socialists there was no sound from them decrying this manipulation of their organizations for the political interests of the Democratic Party. But the Progressives in a leaflet and the Local 22 administration in a telegram sent to the rally denounced the NRA and presented a positive, fighting program for labor including the freedom of unions from governmental interference and a plea for a Labor Party.

Faith In President Is Bureaucrats Plea

All the speeches ran to a definite pattern. The enormous political and economic power of the American Federation of Labor was waved aloft in threatening fashion—but all the threats were directed against those legislators who refuse the President's bidding. William Green, who two years ago called the NRA "the Magna Charta of Labor" has now transferred that title to the Wagner Bill. Given enough Magna Charta Mr. Green apparently has a divine faith that something swell will happen.

The splendid mobilization of New York's organized workers was worthy of a better cause. It is the task of the Progressives to turn this labor militancy into labor action rather than to the interests of capitalist politics.

Socialist Minister Scored by Miners

BRUSSELS, Belgium.—Efforts of the government to suppress the coal strike have failed. The strike is spreading, 15,000 miners being now involved. Incensed at the attitude of the socialist members of the government toward their demand for higher wages, strikers have leveled the charge of treason against the socialists.

It will be recalled that Emil Vandervelde, resigned his presidency of the Socialist and Labor International recently, to take a place in King Leopold's Cabinet.

Union being involved, we are glad to announce that Jay Lovestone begins a series of seven articles, on

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The first article, appears in the next issue of Workers Age. The articles will appear in the following order:

1. What's Behind Soviet Foreign Policy
2. Soviet Diplomacy at Work.
3. and 4. Debunking Some Hostile Criticism.
5. Bolshevik Foreign Policy in Retrospect.
6. Soviet Foreign Policy and the Comintern.
7. The U.S.S.R. and the World Revolution.

United Shoe in Merger Confab

New England Unions Meet To Discuss Possibility Of Complete Merger

BOSTON, Mass.—Representatives of the four largest independent shoe unions, the American Shoe Workers Union, the Brotherhood of Shoe & Allied Craftsmen, the Shoe Workers Protective Union and the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union, met in conference on Saturday, May 18th to lay the basis for a merging of all the independent shoe unions in one national union.

"Much progress toward the amalgamation of all shoe unions was accomplished" was the official verdict released to the press at the termination of the conference. Apprehension is held out in some quarters as to the genuineness of the desire for unity on the part of one or more of the unions in the conference. Speculation is rife as to the ultimate outcome, although well-informed sources are of the opinion that great strides toward amalgamation will be made.

Hitler has had the Jewish banker Jacob Goldschmidt prowling about Wall Street looking for credits for the very Fascist government that has degraded and hounded the poor and middle class Jews to the status of social and economic lepers. "How quickly nature falls into revolt when gold becomes her object!" That explains lots.

Despite difficulties in his path, banker Goldschmidt, who was recently given a title of "honorary Aryan" by Hitler, stands a serious chance of succeeding in his mission for the Nazi head-choppers. Only the mass pressure of labor and of all enemies of Fascism can thwart this would-be savior of darkest Germany—the Germany of Hitler. Unbounded vigilance against Hitler's newest emissary must be our motto!

Needle Trades Progressives Issue Call for Conference

A call to a conference of all progressive groups in needle trades unions of this city on Saturday afternoon, June 8, has just been issued by the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. According to the letter sent out by J. Friedman as secretary of the Local 22 progressive group, the conference will "discuss ways and means of bringing about closer organizational unity and more effective cooperation" in the work of the movement as a whole. The official call follows:

Sisters and Brothers:

For the past several years there has been developing in the needle trades unions a progressive movement whose general purpose it is to stimulate a new spirit of constructive militancy and class struggle, of industrial unionism and of genuine union democracy. This progressive movement has already become a recognized and influential force in a number of unions in our industry.

Naturally, with the passage of time, we have all begun to feel the acute need for closer cooperation on the part of the progressive groups in the various needle trade unions. Our problems are so similar and our tasks so much along the same lines, that no one can doubt the benefits which closer relations would bring to all concerned. We know from our own experience how valuable such cooperation would be in bringing about united and harmonious action and in helping to strengthen and spread the progressive movement. Never, in fact, was it more necessary than today for all the constructive, progressive, militant elements in the unions to get together, to join forces to advance the cause of progressivism in the labor movement.

It is with these considerations in mind that we are taking the initiative in calling together representatives of the vari-

ous progressive groups in the needle trade unions to a conference to discuss ways and means of bringing about closer organizational unity and more effective cooperation in our work. This conference will take place on Saturday afternoon, June 8, 2:30 p.m., at Manhattan Opera House, 311 West 34th St.

Will you please act on this communication and choose five delegates to attend this conference? The credentials of these delegates should be sent to: J. Friedman, 2069 Mapes Ave., New York City.

Yours for a strong and united progressive movement,

J. Friedman, Sec'y.

Lovestone Writes On Soviet Foreign Policy

The rise of Hitler Germany to the position of the chief "disturber of the peace" of Europe; the energetic peace policy of the Soviet Union and the ultimate signing of the Franco-Soviet pact, have aroused heated discussions in the labor movement.

The official Communist press has totally abstained from comment or at best has said very little.

The Trotskyist press, however, has unleashed a vile and slanderous campaign around this issue. Having themselves shed every Communist principle when they fused with the reformists of the Second International, they now point a finger at the Soviet Union and scream their hysterical charge of "treason".

Since clarity on this most important question is of the greatest importance, the problem of defense of the Soviet

DUAL UNIONISM IN THE RAILWAY SHOPS

The writer of this article was the leader of the opposition and authorized dual union group in the Mt. Clare railroad shops.

Secularism Meant Defeat of Our Movement

Cleveland, Sept. 1st and 2nd 1929, the new line was hammered out (or hammered down). The program called for the organization of a new union, as part of the new trade union center, the T.U.U.L.

League then you were equally ready for the C.P.—and the League was supposed to be for all workers, including the backward ones.

A Challenge to Canadian Labor

Fight For Release Of Breslow And Rudin Must Be Task Of Trade Unions

T.U.U.L. In Mt. Clare Shops

In this article I want to give the history and lessons of the dual unionism in the Mt. Clare shops in Baltimore.

The determination of the Montreal Dress Manufacturers to impose another jail sentence on Fran Breslow, militant I.L.G.W.U. organizer and C.W.U. member, now serving a six-months hard labor sentence for union activities was halted by Montreal courts last week.

Conditions in these shops were favorable to organization. Part of the workers were organized into the six craft unions, federated together in a shop-craft.

Threat To Unionism

This conviction carries with it a serious threat to organized labor, for this there is no doubt in labor circles.

At the Special Railroad Conference in

C. P. Renews Terror Drive on Furriers

Sarah Gross, the widow of Aaron Gross, the Communist leader of the fur workers, was brutally assaulted Thursday noon in the fur market.

Not content with this atrocity, the heads of the dual union had Comrade George Weiss ambushed as he was entering the hallway of the building in which he works at 330 Seventh Ave.

And to quote from another section of the defense—'It is felt that this judgment opens the door to charges of conspiracy against union officials who have committed no offense against the criminal code but merely engaged in the customary work of their union during a strike.'

Moore Cancels Publicity

But how is organized labor taking up the defense of Breslow and Rudin? We must say that unfortunately the results shown up to now are very unsatisfactory.

While still in the hands of the three cops, who obviously had been previously "seen", and shackled by handcuffs to two of them, the heroes of the dual union did what they were too cowardly to do when they had him alone—they beat him.

Sarah Gross, the sole support of Aaron Gross's two orphans is now bedridden with internal injuries inflicted by kicks and blows in the abdomen with an iron bar.

George F. Miles answers the question "IS ORGANIC UNITY POSSIBLE?"

Bert Wolfe writes on "WHAT ABOUT THE LIBERALS"

JAY LOVESTONE begins his series on "SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND WORLD REVOLUTION"

WHAT ABOUT THE LIBERALS

unionists. These decisions were not carried out as yet. Tom Moore, A. F. of L. head in Canada sent a letter to the I.L.G.W.U. leaders not to indulge in any publicity campaign because in his opinion it would do harm to the cause.

Will the I.L.G.W.U. leadership in Montreal live up to its obligations towards their convicted organizer and the Canadian Labor Movement? It is entirely up to them.

Lumber Strikers Fighting Hard

PORTLAND, Oregon.—The strike of the lumber workers of the Northwest enters its second week with over 40,000 out. With the exception of two small mills employing but a few hundred men, whose crews had gone back to work under a temporary agreement, not a crew that struck has gone back to work.

Union labor is solidly behind the lumber workers. The International Longshoremen Association has come on record as refusing to load any lumber cut during the strike.

There is every indication that the lumber strikers will be successful in their strike if they will but take the direction of the strike into their own hands, and continue to spread the strike to every mill and camp in the Northwest, and insist that representatives of the rank and file take part in all negotiations.

There is every indication that the lumber strikers will be successful in their strike if they will but take the direction of the strike into their own hands, and continue to spread the strike to every mill and camp in the Northwest, and insist that representatives of the rank and file take part in all negotiations.

GIUSTI'S SPAGHETTI INN 49 WEST 16th STREET NEW YORK CITY. 4 & 5 Course LUNCHEON 40c & 50c 6 Course CHICKEN DINNER 60c SPECIAL LUNCHEON 35c SERVED ALL DAY Spaghetti — Dessert — Coffee 35c A La Carte All Day WINE AND BEER SERVED

troys any possibility of organizing the unorganized and unorganized workers backward to understand the need of joining the A. F. of L., naturally could therefore not be won to a "revolutionary," "red" union.

Alto details might illustrate the wrongness of the new line more clearly, space doesn't permit. Life proved how wrong the dual unionist approach was.

And this happened despite the fact that the situation was a favorable one. Even after we began applying the new line, the Machinist Local we belonged to, was the only local in the country where enough of a left-wing existed to cause it to go on record against increasing Wharton's salary from \$8000 to \$12,000.

We are not proud of the Constitution rooted in privilege, property, slavery and distrust of the masses; but we are of the Bill of Rights forced into that document by the more revolutionary of our forefathers.

There was Opposition!

The question might arise: Didn't any of us have enough guts to resist this suicidal approach? The answer is, yes.

And there was no communist opposition in Balto. Those who had been politically clear enough to resist the line had been expelled, and either moved away or united to organize. Head our opposition been less confused perhaps we would have been expelled then as "Lovestonites," and perhaps there would be some communist activity in these shops today.

As to the Flag.

You think the American people are blindly attached to the Stars and Stripes, prize the symbol and reject the reality.

As to the Flag.

THE furniture workers, who are also affiliated to the Carpenters and Joiners, are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 men are affected.

Programmatic documents of the Communist Opposition.

WHERE WE STAND

THE ROYAL HALL ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. 83 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK Phone: DRydock 4-7044

DISCUSSING COMMUNISM AND AMERICANISM

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

In this article Comrade Wolfe answers the fifth question in a series sent to the Workers Age under the title, "Things We Want to Know: Here's the Questions"

MUST I SUBSTITUTE A RED FLAG FOR THE STARS AND STRIPES?

Or take the Southern people. Were they not attached to the "little father" and the church, the icons and the flag.

As to Love of Country

F. D.'s Work Relief Scale Sets Starvation Standard For Nation's Toilers

Some Bare Facts

We Claim the Heritage

As to the Flag.

LERMAN BROS. INC. STATIONERS & UNION PRINTERS. 29 EAST 14 ST. N. Y. C. Phone: ALgonquin 4-3356 and 8843

THE ROYAL HALL ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. 83 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK Phone: DRydock 4-7044

Our Attitude to Flag, National Pride and Love of Country

and pine tree at Bunker Hill, declared their independence at Philadelphia.

As to Love of Country

F. D.'s Work Relief Scale Sets Starvation Standard For Nation's Toilers

Some Bare Facts

We Claim the Heritage

As to the Flag.

THE furniture workers, who are also affiliated to the Carpenters and Joiners, are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 men are affected.

LERMAN BROS. INC. STATIONERS & UNION PRINTERS. 29 EAST 14 ST. N. Y. C. Phone: ALgonquin 4-3356 and 8843

THE ROYAL HALL ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. 83 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK Phone: DRydock 4-7044

people. Those who pillage it, those who exploit its inhabitants, those who make it hated, those who oppress it.

As to Love of Country

F. D.'s Work Relief Scale Sets Starvation Standard For Nation's Toilers

Some Bare Facts

We Claim the Heritage

As to the Flag.

THE furniture workers, who are also affiliated to the Carpenters and Joiners, are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 men are affected.

LERMAN BROS. INC. STATIONERS & UNION PRINTERS. 29 EAST 14 ST. N. Y. C. Phone: ALgonquin 4-3356 and 8843

THE ROYAL HALL ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. 83 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK Phone: DRydock 4-7044

our nation, like every nation, is not a unit. It has its class divisions, and every American must decide whether to be loyal to the great mass of American producers or to the little oligarchy of American money kings.

As to Love of Country

F. D.'s Work Relief Scale Sets Starvation Standard For Nation's Toilers

Some Bare Facts

We Claim the Heritage

As to the Flag.

THE furniture workers, who are also affiliated to the Carpenters and Joiners, are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 men are affected.

LERMAN BROS. INC. STATIONERS & UNION PRINTERS. 29 EAST 14 ST. N. Y. C. Phone: ALgonquin 4-3356 and 8843

THE ROYAL HALL ABE SHAPIRO • SAM ROTTER CATERING FOR UNION MEETINGS, BANQUETS AND ALL SOCIAL FUNCTIONS. 83 EAST 10th STREET NEW YORK Phone: DRydock 4-7044

abuse of the machine for the enslavement of man, in place of his emancipation. Therefore do we hate the hunger-grievous and demagogic and corruption of present-day American government and politics.

Our Internationalism

Today there can be no conflict between honest, worker-and-farmer-local nationalism and internationalism. The world is so interconnected in economy, in war and peace, in historic fate, that a separation from the economic and historic fate of the rest of the world is the height of the ignorant and the rascally conception of the scoundrel.

And even in that we are determined to be profoundly "national." We are determined to do our duty above all in "our own" country, to defeat "our own" master class.

When you have thought thru your own declarations of loyalty, you will want to pitch in and help us make "America First" in the struggle for freedom, to put it again in the vanguard of the free peoples of the earth.

scaling down of wages thruout industry, as a first step upon the national movement as such, but rather in relation to the whole nature and phase thru the economic and social system is passing. It reveals the path that the American economic system is and has been taking.

The Road Of State Capitalism

The deeper and more fundamental significance of the relief wages put thru by the government lies not in the actual going on but not speedily enough to bring about recovery.

During the recent years this has been going on but not speedily enough to bring about recovery.

The Y.C.L.'s failure to recognize the importance of the unions was seen in the treatment of the observer from Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U.

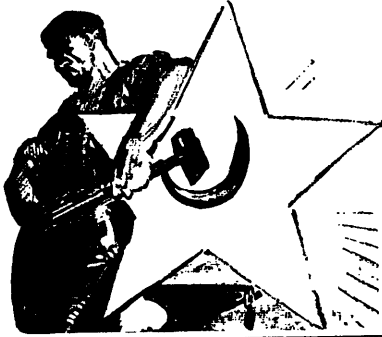
Men's Hebrew Association? The May 11th Conference went a long way to bring this up at the regional conference in December and in the national conference in Washington in January.

JOIN the Communist Opposition 61 West 14th Street New York City

WORKERS • AGE •

Organ of the National Committee
Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition)
51 West 14th Street,
New York, N. Y.
Phone: GRamery 5-8903

Published every Saturday by the
Workers Age Publishing Association



Subscription Rates: \$2.00 per year, — \$1.25 for six months, — 5c a copy
Foreign Rates: \$2.50 per year — \$1.50 for six months
Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York,
N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.
Address mail to Box 68 Station "O", New York City

Vol. 4, No. 22.

June 1, 1935.

THE WAGNER BILL

(Continued from Page 1)

Fortifying Company Unionism

The expression, "The exercise by the worker of full freedom of association", is the stock phrase of all opponents of the American Federation of Labor, of all champions of the company union or any other but genuine form of trade union organization. These people always are so solicitous of the rights of the individual "worker" remaining intact! When these open shoppers speak of "full freedom of association" they have in mind only the freedom to associate in economic organizations other than bonafide unions. The Wagner Bill in effect lends further legal status and juridical fortification to the slyest and trickiest boosters of company unionism. The measure is deliberately drawn up with extreme looseness so as to tie up labor in hopeless knots.

Many labor officials have been doing a lot of talking about putting teeth into Section 7-A with which we had such disastrous experiences and from which many labor leaders expected so much. Even the sharpest teeth put into a carcass are of no avail to the carcass, the teeth, and the objects to be bitten into. However, there is something much worse to be feared. The kind of teeth that the Wagner Labor Disputes Act really seeks to put into Section 7-A will only prove shark's teeth biting into our labor bodies. The Wagner proposal would give the Labor Relations Board the right to inquire into any "other means of adjustment" that have been or may be resorted to "by agreement, code, law, or otherwise." Here is a dangerous opening for countless evils. It spells catastrophic consequences for the efficacy of the strike as a weapon. Under this provision strikes can be "inquired" to death. The Board is herewith given carte blanche to take all conceivable measures for preparing the ground and opening the road for compulsory arbitration.

"Other means of adjustment"! What a multitude of crimes against labor can be covered by this blanket provision! We have had a taste of such laws. The word "other", undefined and unlimited, puts a weapon into the hands of this Government board which can be used by the bosses who own the Government with the deadliest effect against workers on strike fighting for better conditions—fighting for the right to organize.

Forcing Agreement

What the Wagner measure is really after in these hazy terms is most clearly seen when it seeks to legalize all previous decisions of the National Labor Relations Board now in existence. There are about a dozen of them of any importance and involving the very basis of the decision is the Houde case. In this case, collective bargaining was taken by the Government to mean something more than the mere choosing of representatives. Specifically the Government

stresses in this decision that collective bargaining means "a reasonable effort" to reach an agreement. That is what the Government is really after, for it said: "Collective bargaining, then, is simply a means to an end, the end is agreement." And we can surely leave it to the Government to force agreement between corporations and workers and, then, offer such "agreement" as proof that collective bargaining has been attained.

How dangerous the Wagner measure is for labor is further established by the fact that it gives the Board full power to pass judgment upon the motives, objectives, and economic arguments of the trade unions.

Labor Must Move Against Bill

In short, the Wagner measure will go a long way towards making the trade union movement a ward of the Government—in life, in the everyday economic relations, in negotiating with employers—a prisoner of the Government. Even Matthew Woll than whom there is no more reactionary official in the trade union movement could see that when he stressed: "Government can not well concern itself merely with final collective agreements without also concerning itself with parties or organizations claiming such high privileges and power under our philosophy of government." Of course, given the present Government with its Wall Street philosophy of government, such "concern" can only spell government domination of the unions. Labor must quit playing around with such dangerous measures. The Wagner Bill is offered to quench the workers' desire to fight for better conditions. Its basic provisions are harmful to our most fundamental interests. What we need instead is a kindling of our will to struggle, our faith in and reliance on our own organizations in militant conflict with the wage cutters and union smashers inside and outside the Government machine.

All the ceremony about the Wagner Bill being pro-labor was cunningly devised to set a gloss over its essential provisions for anti-labor actions. In substance, this bill is of such stuff as nightmares are made.

To-day, now, is the time for labor to stir and move against the bill—certainly not to lift a finger or a voice in behalf of this proposed act. If the Wagner bill is enacted into law the labor organizations will find themselves unable even to walk in the very night it will bring to the trade unions to-morrow. It is about time we stopped tying our ears to the slick tongues of Wall Street's craftiest politicians posing as friends of labor.

Powerful militant industrial unions and a national mass labor party—here is the road leading towards working class success and victory.

Herndon and Negro Leadership

By CLARENCE JENKINS

The aged and decrepit old gentlemen of the Supreme Court (the living symbols of the decaying American capitalism) again illustrated the glory of capitalist justice by giving to the Georgia lynch mob leaders the pleasure of seeing Angelo Herndon on a Georgia chain gang for twenty years. The Southern robber barons stupidly believe that the heinous justice meted out to Herndon will stem the growing unity in struggle of the black and white workers in the South.

Negro reformist leaders (the lap-dogs of the American ruling class) have been yapping loud and long against the radicals who sent Herndon to Georgia to fight for the liberation of the black and white workers. They loudly insist that Herndon and all Negroes affiliated with radical movements are but unsuspecting pawns in the hands of self-seeking and unscrupulous white radicals. They solemnly admonish the enslaved Negro masses to be loyal to their masters; have faith in their stupid and futile appeals for bourgeois justice and shun the radicals. Many of these betrayers of the Negro masses encouraged the Negro youth in 1917 to help "make the world safe for democracy."

Many of the brave and unsuspecting Negro soldiers, who died to perpetuate

this system of American capitalism, believed that they were dying to emancipate an enslaved humanity. Many returned to find that they had fought to make the South safe for the lynchers and the exploiters. To witness the humiliating jim-crowding of the Negro gold star mothers, whose sons' bodies fertilized the fields of Flanders. To witness the passing of such decisions as the "Texas Primary Decision" and to discover that they have been pawns—but in the hands of the American ruling class.

The Negro youths went to France unwillingly to fight in the interests of their oppressors. Angelo Herndon went South willingly to help in the struggles of the black and white masses; to complete the historical tasks which the Civil War left unfinished.

The militancy, courage and fighting spirit embodied in the personality of Angelo Herndon is but the symbol of the new type of Negro leadership that is emerging. A type of leadership that possesses intelligence, vision and courage. The type of leadership that will unite with white class-conscious workers to put an end to reaction.

Black and white workers, thunder your protest against the vicious decision of the Supreme Court and raise funds to assist the struggle to snatch Angelo Herndon from the Georgia lynchers.

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN NEW YORK CITY, by A. J. Kennedy, Kathryn Farra and others. Columbia Univ. Press. 600pp., \$5.00.

This is a survey of the "settlement houses" in New York City, their numbers, activities, membership and administration. Eighty social settlements are included, virtually all in closely congested areas and drawing into their sphere of influence for shorter or longer periods somewhere between fifty and seventy-five thousand young people of poor family.

"The aim of the settlement house" says the report, "is to bring about a new kind of community life." A careful examination of the survey reveals that after long periods of activity and "spread of cultural influence" for as much as forty years in the case of some houses slums are still slums, squalor is still squalor, and poverty is still poverty. These institutions and their methods of attacking the urban problem of congestion and mass impoverishment are survivals of 19th century humanitarianism and its illusions. The number of settlement houses is rapidly diminishing, the rate of construction is declining more rapidly, and the cultural, kindly philanthropy, and the blundering efforts to "uplift" the poor and "aid them to bear their burdens," have lost their significance, in proportion as philanthropy has become less "cultural" and the "poor" have given place to an increasingly self-organized and class-conscious proletariat. But the weakness of the proletarian movement makes the settlement houses still an important influence among the working class youth.

* * *

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, Kansas 1934. Univ. of Chicago Press. 612pp. \$3.00.

Reviewed by M. C. STEWART
Social workers are wont to look upon themselves as leaders and guides of social progress, as busy workers in programs of social amelioration, and have even come now to the point of talking about their plans for "social reconstruction," as they put it with such nicety. For example, in this volume they claim a large share of credit for the launching of the Civil Works Administration of recent memory, and of participation in the New Deal, which is giving them the opportunity of laying the foundations or at least the outlines of a "new and better society." They discuss plans for social insurance, plans for permanent care of the unemployed, and plans for a higher standard of living for all, as blithely as if all this fine talk were no sooner said than done.

At the same time, however, the New Deal and NRA turn out to be programs for plowing under not only the product but the producer, the government sharply reduces the standard of living and the purchasing power, raises prices and

lowers wages, as blithely as if all this fine talk had never been uttered at all. The social worker stands in about the same relation to the government as the whistle to the locomotive, and makes noises accordingly. Thus, William Hodson president of the conference—"So long as he (the social worker) remains a beneficiary of the existing order, he will be expected to support the fundamental principles upon which that order is based, always reserving the right to advocate change and modification of the methods by which those principles find practical expression in the life of the community." The whistle could not have been sounded any better.

This formulation is the theory upon which most of the forty-eight papers read at the Conference are based. There are some honorable exceptions—three papers by Mary van Kleek and one by a Joseph H. Levy. The latter, reviewing "New forms of Organization among the Social Workers" concludes by remarking the concern for the producing class which social-work employees have in common with all workers, and the necessity of protective organization against boards of trustees on questions of adequate salary and working conditions. Mary van Kleek sharply criticizes the role of social workers, and the theory of their functions as defined by Hodson. Hers is the only criticism of NRA as against the general servile attitude of the conference, hers the only discussion of the Soviet Union and its social program, hers the only critical voice directed against the government and the New Deal.

There is not enough space here to deal with Miss van Kleek's papers other than by the briefest mention. I raise one point, however, on her discussion (again a lone voice) of the American Federation of Labor. Correctly pointing out that collective bargaining power of the workers in their organizations is, politically, an acceptance by labor of the status quo, she distinguishes between the A. F. of L. as upholding the status quo, and the "independent" unions (which "are arising at a pace") and an increasing minority of the workers who are "becoming" conscious that the struggle is between the old economic system and the new social order, and not merely between workers and employers.

We trust that the disintegration of the "independent" unions and the enormous influx into the A. F. of L., which was taking place while she was talking, have taught her to examine labor organization in America and its history somewhat more carefully.

To come back to our main point. Social work and workers are for making the best of things as they are. This means only that they are on the side of reaction (except for a small section of the rank and file and somewhat isolated persons), and it is easy to see that crisis or not they know who butters their bread.

Hospital Strike Gets Union Aid

Sharp protest against the summary discharge of twenty-six employees of Lebanon Hospital for their participation in a two-hour stoppage on May 14, and the demand for their reinstatement were registered by Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., in the name of the 30,000 members of the union. In a telegram sent to George E. Halpern, superintendent of Lebanon Hospital, to Samuel D. Leidersdorf, president of the board of trustees of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, which operates the hospital, and to others, Mr. Zimmerman called attention to the fact that the Federation, depending as it does on public support and the contributions of workers and workers organizations, could not assume the "attitude of the open shop, labor-hating employer" towards the employees of the hospital, arbitrarily denying them the right to organize and bargain collectively.

The telegram follows in full:

In name of thirty thousand workers organized in its ranks, Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., vigorously protests against outrageous discharge of twenty six employees of Lebanon Hospital merely because they participate in demonstration for right to organize and bargain collectively. Federation of Jew-

SONG OF A NEW WORLD

Do not dream that you can hold us chained forever to your lies;
though black prison walls enfold us,
bright without we sense the skies.

Do not judge us half-complacent
with the paltry crumbs you give;
a fetal earth cries to be nascent,
burst the stifling womb, and live.

No, you shall not rule forever;
in the darkness brain and bone
forge the weapons that will sever
bonds of steel and walls of stone.

In its dungeon womb of sorrow
toils and swells the world to be;
we gird us for the red tomorrow—
Tremble, for we shall be free!

—EMMA WINTLER JOHNSON

Philanthropic Societies which operates hospital depends on public support and contributions of workers and workers organizations and therefore cannot assume attitude of open shop, labor hating employer. We pledge full support to Association of Federation Workers in fight for basic rights. We demand immediate reinstatement of twenty six discharged and recognition of right of Federation.

A similar position was taken by the dressmakers union in regard to the lock-out of 120 employees by the Beth Moses Hospital in Brooklyn. Here the workers were driven from their jobs because of their protest against intolerable working conditions in the hospital.

In an effort to secure intervention on behalf of the workers of both institutions, Mr. Zimmerman addressed a letter to David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the parent organization of Local 22, urging that the I.L.G.W.U. use its influence as a labor organization and as a heavy contributor to the societies operating the hospitals, to secure justice for the workers discharged or locked out.

Resolutions to the same effect were also adopted by the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union. The resolutions were signed by Harry Spindel, President and Louis Nelson, Manager.

COMPANY UNION HEAD JOINS REAL UNION

NEW YORK, N. Y.—James M. Mannix, Chairman of the company union system of the Consolidated Gas Company—an organization with a membership of about 50,000—has resigned his post after one year in office, with a damning indictment of company unionism.

"Your employe representation plan", said Mr. Mannix in his statement, "is a sham and a smoke-screen. It is based upon hypocrisy and is dominated and controlled by the management. In spite of the management's wishes I refuse to lie about the merits of company unionism. The plan is mislabeled, my experiences of one year have

TRADE UNION NOTES

By GEORGE F. MILES

The Toledo strike ended some nine days ago but time and effort in discussing some of its lessons cannot be considered as wasted.

A simple question presents itself for solution: why was it possible for the discredited Dillon to walk into a packed meeting and win two-thirds of it after these same workers had shown their hostility to Dillon by voting, two hours earlier not to give him the floor?

The Militant Explains

For an answer to this question we turn to the Workers Party, which as you know claims to have run the whole proposition.

We have waded thru long articles and an even longer editorial in the Militant—"Lessons Of The Toledo Battle"—and we believe that all these explain precisely nothing. In a hundred different ways we are told what double-dyed bureaucrats and wreckers are Dillon and local organizer Schwake, but all these stories do not explain what made the workers turn, at the last moment, away from Roland? These workers who "eagerly read" the leaflets of the Workers Party and were so convinced that the Workers Party was "suggesting to the strikers the practical and necessary course to be pursued in the strike", why did these workers so blithely forsake the Workers Party; why did they so easily forget the warnings against Dillon when they should have remembered them most clearly?

These questions are not answered. It might not be a bad idea for those who scream so hysterically about "Stalinist Treason" at every point of the compass to write very frankly also about some Trotskyist stupidities in Toledo which gave to Dillon sufficient arms and ammunition to crush the militants in the strike.

Role of W. P. In Strike

An analysis of the very documents of the Workers Party prove that it was not satisfied to make its influence felt. No, it had to make its face and its fist seen as a manipulator of the strike.

In a situation strained from the very outset, with the A. F. of L. bureaucrats searching for issues to open fire on the local progressives, in such a situation Muste found it necessary to openly pose as a strike advisor.

Let no one be fooled about the cries of radicalization. Even Toledo, which the Trotskyites tell us was a rehearsal for almost a revolution, still has plenty of workers who fear to be associated with any working class party—even with the Workers Party. Muste supplied Dillon with an issue for playing upon the backwardness and prejudices of the workers. Dillon succeeded.

These tactics of smearing every strike red, which the Trotskyites themselves condemned when they were practiced by the Communist Party, were now adopted in full in Toledo, with great harm to the strike. And the W. P. not only fails to see the harm done but rather glories in it. Here are a few excerpts from the editorial in the Militant:

"General Motors knew whom it was fighting . . . it (red baiting and incitement to violence) was directed against the Workers Party and its national secretary."

"That the A. F. of L. bureaucrats shared the company's view as to the enemy is attested by Francis Dillon's petulant exclamation when the Chevrolet workers barred him from speaking at their meeting: 'Let Muste run their union for them if they want him!'"

Many more excerpts could be cited to show that the W. P. glories in having smeared its name over the strike. From the standpoint of a publicity stunt for the W. P. the results are still in doubt but from the standpoint of the effects upon the strike, the results were immediate and disastrous.

Attitude To A. F. of L.

From the very outset of the strike the W. P. misjudged the attitude of the workers towards the A. F. of L. They took it to be one of hostility when it was merely a desire for militant strike action. The very declaration of a strike without even consulting the officials of the A. F. of L. (even their answer was to be expected) helped to scare the most backward in the strike.

But by far the most disastrous strategic blunder, at a crucial moment, was the decision to keep Dillon from speaking at the last strike meeting when the agreement was voted upon. With this act the local leadership placed itself in a position of possible hostility to the A. F. of L. as a whole and lost most of the workers, who remained loyal to the A. F. of L. That this is so is proved by the workers reversing that decision and permitting Dillon to speak two hours later.

In the next issue we will show that these errors flow logically out of the general trade union position of the W.P.

shown me. It should be called the 'company representation plan'."

Mr. Mannix's statement concluded with an appeal to the workers to join the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.