





# Crisis in the New York Teachers Union

Stalinist Totalitarian Control Menaces A.F.T.

By D. BENJAMIN

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

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

Last year, Local 5 (largely public-school teachers) was suspended from the New York Central Trades and Labor Council and was expelled from the Joint Committee of Teacher Organizations of the city. This past year has witnessed the dramatic resignation of Prof. Childs, Hacker and others from Local 537 (college teachers), accompanied by sharp public criticism of the leadership of that local by Professors Counts and Hartman, who remained within to fight. In Local 453 (W.P.A. teachers), the workers-educational project division of the union, there is breaking out open revolt against the leadership of the local. Recently, Local 537 and 537 were suspended from the Central Trades and Labor Council, just as Local 5 was last year. Obviously, the crisis was not caused by anything that Matthew Woll did, but resulted from factors and conditions in the teachers locals themselves. Even if Mr. Woll had never said a single word, the crisis would be there just the same.

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

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

**SITUATION VERY DANGEROUS**  
Unless these conditions are changed by the membership of the New York locals and by the A.F.T., the results are bound to become even more disastrous, with adverse effects upon the problems of unionizing teachers, defending and improving their conditions and rights, and bringing unity into the ranks of the teachers-union movement.

In Local 5, there is a claimed membership of 6,500. However, approximately 1,400 of these are badly in arrears in dues payments (more than one year in arrears). A large proportion of these will ultimately have to be dropped. Hundreds upon hundreds more are not in good-standing (more than six months behind in dues). The proportion of new recruits to the union coming from the category of regular school teachers has been dropping of late. It is very likely that the net membership of the union of this school year will be less than the number of such at the end of the last school year. Events have caught up with the growth of membership, about which the present Local 5 administration boasts so much. The ruinous effects of the present administration's methods and policies are beginning to assert themselves. These figures and facts, as well as their significance, should be the property and concern of the entire membership of Local 5 and should be compared with the padded figures and incorrect picture given by the Local 5 administration. This situation should be contrasted with that existing in Chicago where there are 6,000 union members, in a city where the teaching staff is less than one-half of that of New York City.

There has been a notable drop in activity and interest on the part of the membership during the past few years. In the last elections for officers

\*The Chicago local is not Stalinist-controlled. On many important questions at the last A.F.T. convention, it was in opposition to the leadership of the New York locals.

## "State of American Civilization"

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

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

March 24.—Horace Coon ("Money To Burn"); Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life.

March 31.—Will Herberg (Editor Workers Age); Trends in American Governmental Structure.

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

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and executive board, less than 50% of the membership participated, which is a low figure for teachers. In the membership meeting called to consider the statement of Matthew Woll, not more than 1200 were present—less than 20% of the stated membership of the union! Considering that the Stalinist fraction is said to be 700 to 800 strong, the figure is even more striking. Whereas union committees in 1935 and 1936, immediately after the union crisis of 1936, were large and well-attended, union committees now are in most cases in the opposite condition. The large, well-oiled, and obedient Stalinist fraction has hitherto always conveyed the impression of the membership as a whole participating in and determining the conduct of the union, but the impression is far from accurate.

This well-organized minority runs the union in a way that can only be characterized as totalitarian. And, within this organized fraction, totalitarianism itself reigns supreme. At delegate-assembly and membership meetings, the lynch atmosphere is the rule. Booming and hissing are the continuous rewards for those who dare disagree with the ruling clique. A representative of the Independent Group, introducing an opposition resolution at the last membership meeting (February 17) was interrupted by systematic hissing. Another Independent told the administration followers plainly that if they insisted on hissing him, let them do so then and there and not interrupt him later—and, true to form, the request was granted in multiplied form. An administration spokesman stated that the booming and hissing were "spontaneous" outbursts of the members and were brought forth by the nature of the arguments of the opposition. This was answered properly when it was pointed out that Southern lynchers also claim "spontaneity" of feeling and action for the lynchings there. Another administration leader admitted it was wrong and unfair to conduct a discussion with hissing, etc., and appealed against it. For this, he was given a great round of applause. In the very next sentence, he threw the responsibility for such actions upon the opposition and for this he was given an even greater

round of applause! "Those who criticize the union administration are playing the game of the Dies Committee," was a favorite "argument" of the spokesmen of the ruling group. And with this, of course, they hoped to silence all criticism. Those who took issue with the methods of the administration were called "splitters," "disrupters," "partners of Dies, McNaboe and Co.," and the like. After President Hendley reported for the administration's viewpoint for almost an hour, the opposition was limited to four three-minute speeches, while the administration viewpoint was supplemented by five more speakers. Thus were the two viewpoints on the crisis presented in the atmosphere described above. This was but a duplication of the delegate-assembly meeting where the criticism of Professors Counts, Childs and the others was under consideration, of the meeting where Professor Spear spoke one and a half hours for the administration, with no time left for the opposition or for the membership at large!

## FACTIONAL CENSORSHIP

In a similar fashion, the pages of the New York Teacher (monthly magazine of Local 5) and of the College News Letter (paper of Local 537) are thrown open to but one viewpoint on the question of the newest phase of the crisis as well as on the issues raised by Professors Counts and Childs. This but adds additional proof to the charge that there exists a censorship of the press, that the union paper is being used in a factional manner, that the so-called democratic forms of the union are belied by the anti-democratic character of the administration in its conduct of the discussion and examination of basic questions facing the union.

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

# AFL Set-up Shows Industrial Trend

NLRB Survey Reveals Wide Coverage

A very significant development in the A. F. of L. in the direction of greater "industrial-union consciousness" and the cutting of craft lines, was disclosed recently in a special memorandum of the National Labor Relations Board dealing with administrative problems. In this report, it is revealed that A. F. of L. affiliates have asked the N.L.R.B. to designate industrial units as collective-bargaining agencies in more than twice as many cases as they have called for craft units. Industrial units were requested or accepted in 173 cases, as compared to about 84 cases in which craft units were desired.

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

Special stress is laid on the point that in many cases in which the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. were aligned against each other on the issue of the kind of collective-bargaining unit, the dispute "was not [over] craft versus industrial unit at all but merely [over] the scope of the industrial unit." "Not infrequently," the report continues, "A.F. of L. unions themselves have requested broader industrial units than either the companies or the opposing unions," sometimes C.I.O. affiliates. In such cases, the A. F. of L. claims were backed up by the argument that "the industrial form of organization affords all employees greater economic strength and better production than separate craft organizations," a type of argument made familiar by C.I.O. agitation in favor of industrial unionism.

This situation, the N.L.R.B. report makes clear, was to be found not merely in new fields but even in old-established jurisdictions where A. F. of L. affiliates requested that several separate crafts be included in one industrial jurisdiction.

## WIDENING JURISDICTION

The Board's report confirms indications that have appeared from time to time in the A. F. of L. that the craft unions, which used to insist on close adherence to craft autonomy, were systematically widening their jurisdictions and scope with the full agreement of the Federation. Considerable hospitality to industrial unionism in A. F. of L. circles was also manifested at the so-called peace negotiations in Washington in December 1937, where the Federation committee declared itself ready to grant full industrial jurisdictions for the C. I. O. unions in the steel, automobile, textile, rubber, oil and other basic fields.

These and other facts make it clear that the fundamental original

objective of the C.I.O.—to bring about an acceptance of industrial unionism as the standard form of organization in the mass-production industries—is well on the road to realization; industrial unionism is beginning to make headway in the A. F. of L. also. This shift of attitude emphasizes the possibility, and should facilitate the achievement, of unity.

# Unity Parley Is Resumed

(Continued from Page 1)

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

## GREEN AND LEWIS ACT

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

## PROSPECTS OF PEACE

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

## Just to Let You Know

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

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

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

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

# N. Y. Legislators Hit Discrimination

Propose Measures Against Race Bias

Albany, N. Y. WIDESPREAD discrimination against New York's 500,000 Negroes in the fields of employment, housing, education, recreation and hospitalization is charged in the summary of a report made to the State Legislature last week by the temporary Commission on the Condition of the Urban Negro Population, an official legislative body, after a two-year study of the problem.

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

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

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

3. To strengthen existing legislation prohibiting racial discrimination in employment by contractors who perform state or local public works contracts and by public utilities.

4. To prohibit any form of racial or religious discrimination in public employment and to set up procedures for inquiring into and rectifying any such discrimination.

5. To amend the Civil Service Law by requiring appointing officers who may pass over an eligible in favor of a lower eligible to make sworn certification of the reasons therefor.

6. To make provisions for extending to all cities in the state formalized procedures in the selection of teachers in the public schools, such as now are in force in the cities of New York and Buffalo.

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

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

9. To regulate the procedure for admission to public educational institutions to insure that qualified applicants for admission shall not be excluded by reason of race, color or creed.

10. To make definite the withdrawal of tax exemption from educational institutions which deny the use of their facilities, by reason of race or color, to persons otherwise qualified.

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

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

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

14. To amend the penal law to make discrimination in civil-service employment, by reason of race, creed or color, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

In a joint statement, issued with the summary of the report, Senator Schwartzwald, who was chairman of the commission, and Assemblyman Andrews, vice-chairman said: "We realize that there is need for state-wide action beyond what can be accomplished thru legislation alone. Laws can set the pattern for community improvement, but they reach maximum effectiveness only with the support of an aroused public opinion which understands their importance."

The legislative commission came into existence in 1937 as an aftermath of protest demonstrations in Harlem some time before. Public hearings were held in cities thru out the state, with field surveys in areas where no hearings were held.

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## DRESSMAKERS DEMONSTRATE



—Photo by Harry Rubenstein

Twenty thousand dressmakers in big demonstration against chiseling truck-owners in New York. Addressing the crowd is Saby Nehama, organizer for Local 22. At his right is Minnie Lurye, chairman of Local 22.

## Add Five New Numbers To "Pins and Needles"

New York City Five new numbers will have been added to "Pins and Needles," the I.L.G.W.U. musical revue now in its second year at Labor Stage, by Monday evening, March 6, when the last of them, "Papa Lewis, Mama Green," is put into the show.

The addition of these numbers is part of the general process of sprucing up "Pins and Needles" for the expected World's Fair crowds.

Three of the numbers are by Harold J. Rome, the original lyricist

and composer of most of the material in the I.L.G.W.U. musical. They are "I've A Nerve To Fall In Love," a boy-and-girl number; "Back To Work," the celebration of the successful termination of a strike; a "Papa Lewis, Mama Green," a witty commentary on the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. rift. All have music.

The other two numbers are "Britannia Waives The Rules," a highly successful satire on the Chamberlain policy of appeasement, and "Lorelei On The Rocks," a lament

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# Dress Union Fights Truck-Owners

Gigantic Demonstration is Held in Market

By F. L.

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

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

## BACKGROUND OF DEMONSTRATION

The dressmakers demonstration came in answer to the rupture of negotiations on the part of the truck-owners. These negotiations were being carried on in accordance with the new collective agreements with the dress industry signed in January, which provided for the negotiation of a pact between the Joint Board of the Dressmakers Union, Cloak and Dress Drivers Union, Local 102, I.L.G.W.U., the dress-employers associations and the truck-owners. By the terms of the agreement, the truck-owners would stop deliveries of non-union dresses and become a party to the enforcement of the general collective agreement in the industry, in return for which

they would be given all the dress shipping business in the city.

After two weeks of discussion, during which progress was being made toward an agreement, the negotiations were suddenly and mysteriously called off by Barney Shapiro, executive director of the Affiliated Ladies Apparel Carriers Association, the federated organization of the truck-owners.

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

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

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

## DRESSMAKERS SHOW THEIR SPIRIT

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

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

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

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

# Supreme Court Bans Sit-Downs

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

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

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

Two additional numbers will be added shortly.

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

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# After the Lima Conference

## Dictatorship Rife in South America

By ELLEN WARD

(Concluded from last issue)

FROM Panama to Tierra del Fuego, Germany is conducting a well-organized offensive by which the political ideology of the Nazi state is urged on Latin Americans in return for commercial advantages. It is always on the alert to make use of every bit of material in its own favor and against the United States. It exploits each campaign cleverly and did this especially effectively with an editorial appearing in the New York Times on December 24, 1938, on the eve of the termination of the Lima conference. The editorial, quoted in part, said:

"The main question at Lima is how to stimulate investment of idle American capital in the South American nations which so badly need it and how to assure this capital that its rights will be respected when it is used constructively. Perhaps some progress is being made behind the scenes in dealing with these questions. There is every reason to hope so."

The fascist press was also quick to point out and stress the fact that the efforts of Chile, Mexico and Argentina to have the Pan-American conference agree that no diplomatic action follow seizure of property of foreigners was defeated at Lima. The resolutions were tabled and referred to a small committee of "experts" to report at the next conference five years hence.

And all of this propaganda is having serious effects everywhere, so that in a city as cosmopolitan as Buenos Aires, for example, every statement about "democracy" is met with a cynical sneer. Here Jew-baiting is even on the increase. Several synagogues have been sacked and burned recently; Jews on the streets are accosted, mocked and often beaten.

All this news is played down in our press, which is under the control of the A. P. and U. P. in cooperation with our State Department. For, if the United States is embarking on a giant armaments program for the "defense of democracy" in the southern hemisphere, does it not behoove us to play down the "unpleasant" features of Latin American life?

### "DEMOCRACY" IN LATIN AMERICA

Early in January, a group of Salvadoran and Guatemalan journalists decided to hold a meeting to discuss the campaign for the defense of democracy in Central America. They had decided to meet on the border between the two countries. When the dictator governments of both countries learned of this scheduled conference, they forbade the meeting and prevented the respective journalists from reaching their destination.

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

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

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

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

### DEFLATION AT LIMA—AND AFTER

With each day, it becomes increasingly clear that, despite the great promises, Hull returned from Lima with a deflated pouch. But it is naive to presume that the battle ended there. Lima was only the beginning of the struggle for the control of Latin America and for the maintenance and widening of its

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

"Some months ago, all British diplomatic missions in South America were ordered to work in the closest harmony with their American colleagues, because her interests as well as those of the United States are equally affected by the attempt of the dictators to establish their own brand of political ideology. Britain is also equally concerned over her foreign trade. British officials believe that South America is one of their strategic necessities. If war comes they believe Latin America must feed Britain and, even more important, the largest source of oil for the British fleet is Venezuela and the surrounding nations."

"Britain, after the rift with Mexico, is now urging British companies all over Latin America to come to terms with their South American employees and forestall action similar to that of Mexico in other states."

"It is believed here (Britain) that more and more South American countries will insist on exploiting their own resources for their own benefit and, as far as they can, the British Foreign Office officials are trying to make sure that Britain will meet that threat in a way that will insure South American trade for Britain in her hour of need."

As for the United States, it has embarked upon a series of conferences with individual Latin American countries. On January 15 of this year, Roosevelt announced the invitation to Dictator Vargas of Brazil to send his foreign minister to Washington to confer with the American State Department. Minister Aranha has already arrived to "discuss events that have arisen during recent months of great importance to our two governments."

There will also take place discussions with the Secretary of the Treasury on "questions of exchange and ways for implementing trade agreements in order to promote greater American trade in Brazil where the United States and Germany are now running neck and neck." The United States has also offered to lend Brazil American agricultural experts. Also, "the broad national-defense picture is to be considered from the standpoint of hemisphere needs." And the press continues: "It is quite possible that this visit may be followed by others from a number of Latin American governments in order that Pan-American understanding and good feeling may be cemented." And there, as an apparent non-sequitur, the story ends with the following:

"Recently, Warren Lee Pierson, president of the Export-Import Bank, went to Brazil to study business conditions there. . . . Presumably means for facilitating trade thru credits from this bank, may enter into the discussions here. . . . Also the five-year plan for financing shipments of U. S. railway material and road-making machinery and for building waterways and ports in Brazil, and several small warships and river ships are to be taken up." The program doesn't end there. It is only the beginning of the wrapping of America's golden chain around Brazil's five-year plan and ultimately her entire economy.

These discussions not only with Brazil but with other Latin American countries will help complete the extensive survey of the aircraft and transportation business in South America. All this is, of course, nothing more than an adjunct to America's giant "defense program."

This plan advertised as a survey foreshadows government assistance in improving the Latin-American markets now endangered by Ger-

## Hopkins Speech Marks End of Reforms

(Continued from Page 1)

determining to promote that recovery with all the vigor and power at its command." Lack of "business confidence," he added, was a "hard, stubborn fact," which he did "not propose to ignore."

Specifically, Mr. Hopkins recommended the following things:

1. No "general rise" in federal taxes this year and the revision of tax measures that "tend to freeze the necessary flow of capital," that is, of those levies that are offensive to big business.
2. Breaking the "log-jam" of private investment in the field of utilities, railroads and housing." Restriction of government activities in these fields so as not to interfere with private enterprise.
3. Pressure on labor to make it display "tolerance and fairness" in dealings with employers. "Labor on its side faces responsibilities and obligations," Mr. Hopkins emphasized. In general, his remarks indicated that the Administration's "friendship" for labor was becoming somewhat strained.
4. Increased national income.
5. "Assistance" to small business.
6. Larger share of national income to the farmers.

The Hopkins address found a warm response among big-business

# Why the Wagner Act Is Not "One-Sided"

## Law Devised to Offset Existing Anti-Labor Set-up

By WM. M. LEISERSON

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

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

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

The same unfair labor practices are prohibited by both laws. The railway act makes them mis-

deanors punishable by fines up to \$20,000 or imprisonment or both; and each day is considered a separate offense. The Wagner Act is less drastic. It only requires employers to cease and desist from engaging in the unfair practices. It imposes no penalties, and employers may only be required to make good the losses that employees suffer from violations. Both laws also provide for elections and for certification of representatives. But, whereas employers have the right to be heard and they do participate in representation cases before the Wagner Board, they have no such right under the railway act and are not even considered parties to such disputes.

In all laws which substitute cease-and-desist orders for criminal penalties, Congress has used the same device of combining what are alleged to be prosecuting and judicial functions under one authority. The Interstate Commerce Act, the Federal Trade Commission Law, the Securities and Exchange Act, and many others use the same method. From long experience, Congress has learned that when certain people have economic power to oppress others they can also use their superior financial and economic position to prevent, delay and de-

feat suits for redress of wrongs in the ordinary courts. Therefore, all these laws set up boards or commissions, not really to prosecute and judge, but rather to investigate charges of wrong-doing and to make findings of fact with respect to them. None of these boards or commissions has final authority to enforce its judgment. They must go to the regular judiciary for enforcement orders. Since the guilty party is not punished for offenses against the law but merely ordered to stop them, and all such orders are reviewable in the courts, the method has been long considered a fair and desirable part of our legal and constitutional system.

### WHY SO MUCH OPPOSITION?

Why should a procedure recognized as necessary and just in these laws be denounced as unfair in the Wagner Act? Why is there so much opposition to this law and practically none to the Railway Labor Act? The answers to those questions, I think, will show that the Wagner Act is not one-sided or inequitable, but that the proposed revisions of the act, especially those advanced by the National Association of Manufacturers, are intended to restore the days when labor law was class legislation in favor of the employers.

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

### DESPODIC RIGHTS OF EMPLOYERS

Since that time, it has been lawful for working people to organize and bargain collectively provided they used no illegal methods such as intimidation, fraud or violence. But, until recently, their freedom to organize meant only freedom from prosecution by the government. It was not a legal right the employer

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

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

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

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

### PHILADELPHIA

I.O.B.A. AUDITORIUM  
431 Pine Street

### Jay Lovestone

Speaks on

### Tragedy of Spain

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

Why the Defeats of Dynam-  
ic Social Forces in  
Spain?

What Has Been Learned?  
What Shall Be Done?

FRIDAY, MARCH 17  
8:30 P. M.

Auspices:  
PROGRESSIVE LABOR  
INSTITUTE  
Room 304 - 810 Locust St.

## N. K. Krupskaya

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

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

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

She returned to Russia with Lenin in April 1917. After the November Revolution, she became a member of the Council of the Commissariat of Education in charge of elementary schools. In 1925, she sided with the Zinoviev-Kamenev opposition against Stalin and vigorously denounced the Stalinist policies. Later on, however, she withdrew from



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

In Krupskaya, the Soviet masses have lost a great leader, one of the last of the Bolshevik Old Guard that has been so decimated by death and by the Stalinist terror. In her, the working masses of the world have lost a devoted champion of socialism and freedom!

was obligated to respect. Employers were free to destroy labor organizations, to employ spies to find out who joined them, to discharge those who did join, and to refuse employment to those who became members. They might impose "yellow-dog" contracts on employees binding them not to join a union, and they could organize company unions, force the employees to belong to these and check off dues from wages. Management, organized to bargain collectively for great numbers of stockholders, was protected in its right to insist on bargaining individually with each helpless worker in need of a job and in refusing to recognize unions organized to bargain for them.

When Congress and the states attempted to put employees and employers on the basis of equality before the law in the matters of bargaining, the Supreme Court declared the efforts unconstitutional in two famous cases. (Adair v. U. S. and Coppage v. Kansas). The court held that an employer's property right in his business included the right to discharge or discriminate against employees for any or no reason. Neither Congress nor the states could protect employees against employers who used their economic position to trespass on the rights of those who wanted to work for them. No court had authority to hear a case of an employee discharged for exercising his freedom to join a labor organization.

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

## Books

by Jim Cork

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

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

As a first step, complete non-intercourse with the fascist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan; withdrawal of all U. S. nationals from these countries; liquidation of all investments there; a complete embargo on all trade with these countries, including American tourist trade.

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

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

W. H.

## A.L.P. Protects Itself

IN a recent bulletin of the American Labor Party there appeared the following notice in the Secretary's Column, signed by Alex Rose, state secretary:

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

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

As for the present situation, there is no reason to imagine that the discontent created by the bureaucratic

leaders throught the country. The most enthusiastic endorsement came from W. Averell Harriman, chairman of the Union Pacific Railroad. In New York, Floyd B. Carlisle, chairman of the Consolidated Edison Company, and Wendell L. Willkie, president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, commented very favorably on the speech.

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

VOL. 8.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1939.

NO. 10.

## HE MISREPRESENTS LABOR

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

How did Marcantonio arrive at this outrageous anti-labor war-mongering? Everyone knows the threatened war-time dictatorship is brought nearer by approval of aggressive war preparations. Everyone knows that every dollar voted for armaments means two dollars cut from relief. Did Vito Marcantonio, who ran on the Republican as well as the A.L.P. ticket but whose actions are unfortunately laid at the doorstep of the A.L.P., actually consult the leaders of the party? Or were his advisers the boys on Thirteenth Street, the Stalinist agents of bigger and better wars? Vito Marcantonio gave voice to the pro-war, anti-labor policies of Stalinism, not to the views of the American Labor Party.

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

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

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

## ANTHONY EDEN, PEOPLE'S FRONT HERO

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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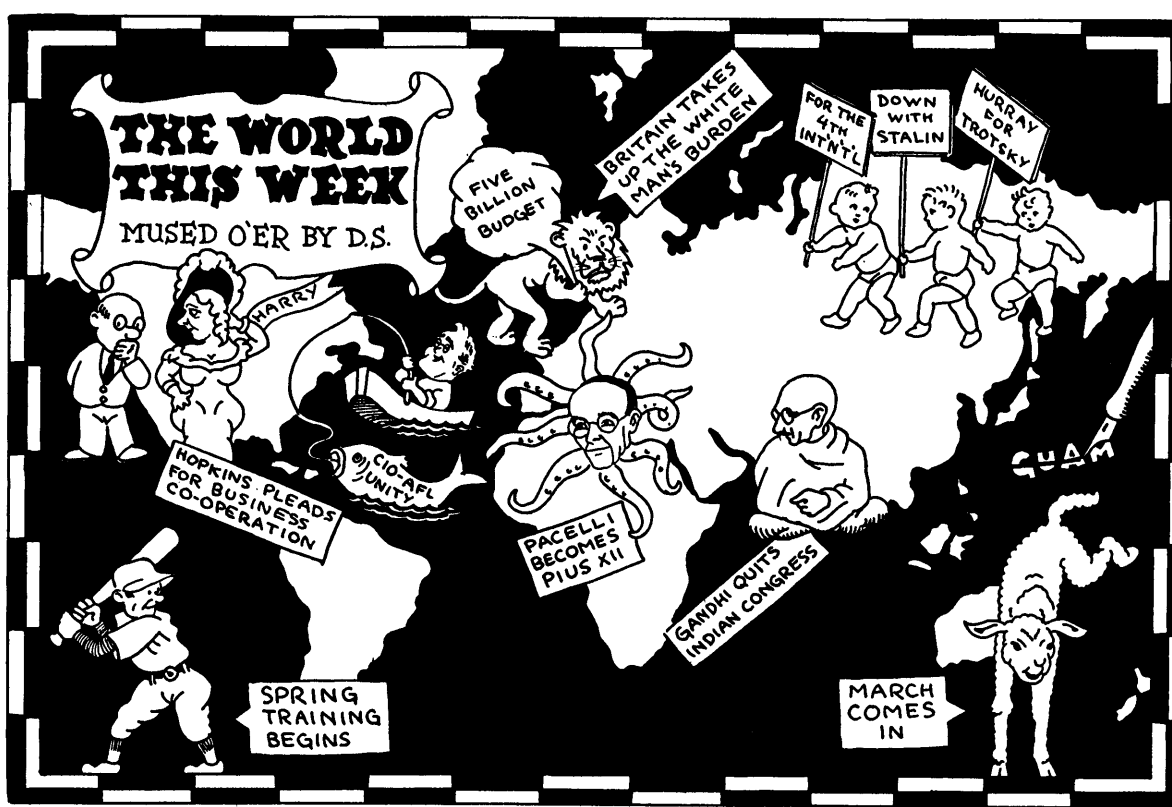
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## I.L.P. Paper Celebrates 50th Anniversary

British New Leader Has Served Cause of Labor

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

THIS is an historic issue of our paper. It is our Jubilee Number. No one who looks back on our work during these fifty years can be in doubt about its historical importance.

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

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

In 1893, the I.L.P. was formed. Keir Hardie was not satisfied. The trades unions must be won away from their allegiance to the liberal capitalist party. That was the persistent object of this paper until the Labor Party was established in 1900.

### WAR AND REVOLUTION

Then came the struggle to make the Labor Party independent in fact as well as in form, and to inspire it with socialist purpose. The Labor Party was still inclined to be a mere tail of the Liberal party. Our paper and the I.L.P. were all the time carrying on the work of socialist education and inspiration.

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

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

### LABOR COMPROMISES

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

### 25 YEARS AGO

MARCH 1-8, 1914

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

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

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

March 4.—Frank Tannenbaum and 189 Wobblies arrested in St. Alphonsus Roman Catholic Church, 312 Broadway, New York City. He is held on \$5,000 bail; others are charged with disorderly conduct.

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

March 7.—Sylvia Pankhurst is arrested in a suffragette demonstration on Trafalgar Square.

## Greetings, Comrades!

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

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

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

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

The I.L.P. and our paper protested. The I.L.P. M.P.'s voted against the attacks on working-class standards of life and on the colonial peoples. Our paper was alone in supporting them. It was this which led to the break between the I.L.P. and the Labor Party.

### HOW TO FIGHT FASCISM

Since then, the menace of fascism has become powerful and terrible. The danger of war has grown. The I.L.P. and our paper have maintained the principles of independent workers action for which Keir Hardie first stood. We ridiculed the idea that the capitalist League of Na-

tions or the so-called "democratic" capitalist governments can be depended upon to resist fascism or to prevent war. Once again, we sounded the call for independent workers action.

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

There are many today who support these policies and yet who pay tribute to the work of Keir Hardie in his time. Let them not forget that Hardie was often isolated and denounced in his time as the I.L.P. and the New Leader are denounced and appear to be isolated at the present time.

### REAL TASKS AHEAD

Our work today is as important as his work was then and, despite all difficulties, we must, in our day and generation, maintain and apply the principles for which he stood— independent action by the workers and the maintenance uncompromised of the fight for socialism.

## The Crisis in the New York Teachers Union

(Continued from Page 2)

under its present leadership, was opposed to increased armaments and the militarization of the youth when such opposition was voiced by the American League Against War and Fascism (as it was then called), which reflected the then policy of the C.P. Local 5 has never officially changed its position on these questions. Yet, when the last congress of the American League was held, resulting in a fundamental change of line, following a similar change of C.P. policy, Local 5 went along, even tho the issues had never been presented to the membership for action and the union was still officially committed to the old anti-militarist position. In the face of incidents such as this, the administration dares to challenge the opposition to prove that the local is Stalinist-dominated!

### DANGER OF PARTY DOMINATION

They do not see that the domination of a union by any political group is injurious to the union and to the job of organizing the mass of workers in the field. A really broad union movement and a union run and controlled by a political group so as to make it an auxiliary and a rubber-stamp, have nothing in common. In fact Stalinist domination of Locals 5, 453, and 587 and the accompanying totalitarian regimes will hurt not only those locals, but other locals of the A.F.T. in various cities of the country.

It is the job of the membership and of the A.F.T. to change this situation. While insisting on the right of autonomy, the A.F.T. must take hold of this problem of such national import and restore the movement to health so that totalitarianism will be eliminated and the teachers union become a broad organization of the mass of teachers of all viewpoints, with realistic policies that meet the needs of

teachers, with unity of all forces based on labor orientation and organization. This will be the best way to preserve autonomy as well as to fulfill the tasks for which the A.F.T. has been organized.

The preservation of the rights of free discussion within locals as well as the preservation of autonomy—these constitute the bedrock for democracy and vitality in our union. Without these, we lose the very soul of our movement. Without these, we will be paralyzed in the fight against totalitarianism and reaction.

## UAW Meet Opens In Detroit

(Continued from Page 1)

cording to announcements made by William B. Taylor and Mrs. Zola Kennedy, respectively.

In a radio address a few days before the convention opened, Homer Martin again directed attention to the dominating issue in the great conflict that has rocked the biggest of the new mass-production unions, the issue of autonomy and democracy. Speaking of Philip Murray's visit to Detroit last week, Mr. Martin said: "He is here . . . to complete the C.I.O.'s plans for junking the U.A.W. and setting up an Automobile Workers Organizing Committee on the pattern of the S.W. O.C. . . . We have information that this is exactly the plan; it is the identical plan put into effect in steel, in glass and in the packing-house and textile industries. . . . The question facing the automobile workers of the nation is whether they will have an autonomous union, governed by and for automobile workers, or whether they will see their union destroyed and in its stead an Automobile Workers Organizing Committee, under the direct dictatorship of John L. Lewis."

### Talking It Over:

## Labor Speaks on War

by Bertram D. Wolfe

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

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

### From the RAILWAY CLERK

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

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

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

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

### From the UNION HERALD, Raleigh, N. C.

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

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

"These facts are plain.

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

### From the PULP, SULPHITE AND PAPER MILL WORKERS JOURNAL

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

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

### From the UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKER

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

### From the RAILROAD TRAINMAN

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

### From the UNION ADVOCATE

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

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

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

### From KENOSHA (Wisc.) LABOR

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

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

"A true program of national defense must therefore be directed against our own imperialists no less than the imperialists of other countries. Two important elements of such a defense program should therefore be government ownership of all industries producing war materials, and adoption of a constitutional amendment requiring a popular referendum before the government could declare war, except in case of invasion of American soil."

### From TACOMA (Wash.) LABOR ADVOCATE

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

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