

NEXT WEEK:  
CHAOS IN N. Y. JOBLESS  
INSURANCE

# Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

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## AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

### SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS

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

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

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

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

Time does march on. Without doubt, this reversal of practice and gradual change of policy explain in no small measure the fact that in New York State, the A. F. of L. has, in the last eighteen months, won in 185 of the 325 cases handled by the State Labor Board. In this period, the C.I.O. won in 60 cases, "unaffiliated" organizations took 45, and 40 instances revealed workers voting against all unionization. The last two expressions must be largely debited to the costly division in labor's ranks.

### BLOODY BUSINESS

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

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

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

In this connection, it is painfully interesting to point out that of the twelve millions tons of scrap iron and steel exported by the United States in the last five years of our "peace-loving" Roosevelt Administration, no less than 7,500,000 tons of such metal went to Japan. According to Mr. Emory E. Smith, who served with the War Industries Board in the last war, these "exports had first enabled Japan to war on China." Yes, indeed—these are the only ways in which powerful "democracies" like England, France, and our own U. S. A. have helped and will help weaker lands like China, Spain, Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia. Such collective insecurity is the sole fruit of their joint "peace" efforts. Apparently, all of us live and learn; obviously where there is life there is hope—except, of course, in the case of those who loyally carry out Stalin's orders and those who limp along as "thinking" fellow-bandwagons.

### STALINIST ACADEMICIANS

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

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

Despite all that, we think that the spirit of October is still very far from extinct in the Soviet Union. The Stalin bureaucracy is becoming ever narrower. The purgers of yesterday are the traitors of today; the purgers of today will purgers be disposed of by the Soviet masses aroused to the grave danger that Stalin and Company are to the Russian and world revolutionary movements.

## A.L.P. Rejects Wicks Bill on Transit

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

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

"The passage of the Wicks Bill will throw out of work a good proportion of the men who have given years of faithful service to the operation of the private subway lines in New York City," Mr. Rose declared. "The Wicks Bill is unfair to the present transit employees. It is unfair to the people of New York. The original Wicks Bill turned a cold shoulder to the 29,000 men now running the private subway lines, men who have held their jobs for ten, twenty, thirty and thirty-five years. The original bill would have compelled the present employees to compete with any and all applicants in written, physical and oral examinations."

"The amended Wicks Bill is no improvement on the original bill. Altho it apparently seeks to protect workers now engaged on the lines, it would give every man on civil-service eligible lists a prior right to a transit job, men who have never worked a day on the subway lines. It would destroy existing seniority rights of transit employees. The Wicks Bill would place every single independent subway employee and every one on civil-service lists ahead of the 29,000 men who have given years of their lives in the faithful and efficient service of running the subways."

## Navy Moves To Ban Free Speech

Asks Legislation Against Appeal To Armed Forces FDR Favors Move

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

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

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

"The only just solution of this employment problem which is created in connection with unification is to continue all employees in their present positions after the lines are taken over by the city. Their merit and fitness for the positions have already been amply demonstrated by their many years of efficient service. A bill must be adopted which will provide for the equitable transfer of the present transit employees to the transit lines acquired by the city. The American Labor Party is convinced that a solution can be found to this problem which will protect the rights of transit workers, the interests of the city, and the welfare of the people."

## Chase's Anti-War Book Stirs Capital

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C.  
THE Book-of-the-Week in Washington is Stuart Chase's "The New Western Front." Someone has put copies of this book into the hands of many Congressmen and they are raving—for it or against it. It has put some "collective-thesis" advocates on the spot. Its thesis against involvement in war is expressed with clarity and simplicity so that even a Senator may understand what Chase is talking about. Some of the Senators fear

that the country may understand and support the amendment to require a referendum before embarking on a foreign war. An answer to this book will probably be written and sold in paper-back covers. Said Senator L. to Senator P., according to an informant: "Chase has expressed my viewpoint perfectly. I am just waiting for the Daily Worker to charge that he has been subsidized by the Japanese Foreign Office." Stimson's statement was timed to appear shortly after Chase published his (Continued on Page 3)

## U.A.W. Convention Rallies Masses of Auto Workers

Over 100,000 Represented

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

Official delegates: Ohio region: Locals 11, 16, 28, 30, 78, 131, 153, 158, 161, 168, 169, 170, 178, 211, 243, 294, 301, 308, 318, 382, 464, 497, 507, 611. Eastern region: 49, 110, 118, 149, 338, 365, 379, 425, 482, 501, 536, 543, 545, 559, 595. Detroit region: 51, 84, 99, 142, 190, 203, 247, 312, 363, 368, 369, 380, 410, 483, 572, 588, 589, 592, 593, 600, 612, 614, 615. Western-Michigan region: 62, 87, 92, 182, 196, 206, 220, 252, 253, 302, 389, 404, 433, 444, 485, 564, 567. Missouri region: 93, 249, 447, 529. Wisconsin region: 95, 121, 209, 225, 232, 233, 244, 273, 283, 323, 333, 345, 364, 384, 386, 477, 533. Eastern-Michigan region: 127, 156, 159, 268, 362, 429, 460, 461, 471, 581, 584, 594, 596, 598, 609, 616. Indiana region: 146, 265, 315, 579. California region: 228. Southern region: 239.

Rank-and-file delegates: Detroit region: Locals 2, 3, 7, 80, 140, 154, 155, 174, 205, 212, 227, 235, 262, 490. Ohio region: 45, 409. California region: 76, 216, 406. Missouri region: 325. Eastern region: 424. Eastern-Michigan region: 507, 599, 606. Canada region: 195.

Together these delegates represented at least 100,000 good-standing members.

## Membership to Pass on Affiliation; Progressives Consolidate Forces

(Special to the Workers Age)

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

Fourteen board members were elected by the delegates in the various regional conferences, the only vacancy being that for Canada. Frank Tucci was reelected from the eastern region; Irving Brown was chosen from the southern region; Elmer Davis and Peter Noll came thru from Ohio; Dewey Smith, Fred Durrance and F. J. McCartney were elected by the Detroit contingent; Jack Little was chosen from the eastern Michigan region; Lester Washburn was returned to the Board by his western-Michigan delegates; Earl Heaton was picked from Indiana; George Kiebler from Wisconsin and Illinois; Elmer Dowell from the Missouri region; and Charles West Jr. from the west coast.

A decision of tremendous significance for the labor movement was the favorable vote of the convention on a resolution sponsored and pressed by the progressive forces to elect at large a Negro member of the Board. Frank Evans of Ohio was chosen to fill that post.

Reports of the credential committee indicated that better than 100,000 good-standing members were represented in the convention. Delegations of two kinds were seated. First were those who had been officially elected by majority vote of their membership to attend the Detroit convention. This group consisted of 251 delegates representing 124 local unions and casting 631 votes. The second group consisted of rank-and-file delegates chosen by minority groups but claiming to represent the majority of the membership in their local unions. This group included 118 delegates from 26 groups, carrying 503 votes—the total voting strength of the locals which they claimed to represent. The latter group of delegates were not seated until a closed session had heatedly debated the issue for many hours. The conservative forces in the convention pressed hard for seating these unofficial delegates, claiming that they really represented majorities but bureaucratic control in their locals had made it impossible for those majorities to come to expression. The progressive forces claimed that seating these delegates looked too much like packing the convention. They argued that an attempt was being made to establish a non-representative majority in the convention in order to defeat certain candidates for office and certain progressive policies. The body finally voted to seat the rank-and-file delegates with full voting strength. On many issues that came up later, there was visible friction between these two groups of delegates.

Despite the seating of the large block of conservative unofficial delegates, the convention showed certain strong progressive trends. This expressed itself in the adoption of such resolutions as those favoring (Continued on Page 3)

## FDR Attacks Neutrality

Also Opposes War Polls As Limiting His Power

Washington, D. C.  
President Roosevelt came out definitely last week against the neutrality legislation at present on the statute book. At the same time, he also attacked the proposal for a war-referendum amendment recently revived in Congress by a group of Senators headed by Senator LaFollette. The President made his attitude public at a press conference in response to questions.

President Roosevelt's opposition to the neutrality law was implied in his message to Congress in January but last week's remarks were the first outright statement of his position. His rejection of the war-referendum idea was expressed emphatically last year in a public letter to Speaker Bankhead when the Ludlow resolution was before the House.

The President's hostility to both measures is due to his fixed determination to wrest from Congress greater freedom in conducting foreign affairs at his own discretion and to block any effort to extend Congressional or popular control over his activities in this vitally important field.

## Anti-War Meet Called

N. Y. Labor Groups To Meet Saturday, March 25

New York City  
The New York Labor Anti-War Council will hold a conference on Saturday afternoon, March 25, at 2 o'clock, at Caravan Hall, 110 East 59 Street, New York City, as part of a two-day Anti-War Mobilization Conference arranged jointly by the Keep America Out of War Congress and the Youth Committee Against War, scheduled for March 24-25.

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

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

The opening session of the New York Mobilization Against War will take place on Friday night, March 24, and will be addressed by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, Norman Thomas, trade union and other speakers. Sub-sessions of church, student and educators division delegates will be held the next day from 11 a. m. to 1 p. m., and sub-sessions of neighborhood, trade-union and settlement-house delegates from 2 p. m. to 4 p. m. The plenary session will be held from 4 p. m. to 6 p. m.

## Civil Service Union Barred

Refused Incorporation By State Board

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

The board's ruling in effect would virtually prohibit any group of civil-service employees, state or local, from forming or joining incorporated unions.

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

In its written decision, the board held that "actually the governmental employee is a public servant; he is an employee of all the citizens of the state. In this sense, his status differs materially from that found in the ordinary employer-employee relationship. This ruling, altho at present applying only to civil-service unions seeking incorporation, constitutes a serious menace to the labor movement in its efforts to organize public employees generally, for it virtually condemns such organization as improper and illegitimate. The ruling will probably be appealed to the Supreme Court."

## War Training In CCC Hit

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

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

## Labor Peace Conferences Begin

Washington, D. C.  
PEACE talks began here last week without much apparent result as the negotiating committees of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. met in their first session at the White House on Tuesday, March 7. For the A. F. of L. there were Matthew Woll, Harry C. Bates and Thomas A. Rickert; for the C.I.O., John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman. Dan Tobin later joined the parleys altho he had at first declined appointment to the A. F. of L. committee. Secretary of Labor Perkins was present thruout.

President Roosevelt himself opened the proceedings with a short talk stressing the universal desire for labor peace throughout the country. Towards the end of the period during which the President did most of the talking, John L. Lewis created a sensation by handing to those present copies of what he declared to be the C.I.O. proposals for unity. This six-point program, prescribing in advance even the most trivial details, such as time and place of meeting, names to be adopted, etc., ran along these lines:

### LEWIS PROPOSALS

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

2. "This convention is to organize and dedicate the American Congress of Labor," to embrace the above-mentioned organizations.

3. Neither Lewis nor Green is to

be eligible for office in the new organization. President Green and Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. are to be pensioned off for life "for services rendered."

4. The executive board of the new organization is to be "composed equally of representatives of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. with proportional representation for the four railroad brotherhoods." The president is to be selected from the brotherhoods.

5. During the year following the organization of the new federation, the services of the Department of Labor are to be available in adjusting jurisdictional and other conflicts.

6. President Roosevelt is to preside at the sessions of the all-inclusive convention mentioned in point 1. Special conventions of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are to be held towards the latter part of April to pass upon and approve these proposals.

### A.F.L. REJECTS PLAN AS "FANCIFUL"

After a brief consultation, the representatives of the A. F. of L. issued a statement rejecting these proposals as utterly "fanciful." "Anyone familiar with present-day labor difficulties," the statement ran, "will realize that the C.I.O. proposal does not offer any possible solution to the problems facing us. It should be obvious that the only way to obtain peace is for both sides to get down to consideration of the facts in a realistic way and then negotiate a settlement. Nothing can be accomplished by the issuance

of fanciful statements for headline purposes."

It was finally decided that the conferees were to reconvene on March 10 at New York to discuss the Lewis plan as well as all other proposals submitted.

Spokesmen of the railroad brotherhoods, while not in a position to make official statements, scouted

the idea that their organizations would abandon their traditional independence in any such scheme as proposed by Mr. Lewis.

Observers generally were of the opinion that no constructive approach to unity was possible along the lines laid down by the C.I.O. chief. It was obviously to no purpose, it was pointed out, for Mr.

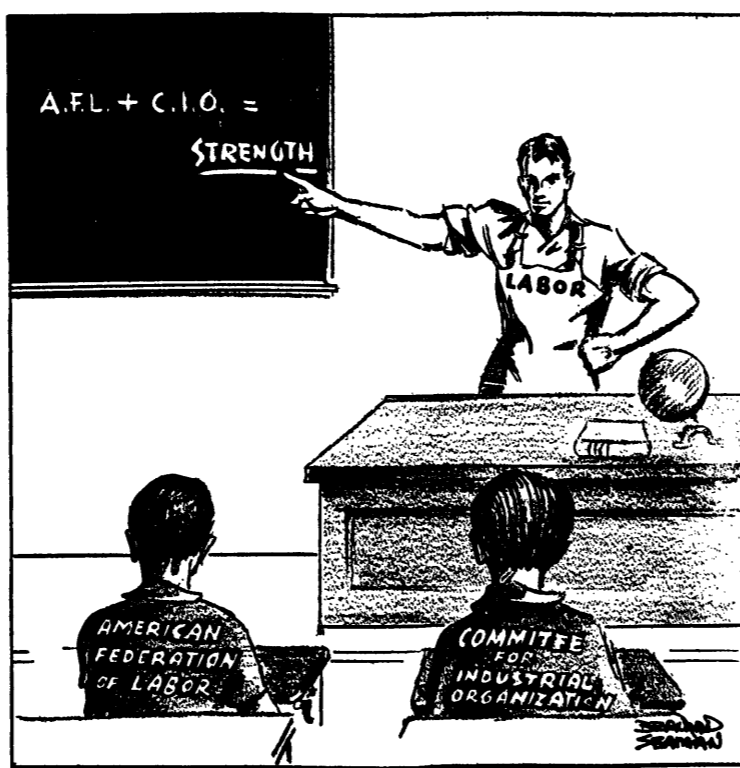
Lewis to demand the dissolution of the A. F. of L. and the formation of an entirely new federation into which all organizations would be admitted indiscriminately without regard to overlapping or jurisdictional conflict. It was a positive obstruction to unity for Mr. Lewis to inject in his proposals such petty sniping as the reference to pensioning off Messrs. Green and Morrison or the minute prescription of every step in advance, even to insignificant details.

### LEWIS PLAN FOLLOWS STALINIST LINE

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

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

Some months later, at the plenary session of the central committee of (Continued on Page 2)



—from Justice

# Nelson Describes Achievements of the Knitgoods Union

By LOUIS NELSON

New York City

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

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



LOUIS NELSON  
Manager, Knitgoods Workers Union

## ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

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

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

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

Despite all of its own difficulties, the Knitgoods Workers Union did not neglect its duty toward the entire labor movement, nationally and internationally. Every struggle of the working class received the financial, moral and organizational support of the Knitgoods Workers Union.

The progressive administration, without making a lot of noise and without seeking publicity, has obtained relief for practically every member of the union who applied for it. Our records can prove that whenever members were refused relief, the union used its influence and pressure and was successful in obtaining it for them.

Our Sick and Relief Fund, a fund to which every member pays 35 cents a month, has been a great help to our members. Over \$22,000 has been paid to sick and needy members and to doctors for them.

## WORKERS EDUCATION

The progressive administration did not forget that workers education is a powerful instrument in the hands of labor. An educational department was established in the union. Hundreds of our members have attended classes and have been helped to become conscious, intelligent union members. Under the supervision of the educational department, recreational and cultural activities—such as basketball, baseball, mandolin groups, dancing, outings, boat-rides and theater parties—have been carried on. The department has succeeded in developing the idea that a progressive union does not merely fight for an hour less work and a dollar more pay, but that it also helps teach its members what to do with that hour and with that dollar.

This is a bird's-eye view of our activities. The opposition in our union denounced and fought the administration on practically every con-

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

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

## STALINIST DISRUPTION CAMPAIGN

As we have already stated, the elections in our union are a time of inventory. However, instead of discussing the issues and problems confronting the union and the knitgoods workers, the Stalinists are deliberately confusing issues and acting generally as tho it were still the "third period" of the Communist Party. Any member who disagrees with them is a "fascist" or a "Nazi." The progressive administration is being attacked with the same methods as were used during the "third period" seven or eight years ago. In their campaign against the administration, the Stalinist opposition is trying to develop the idea in our union that the workers should not rely upon their own strength, upon their own militancy. It is important in this connection to point out the reaction of the employers towards the election campaign in the Knitgoods Workers Union.

Writes the Knitted Outerwear Times, official paper of the National Knitted Outerwear Association: "Particularly interesting in the general program (of the progressives.—Editor) is a plank calling for a class-struggle policy. . . . This section in the platform brings out into sharp relief the ideological differences which motivate the two opposing groups in the Knitgoods Workers Union. The Nelson group, dominated by the Lovestonites, opposes a policy of truck with employers, while the 'rank-and-file' group (the Stalinists.—Editor) such a policy is not considered to be of primary importance at the moment."

This shows what the so-called "People's Front" policy is in our union. Our progressive administration maintains the position of depending on the strength of the working class only. We do not want to have any "truck" with employers. To us and to the membership, this is of primary importance.

The literature of the opposition in the present election campaign is of such a nature that the employers reprint almost everything they say because all their agitation is that the union is getting weaker, that the union is losing membership, and this union is righting into the hands of the open shoppers. When the president of our International, David Dubinsky, pointed out in a letter to the knitgoods workers that, in 1938, the Knitgoods Workers Union showed a gain of 25% in membership as compared with 1937, the opposition said that Dubinsky was lying! But when we pointed out to them that, in 1937, a similar letter from President Dubinsky had shown a decline in membership, they had no answer to that.

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

Fortunately, the knitgoods workers have already had an opportunity to test the Stalinists as to their leadership. The knitgoods workers have also had the opportunity of testing the present progressive leadership of the Knitgoods Workers Union. At the last membership meeting, at which the election of an election-and-objection committee took place, the knitgoods workers gave their answer to the opposition. And, on March 23, 1939, thru an honest election conducted and supervised by this election-and-objection

## Dressmakers Win In Truck Fight

### Force Owners Under Collective Pact

By F. L.

**A** MAJOR victory was scored last week by the Dressmakers Union of the I.L.G.W.U. in the struggle against scabbing truck-owners, with the signing of agreements that meet the union's demand for the ending of non-union deliveries by the truckers and their encouragement of open shops.

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

## MILITANCY BRINGS VICTORY

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

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

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

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

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

## STRIKING MACHINISTS KEEP PLANT CLOSED



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

committee, the knitgoods workers will give them their answer once more. By reelecting the progressive administration, the knitgoods workers will again demonstrate that they do not intend to be misled but that they intend to have their union remain a constructive force within the labor movement.

## PROGRAM OF PROGRESSIVES

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

1. The organization of the unorganized in all knitted-outerwear centers.
2. The 35-hour week for all sections of the industry and in all parts of the country.
3. Conditions in all knitgoods agreements thruout the country to be the same.
4. Jobber responsibility for labor conditions in contracting shops.
5. For abolition of home-work and child labor in the knitted-outerwear industry.
6. For unity in the trade-union movement.
7. For industrial unionism and amalgamation of craft unions.
8. Against dual unionism.
9. For democracy in the trade unions.
10. For a farmer-labor party and the support of the American Labor Party.
11. For international labor solidarity.
12. For federal social and labor legislation.
13. Against war and fascism.
14. For a class-struggle policy.

The present progressive administration does not put forth this program merely for election purposes. Every plank in this program, if carried out, will mean the strengthening of the Knitgoods Workers Union. And the progressive administration, if reelected, pledges itself to mobilize the knitgoods workers to carry this program into life.

## Peace Parley Opens

(Continued from Page 1)

Communist Party held in February 1938 (reported in the Communist of March 1938), Roy Hudson stressed the same points. It was this program that made its appearance in Mr. Lewis's startling proposals. It is believed that Mr. Lewis was not aware of the source of his plan.

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

## Progress and Poverty

**T**HE O'Mahoney Committee, says one of the labor papers editorially, has piled up testimony showing how patents have enabled a few men to monopolize the glass-container industry. The effect on the workers has not been emphasized, altho the facts are startling.

Up to 1905, bottles, jars and other glass containers were made exclusively by hand. Then came Owen's

## Rules Pact Breach Not 'Unfair'

### Labor Board Decision Of Vital Importance

Washington, D. C.

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

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

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

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

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

## Trotskyite Twists In UAW Crisis

### SWP Turns Thrice in Three Weeks

By DONALD D. GRAHAM

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

## FROM STALIN TO MARTIN

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

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

A month later, May 14, 1938, the Socialist Appeal featured an editorial signed by James P. Cannon, in which he wrote: "In the crisis provoked by the Stalinist bid for power, the militants have no choice but to support the Martin administration as against the Stalinist-Frankenstein combination, and this support should be given openly, frankly and aggressively. . . . The U.A.W. under the Martin leadership remains by comparison the most progressive of the C.I.O. unions and by far the most democratic." By now, the Trotskyites had gone over to support of Martin—"aggressively."

## AGAINST C.I.O. INTERVENTION

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

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

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

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

## THREE WEEKS—THREE POSITIONS

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

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

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

On January 28, 1939, these same people called upon the auto workers to send delegates to Detroit, to the convention called by Martin, and thus bitterly denounced the Cleveland convention called by the suspended Board members: "Whatever illusions part of the membership may have about the Cleveland gathering, whatever locals may in honest confusion send genuine militant delegates to it, it is guaranteed in advance that the Cleveland meeting will be a 100% Stalinist-stooge assembly. Every move, every motion, every resolution, will be dictated by Earl Browder in exactly the same manner that he dictates the proceedings of the American League for Peace and Democracy, the I.W.O. or the conventions of the Communist Party itself."

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

## APPLAUSE FOR FRAME-UP

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

Today, they are shrieking to high heaven about Martin "going to the A. F. of L." How dreadful! They know very well that Hillman and Murray have been conducting secret negotiations for months with the leaders of the A. F. of L. And have these last-minute champions of the C.I.O. forgotten their own support and defense of Lundberg when he led the west-coast seamen into the A. F. of L.?

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

## Red Caps Prepare for Fight On 'Tip' Wage System

### Employers Seek To Count Tips In Minimum Wage

Chicago, Ill.

**E**STABLISHING temporary headquarters in Washington, D. C., the International Brotherhood of Red Caps is girding itself with detailed preparations for what promises to be one of the greatest and most significant fights in the short history of this militant union of Red-Caps, station porters and ushers.

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

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

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

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

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

The outcome of this controversy holds great significance for the workers outside the immediate organizational scope of the International Brotherhood of Red Caps. It is estimated that approximately 500,000 service employees thruout the country depend largely upon tips as a form of income. Included among these are restaurant workers, hotel employees, Pullman porters, dining car workers, etc. While many of these workers are definitely excluded from the provisions of the Federal Wage-and-Hour Act, the possibility of state legislation modeled upon the

Brotherhood maintain that a precedent on the question of tips established at this time by the Federal Wage-and-Hour Administration will have its effects upon future state legislation.

President Willard S. Townsend is directing the work from the Washington office, while Secretary-Treasurer John L. Yancey is in charge of the Chicago headquarters.

machine for blowing bottles. Here is what happened:

In 1899, 28,370 wage-earners produced 1,900,000,000 containers valued at \$21,500,000. In 1935, production had risen to 6,000,000,000 containers valued at \$120,000,000, but the number of wage-earners had dropped to 24,044. The average production per man had gone from about 40,000 containers a year to about 245,000,

# Poland And The Soviet Union

By P. GUILLAUME

Paris, France

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

### PLAYING THE LACKEY

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

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

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

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

### THE DOUBLE GAME

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

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

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

# Chase's Book Makes Stir

(Continued from page 1)

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

### "FELLOW-TRAVELERS" AT WORK

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

# The Danger Is Growing Fast!

TWO weeks ago the American Institute of Public Opinion, headed by Dr. George Gallup, announced the results of a survey that should prove of vital interest to everyone concerned with the welfare of the labor movement.

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

On the licensing of corporations: yes, 57%; no, 43%.

On the licensing of trade unions: yes, 75%; no, 25%.

In other words, taking the people as a whole, many more by far are in favor of governmental curbs on labor organizations than on corporations!

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

	License Corporations	
	Yes	No
Upper-income group	38%	62%
Middle-income group	55%	45%
Lower-income group	69%	31%

	License Labor Unions	
	Yes	No
Upper-income group	76%	24%
Middle-income group	73%	27%
Lower-income group	73%	27%

What do these figures mean? They signify that:

1. Even among the middle-income and lower-income groups—embracing the workers and lower-middle-class people of this country—sentiment is definitely stronger for curbing trade unions than for curbing corporations.

2. The middle-income and lower-income groups (workers) are almost as strongly in favor of the government curbing unions as is the upper-income group (the group that includes the employers).

These figures, even if they are only approximately accurate and there is good reason to believe that they are more than that, mean that the great bulk of the white-collar and middle-class people and a considerable part of the more backward sections of the workers are definitely suspicious of labor organization, perhaps even hostile to it, and are ready to have unions "regulated" and curbed by law. Even among the organized workers there is plainly indicated a certain indifference and apathy. This may sound "discouraging" or "pessimistic"—but, remember, 73% of the lower-income group are in favor of governmental licensing of unions! Nothing is so fatal as ignoring unpleasant facts.

What do we see thruout the country? A rising tide of sentiment against the labor movement, part of the general conservative trend so strikingly displayed in the elections last November. To a considerable extent, organized labor is beginning to pay the price of its own mistakes. The suicidal dissension in the trade-union movement has undermined labor's economic and political power, has spread discouragement and apathy thru the ranks of the workers, and what is perhaps even worse, has antagonized "public

opinion" and alienated the masses of the middle class, whose good-will it is so important to gain and preserve. The disastrous effects of disunity have been aggravated a hundred-fold by the disruptive intrigues and irresponsible adventures of the Stalinists wherever they have been able to worm their way into the labor movement. Stalinism thrives on dissension and dissension is multiplied by Stalinism: both together are largely responsible for a dangerous trend towards the isolation of the labor movement amidst a thickening atmosphere of hostility and suspicion.

The tendency which now shows itself in such threatening form is not new. More than once in the past two years did we call attention to its earlier manifestations and warn against what was ahead unless organized labor sat up and took notice. Now the situation is truly menacing. The tide of reaction is engulfing ever-greater sections of the population. The forces of the employing class have launched an offensive on many fronts to rob labor of its gains of recent years and to hamstring its organizations by all sorts of "regulatory" and "restrictive" legislation. What that would mean it is hardly necessary to say.

The time is short and prompt action is needed. The labor movement can still make good its losses and forge ahead to greater victories. For this two things are necessary: unity and the elimination of the corrupting influence of Stalinism. Peace negotiations between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. are just beginning. The negotiators should never forget that on the outcome of their deliberations hangs a great deal of the future of labor movement.

# Australian Labor Bars Jap Iron

By JACK RYAN

Sydney, Australia  
January 23, 1939.

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

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

### FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INTERVENES

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

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

Threat of licenses, however, failed to break the militancy of the Port Kembla men who, by intense picketing, ensured that nobody approached the licensing office. The result was that as only licensed workers could work and nobody, apart from foremen, had obtained licenses, all work at the port was completely stopped.

Some of the pig iron was railed to Sydney for shipment but it was discovered and Sydney watersiders refused to handle it. Fearing that the important port of Sydney might also become completely tied up, the powers-that-be quietly sent it back where it came from.

The struggle then reached a deadlock with the watersiders grimly determined and strongly supported morally and financially by the trade-union and labor movement thruout Australia. The federal government's efforts on behalf of the steel trust looked fishy, even to its own supporters, because only a few months before the government had placed a ban on the export of iron ore to Japan on the grounds that the proved iron-ore resources of the country were not inexhaustible. Even the most conservative newspapers demanded an explanation of such inconsistency. If iron ore is banned, why not pig iron?—was the question asked everywhere. The answer seems easy. The Broken Hill Proprietary makes a profit on pig iron. The Japanese had leased iron-ore deposits in North Australia.

### TERMS OF AGREEMENT

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

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

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

### Timely Pamphlets

- PEOPLE'S FRONT ILLUSION  
by Jay Lovestone .....20c
- WHERE WE STAND: Program of the I.L.L.A. .... 5c.
- NEW FRONTIERS FOR LABOR  
by Jay Lovestone .....10c
- WORKERS AGE BOOK SHOP  
131 W. 33rd Street, New York

# U.A.W. Convention Rallies Workers

### Ultimate Affiliation Left to Membership

(Continued from Page 1)

Independent political action of labor, separate and distinct from the existing major parties; against the amendment of the National Labor Relations Act; for strong measures against lynching and persecution of Negroes, election of a Negro to the Board as representative of the thousands of Negroes in the union and the industry; favoring complete unification of the labor movement provided the industrial form of organization is guaranteed for the mass-production industries; providing for the election by referendum and the right to recall of International Board members and officers, this to be voted on by the membership and, if passed, to go into effect at the next convention of the union.

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

So determined was the resistance of the progressives that they were able to block this proposal.

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

Differences also developed over a constitutional amendment calling for

Traveler said to me the other day: "You know that Tommy Corcoran gave the President some stupid advice on that Amie appointment?" F.D.R. himself can do no wrong!

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

a withdrawal card from a local union by any worker who is unemployed more than 12 months. Progressives fought in vain against the proposal, pointing to the possible danger to unionism incurred in forcing these unemployed to leave their local unions.

### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

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

The convention organized itself as an independent body. The resolution dealing with the problem of affiliation points out that further relations with C.I.O. "could only be accomplished by sacrificing our democratic autonomy" and authorizes the incoming International Board to study the entire problem and take such steps as it might find necessary on the question of affiliation with any national body of labor. The resolution stipulates, however, that no affiliation can take place without a guarantee of "autonomy and democratic control" and that no steps by the International Board are to be taken until such time as the Board submits its recommendation to the membership for approval.

The prophecies of the split-off Thomas faction that the Detroit convention would constitute a group of "Martin stooges" were proven thoroughly false. The convention showed that the U.A.W. is a national organization, far more national organization than the Cleveland convention will be able to show. In membership representation also, it showed the active support of at least 100,000 good-standing workers.

The convention did indicate however that a process of differentiation has been at work. There are definite signs of a growing cohesion of ultra-conservative elements in the union on the one hand and, on the other, a growing crystallization of progressive thought and opinion in the union. Whatever differences there were at the open or closed sessions of the convention showed more or less the same line-up. The progressive trade unionists fought a principled battle on a number of progressive issues. In fact, their fight was concentrated almost exclusively on issues and much less on positions and personalities. An interesting feature of this convention was the first definite sign of a widening gap between the progressive trade unionists and President Martin. The former did not hesitate, on a number of questions, to take issue openly with him.

The only contest in the election of officers occurred over the secretary-treasurer. Delegate Dorrio, backed by the progressives, received almost 400 votes as against 600 for Jerry Aldred.

# Books

by Jim Cork

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

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

Mr. Farley understands politics in the strictly American sense of the term: winning the nomination and getting the vote. His stories of how these things are done have the advantage of coming from the pen of probably the most eminent practitioner in that line, but they are hardly sensational in the light they cast on dark places. No breath of scandal ever sullies these pages: the politicians Mr. Farley introduces us to would scorn to be underhanded and wouldn't dream of engaging in shady or corrupt practices. They are all sturdy, upstanding Americans who don't parade their virtues, of course, but who needn't be ashamed of themselves either. In fact, Mr. Farley's book on American politics probably wouldn't bring the blush of shame to the cheek of even the most unsophisticated student of "government" in an American college; that's how pure it is.

In addition to being pure, the work is rather superficial, even within its own limitation. True to character, Mr. Farley exhibits neither interest in nor understanding of the underlying social and political meaning of the New Deal; in part, of course, this may be a sort of protective coloration, disguising a fundamental hostility. But, considering that he is the most eminent practical expert on the voting population, it is certainly surprising that Mr. Farley should ignore the most significant development in this field in decades—the profound structural change in the voting public from "vertical" (sectional, "racial," etc.) to "horizontal" (income-group) lines, which set in during Mr. Roosevelt's first term. Much of what has happened even within the realm of "politics" (in Mr. Farley's sense) must remain a mystery without a clear grasp of this basic development.

All this, of course, is not to say that Mr. Farley's book is not without its value. It will make him some well-earned money (that's the reason he wrote the book, he says); and it will reward its reader with some interesting stories of men and events and even some grains of political wisdom. Almost buried in a mass of threadbare platitudes is a revealing statement like this: "President Roosevelt was moving about in a leisurely schedule in which he did little more than 'shadow-box' with the main issues, taking no chances of losing an election that was sure to go his way." And Mr. Farley's effective sketches of Louis McHenry Howe, Al Smith, Huey Long and others are of more than passing interest.

W. H.

# High Court Shifts In Labor Outlook

### Recent Rulings Point to Dangerous Trend

By ROBERT WALTERS

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

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

### AFTER ELECTIONS COURT TURNS

Then came the 1938 elections, a big setback for the New Deal, reflecting a distinct shift of sentiment among decisive sections of the American people, especially the middle classes. Is it an accident that, in the first big labor-relations case after the elections, the Consolidated-Edison case, the Supreme Court rendered a decision that, in part at least, was unfavorable to the Board?

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

In all three decisions—in the *Fansteel*, *Columbian Enamelling* and *Sands Manufacturing* decisions—the Supreme Court drastically restricted the powers of the Board and opened the way for new methods of evasion and frustration of the act on the part of the employers.

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

during strikes; indeed, it may be expected that efforts will be made by anti-union employers to goad workers into acts that might be construed as "unlawful" in order to deprive them of the protection of the Wagner Act. The sweeping significance of this is pointed out in the *Reed* dissent: "The issue . . . is: Can an employee on strike or let out by an unfair labor practice, be discharged, finally, by an employer so as to be ineligible for reinstatement under the [Wagner] Act. . . . As now construed by the court, the employer may discharge any striker, with or without cause, so long as the discharge is not used to interfere with self-organization or collective bargaining. Friction engendered in labor strife may readily give rise to conduct, from nose-thumbing to sabotage, which will give fair occasion for discharge on grounds other than those prohibited by the Labor Act."

2. In the *Sands* case, the high court ruled that "the [Wagner] Act does not prohibit an effective discharge for repudiation by the employee of his agreement. . . ." This goes even further, perhaps, than the *Fansteel* decision by making breach of contract by an employee as well as "illegal" acts by an employee, valid reason for discharging him.

3. An employer, after breach of contract by an employee, is under no obligation to bargain further with the striker or union but may sign a contract with another representative five union (an A. F. of L. affiliate in the *Sands* case). Because one union is the proper sole-bargaining agency before a strike, it does not necessarily remain so, according to the court in the *Fansteel* case, if, as a result of their conduct, some of the strikers are "legitimately" discharged. Thus the court overruled the Board's order favoring the striking union.

4. The Board's discretionary power is further limited. The Board's discretion is subject "to the limitation that its actions may not be arbitrary, unreasonable or capricious." What that means can be seen from the further ruling that the Board's action in the *Fansteel* case "transcended" the limit of discretion.

### AMENDING THE WAGNER ACT

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

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

(Continued on Page 4)

# "Democracies" Fear Democracy

HOW can a war between fascist and pro-fascist governments be represented as a war between fascism and democracy?

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

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

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