

Coming:
What's Happened to the Russian Revolution?
By Jay Lovestone

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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Behind the Headlines:

The Progress of Chaos

By JAY LOVESTONE

WE have repeatedly underlined that no one can tell with sufficient certainty what will come after this war. Nonetheless, we have much to learn from the consequences of the preceding world war. Here we may find some clues to the possible and even probable results of the present conflagration. Furthermore, we stand a better chance of being correct in our estimates if we keep in mind that profounder changes are in the making—changes accelerated and let loose by the totalitarian character of today's conflict.

Anyone who has the remotest sense of realities will grant that the gravity of the economic crisis which began in 1929 was largely tied up with the effects of the 1914 holocaust. The depth of this crisis is graphically revealed in America's budgetary trends for the last ten years. When we speak of a decade of budgetary deficits, we, of course, are at least as much concerned with family as with governmental finances. The last fiscal year to see a surplus in the United States Treasury ended on June 30, 1930. Every year since then, expenses have been bigger than incomes. Primarily because of the breakdown of private industry, the ensuing mass unemployment and similar social consequences, and the intensified imperialist rivalries demanding ever bigger armament expenditures, the federal government debt has increased by 27 billion dollars, or 169%, in ten years. The potential disturbances flowing out of this skyward public debt have immediate and continuous unsettling economic, social and political effects.

Nor should it require a violent effort of intelligence to grasp the even more serious import of the last decade of rising family deficits. Here are unbalanced budgets for millions of human beings. When Roosevelt slashed the relief and boosted the armament provisions in his latest budgetary message to Congress, he evinced icy contempt for some painful facts, subsequently stressed at his own White House Conference on Children in a Democracy. These reports revealed woefully inadequate relief measures for our youth in distress, three to four million unemployed youths in despair, more than a quarter of our families having a total annual income of less than 750 dollars, and two-thirds of them getting under fifteen hundred dollars per year. Roosevelt and his militarist mannequins might well ponder the declaration to the above conference emphasizing: "It is imperative to keep in mind that any degree of recovery which is based on the unsound foundation of foreign wars and price speculation will bring a deeper depression afterwards."

There is nothing as disastrous as clinging to beliefs long after they have been demonstrated false. We cannot be too energetic in dispelling the lingering illusion that war necessarily spells increased employment and higher wages. Many will have to revise much of their thinking about the economics of war. Especially nowadays is the behavior of events contrary to loads of textbooks. It is in this sense that we have lots to learn from the latest British experience and analyses. The December Quarterly Journal of the Royal Economic Society finds that "some reduction of the real expenditures of the working class may prove inescapable if the war is to be prosecuted with full intensity." This economic journal, an eminent authority in its field, further calculates that, after allowing for new entrants into England's industry, there would be a net fall of 2,981,000 in male employment. Drawing in women and children because of the demand for man power in the hell-holes at the front would only further depress the prevailing wage scales and general living standards.

More than that, the Entente Financiers recently concluded between France and England is providing additional excuses for lowering the wage levels of the British workers. Making a hypocritical cry for "equality of sacrifice" in united war efforts, the "democratic" overlords of British industry and finance have already begun to demand that the English wage scale shall go down to the lower level of the French. The London Economist of December 16, 1939 thus gives a "scientific" coating to this brutal demand:

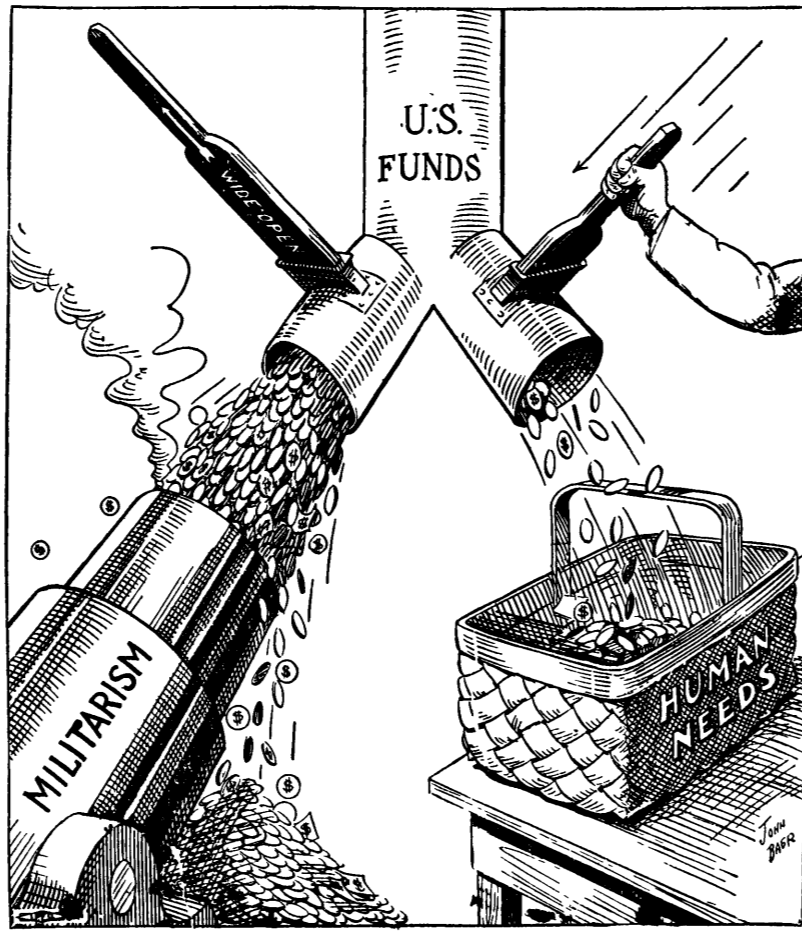
"But a further consideration which must now be given equal precedence with purely domestic developments arises from the recent advance which has been made in the tightening up of economic collaboration between this country and France. . . . Henceforward, it will be increasingly difficult to consider matters of wage policy without constant reference to parallel developments in France.

"The present position is that the French working class is making greater sacrifices than the British. . . . Five million Frenchmen are mobilized, and a proportion of these are employed on essential manufactures at military rates of pay only. The rest of the industry of France is being carried on by women, older men and boys, whose wages are at any time below the average level. These are facts which cannot be ignored in this country, if economic collaboration is to have any real meaning. . . .

"A full explanation of the present French arrangements will contain some facts which will test to the uttermost the willingness of the British unions for continuous understanding. The Trades Union Congress re-

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NEW DEAL "SPENDING" TODAY



Wm. E. Borah, 17 Christian Senate Leaders Fronted Are Held in Plot

Great Statesman Led Long Struggle to Keep America Free of War Entanglement

Washington, D. C.

William Edgar Borah, the "Lion of Idaho," dean of the Senate, one of America's most honored and distinguished statesmen, died last week, Friday, January 19, 8:45 P.M., at the age of 74. He had served as Senator from Idaho for six and half terms, thirty-three years. A state funeral was voted in his honor.

Senator Borah was best known for his firm, unflinching advocacy of a foreign policy that would keep this country free from entangling alliances or involvements in war situations abroad. On the same grounds, he was a staunch supporter of the establishment and maintenance of normal diplomatic relations between the United States and all other countries. Thus in 1919, he led the fight against the Versailles treaty and the League of Nations pact, and completely routed President Wilson and his adherents. In the years that followed, from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which he headed, he kept urging American recognition of Soviet Russia, but could not prevail against the Republican administrations then in power. In the last two years, he took up the fight again against President Roosevelt's foreign policy of involvement in foreign quarrels and played a particularly outstanding part in the great neutrality debate in the Senate during the course of the special session last year. For over two decades, he was one of the most influential men in the country in the conduct of for-

New York City

Seventeen men, members of the Coughlinite Christian Front, were arrested last week by J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on charges of seditious conspiracy and plotting to overthrow the United States government. According to Mr. Hoover, a small supply of arms, ammunition and explosives was found in the home of one of the accused. Chief among the prisoners were William Gerald Bishop and John F. Cassidy, notorious anti-Semitic and fascist agitators in New York.

As federal agents described the plot, it included bombings of Jewish and communist institutions, sabotage, seizure of U. S. gold in Manhattan, massacre of all Jews, and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship. The details of this fantastic

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Foreign Affairs

Senator Borah was nominally a Republican but from earliest days was an independent and insurgent. "He always traveled alone," it was commonly said of him.

He hated oppression and arbitrary power. His last address in the Senate was an attack on dictatorship and a eulogy of the American Bill of Rights, as well as a plea against any infringement of it. In one of his recent speeches, he enunciated his attitude on social and economic questions as follows: "Disress and abundance, poverty and wealth—that is our problem."

Neutrals Face Growing Danger in War Crisis

Roosevelt Urges Loan To Finland

Strong Sentiment in Senate Against Proposal as Danger To Neutrality

Washington, D. C.

President Roosevelt last week transmitted to Congress a formal proposal that the United States make a non-military loan to Finland to aid it in its struggle against Russia. The President suggested no sum of money but it was understood that a loan of \$25,000,000 thru the Export-Import Bank, a federal loan agency, was what he had in mind.

As soon as the proposal reached the Senate, it set off sharp debate. It was clear that it would meet with strong opposition in both houses of Congress. By an unusual procedure, the measure was referred to two Senate committees, the Banking and Currency and the Foreign Relations groups. Objection was voiced to utilizing the Export-Import Bank for such purposes, but primarily the debate revolved around the question of

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Churchill Calls on Them All to Join Britain; Threat of Reich Invasion of Belgium and Holland Is Renewed

There appeared to be no signs of an early end to the war in any form last week, the twentieth week since the outbreak of hostilities last September. On the contrary, there were indications that other sections of Europe, still officially at peace, might soon be embroiled.

Winston Churchill, speaking for the British government, made an important radio address in which he called upon the neutral European countries, "in their own best interests," to join Britain and France in their war with Germany. Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian lands were directly referred to. Otherwise, Churchill said, their fate would be to "be divided between the opposite the similar barbarisms of Nazidom and Bolshevism."

Tension in the Low Countries reached a high point last week. For the second time since the war broke out, there was a sudden alarm that a German invasion was imminent. Emergency defense measures were taken by both Holland and Belgium,

but nothing happened. From Berlin came the charge that the alarm had been instigated by the Allies "to provoke Germany." In well-informed circles, it was said that plans for an offensive thru the Low Countries were completed two months ago by the Reich but were then halted for some unknown reason. Any land offensive by Germany would have to be thru Holland or Belgium, it was pointed out. But whether offensive operations would be begun in the West at all still appeared undecided.

Certain French sources suggested that the entire invasion scare might have been a German feint, the Reich really contemplating a decisive move elsewhere, perhaps in the Balkans, where some joint Russo-German action was rumored.

The Scandinavian countries were drawn closer to war last week as both Norway and Sweden protested to Moscow against repeated violations of their neutrality in the course of the war with Finland. Moscow answered with an apology and the incident was declared to be closed. But in the controlled German and Russian press, violent denunciations of the two Scandinavian countries continued. In Stockholm, former Foreign Minister Rikhard Sandler, a social-democrat, criticized the social-democratic government and urged a Scandinavian "defense league" against Germany and Russia. A German move against Sweden was feared to be imminent.

Russia's invasion of Finland, in its seventh week, met with fresh reverses. It looked as if no serious offensives could be undertaken by the Russians until the return of Spring.

A diplomatic crisis of some importance arose last week as Great Britain rejected not only the so-called "safety zone" drawn around the Americas by the Pan-American Conference but also Washington's protest against British interference with American mails in connection with the blockade. Despite Secretary Hull's suggestion that the American Clipper might avoid calling at Bermuda if the British practice continued, it was felt that in the end Washington would submit, since the entire policy of the State Department has been based on "Anglo-American cooperation."

Lovestone Talks On Russo-Finnish Crisis at Forum

New York City

The keen interest in the Russo-Finnish situation was evidenced by the number of people that turned out during a driving rainstorm Sunday evening, January 14, to hear Jay Lovestone speak at the Community Church Forum. The topic of his discussion was "What Has Happened to the Russian Revolution—and Why?" Dr. John Haynes Holmes presided at this meeting.

The capacity audience remained beyond the usual hour set for closing to ask many questions and participate in the discussion from the floor. Lovestone's talk was frequently punctuated with applause. He explained why Stalin's venture in Finland was imperialistic rather than a move that would further socialism. He stressed the point that the ideals of the Russian Revolution must not be lost sight of, that they had brought tremendous advances for the Russian masses in the early stages of the revolution, and that they must continue to inspire those whose experience had taught them that progress can be achieved only by striving to fulfill those ideals.

He voiced his belief that the Russian masses would not forever tolerate the totalitarian regime into which Stalin has perverted the Russian Revolution—just as he believed that the German masses would not lie dormant for eternity. As he expressed it, "the situation is not frozen."

(Jay Lovestone's speech at the Community Church forum will be published in an early issue of this paper—Editor)

The California Animal Defense and Anti-Vivisection League has wired Secretary of State Hull urging an embargo on the shipment of animals to the warring nations.

Sending horses and mules to war is cruelty, the League argued. With men, of course, it is quite different.

How Shall We Attain a Socialist Peace?

(We publish below a manifesto-appeal issued recently by the International Workers Front Against War—Editor.)

IN the name of the International Workers Front Against War,

In the name of our brothers in all lands, plunged into bloodshed, slavery and death,

In the name of our wives and mothers,

We, workers of Germany, England, France, the Soviet Union, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia, America,

We, the colonial slaves of all parts of the earth,

We declare:

This war is only the continuation of the war of 1914-18.

The victors are trying to hold on to their spoils.

The defeated powers are trying to regain what they have lost.

They fight for the same territories, the same markets, the same raw materials, led by the same old men on whose hands is the blood-guilt of the last war.

All is the same in the new imperialist conflict, except the level of economic resources is far lower now, the level of destructive technique is far higher now, than in 1914.

For these reasons, all of us together, in all tongues, proclaim

THIS IS NOT OUR WAR! WE DEMAND IMMEDIATE PEACE!

This war can accomplish nothing but ruin. It destroys our liberties, our means of livelihood, our lives.

We will not accept such sacrifices for a cause that is not our own. With all our power we will struggle:

In the neutral lands—to keep them out of this war.

In the lands already involved—to force an immediate peace.

WE DEMAND PEACE,

Peace without annexations, without indemnities, without the partition of peoples who wish to remain united, without the subjection of peoples who wish to be free, without the oppression of minorities and colonial lands,

Peace thru the right of the peoples freely to decide their own fate.

How Can This Be Done?

WE call for unity of action of all the workers, whether they call themselves socialist, pacifist, anarchist, syndicalist, communist or trade-unionist—all those who, remaining faithful to themselves and their class, refuse to accept the responsibility for the crimes of their government, ruling class or bureaucracy.

Our International Workers Front Against War undertakes, with the support and under the constant control of all such workers, the task of restoring peace and putting an end to the causes of war.

We defend our liberties against dictatorship in our own land. We fight to maintain our standards and existence against our own exploiters.

We fight to take away from our rulers the right to dispose of our persons and our lives; we fight to take control of the questions of peace and war, life and death, to take control of our own destiny.

Our Main Enemy Is at Home

OUR struggle for peace, our opposition to the war, grows and will grow from week to week, in all lands.

If the ruling classes persist in prolonging the war

despite our will, we must, we shall find a way to put an end to their rule and their war-breeding system.

To bring about these things the first step is the fraternization of the mass of the soldiers and the mass of the peoples, across all fronts.

We demand an end to this war! We demand an end to all war!

The men responsible for the last war and this one, cannot make an enduring peace. Even if, under our pressure, they bring about peace, it will be but a breathing spell between two wars.

Therefore, we must continue our struggle for immediate peace and for a permanent,

FOR A SOCIALIST PEACE!

We must drive out the governments guilty of plunging their peoples into war.

We must put an end to the capitalist system which "bears war in its womb as the sleeping cloud bears the storm."

We must put an end to the Stalinist totalitarian regime, which bears a like blood-guilt on its hands and endangers what remains of the Russian Revolution.

HOW CAN WE ATTAIN A SOCIALIST PEACE?

By setting up of workers and farmers (peasants) governments directly controlled by the masses.

By the control of all economic functions by the trade unions, under democratic procedure with universal suffrage, secret ballot and freedom of speech and press and association.

By the liberation of the colonial peoples.

By the meeting out of justice to all dictators—Bonapartist, fascist, Stalinist, Franquist . . . and all their accomplices.

By the expropriation of the banks and trusts which are at the bottom of imperialist war, by the exposure of their activities and international connections, by the collective appropriation of all the forces of production by communities of free workers.

A Socialist Peace Will Open a New Epoch

WITH a plan for international equipment: great

air lines, rail and sea lines, libraries, universities, laboratories, hospitals, stadiums, labor communities—to take the place of tanks, bombers, arsenals, battleships, barracks, fortifications and bristling frontiers.

With a plan for the rational development of production and distribution: a sharing of the advantages of privileged regions and raw materials, of modern transport and technique, and a free distribution of the means of existence to the needy, the aged and the helpless.

Thus the economic means and material wealth, established for the first time under a regime of freedom, will become the starting point for the united march of mankind towards social equality, cultural development and fraternal collaboration between all men and all peoples.

Let all those who, thruout the war-torn world, remain faithful to these aspirations for a higher civilization grasp hands despite all obstacles across all frontiers.

And then . . .

THE CANNONS WILL BE STILLED

AND A SOCIALIST WORLD WILL BE BUILT.

Court Orders Home-Work Wage Refund

Brooklyn, N. Y. A decision ordering the Commodore Knitting Mills to make restitution of \$27,190 to home-workers in states from Maine to Pennsylvania, some of whom earned, it was charged, as low as 3 cents an hour, was handed down last week by Judge Robert A. Inch in federal court, Brooklyn.

The action was the result of an investigation conducted by Murray Baron under the supervision of George B. Kelly, regional director in New York of the Wage-and-Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor, which enforces the Wage-and-Hour Act prohibiting the payment of less than 30 cents an hour to home-workers.

The investigation recently caused eleven other concerns engaged in the manufacture of knitted-outerwear garments to be enjoined from violating the wage act and to make restitution of more than \$250,000 to home-workers.

The judgment restrains the Commodore concern from paying any home-worker less than 30 cents an hour and goes on to define home-workers as "any person producing goods for or on behalf of the defendant in or about a home, whether the materials are furnished by the defendant or by others."

The Commodore concern was also charged with failure to keep proper and accurate home-work records, and the injunction makes it mandatory for the defendant to keep these records in the future.

Have the C.I.O. Leaders Really Come to This?

FROM the January 8 issue of the C.I.O. News, the official publication of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, we quote the following report:

"Naming a former Department of Justice attache as a staff member of the United Construction Workers Organizing Committee was announced by Chairman A. D. Lewis.

"Russell Turner Sr., who had extensive experience in the construction industry, joined the U.C.W.O.C. staff as special organizer. For the past year, he has been on the staff of the Justice Department where he took part in the anti-trust law inquiries into the building trades."

It is doubtful if there is anything in the recent history of the labor movement to match this action of the C.I.O. in its utter shamelessness, in its brazen flaunting of the most elementary standards of labor solidarity and decency.

The Department of Justice, thru its Anti-Trust Division, is engaged in a ruthless attack on organized labor in the building trades. Under the guidance of Assistant Attorney-General Thurman Arnold, it is attempting to revive the use of the Sherman and Clayton anti-trust laws against labor, a practice always sharply condemned by progressive legislators, liberal jurists and virtually all students of labor legislation. The union-busting crusade of the Justice Department is directed immediately against the building-trades unions of the A. F. of L., but in the long run it hangs as a menace over the entire labor movement, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike. If ever there was a cause in which labor solidarity and united action are mandatory, this is it. Anyone with a grain of loyalty to the cause of labor would be ready to put aside all differences, however grave, and join the A. F. of L. in beating back the common danger.

But what has the C.I.O. done? Not content with plunging into a crassly dual-unionist adventure by setting up a competitive union in the building trades, which it has not the shadow of justification for invading, not content with keeping shamefully silent on the Department of Justice's assault on the rights of labor—the C.I.O. has now actually hired one of Thurman Arnold's specialists in union-busting to serve as a "special organizer" for its dualist outfit! Evidently his training in the Justice Department is expected to stand the C.I.O. dual union in good stead in its war upon the A. F. of L. Why not hire operatives of strike-breaking detective agencies? They might also prove "useful" against the A. F. of L. Only people who have lost all sense of decency in the bitterness of their factional hate could be guilty of so atrocious an act. Have the leaders of the C.I.O. really come to this?

Labor Should Demand End of M-Day Plans

Dictatorship Is Aim of the War Department

By MATTHEW WOLL

(This is the concluding instalment of the address delivered on December 1, 1939 by Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., before the Trenton, N. J. Central Labor Union—Editor)

THE wording of the Industrial Mobilization Plan is also vague as to the means which the War Department will use to enforce registration or the penalties to be imposed upon registrants who fail to obey orders after registration. A government, however, which, under the provisions of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, can control prices, wages, rents, fuel, power, transportation, communication, local government, and which can commandeer "any product, foodstuff, material, commodity or real property" will undoubtedly find the means to enforce its wishes.

TWO SINISTER PROVISIONS

The following passage of the Industrial Mobilization Plan is entitled, "Industrial Management Provisions," it does not take much imagination to realize that regulation affecting management would also affect labor.

"Title II—Industrial Management Provisions.

"This title authorizes a draft of industrial management. When, in the opinion of the President, the successful prosecution of the war requires it, he may establish rules and regulations for the registration of all persons in the management or control of industry. This is intended to apply to persons in executive positions who are unwilling to cooperate in the industrial war effort. In the discretion of the President, registered persons in any industrial plant or industry may be brought into the service of the government for the duration of the war and shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the War Department. However, the Secretary of War is not to interfere with the internal management of the industries. He may, in the public interest, transfer registrants to any civilian service within the jurisdiction of the War Department. The compensation of such persons industrially drafted will be paid by the government at rates to be fixed by the President, and they may not accept any other compensation from any plant in which they render services during the war. Rules and regulations for the administration of this title will be made by the President and penalties are provided in the bill for violations of such rules and regulations."

Note also:

"Title III—War Resources Control.

"This title gives the President very broad powers to control all of the resources of the nation by price-fixing, licensing, rationing, requisitioning, priorities—and other measures for directing and unifying the industrial war effort."

These two titles include provisions within them which call for the complete subjugation of every man, woman and child to the will of the Chief Executive and the War Department. This is a picture of the one hundred percent totalitarian state which even Hitler and Stalin might well envy. And do not be deluded that because the above two titles do not refer specifically to labor that labor is to be excluded from the controls therein. One cannot bind industry without at the same time affecting labor likewise. The government makes little pretense that its controls over the nation's economic life will be anything less than dictatorial. It will rigidly control production, transportation, manufacturing, fuel and power, prices, trade, finance—and labor.

Dictatorship After the War

According to the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the government will keep its iron grip on the nation's economic life and its dictatorial control over labor after the war is over. For how long? Apparently until "post-war readjustment" is complete. That may mean six months, ten years or forever. The World War ended twenty-one years ago and "post-war readjustment" has not yet been finished.

The point has been raised that the Industrial Mobilization Plan is not yet enacted into law, but as was clearly brought out recently in the Senate, the whole Industrial Mobilization Plan exists on the theory that the powers provided for within it will promptly be placed in the hands of the necessary super-agencies during war-time. The fact that Congress has not yet granted these powers is of only minor concern. We must remember that the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, in addition to powers already delegated to him by specific acts of Congress during war-time, has what is commonly called the "war powers of the President." These powers have not been completely defined in law or in the expressions of the courts, and as a matter of actual fact are not only indefinable but are beyond practical limits. The war-time powers as exercised by President Wilson would have been adequate to insure the immediate and complete application of the Industrial Mobilization Plan in all of its details without a single enactment of Congress if this were

Red Caps Union Holds Decisive Convention

New York City.

THE International Brotherhood of Red Caps met in their second annual convention here last week. Delegates from railroad terminals in many parts of the country assembled to deal with a series of pressing problems facing their organization, the most important of which was wages. On almost all railroad systems, red-caps receive no wages at all; their only income is derived from tips.

Willard S. Townsend, president of the union, reported on the fight his organization was making to have the railroads pay minimum wage scales under the law aside from tips. He reported good progress in this struggle, both Interstate Commerce Commission and the Wages and Hours Division having rendered favorable rulings. The convention authorized a continuation of this fight.

The delegates endorsed the Wagner-Gavagan anti-lynching bill and the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum proposal.

The convention decided to change the name of the organization to the United Transport Service Employees of America.

All officers and delegates stressed the great strides the union had made in recent months in organizing the 5,200 red-caps in this country.

whereas the plan has not yet been put in motion, eternal vigilance and independence on the part of Congress is essential lest the necessary validating acts be rushed thru under cover of an emergency.

Believing, as we must, that if the Industrial Mobilization Plan is put into effect, it will spell the doom of organized labor in America and destroy the liberties of our people, our course of action is clear. We must insist, thru our duly elected representatives, that a full discussion on the floor of Congress be held on those provisions and details of the Industrial Mobilization Plan which affect the civilian population. We must insist that the rights of forty million working men and women in the United States be fully represented, that the rights of collective bargaining by trade unions be held inviolate, and that labor laws designed to protect, benefit and advance the rights and interests of working men, women and children of our land shall not be abrogated or nullified under any pretext.

Progressives Challenge Fur Union Bureaucracy

Ask for Impartial Labor Committee

New York City.

ON Tuesday, January 9, six members of the United Progressive Furriers appeared before the New York Joint Council of the Furriers Union to answer for issuing a leaflet in which were enumerated a series of charges against the administration.

The spokesman for the progressives was Benjamin Baraz, who read a statement giving the position of the U.P.F.

After the statement was read, Irving Potash, manager of the Joint Council, tried to put over a demagogic proposal that the "workers should be the judges" The progressives welcomed the presence of workers but pressed their demand for an impartial committee of the labor movement to hear and try the case.

The statement of the United Progressive Furriers, signed by Ben Antonoff, Nathan Kramer, Benjamin Baraz, Sam Glassman, Michael Intrator, and Sam Kass, follows in full:

"We, the undersigned, members of the Furriers Joint Council, have been called by the Joint Council to present proof of charges made in a leaflet issued by the United Progressive Furriers some time in November.

"To this we collectively wish to make the following statement in reply:

"This is not the first time that we are called on charges for these alleged offenses. We are convinced that the real reason for calling us is not because of language used, but in order to conceal the real issues which we are constantly bringing to the fur workers. There is no doubt that the language we used in our leaflets is much more refined than the kind you used when you were in opposition to the administration or than the kind you use even now!

"The accusations we have made against you that you are collaborating with the bosses, squandering union money, carrying on dishonest elections, generally leading the union in the most undemocratic fashion, permitting the bosses to be charitable on the sweat of the workers, all this for the interests of a political party, are only a part of the accusations we are making against you in our daily fight.

"We consider the act of calling us to the Joint Council and the Grievance Board an irresponsible one. We feel that the intentions of calling us on the same charges in both places were insincere. Because, if the Joint Council is to act as the trial committee, then the Grievance Board, which is only a sub-committee, certainly commands less power than the Council as a whole. And, if the Grievance Board is to try us, then our appearance before the Joint Council is to be

CIO and AFL Put Demands To Congress

Washington, D. C.

THE Congress of Industrial Organizations and the American Federation of Labor presented to Congress widely divergent 1940 legislative programs last week, but they agreed on two issues—that the United States must keep out of war and that unemployment is the foremost domestic problem.

"They were particularly opposed with respect to the Wagner Act. The C.I.O. praised it as "one of the greatest achievements for organized labor" and urged adoption of three strengthening amendments. The A. F. of L. assailed the "biased Board" and demanded a new five-man body to replace it.

The C.I.O. asked amendments to provide criminal penalties for violations of the act, to bar awarding of government contracts to violators, and to prohibit the N.L.R.B. "from carrying up any industrial units established by the industrial unions of the C.I.O." The Federation urged enactment of the Walsh-Barden amendments to change the Board, permit workers to choose their own bargaining units and "check the present tendency of the Board to attempt to shape the form and character of the trade-union movement."

The C.I.O. program was transmitted by John L. Lewis, in identical letters to all Congressmen. William Green, A. F. of L. president, sent up the Federation program after meeting with his legislative committee.

Both programs recommended expansion of the government's housing programs, but the A. F. of L. also demanded that payment of prevailing wages be made a requisite for granting of government aid to any such projects.

Both programs urged expansion of the social-security program. The C.I.O., however, urged adoption of its \$60-at-60 plank, standardization of unemployment-compensation regulations and use of all social-security tax collections for benefit payments instead of for creation of a reserve fund. The Federation urged establishment of an advisory council to recommend improvements in the program, enactment of health-insurance legislation and standardization of unemployment-compensation regulations.

Relative to unemployment, the C.I.O. called for convocation of "the responsible leaders from the government, industry, labor and agriculture, who should be commended by the government to work at this problem until some concrete plans have been formulated" and appropriation of sufficient fund, to give work relief jobs for at least 3,000,000 persons. It also recommended expansion of the National Youth Administration program "to employ all young people who are out of work and out of school."

The A. F. of L. declared its unwillingness to "tolerate the idea of permanent unemployment," and recommended creation of a National Advisory Council to co-ordinate restoration of the idle plants to operation to absorb unemployed, extension of the six-hour day and five-day week, restoration of the prevailing wage principle to all relief projects, creation of a permanent public-works program and "an adequate appropriation" for relief.

Other C.I.O. points were: Extension of the wage-hour act and expansion of its administration. Enactment of a government health program, including a federal hospital-building program, expansion of the Public Health Service, establishment of a medical-care program for lower-paid brackets, and authorization of a Labor Department industrial disease-control program.

of the libelous and irresponsible accusations which you are continuously making against us.

"Failing to agree to our proposition to have the charges tested before an impartial committee will only prove again to the fur workers and to the labor movement in general that our accusations against you are justified. It will prove again that your persecutions against us have no ground."

17 "Fronters" Are Held in Plot

(Continued from page 1)

conspiracy were rather vague, above all as to the means by which the handful of plotters with a dozen rifles and eighteen cans of cordite powder expected to accomplish their rather ambitious aims.

At first, Father Coughlin denied vigorously that the seventeen plotters were associated with him or his movement, calling attention to the fact that he had some weeks before returned a \$100 contribution from the New York Christian Fronters. But it was pointed out that not only was the Christian Front a direct offspring of the Coughlin movement, but that it had been repeatedly praised in Father Coughlin's paper, Social Justice. One of Coughlin's lieutenants, moreover, had addressed a recent rally of the Christian Front in New York at which a collection was taken up for Social Justice.

In last Sunday's radio address, Coughlin therefore shifted his position and declared that altho he was "not a member of the Christian Front," he did not "dissociate himself from it."

(Read the editorial, "Creatures of Deceit" on page 4.—Editor.)

How the Wagner Act Is Administered by NLRB

Aims to Eliminate Unfair Practises

By WM. M. LEISERSON

THE procedures outlined in the Wagner Act and elaborated in the Board's regulations work out in the following manner.

An employee, or group of employees, or a union, files a charge at any one of the twenty-two regional offices maintained by the Board covering all parts of the country. The charge must be in writing, and the allegations that an employer has engaged in or is engaging in any unfair labor practises must be sworn to. This charge is then assigned for investigation by the regional director to one of his subordinates, known as a field examiner. The employer is notified, and after the evidence in support of the charge has been canvassed, he is interviewed and given an opportunity to tell his side of the story. Quite often, this brings about conferences which result in a settlement of the case without further procedure.

In many cases, the charges prove to be unfounded, and they are then dismissed by the regional director. Provision is made for an appeal from such a dismissal to the Board in Washington. If it appears that the law has been violated and attempts to secure compliance are unsuccessful, a full report is prepared in the form of a request for authorization of a complaint which is forwarded to the Board. In preparing this report, the regional director has the assistance not only of the field examiner but also of attorneys on his staff, and the request for authorization of a complaint is signed both by the regional director and by the regional attorney who is in charge of the legal staff at the regional office.

This request is then reviewed in Washington, and if the Board finds it has merit, the regional director is authorized to issue a complaint and to provide for a hearing of the charges. A trial examiner is then assigned from Washington to conduct the hearing, and a record is made. On the basis of the record, the trial examiner issues an intermediate report in which he makes findings of fact and recommendations as to what disposition should be made of the case. If he finds that

Court Decides Written Pact Is Not Mandatory

Chicago, Ill.

RULING that the Wagner Act does not require an employer to sign a contract with a labor union, the federal circuit court of appeals here recently reversed the National Labor Relations Board's order that the Inland Steel Co. recognize the C.I.O. Steel Workers Organizing Committee as sole bargaining agent for its employees.

The court sustained the company's contention that it had not received a full hearing before Charles A. Wood, N.L.R.B. trial examiner, and sharply criticized Mr. Wood's conduct in the hearing which led to the order.

The court sent back to the N.L.R.B. for a new hearing all phases of the board's order of November 12, 1938, in which, among other things, the company was required to cease dominating a company union.

It was the court's ruling that under the Wagner Act, collective-bargaining procedure is "mandatory" but the "result is not."

"The statute is barren of any express language requiring a signed agreement and it must be held that no such agreement is required unless we are authorized to read into the term 'collective bargaining' the condition that all agreements, not some, must be reduced to writing," the court declared.

The order by the N.L.R.B. was the first in which it directed a company to sign a contract covering an agreement with a union. Labor leaders hailed the order, which attracted wide attention, because the S.W.O.C. demand for a written agreement was the paramount issue in the strike against Inland and three other "little steel" companies in 1937.

national Labor Relations Act should be subject to such furious attacks, as if they were new and unique in our system of law. When it is remembered, however, that the Interstate Commerce Act and the Federal Trade Commission Act in the early days of their existence were subjected to exactly the same kind of attacks and criticisms, then perhaps the explanation is to be found in the fact that those who enjoy special privileges from the government never learn anything from history. They resent the loss of their privileges, and they always use the same arguments against every effort of the government to provide equal protection of the laws for all its citizens.

(This article is part of a memorandum recently submitted by Dr. Leiserson to the Smith Committee investigating the N.L.R.B. Other sections of this memorandum appeared in previous issues of this paper and will appear in future issue.—Editor)

Roosevelt Proposes Loan to Finland

(Continued from Page 1)

reviving foreign loans to belligerents in violation of America's neutrality policy, in spirit if not in letter. Certain Senators pointed out that even the loan would be officially for non-military purposes, Finland could arrange to have the "civilian supplies" traded for arms and the restriction would thus be evaded anyway.

Opposition to the President's proposal as a danger to American neutrality was not limited to the so-called "isolationist" or "peace" block in the Senate but was widespread among those who ordinarily support the Administration's foreign policies. Even Vice-President Garner expressed himself as not very enthusiastic about the idea. Reports from various parts of the country indicated that there was a strong fear among the people that the Finnish loan might become an entering wedge in breaking down the whole system of neutrality safeguards against war involvement.

(Read the editorial, "Let's Watch Our Step!", on page 4.—Editor.)

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