Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Senate Guts Wage Bill

Make Minimum Wage The Maximum and Maximum Hours The Minimum

The Senate Labor and Education Committee submitted its report on July 8 on the Black-Connery Wages-Hours Act upon which it, jointly with the House Labor Committee, has been holding hearings for several weeks previously.

As reported back by the Senate committee, the measure is so completely mangled by amendment as to amount virtually to a new bill altogether and one greatly inferior from the standpoint of labor. Practically all of the "teeth" of the original draft are gone, together with most of the more liberal provisions. As it stands now, the Senate proposal is of hardly any value; indeed, in some of its provisions, it may turn out to be rather detrimental than otherwise.

The original child labor provisions are retained—but with the possibility of exceptions. The wage-fixing Section 5, opposed by almost all spokesmen of organized labor, has been eliminated. No business concern is to be exempted because of its small size. But, on the other hand, the original prohibition of labor espionage and strikebreaking as "oppressive labor practises" is not to be found in the new bill. In the measure as revised by the committee, it was decided to fix the very highest minimum wage at 40c an hour and the very lowest maximum work-week at 40 hours. Under no circmustances can the board raise these standards; it can, however, lower them—that is, prescribe lower minimum wages and a higher maximum work-week—at its own discretion, whenever it feels that the imposition of the 40-40 rule would be "too drastic." Geographical differentials, meaning the official sanction of starvation standards for the South, are also permitted in the new bill, despite widespread protest from labor organizations and certain industrial interests.

The whole emphasis, according to Senator Black, will be upon "caution" in the application of even these thoroly inadequate provisions.

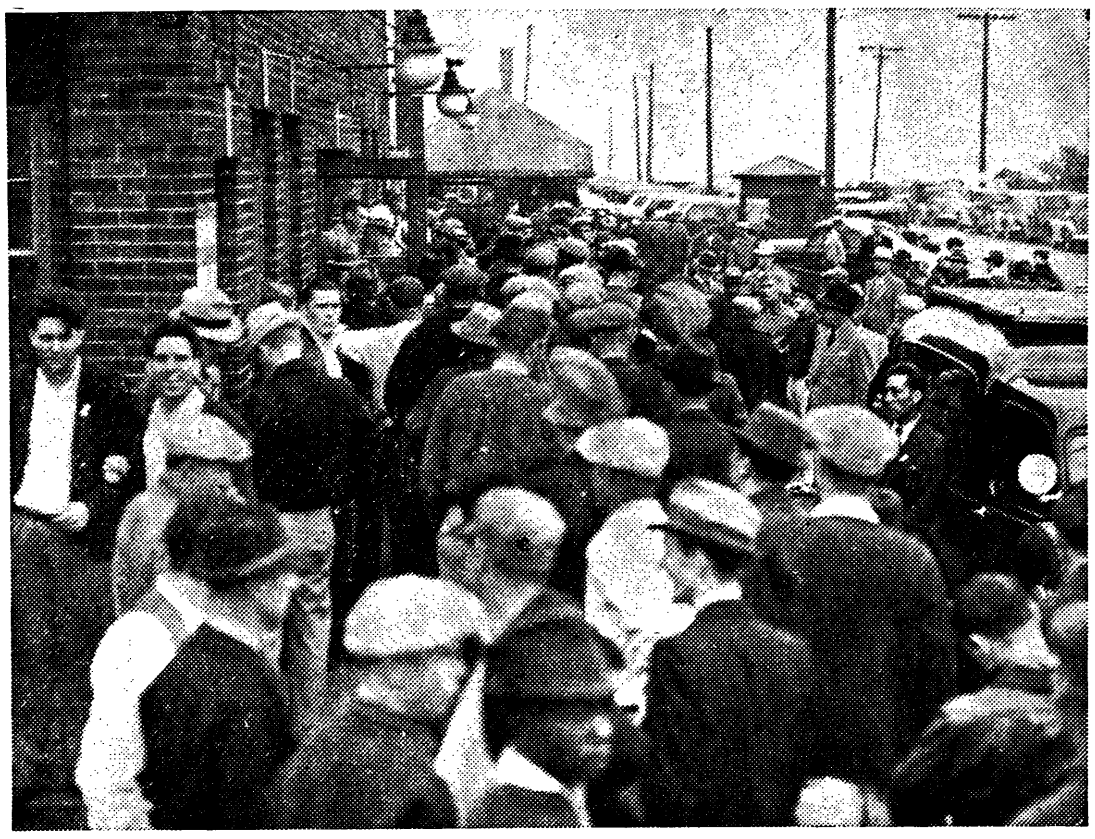
The Senate committee is said to have been unanimous in its report. The House committee will probably not present its report until July 25.

CIO TO ORGANIZE MARITIME WORKERS

The C.I.O. has stepped into the maritime field and is preparing a "streamlined" campaign to organize the 300,000 workers in that field. Conferences had been held for about a week with John L. Lewis and various maritime labor leaders, including Harry Bridges, Joseph Curran and others. A committee of seven, headed by John Brophy, director of the C.I.O., and including Rathbone of the radio telegraphists, Pinchin of the officers, Malone of the firemen, and John Green, president of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilders, in addition to the two mentioned above, was chosen to lead the drive.

Lewis announced that after the drive had made headway a national conference would be called. Full support will be given to the "Maritime Conference" by the C.I.O.

INLAND STEEL WORKERS RETURN TO PLANT IN VICTORY PACT



FRENCH S.P. HITS POUM ARRESTS

BY a large majority the Conference of the Seine Federation of the French Socialist Party has expressed sympathy for the P.O.U.M. leaders on trial in Spain, and has demanded a democratic trial. The French Committee for the Spanish Revolution has issued an appeal on behalf of the P.O.U.M. leaders, to be signed by well-known authors and others, and is organising a meeting in Paris in defence of the arrested leaders.

* * *

An enlarged council meeting of the Socialist Left Federation has unanimously passed a resolution expressing "deep concern with the arrests of Gorkin, Nin, and the other members of the Central Committee of the P.O.U.M. on charges of conspiracy and treason. It asks for every facility to be given the prisoners for their fair defence, and will support the setting up of a committee of enquiry for purposes of investigation of the charges and observation of the trials."

Japan Launches New Attack On China; Conflict Spreads

The crisis in the Far East shifted last week from the Soviet-Japanese conflict on the Amur River to serious clashes between Japanese attacking troops and Chinese defensive forces at Lukuchiao, near Peiping. The fighting began on Wednesday, July 7, when units of Japan's North China garrison on night manouvers opened fire upon soldiers of the Chinese Twenty-Ninth Army. Two days later an armistice was arranged by which the Japanese were to retire to the east of the Yunting and the Chinese to the west. But only a few hours later, the Japanese broke the truce by pouring in reinforcements from their powerful Manchuokuan army and the armed conflict began again.

Altho the clashes so far have not been very extensive, they seem to be very serious in their consequences. Speculating on the inner crisis within the Soviet Union and the alleged "demoralization' of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, the Japanese Army chiefs seem determined to take the opportunity of the disturbances near Peiping to push their scheme for control of North China to the point of completion. The Japanese attitude, which for the last few months had made a show of conciliation, has suddenly become extremely belligerent.

From Shanghai and Nanking comes the report that the Chinese authorities are preparing for a defensive war, believing that the present conflict will not be localized. The government-controlled newspapers and patriotic societies are demanding an immediate declaration of war against Japan as an answer to repeated Japanese aggressions. Some of the best Chinese troops have been sent to the scene of the conflict and an air mobilization has been ordered. There is general feeling that the recent gold-purchase agreement with the United States has greatly strengthened the hand of the Chinese government financially and politically.

* * *

Moscow, U.S.S.R.

In a statement by Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, issued on July 9, Tokyo was warned that the Soviet Union would resort to armed force to keep the Japanese out of Siberia. In connection with this statement, the Soviet Foreign Office accused Japan of deliberately violating the truce agreement that had ended the conflict on the Amur River.

Hotel Workers Strike In Paris For 40-Hour Week; Cabinet Raises Taxes

Overriding the pleas of Premier Camille Chautemps, the union of hotel, cafe and restaurant workers called a general strike in Paris early July 10 in order to force the employers to abide by the 40-hour week law in the form of five 8-hour days. The hotel, cafe and restaurant owners had previously declared their refusal to recognize the law and had threatened a lockout. Premier Chautemps, of the People's Front Cabinet, attempted to persuade the workers to yield for the sake of maintaining peace during the Paris Exposition and the tourist season. The workers refused to listen to such counsel and a widespread strike movement is the result.

* * *

Using its recently granted decree powers, the Chautemps People's Front Cabinet last week raised taxes by about eight billion francs, partly by direct levies but mostly by an increase of indirect taxation. Railway passenger and freight rates were increased and the price of tobacco raised 20 percent. Postal and telephone rates were advanced by about a third. In a more cautious form, Finance Minister Bonnet thus embarked on the program that the Blum regime had contemplated before its fall.

The fact that the larger part of the eight billion francs in new revenue will come out of indirect taxation is causing much protest in the ranks of the workers and lower middle classes, upon whom the burden of the new financial program will mostly fall. It is expected that the issue will arise at the Socialist Party congress to begin at Marseilles on July 10, since resolutions against the reactionary policy of the Chautemps government have already been introduced. So far not a word of criticism has emerged from official communist ranks.

Steel Workers Win New Pact

Strikers Stop Scabs In Republic Ohio Plant, Defying Police

Following on the heels of the Inland Steel Company's strike settlement, the Indiana Harbor plant of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co., reopens this week for its regular 7,000 steel workers, in an agreement reached separately by the company and the S.W.O.C. with the governor of the state. Pickets have been withdrawn by Van A. Bittner, regional S.W.O.C. director, after he proclaimed the "memorandum of understanding" a victory for the strikers. According to Governor Townsend, the company agreed to bargain with the Amalgamated Association (S.W.O.C.) for its members.

This second important victory in the strikes against the independents in "little steel" shows that the companies are not having the smooth road for their "back-to-work" movement which their press releases claim.

Sharp resistance of strikers at the Republic Steel plant in Massillon, Ohio, further indicated that the backbone of the strike is far from being broken. The strikers sought to prevent the night-shift of scabs from entering the plant. One was killed and scores wounded as police, National Guardsmen and company thugs disrupted by armed force the picket lines of the strikers and charged them mercilessly with guns and tear-gas riot guns. The deaths of workers that can be laid directly at the door of Republic Steel and Tom Girdler now total fifteen. Nevertheless, the aim of the plutocratic steel mogul is thwarted, for the steel workers are not yielding one inch and will yet force Republic and the others to sign on the dotted line.

Playing his now accustomed role, William Green "intervened" in the steel strike to "drool from his madman's lips" slurs and anti-labor slanders against the heroic striking steel workers. Ignoring the agreement won in Inland and the breaks made in the rest of the front by the S.W.O.C., Green did his best to aid the steel tycoons in breaking the morale of the workers. But neither Green nor Girdler nor Grace can prevent the complete unionization of the steel industry.

ALP SETS COUNTY CONVENTION DATES

The American Labor Party county convention dates were set this week by the Administrative Committee of the Labor Party, it was announced by Alex Rose, executive secretary. Bronx County will lead by holding its meeting July 29, New York county committeemen will gather August 5, the Kings County Convention will take place August 12 and Queens County August 20.

The conventions will elect county officers and executive committee members who will conduct the business of the party until the organization meeting of the next county committees which will be chosen in the primary elections of 1938.

CNT-FAI EXPOSE NEGRIN'S COURSE

(*We publish below the leading article in the June 4, 1937 issue of the* Boletin de Informacion, *published in Barcelona by the great anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation, C.N.T., and the anarchist organizations, F.A.I. This article will serve very well to illustrate the true attitude of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. to the new Negrin government and its reactionary course.* — The Editor)

* * *

Made bold by their apparent success during the past month, the bourgeoisie, under the capable leadership of the Communist Party, is picking up momentum in its assault upon the conquests of the working class. What at first started as a series of isolated provocations soon took on the character of a nation-wide campaign. What at first seemed to be nothing but mere propaganda for a return to the status quo prior to the 19th of July, is now beginning to take on the scarecrow robes of the former bourgeois republic.

The Course Of Reaction

First, they threw the trade union organizations out of the government and concentrated the latter in the hands of the bourgeos republican and right wing socialist and communist parties. Now they are working like mad to transform the economic order that has been in the process of development since July 19th. Once again they want to take the factories and the shops, the mines and the fields and the means of transport out of the hands of the workers and return them to the bourgeoisie. If they don't demand this all at once but cloak it under the slogan of "municipalization," their designs are none the less clear to the workers and peasants of Spain. A drive is now on to overturn the entire system of economy—now, when such tampering with the economic order is fraught with the greatest danger of the disorganization of all the war industries and transport, so vital for the conduct of the war.

In the very midst of the war, the counter-revolutionary bourgeosie, aided and abetted by the Communist Party of Spain and the P.S.U.C. of Catalonia, are engaging in distinctly new provocations that bode ill for the future tranquility of anti-fascist Spain. Suddenly, out of the clear blue, they have decided to convene parliament again in Catalonia, to discuss and pass upon the acts and decisions of the people in the course of their revolutionary and creative activities. This parliament, which collapsed like a house of cards when the fascist generals rose, and which did not dare to show its face during all these long months, is now being called to a session to weigh what has been accomplished. If any parliament was over-incompetent to legislate for a given society, the present one is such. Elected under completely different conditions, faced with a totally different society, representing a class which has been, at least partially, displaced from its former ruling positions, the parliament which is scheduled to sit in the near future definitely represents nobody but the collection of individuals comprising its membership. This tactic, too, is an obvious one.

Making Hay While The Sun Shines

Everything points to the fact that the Communist Party and the bourgeois parties are making hay while the sun shines. They know full well that the workers have the power to shape society in Spain as they will and when they will. They know that no force at their command could ever stop the workers. They also know that the workers will do everything possible to avoid a civil war while they are carrying on another war against fascist invasion. Worse still, they would prefer to see the entire war against Franco collapse rather than allow the workers to win the right to create a new society based on liberty, equality and justice. They therefore take this opportunity to seize as much as possible from the workers because they feel certain that the workers are not in a position to resist too much. They are trying to put the working class on the defensive, to concentrate as much power as possible into their own hands in preparation for the final struggle to come when fascism is defeated and the workers proceed to take over society and recreate it along lines of greater equality.

But the workers are watching developments closely, and are also preparing for the coming struggle. The present period of calm seems to be a period of drawing up the lines of struggles. The early days of happy union among all the anti-fascists are definitely past.

French SP Lefts Hail POUM Line

(*We publish below a very significant leaflet issued a few weeks ago by the Committee for the Spanish Revolution, a united front body recently set up in Paris including such well-known left socialists as Jean Zyromski and Marceau Pivert. This leaflet, which reflects the attitude of the best elements of the French working class, is earnestly recommended to the attention of Norman Thomas and other American socialists who, apparently, still believe that "the anarchists and the P.O.U.M. were responsible for the rising in Catalonia."—The Editor.*)

The blood which ran in floods on May 3, 1937, is the same blood that the heroic Catalonian workers had already given so generously during the July days last year when, with whatever arms they could get, they threw themselves against machine guns and cannon in order to save the city from the shameful slavery of fascism. The blood which flowed is the blood of the valiant syndicalist and anarchist militants of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., of the revolutionists of the P.O.U.M.—who today, by a bitter irony, are being presented to you as agent provocators in the pay of Franco.

Blood has flown because, thru an incredible provocation, an attempt was made to disarm the people. You, who celebrate annually the glorious memory of the Commune, recall that it was for the very same reason that, on March 18, 1871, the Parisian workers rose against the "republican" government of M. Thiers. Remember that all our socialist masters have warned that the arming of the people is the only effective guarantee for preserving the revolutionary conquests of the masses.

They are lying to you when they try to justify this bloody deed by the necessity of maintaining order in the rear. Revolutionary order was being maintained in the factories and the streets by the workers' unions.

The disarming of the people by the Assault Guards of the petty bourgeosie and the old police officials is a preparation for the coming destruction of the revolutionary conquests, for the restoration of the capitalist order, for the establishment of an anti-working class dictatorship under the name of the republic.

They are lying to you when they tell you that the conduct of the war demands the suspension of the revolutionary activity of the masses and the indefinite postponement of the perspectives of a social transformation. History shows that

(*Continued on Page* 4)

The Civil War in Spain

WAR AND REVOLUTION

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

In critical times the art of using language to conceal thought becomes to the ruling class and its political agents the most important of all the arts. Convention, habit and routine have lost their accustomed power: the masses shake off their age-old lethargy, lift their eyes in hope towards the citadels of power, seize barracks and overthrow bastilles almost literally with naked hands, question men and institutions that have no warrant but their age and oppressive weight, develop amazing initiative and begin to move on their own behalf. Then old political leaders hastily undergo a change of costume, ever easier than a change of heart, and appear bedecked in phrygian caps and red ribbons. Radical phraseology begins to sprout like a red rash all over the ancient and infirm body politic. The masses, so newly entered on the stage of politics, are confused; men and events are seen through rose-colored glasses till bitter experience teaches them to distinguish between the appearance and the reality, the phrase and the substance, the mask and the visage that hides behind it.

During such periods of honeymoon confusion, everybody is a "revolutionary" and no one is so foolhardy as to come out openly against "the revolution." The energy of the masqueraders is cautiously bent to the task of keeping it as much phrase and as little substance as possible, of slowing it up, preventing the application of its most urgently needed measures, and sabotaging it in its own name. "For the sake of the revolution," the revolution itself must be postponed till "better," i.e. less revolutionary, times.

"First Win the War . . ."

One of the most ingenious of these formulae is the slogan being advanced to sabotage the revolution in Spain: "First win the war, then make the revolution." It is also one of the most dangerous, for all history teaches that truly democratic and popular wars can only be waged and won by revolutionary means. Indeed, Spain has already shown, as France in 1789, Russia in 1917, and Ethiopia by negative demonstration in 1935, that wars for freedom are lost if the revolution flags and can be won against the most fearful odds of internal opposition and foreign invasion of a coalsced reactionary world, if revolution frees the amazing energies latent in the masses of the population when they have taken their destinies in their own hands. Those energies far outweigh and demoralize the fighting force of superior armies sent against them (superior in arms and numbers and wealth and training, indeed in all save morale) for all armies are made up of workers and peasants and the revolution has an expansive power that is as incalculable as it is irresistible when it is freely developing according to its inner necessities and the laws of its own being.

The Transfer of Armed Power

On July 17, 1936 the bourgeois republic, the Azaña "People's Front" government, proved incapable of proceeding against the armed rebellion just as it had been incapable of preventing it and incapable of disarming the feudal monarchy during five years of republican rule. The same social fact, that it feared the armed masses even more than the armed reaction, paralyzed it now as it had paralyzed it in the past. The war against fascism could not even *begin* until the masses began the revolution. On July 19, when the workers took matters into their own hands, disregarded the cowardly and treacherous government which was trying to negotiate surrender. violated the government's decision not to arm them and established their own armed forces, they thereby began the war and the revolution to all its conclusions and no amount of weakness in the conduct of certain phases of the war can obscure this fact. Indeed, the two go together in this also, for the conduct of the war has suffered in direct proportion with the weaknesses and inconsistencies of the proletariat in the carrying through of the revolution. But from this fact alone one thing at least is clear: *if there had been no revolution, there would have been no war.*

In the great cities, above all in Barcelona, the victorious workers, arms in hand and faced with the necessity of provisioning and equipping its armed forces, immediately proceeded to the seizure of the factories, the existent stocks of materials and foodstuffs, and the means of transportation. Thanks to that, they were able for a brief period to assume the offensive and advance far into Aragon and much of the rest of Spain. It is noteworthy that, once the workers lost the initiative to the government in place of constituting themselves as the government, loyalist Spain was never again, up to this writing, able to assume the offensive.

The President and Cabinet, powerless to prevent the seizure of the factories by the workers, did its best to limit and restrain. Its decrees are aimed at restricting seizures to factories whose owners have openly declared for the rebellion. But since the workers took the main industrial towns by storm within a few days of the outbreak of the rebellion (Barcelona in two days, Madrid in three, Valencia in less than a week), the majority of the owners of industry had neither time nor inclination to declare themselves fascists. Among these "loyal" factory owners, and the "loyal" landowners similarly circumstanced, and in the political organizations which they support and which defend them, is the real haven of the much talked of "Fifth Column" of sympathizers with and secret supporters of Franco, which the Communist Party pretends to "see" among the revolutionaries who saved Barcelona from fascism on July 19.

The Revolution on the Land

The next step of the masses under revolutionary leadership, still without the leadership and against the will of the republican ministers, was the wholesale seizure of the land, whereby the backbone of the economic power behind feudal-military reaction was broken, and the peasant was mobilized, *by revolution,* for the prosecution of the war. Later, the rehabilitated and reconstructed government, finally with a communist in the ungrateful role of official restrainer of land occupation and collectivization (Minister of Agriculture Uribe), sought to limit land seizure to the estates of openly fascist landowners. Whole villages and regions, as the recent trials of the communist Mayors of Villanueva de Alcardete and Villamayor have proved,[1] were put back under the leadership of the *caciques,* the old village tyrants in new republican and communist dress and the center of gravity was shifted from the agricultural workers and poor peasants, mostly anarchists and socialists, to the middle peasants (Spanish equivalent of the Russian kulaks) and the old administrative bureaucracy.

Landowners who were prevented by the rapid enveloping action of the masses from openly declaring their reactionary sympathies, are continued in their possessions and power or, where their estates are partially divided, are to be given compensation. Thus the economic power of rural reaction is to be partially changed in form but not destroyed, while the magnificent intiative of the landworkers and revolutionary peasants which mobilized the countryside for the war against fascism precisely where it is strongest, has been and is being discouraged and destroyed.

Next Week: WINNING THE WAR.

1. There are scores of such cases pending against village and provincial authorities especially in the regions of Castille. Yet when the C.N.T. and Castilla Libre (both syndicalist papers of Madrid) raised the question of the terrorization of villages and the assassination of the members of their agricultural workers union by rural authorities, the papers in question were repeatedly suppressed. The Mayor of Villanueva de Alcardete was finally sentenced to death not for the attacks made by him and the local Guardia Civil under his leadership against defenseless peasants but because he used his power for the rape and the murder of two peasant girls. For his social crimes he was never brought to account, though they were at last officially recognized at the trial. When Castilla Libre made its accusations against him, it was suppressed by the censorship, and the communist paper, Mundo Obrero, defended the mayor as a "good comrade and proven revolutionist" and charged Castilla Libre with being "provocative and fascist" in its report. (See Mundo Obrero, April 27, 1937). How the Communist Party's present policies lead inevitably to the infiltration of such elements into its ranks will be analyzed in a later article.

THE NEW DEAL AND TRADE UNIONS

By WILL HERBERG

The movement for governmental regulation of trade unions, which has been making itself increasingly felt in recent months, stems from two distinct sources and manifests itself in two distinct forms. From one direction, it is no more than the latest phase of the century-long effort of the employing class to cripple and obstruct the normal activities of the labor organizations; in this sense, it is the legitimate successor to such oppressive devices as the early conspiracy legislation and the latter-day labor injunction. But, from another angle, the tendency towards governmental control is really the expression of an essential phase of the labor policy of the New Deal.

The Restrictive Program Of Reaction

That the employing class of this country is today more determined than ever to undermine and weaken the trade union movement by means of governmental restrictions is, of course, obvious enough. The great upsurge of labor under the inspiration of the C.I.O. has naturally resulted in renewed effort in this direction. Trade union incorporation—which, by the way, the employers once opposed because they feared it might strengthen the legal standing and prestige of the labor organizations—is but one aspect of the restrictive program of big business. In this respect, the program adopted early this year by the New York State Chamber of Commerce is perhaps typical altho by no means as far-reaching as others that might be mentioned. The main points in this plan are (New York Herald-Tribune, February 4, 1937):

"General incorporation statutes for labor unions be enacted in order to facilitate their regulation and functioning. . . . .

"Provision be made that the privileges now enjoyed by trade unions . . . be given only to incorporated unions.

"Labor organizations be required to file statements of their receipts and expenditures, salaries paid, etc., and their accounts be audited and made available to the public as well as to their members.

"Union elections be properly supervised and voting on such important actions as strikes be taken by secret ballot, provision being made for an honest count and freedom from corrupt influences."

That schemes such as this, some of which have been introduced as legislative proposals in various states, hitherto without much success, are framed and advocated by big business with hostile intent is perfectly obvious and is indeed hardly denied. But governmental regulation seems utterly different when it is presented as a phase of the labor program of the New Deal, for has not the New Deal manifested an attitude towards labor quite distinct from that of the old-line reactionaries with whom the Chamber of Commerce spokesmen are identified? Under such circumstances, the whole problem takes on a new aspect, far more complicated and many-sided, far more potentially dangerous.

New Deal's Labor Theory

Inherent in the New Deal from its very beginning has been a well-defined theory of labor organization in relation to government. Originally strongly emphasized in New Deal circles, this theory was later allowed to recede to the background and be half forgotten only to be again revived in the present situation; at all times, however, it has remained the underlying concept of the New Deal in the sphere of labor.

To grasp the real nature of this theory, we must go back to the early days of the N.R.A., to the days when General Hugh L. Johnson set the tone of the administration's labor policy. On August 31, 1933, Mr. Dudley Cates, upon the occasion of his resignation as deputy administrator of the N.R.A., made public the following frank statement of N.R.A. labor policy (New York Times, September 1, 1933):

"The N.I.R.A. is intended to establish foundations for mutually satisfactory relations between employers and employees in the public interest thru collective bargaining. But the only existing mechanisms for collective bargaining . . . are the trade unions . . . and the so-called company unions. . . . An effort to harmonize existing attitudes of open-shop employers on the one hand and Federation leaders on the other on the conventional doctrine of unionization is futile. . . . **The conventional types of trade unions and employers associations, both essentially provocative are inconsistent with the spirit of the Act.** The underlying purpose of the N.I.R.A. is to create a balanced economy in the United States. . . . This means a vertical union in each industry, free of domination or control, either by employers or outside labor leaders. . . ." (My emphasis here and thruout.—W. H.)

On this General Johnson, N.R.A. chief, commented the next day:

"Mr. Cates's statement . . . discloses **a theme which many of us here entertain**— . . . that the logical labor organization is vertical, **with overhead control of labor as responsible to government. . . .I rely on the logic of circumstances to demonstrate this view. . . ."**

General Johnson thus made it clear at the very start that, as far as fundamental objectives went, there was no difference between himself (the New Deal) and Mr. Cates; both were out for a set-up in which the government would exercise "overhead control" over the unions. Their disagreement centered around questions of tactics: the impetuous Mr. Cates wanted to go right ahead, smash the existing unions and establish new ones as creatures of the government; the more cautious and politically wise General Johnson was inclined to rely upon "the logic of circumstances" to achieve the transformation of the existing unions into such government-controlled organizations.[1] Indeed, this was the burden of the general's plea at the A. F. of L. convention two months later (Washington, October 1933). Here he actually proposed, and asked the A. F. of L. to endorse, a scheme for attaching to every international executive board a government representative with the power of "absolute veto"! The avalanche of hostility with which this ingenious plan was instantly met in labor circles led to

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(1) "The difficulty of passing from theory to practise", General Johnson ruefully explained, "is that the law says of labor organizations that they shall be 'of the workers own choosing' . . ."

UAWA Demands Repeal Of Gov. Murphy's "Labor Bill"

On June 30, 1937, the United Automobile Workers of America issued a declaration clarifying its attitude towards the Michigan Labor Relations Act, recently adopted by the legislature and now awaiting Governor Murphy's signature. The declaration follows in full:

Statement Of The U.A.W.A.

The United Automobile Workers of America, after thoro study of the State Industrial Relations Bill known as Governor Murphy's Labor Bill, has taken a definite stand in opposition to it. We take this position because we feel that, in spite of any good features the bill may have, its anti-labor provisions far outweigh, in the harm they will bring to labor, any good which might otherwise result from the beneficial portions.

The automobile industry will come primarily under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. This act already contains even more provisions of benefit to labor than Governor Murphy's bill. The only provisions of the latter bill which will affect in an important degree the automobile workers will be the restrictive and anti-labor sections of it.

A Crime To Picket!

If this bill is to take effect, it will become a crime for a striker's wife to go on the picket line with him since the act "prohibits patrolling or picketing in or about any premises or place of business involved in a labor despute by a person who is neither employed therein, nor party to the dispute, nor an official of a labor organization that is a party to the dispute." Automobile workers well know during the General Motors, Chrysler and other strikes, how loyally the strikers' wives supported their husbands and gave them courage by marching on the picket line. Now a striker's wife would be thrown into prison for a year or fined a thousand dollars as a penalty for showing her loyalty to her husband in his fight to improve living conditions for his family.

No longer would it be possible for a worker to come to the help of his brother worker on the picket line. Union members well know how important it is to give mutual support and maintain solidarity of their ranks when they are face to face with an anti-labor employer doing everything in his power to crush organization of his workers. This bill would deny the right of strikers to get assistance from fellow-unionists for the purpose of defending themselves against mobs of vigilantes and strike-breakers organized by the employer to defeat the legitimate aims of the working people.

Our Rights Must Mean Something

The right to picket means nothing if workers cannot exercise this right in an effective manner. Picketing is one of the most basic and necessary functions of a union on strike. If this right is so hedged about with restrictions such as this act provides, the right to picket, which is verbally granted in the bill, is only a joke.

We do not know what the motives were of the authors of this act but we are fully aware of what its effect will be as far as labor is concerned, and we know that the labor movement in Michigan will be immeasureably obstructed and injured by this type of legislation. The United Automobile Workers of America have no choice but to demand that this act be vetoed. If this act were put into effect Michigan would lead the country in anti-labor legislation. Claims that the act is designed to protect the public cannot be upheld. The public can benefit from nothing which injures labor. At least two-thirds of the public is made up of workers and their families. The public is not a mysterious third party. If the public is to be protected, then labor must not be hampered in the free exercise of its rights.

Political Action and Unionization Drive

by M. S. MAUTNER

The most recent unfolding of the political implications of the great organization drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization comes into being with the declaration of the martial law and the subsequent events that occurred a few weeks ago in the steel strike. This one event has raised a raft of problems for our labor movement, the solution to which bring the labor party movement, the independent political action of our class to the foreground.

The Political Line-Up

The "friendliness" of the New Deal to labor was tested both as a whole and for its various wings. Similar action was taken by Governor Earle of Pennsylvania, representing the extreme labor wing, and by Governor Davey of Ohio, far more typical of the New Deal political machine, a party politician who found it very expedient to play the labor angle for a while in the elections!

The political line of the C.I.O., which fundamentally means the stage of political development of the American working class, also was displayed in these events. It would be rank nonsense to consider the attitude of the C.I.O. in this and other fields as its determined and everlasting policy—the multiplex experiences of the masses on the move are being garnered in and mulled over continuously, their results daily influencing its politics. It is politics **in formation.**

It seems clear that, in reflecting upon the experience it underwent and is still undergoing in the steel strike, the C.I.O. must move several steps forward, must emerge still more from the shell of the "labor politics" which has weighed upon working masses for decades. The very essence of the C.I.O.'s political attitude lies in its recognition of the necessity of independent organization for labor, while at present limiting the functions of such organization to "pushing" the New Deal's liberal-laborites, its political activity taking place as a force within the New Deal framework. Its independence, to be sure, is implied and more than implied as the Roosevelt group is learning to its sorrow. But this very fact of potentiality rather than actuality has as a consequence the lack of an effective political machine, which might better enable labor to enforce its own demands.

Closing Mills Unprecedented

In this general set-up, there broke out onto the theater of action a totally new and unprecedented method of governmental action in labor struggles. This was the closing of the scab-manned mills by the state militiamen under special decree of martial law made by the governors, Earle of Pennsylvania and Davey of Ohio.

The fact that the might of the C.I.O., the threatened "Miners March" of forty thousand to aid the steel pickets, was the primary factor influencing the unexpected decisions of Earle and Davey does not make such action any the less unusual or fail to open new political vistas for the labor movement. Have we not had before, in the history of our struggles against American capitalism, great mobilizations of workers who were received by the rifle and machine-gun fire of the armed forces of the government, state and federal? This time we were temporarily able to force steps to be taken in our favor.

Secondly, it should be pointed out that this use of armed troops was quite different from the recent actions of Michigan's Governor Murphy, also an ardent New Deal governor, or of the late Governor Olson of Minnesota in 1934.

Murphy called out troops to "keep the peace" when the scabs were being effectively barred from the factories by the sit-in strikers, so that the effect of his action was rather to isolate the strikers, cut off the source of their supplies, actually paralyze the very nerve-center of the strike movement.

Olson, Farmer-Labor governor, also called out troops in a truckmen's strike, this time to "protect the workers." Here the situation was again different. The warehouses had been completely shut down and picket lines kept them shut. The troops protected the workers by wounding scores and killing one!

Certainly, in the strike movements of the pre-war period, everyone knows that federal troops, first called out by Grover Cleveland, were habitually used to break strikes.

What, however, brought this move, which was undeniably favorable to labor (the fulminations and frothings of the capitalist press reached hitherto untouched limits—a veritable madness swept over the employing class press, as it raged against "gangsterism" and "Bolshevism") to a sudden halt, in the case of Earle, and to a complete reversal, in the case of Davey? It is unnecessary here to discuss the sincerity of these politicians. If the mills were at first closed "insincerely" and later the scabs aided "sincerely," that merely makes a virtue of insincerity.

Aiding Steel Tycoons

It was apparent that a crisis in the situation had been reached. The Girdlers and the Graces were not giving in. The press of the land was shrieking for the blood of Governor Earle. Vigilante movements were being spurred on by the vested interests. The status-quo could not be maintained—either further steps in labor's behalf, or open or covert steps in Little Steel's behalf. Earle and Davey chose the latter.

Davey had reached the end of his very limited and questionable friendship for labor. Viewing this totally unprecedented situation, not merely his petty machine politics, but his very capitalist party psychology, saw nothing ahead but "Bolshevik chaos". To continue along the logic of the road he had set out upon meant to further encourage and arouse the labor movement. And so long as his friends in Republic, Bethlehem and Youngstown Steel were not even willing to sign a contract with the union, then obviously the thing to do was to break labor now.

Earle feared the same. It must be remembered that, despite the powerful influence exerted upon him by the United Mine Workers, he has not broken with the boss parties. He wants a "fair deal" for labor but does not base himself upon labor's program alone. For his career, which is his raison d'etre, his record must be kept "clean," must be free from stains of "violence and bloodshed." It was and is politically necessary for him not to fight thru with labor to a victory, come what may, but to

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WORKERS AGE

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THE NEW YORK CITY ELECTIONS

THE assurance of Senator Wagner that he "is out of the race" as far as the New York City majoralty elections are concerned, that he therefore does not intend to serve as a liberal, New Deal cover for Tammany's efforts to come back to power, will certainly help to clear the political atmosphere and make it possible for the American Labor Party finally to define its position and begin its campaign.

That the A.L.P. will support Fiorello LaGuardia for reelection is, of course, a foregone conclusion. What does this mean for the labor party—is it a move towards greater political independence or is it a retreat away from it?

From an historical standpoint, the emergence of a labor party is but a single step and an elementary one at that toward political class consciousness. But, as we see it taking place in reality, it appears not as a single step but rather as a series of approaches, each partial and deficient in itself but all contributing towards a more complete break with the past policies of political "non-partisanship." In New York, the movement is far ahead of the rest of the country; a distinct labor party with broad mass support has already been formed and has been partly consolidated as a result of nearly a year of activity. But even in New York it is clear that, for some time to come, the political independence of labor will be expressed primarily in its program, going beyond that of the New Deal, and in its own political organization, while candidates for high governmental office may continue to be chosen from among the New Dealers in state and nation. A great deal more political experience will apparently be required before the movement as a whole will be ready to accept as a fundamental guiding principle the idea that only those who are identified solely with the labor party are to be supported for public office by the workers.

All of these considerations are, of course, operative in the New York situation. In supporting LaGuardia, the outstanding local champion of the New Deal, the A.L.P. will, in a certain sense, be continuing the policy that led to the support of Roosevelt and Lehman in the recent elections. But only in a certain—and very limited—sense! For, whereas Roosevelt ran as the official and actual head of the ruling party of American capitalism, LaGuardia has never, in his entire political life, been really identified with either of the two old parties. He has, as a matter of fact, functioned far more as an independent, as a third party figure, especially in municipal politics.

It is, therefore, entirely natural for the American Labor Party to choose LaGuardia as its standard-bearer in the coming elections. Such a position corresponds to its present degree of political maturity and represents a stage towards eventually greater independence in class political action. For the A.L.P. to go much beyond this stage at the present time would be to run the serious danger of cutting itself off from its own mass base, in other words, of destroying the party as a genuine mass organization. Once we realize this, we must likewise recognize that it would be thoroly irresponsible to insist that the A.L.P. take any such action. The true policy for the more advanced elements in the A.L.P. should be to spur the party on to take a position as politically independent as possible within the limits of the given situation. In the campaign, LaGuardia should appear primarily, if not solely, as the candidate of the A.L.P. rather than of the Fusion groups that will also support him. There is a welcome recognition in the ranks of the A.L.P. of the necessity for the party to formulate its own independent program; to require public adherence to it on the part of all its candidates, including La Guardia; to run a full, independent ticket in the elections; and to use the campaign generally as an opportunity for building the party on a firmer basis.

In the coming elections, it may be confidently expected that a number of A.L.P. city councillors will be returned to office and that the party itself will emerge as one of the major political organizations in city and state. Such a development would greatly stimulate the trend in other states towards the formation of genuine, organizationally independent labor parties out of the movement represented by Labor's Non-Partisan League.

CP FALLS HEIR TO WAR POLICY OF SOCIALISTS

By LOUIS KLEIN

MEMBERS and sympathibers of the Communist Party would get an interesting—and instructive—view of the party's present anti-war program in America by comparing it with the program and activities of the American Socialist Party during the last war. The July 4th issue of the Sunday Worker carries, on page 7, a three-point peace program for the "people of America."

The first point calls upon "the people of America" to "write to their congressman demanding the enforcement of an immediate arms and war-materials embargo against Germany and Italy." "On February 2, 1917, the emergency committee of the Socialist Party met and 'in behalf of the great multitude of socialists in the United States' and 'in order to preserve peace in our country' sent a letter to the President demanding an embargo upon the exportation of food and war supplies to Europe. The letter ended with the following peculiar and ridiculous prayer: 'Follow the example of your illustrious predecessor, Thomas Jefferson, Mr. President, and have a complete embargo placed on all shipments. It will end the war'."[1]

The second point in the C.P.'s program asks the people to "write to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull demanding that they invoke the Kellogg Peace Pact and collaborate with other peace-desiring powers on the clear ground that Hitler and Mussolini are now resorting to war as an instrument of their foreign policy." "In the middle of September, 1914 the (executive) committee sent a cable to the party officials and members of the International Socialist Bureau" which said in part: 'In the present crisis, before any nation is completely crushed, socialist representatives should exert every influence on their respective governments to have the warring countries to accept mediation by the United States. . . . Conference should be held at the Hague or at Washington'."[2]

The third point says: "The American people MUST demonstrate in every possible way that they are ready and able to stop the drive toward a new world slaughter. Mass meetings MUST be called. Petitions demanding the enforcement of the neutrality law against the fascists MUST be circulated. Demonstrations MUST be held in front of fascist consulates in every city." Among other manifestoes of the Socialist Party was the following issued in 1916: "We call upon all workers and those opposed to war to hold mass meetings and voice their protest in unmistakable terms, denouncing the attempt to stampede the people of the United States into a war they do not want. We call upon the people to demand that this country keep its hands out of the European madhouse."[3]

All of the above examples of the Socialist Party's program and activities are taken from Anthony Bimba's "History of the American Working Class," published by the Comintern's own International Publishers (1936 edition). This book denounces the socialist anti-war position in the following words: "In all of their manifestoes, the leaders of the Socialist Party, tho bitterly condemning war, failed miserably on two very important questions. . . . First, . . . they did not recognize and point out this treachery (of the Second International) to the masses; . . . Second, they satisfied themselves with expressing sympathy for the European workers and did not call upon them to declare war against war, war against their own bourgeoisie and their treacherous leaders. Instead of urging the workers of the world to fight for peace by waging a merciless struggle against their own bourgeoisie, they repeatedly asked them to accept the mediation of the capitalist government of the United States, of the ruling class of this country, which was fattening upon the slaughter of the European workers. Instead of organizing a nation-wide campaign for an embargo upon ammunition and other war supplies, they first called upon the foreign-born workers to hold mass-meetings and express their solidarity with their brothers in Europe, and then appealed to 'the people everywhere' to send resolutions to the President and Congress demanding that these representatives of the capitalist class force the home capitalists to renounce their enormous war profits."[4] "Not only should they have appealed to the labor organizations for a fight against the bourgeoisie, but they should have carried on an intensive campaign in these organizations to unite them for the struggle. It is important to emphasize this failure of the socialists, especially in view of the fact that they had quite an influence at that time in the unions."[5]

Where, in the Communist Party's Fourth of July manifesto, does the party "appeal to the labor organizations for a fight against the bourgeoisie"? Where does it call upon the workers to "declare war against war, war against their own bourgeoisie"? Where does the party urge an independent embargo by workers organizations to protect the workers revolution in Spain from the Nazi and fascist invaders? Where do they warn the workers of America, or of Spain, of the dangers of trusting their fate to the tender mercies of the "peace-desiring nations"?

(1) Anthony Bimba: History of the American Working Class p. 259.
(2) Ibid p. 257.
(3) Ibid p. 259.
(4) Ibid p. 258.
(5) Ibid p. 260.

French SP Lefts Hail POUM Line

(Continued from Page 2)

only revolutionary conquests are able to arouse in the masses that spirit which is indispensable to victory. The example of the French Revolution as well as of the Russian Revolution shows that a revolution firmly rooted in its conquests is invincible from a military point of view, despite civil war and foreign intervention. The disarming of the people is no preparation for victory against Franco; on the contrary, it creates the conditions favorable to the mediation so much desired by the "democratic" governments of France and Great Britain . . . But mediation means the restoration of the capitalist order.

Eight days before the bloody events in Barcelona, the Valencia government sent troops to occupy the strategic points of the city. The whole operation was, therefore, premeditated.

The principal instigator and executive agent of the whole odious and bloody affair was the so-called United Socialist Party of Catalonia, affiliated with the Communist International . . .

Comrade workers: Don't let the Spanish socialist revolution be strangled from within.

Down with the imperialist blockade!

Down with counter-revolutionary mediation!

Long live socialist Spain!

Comm. for the Spanish Revolution

By Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

POUM Outlawed In People's Front Drive To Undermine Revolution

London, June 23, 1937.

BILBAO has fallen. Nazi Germany and fascist Italy are in triumph. From the fall of Bilbao they draw encouragement to support Franco even more openly in the future. For compensation, Hitler Germany is being promised the most valuable iron mines of the Basque regions.

Above all, it was the German batteries that contributed to the fall of Bilbao. The report of the circumstances under which Bilbao fell shows that the military and political leadership of the war by the Basque bourgeoisie was no factor of strength but rather of weakness.

On the other hand, Bilbao would not have been lost if the Valencia government had conducted a powerful relief offensive on another important sector, especially on the Aragon front. Towards the end, a belated and weak attempt of this sort was made on the latter front. Unity of action, the slogan under which the Valencia government is forcibly disarming the revolutionary workers of Catalonia and undermining their achievements, does not exist. It cannot be brought about by the methods of counter-revolution.

Under the leadership and guidance of the Soviet representatives and of the official communist parties, an attempt is being made, by the most disgraceful means of counter-revolutionary terror and slander, to annihilate the P.O.U.M. The executive committee of the P.O.U.M., its central committee of Barcelona, its committees in the provinces, altogether 500 to 1000 leading persons of the party, among them Andres Nin, have been arrested and the party headquarters closed. To cover up this counter-revolutionary crime, accusations of espionage are being fabricated against the P.O.U.M. The leadership of the anarchist and syndicalist organizations regard it as opportune to keep silent about this counter-revolutionary crime which surpasses anything the Ebert-Noske regime ever did. Nin has been kidnapped. The wives of Comrades Gorkin and Andrade, who themselves escaped the police spies, have been arrested as hostages. The whole action is aimed at the wholesale murder of the leaders and members of the P.O.U.M.

It is the duty of every real communist or socialist, of every honest revolutionary, to do his bit to stop this monstrous crime.

Hitler Germany is now trying to take advantage of the situation created after the fall of Bilbao, thru the recently formed four-power pact, thru the government crisis in France and thru the heavy blows which the execution of the Red Army generals has dealt to the prestige of the U.S.S.R. Together with fascist Italy, it is planning to blockade the coast of republican Spain and to assure Franco's victory. To have a free hand, Germany has postponed Neurath's trip to England. In all this, Germany counts on the passive support of the English and French government. Only the energetic action of the international can defeat these new dangers to the Spanish revolution.

FROM BLUM TO CHAUTEMPS

The French Senate overthrew the Blum cabinet after big capital had once again threatened the People's Front government with financial pressure. In June of the preceding year, at the beginning of the Blum regime, the same Senate had retreated before the mighty wave of mass strikes. From whence does it now draw courage? It draws courage from the fact that the government and the People's Front organizations have systematically sabotaged extra-parliamentary mass action; that the Blum government, as a result of its capitulation before the demands of big capital, has already disappointed part of the working class and antagonized the great masses of the petty-bourgeoisie.

The Blum government fell over the demand for emergency financial powers implying new burdens on the living standards of the working class and cuts in social legislation benefits. The Senate which overthrew the Blum government has a Radical-Socialist majority. It is therefore only logical that the Radical-Socialists should now have taken the leadership of the government and secured the majority in the cabinet. The French Socialist Party and the French Communist Party acquiesced with the argument that it was necessary to defend the social reforms and to continue the program of the

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Politics And Union Drive

(Continued from Page 3)

avoid any intensification of the industrial struggle.

Being a much smarter politician and closer to the threatening shadow of the C.I.O. and the United Mine Workers, Earle did not play Davey's game of throwing himself entirely into the arms of the corporations crying, "If this be political suicide, then make the most of it!" Earle withdrew the troops and thereby superficially disentangled himself from a politically embarassing situation. But just as surely as Davey's troops lined up to let the scabs march into the factory and thereby carry out the dictates of the steel barons, so did Earle's withdrawal from the whole set-up accomplish the tasks demanded of him by these same moguls.

Fighting Fortified Industry

Labor, unarmed save for its new and militant spirit and its great capacity for individual sacrifice for class interests, faces what John L. Lewis called industry's "anti-labor army." Lewis, it will be remembered demanded that industry be disarmed, "lest labor men on their march to industrial democracy should have to take by storm the barbed-wire barricades and machine-gun emplacements, built and maintained by the rapacious moguls of corporate industry."

Industry has not been disarmed, Senate investigations notwithstanding. And so it becomes more and more clear that labor must have, not "government backing", chameleon-like support which is silent in crises, makes pro-labor speeches the day after it has executed anti-labor policies, but must have government power, must have its own party, itself organized politically, its own direct representatives carrying out its governmental needs.

Is it impossible to conceive that the troops could have been used as an aid to winning the strike? Certainly the mere fact that they were temporarily so utilized shows this possibility.

A labor government would begin with a totally different psychological set-up; it would have a party apparatus steeped in a labor outlook, backed by an officialdom which is likewise laborite and not the hangovers of previous employer-party administrations. A labor governor would be responsible directly to the trade unions, elected on the basis of guaranteeing labor victories. A labor governor could be held to a program which sees the working class not as an unfortunate lot of people who ought to get a "fair deal" but as that class which must gain in strength and economic position if others sections of the population are to be aided.

Need For State Power

Therefore, for the labor movement itself, for the C.I.O., it is vitally necessary that it proceed, even at breakneck speed, but for the sake of its economic and political life at the only possible speed, to the furtherance of the labor party movement, to labor party administrations.

So far advanced has the social and political life of America become while the labor movement wallowed in its craft mires, that now the merest move for its most elementary rights and demands, for collective bargaining and working conditions, brings the working class abruptly face to face with government and finds it ultimately carrying out the employers' dictates. In facing this iron ring of enemies, labor must rest its faith more and more, not in the pressure of threatened and potential mass actions, but that threat brought to the fruition of actuality. Only continuous prodding, the exertion of tremendous pressure brings halfway results from Earle and his ilk. But independent politics thru labor's own political representatives, breathing labor's own atmosphere, can bring the possibility of that concerted political and economic action which is necessary to organize the unorganized.

JOBLESS MUST BE WON FOR ORGANIZED LABOR

By LYMAN FRASER

(concluded from last week)

Normal and cyclical unemployment in the past was, by and large, limited to the wage-workers. Now it includes other social groups. At the lowest depth of the depression, in the spring of 1933, 35% of salaried employees were unemployed compared with 45% of the wage-workers, where in previous depressions salaried unemployment was comparatively trivial. The unemployed to-day may be roughly classified as follows:

Wage-workers, including the majority of unemployed youth, 7,000,000.

Salaried employees, including teachers, 1,750,000.

Independent professionals, 250,000.

That does not include 500,000 workers who have returned to the farms and who are largely a burden upon their households.

Unemployment And Fascism

Now all these different types are one in being scourged by unemployment. But within that are vastly important differences. This is especially true of salaried employees and professionals; it must not be assumed arbitrarily that they are proletarianized by unemployment. They are economically but not necessarily in a class-psychological sense, and they may, in the desperation of their plight, move toward fascism. The older Marxism, neglecting the concrete analysis of the new class-economic developments, assumed that objective proletarianization (including unemployment) of the middle class and salaried employees drove inevitably toward their participation in the struggle against capitalism, for socialism. Life itself has shown that they may become the defensive forces of declining capitalism by providing the mass basis of fascism. The salaried and professional unemployed must be approached in terms of their intermediate social position between the wage-workers and the upper middle class, with all sorts of arguments, recognizing their peculiar historical, social-economic and functional characteristics, to prove their interests identical with those of the working class. That involves the larger problem of labor organization among white-collar workers.

Nor must it be assumed the unemployed workers are simply workers. They are, but in a condition of being outcasts (especially the permanently disemployed) that creates important psychological changes which must be considered in approaching the unemployed. The stress and strain of unemployment over considerable periods may produce mental disintegration. Over and above the struggle for the concrete needs of the unemployed, we must bring to them a message of hope, faith and action that will produce mental reintegration. That is precisely what fascism does in a reactionary sense; we must do it in a revolutionary sense. And one special problem is to utilize the desperation of the unemployed while restraining it within limits that interlock their action with that of the employed workers.

Danger of Working Class Split

Most important of all is this necessity: **to avoid a split between the employed and unemployed workers.**

Such a split is wholly possible and exceedingly dangerous. Where the split comes, it is primarily the fault of the organized, employed workers. The British labor movement has not been doing enough for the unemployed, especially in the depressed areas, one result being that those unfortunates turned to former King Edward as their savior. In Germany, the split was great and catastrophic. It was made worse by the fact that the Social-Democratic Party largely represented the employed workers and the Communist Party the unemployed, which enormously sharpened antagonisms within the working class. To the Communist Party's criminal mistakes in policy (among them the monstrosity: "We come after fascism!") was added the fatal weakness of having little support among the employed workers and the unions.

The American workers must avoid the mistakes of their European comrades. There must be no split between the unemployed and the employed.

But, if the split is to be avoided, organized labor must give more thought and action to the problems of the unemployed. The leadership of the American Federation of Labor has been terribly inept. It accepted government relief for the unemployed in the later years of the depression, grudgingly, only after bitterly opposing it in the earlier years. That was equally true of unemployment insurance; now the A. F. of L. leadership is doing practically nothing to improve the social security legislation. No cooperation was given to the organizations of the unemployed, especially the Workers Alliance, which were usually met with hostility. Nor, it must be admitted, has the C.I.O. yet realized the importance of the problem of the unemployed; true, it is busy organizing but it could also at the same time give consideration to the unemployed workers.

Organized labor has not been heard from in the struggle over relief. President Roosevelt asked for an appropriation of only $1,500,000,000—Congress tried to cut it still further in answer to the demands of business; organized labor did not intervene in the struggle, abandoning the cause of the unemployed. There is a bill in Congress for a relief appropriation of $3,000,000,000 behind which organized labor should have rallied, locally and nationally; but scarcely a union has done anything.

One of the big issues now looming up is the struggle of business and government to cut own relief for the unemployed. Organized labor must make that its issue, for the struggle against relief becomes a struggle against all workers, their organizations and rights, an aspect of developing fascism, as in Germany.

We Must Take Advantage Of Our Breathing-Spell!

Hence, organized labor must act continuously and persistently on relief and broaden that action to include all the needs of the unemployed. The unions are apt to look upon the unemployed as potential scabs and a threat to improved working conditions. They are. But that is a dangerously negative approach. The positive approach is to look upon the unemployed as a force to be mobilized against the employers and capitalism. There must be cooperation and contacts between the unions and the unemployed organizations, formulation of joint policy and action. The unity of workers, whether employed or unemployed, must be forged with the unbreakable steel of mutual understanding and cooperation.

History has given us a breathing-spell to prepare for the struggle against fascism. It is comparable, in a general sense, with the breathing-spell in Germany during 1925-1929. The economic situation was slightly improving after the war years and the inflation, altho disemployment was great; they looked for still more improvement. The Social-Democratic Party spoke of an "organized capitalism" that was eliminating cyclical crises and moving towards socialism, while it "implemented" bourgeois democracy and "reformed" capitalism. The Communist Party floundered miserably in the swamps of false theory and practise, the leadership wholly dependent on the Comintern and making an ideal of that dependence, never concretely and independently analyzing the pecularities of the German situatin and its tasks. Meanwhile, class-economic antagonisms multiplied; the incomplete prosperity crashed into a catastrophic depression; and Hitler swept into power.

We must use our breathing-spell more advantageously to prepare the struggle against fascism. The disemployment of incomplete prosperity is one of the decisive elements in the strategy and tactics of preparation and struggle.

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

Detroit, Mich.

ON June 18 swashbuckling Mayor Daniel J. Shields of Johnstown Pa., wired President Roosevelt that he was certain that there would be dynamiting cases in his municipality. On June 24, hard-boiled Tom Girdler of Republic Steel, appearing before the Senate Post Office Committee, centered fire upon the C.I.O. because it "encourages and promotes violence and disregard of law." Five days later, the whole capitalist press thruout the nation broke out in thunderous condemnation against the C.I.O. "terrorists" because two bombs had been thrown in Johnstown, Pa.

The unfailing regularity with which bombs are thrown and violence resorted to precisely when the employers are trying to make a case against labor has been noted on numerous occasions. Also this time the "C.I.O. bombers" rushed in quickly to justify the uncanny prognostications of Shields and Girdler. How long will it be before it is proven that the bomb-throwers are nobody else than stool-pigeons hired by Tom Girdler for the purpose of compromising the C.I.O. by acts of violence?

* * *

The bomb outrages are but one —tho rather an important one— of the elements involved in the widespread campaign against labor.

In Congress, leather-lunged shyster lawyers rave and rant against the strikers for "interfering" with the mails, demanding that the federal government send troops against the strikers; Mayor Shields froths at the mouth demanding **"the overthrow of the un-American empire that John L. Lewis is building up"**; militia in the strike zones give aid and comfort to the employers in bringing scabs into the struck steel mills while terrorizing and browbeating union ranks with their display of arms; company unions, company mobs and outright vigilante groups —referred to as the "middle class in revolt" against the C.I.O.'s "splitting the community into warring classes"—are sponsored in order to thwart and vitiate the law of the land as incorporated in the Wagner Act; Senator Vandenberg, the almost white-hope of the Republican party who was to be the man of the people saving us from New Deal regimentation, comes forward voicing the full program of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the National Manufacturers Association by proposing three amendments to the Wagner Act which would destroy whatever pro-labor features it may have; Senator James Hamilton Lewis of Illinois arises during the debate on the army appropriation bill and warns that we must have a large and well equipped army because we are on the eve of civil war in the United States; and, thru it all, is the ever recurring theme song of union incorporation and union "responsibility" by means of which the employers seek to make of the trade unions an appendage of their manufacturers associations.

* * *

What have the "friends of labor" done in the course of this bitter anti-labor war? This is the time when their friendship could mean most. But as in the past so also now. The "friends of labor' in the ranks of the boss parties have shed their thin pro-labor veneer and are doing the bidding of the industrialists. Governor Earle of Pennsylvania, having called out troops to keep the steel closed, quickly beat a retreat leaving labor to fight its battle alone; Governor Davey of Ohio, elected by labor votes, flaunts his loyalty to the steel barons even more openly. He fears for his political future. **"What we have done may be criticised as helping the companies. . . . I recognize that I may have committed political suicide. . . ."** But blood is thicker than water and his loyalty to the class to which he belongs swings him into line on the side of the bosses against the workers. Governor Murphy of Michigan, who was the recipient of every abusive term that the New York Times could permit itself to use editorially during the General Motors and Chrysler strikes, is now clasped in warm embrace by the same "Times" because, under the guise of friendship for labor, he is doing pioneering work in restricting the right to strike and practically making useless the weapon of picketing.

Even President Roosevelt, from whom so much was expected in labor circles, has seen fit "to lift himself above the battle," to place himself above the sordid affairs of class strife by calling for **"a plague on both your houses."**

The steel workers may know little of Shakespeare and less of Romeo and Juliet but they do know that this statement constitutes a retreat from his previous position. The president had declared that it was his opinion that the Wagner Act called for signed pacts. This he declared precisely when the steel interests argued the opposite. His present attempt to seek safety in a vague Shakespearean quotation will serve no purpose. Steel labor considers itself let down by the President. The steel bosses consider his remark as progress but are pushing to commit the President even further. The Detroit Free Press gives voice to this view of the employers by stating editorially:

"The general peevish curse at trouble-makers on both sides to the controversy, launched in reply to newspaper correspondents who asked him whether he intends intervening in the steel strike, means nothing and it will not do. It will not long satisfy even the blindest partisan of the administration."

* * *

There is no denying that labor has been at the receiving end of some heavy blows. Most painful are those coming from people upon whom labor has looked as friends. But these are lessons not to be easily forgotten. The treachery of the Daveys, Earles and Murphys may yet go far to set labor on the path of independent political action and dependence upon its own forces rather than upon capitalist politicians playing the labor angle.

(Continued on page 6)

Lansing Union Raps Murphy's Attack On "Labor Holiday"

LANSING, MICH.—The Lansing Local of the United Automobile Workers of America sharply rebuked Governor Murphy for his statement, made on July 2, in which he declared the famous "labor holiday" in this town to be the work of communists and in which he took special paints to "differentiate" the rank and file of the C.I.O. from those who had led and participated in the "labor holiday."

The statement of Local 182 follows in full:

* * *

STATEMENT OF LANSING AUTO UNION

Governor Murphy's statement dragging the Red issue into Lansing's labor holiday is an insult to every Lansing worker and a slander on Local 182, United Automobile Workers of America.

We are at a loss to comprehend the motives of the Governor in issuing this statement on the holiday nearly a month after it happened. Even more difficult to comprehend is his belated conviction that communists instigated, led or took over the workers demonstration on June 7. We are placed in the reluctant position of challenging the Governor to prove his contention.

The labor holiday was a demonstration of labor solidarity in which all labor in Lansing participated, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. alike. If there is a sprinkling of communists in Lansing, surely they could not have precipitated a demonstration involving thousands of American working men against their will nor could they, on two hours notice, have prevailed upon them to come into the streets. The June 7 demonstration was Lansing labor answering—officially and in an authorized manner—rank injustice on the part of persons elected to public office.

When the Shriners took the streets of Detroit, that was all good fun and the Governor officially welcomed them. When Lansing workers take the streets, they apparently are worthy only of the type of welcome they received from Governor in the press this noon.

Mooney Ill In San Quentin

The return of Tom Mooney to San Quentin prison has been accompanied by the vilest treatment of this prisoner who has not yet been broken by twenty-one years of unjust imprisonment. Seriously troubled with stomach ulcers, Mooney was kept in the hospital for three weeks when his condition required eight weeks of treatment. His transferral to San Quentin was permitted by the doctors provided a special diet, vitally necessary to Mooney's recovery, were supplied him.

Instead, he has not been given back his old job, which would have been in accordance with prison custom, but has been made to work on the "main line" where the only food available has been mostly starch—suicidal for Mooney in his present condition. The work he has been given is far too strenuous, of a type absolutely banned by his doctors.

As a result of this harsh and unfeeling treatment by the vested interests of California who seek to break the spirit of labor's great martyr, Tom Mooney has fainted dead away several times recently.

All workers organizations, all friends of Tom Mooney, are urgently requested to protest this most inhuman treatment so as to force the prison authorities to save his life by restoring his proper diet.

Union Signs Harlan Mine

HARLAN, Ky. (UNS)—The first major union agreement to be signed in Harlan county since the Senate Civil Liberties Committee hearings in Washington startled the country with its exposure of murderous terrorism committed against union miners, has been made between the Harlan-Wallins Coal Corporation and the United Mine Workers.

Pearl Bassham, president and general manager of the corporation whose amazing testimony was one of the high-lights of the hearings signed the contract. It provides for the some terms as the New York wage scale agreement signed for the Appalachian territory, granting $5.60 as the daily basic wage; time and a half for overtime; a seven-hour day and 35-hour week.

Steel Profits Skyrocket

FIRST QUARTER NET PROFITS:

	1937	1936
Bethlehem Steel	8,293,833	603,065
Republic Steel	5,567,063	361,031
Youngstown	4,886,020	1,897,299
U. S. Steel	28,561,533	3,376,304

NET PROFITS FOR YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31

	1936	1935
Bethlehem Steel	13,901,007	4 291,253
Republic Steel	9,586,922	4,455,735
Youngstown	10,564,501	1,597,521
U. S. Steel	50,525,684	1,146,708

New England CIO Unions Make Tremendous Gains

BOSTON (UNS)—Total membership of C.I.O. unions in New England is now approaching 200,000. The influence of the Committee for Industrial Organization cannot be measured entirely by the big growth in industrial unions made during the past year, for the increased interest in unionism aroused by the C.I.O. has also brought new members into the craft group.

The United Rubber Workers union had five locals in New England in October, 1936, with a total membership of 2,500. Today there are 39 locals with 12,000 members, representing 25 per cent organization in this district.

The total membership of the United Shoe Workers on March 22 of this year, when the Shoe Workers Protective Union and the United Shoe & Leather Workers joined forces to form the C.I.O. union, was 16,378. On June 22, 1937, the total membership was 42,643.

This includes 10,000 shoe workers who came over to the C.I.O. recently from the A. F. of L. Boot & Shoe Workers in Greater New York. About 80 per cent of the members of the United Shoe Workers are in New England. Some 14,000 workers in the Brockton Brotherhood of Shoe & Allied Craftsmen are on the point of affiliating with the C.I.O.

The International Ladies Garment Workers have added 7,500 members to their rolls in New England since September, 1935. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have added 3,000 in the past year and have completely organized the shirt centers of New Haven and Bridgeport.

The Textile Workers Organizing Committee has signed contracts for about 28,000 in New England, and the Steel Workers union has organized 4,000 in the past few months.

Approximately two-thirds of the membership of the United Electrical & Radio Workers is the result of the past year's campaign. Total number of members enrolled in this district is now between 25,000 and 30,000.

The United Automobile Workers, concentrating on the Ford assembly plant in Somerville, suburb of Boston, have from 1,500 to 2,000 garage mechanics in locals, mostly in Massachusetts.

Membership of the International Ladies Garment Workers union in the Boston district is around 15,000; Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 12,000; United Mine Workers, district 50, 4,3000; and miscellaneous, 5,000.

In Massachusetts thousands of former members of the A. F. of L. textile union are joining up with the T.W.O.C. Rhode Island and Connecticut textile workers are also turning to the C.I.O. union.

The American Newspaper Guild has taken in several locals in the New England area.

New Deal and Trade Unions

(*Continued from Page* 3)

the whole matter being quietly dropped from public view. But the ideal officially expressed upon this occasion by General Johnson as head of the N.R.A. has never been substantially modified much less abandoned by the labor specialists of the New Deal.

"Quasi-Public Unionism"

Even before the Cates resignation had brought the matter out into the open, the whole concept of "N.R.A. unionism" had been formulated and given theoretical grounding by Dr. Lewis Lorwin in a very significant article ("The Challenge to Organized Labor") in the September 1933 issue of Current History. "The trade union of the old type is one of the institutions that is passing," Dr. Lorwin explained. "It is a world-wide phenomenon." The "free" trade union, that is, the independent class union, belongs to the period of "a free laissez-faire industrialism," a phenomenon of rugged individualism, so to speak. Today, "in one form or another, every Western country is trying to bring its economic system under some sort of central guidance and to give conscious direction to industrial activities." Today, "there is less patience on the part of the community (read: hard-pressed bourgeois society.—W. H.) with industrial strife and struggle." "Having as its major weapon the right to strike,"—here we come to the crux of the problem—"it (the "free" trade union) is a possible factor of economic and social conflict which the community wants to limit." Hence, "the free trade union . . . has but little chance of survival." The "economic destinies" of the workers being placed "in the hands of political authorities and state agencies," certain functions remain for whatever organization is to "replace" the old-line trade union. "First, such tasks as prevention of wastes of materials, improving processes. . . . Second, promoting the larger economic and social welfare of the workers, in relation to housing, education, recreation. . . . And, third, the interpretation of rules of work and the adjudication of disagreements."

"It is the recognition of these facts," concluded Dr. Lorwin, "that lies at the root of **the transformation of the old trade unionism of yesterday into the new quasi- public unionism of tomorrow. . . .** Today we may see the quasi-public unionism in operation in various forms and stages of development in Italy, Germany. . . . **What distinguishes this new unionism from the old is the public recognition it has as part of the the economic and administrative system of the country. . . .** The unions must go into partnership with the government to achieve the basic purpose of giving the workers protection under the New Deal."

(*Continued Next Week*)

Fur Union Signs Hollander Plants

After a twenty year struggle to organize the plants of A. Hollander and Sons, the Fur Workers Union announced the achieving of a closed-shop contract for the company's half-dozen plants in the United States and Canada. Strikes had been in progress at two of the plants, but the agreement covers all six, involving two thousand workers.

In addition to the closed shop, the no discharge clause was inserted in the contract. Wage increases are from 7½ to 15% for a thirty-five hour week. Time and one-half is to be paid for overtime.

The organization of A. Hollander and Sons, which cost the union the lives of four of its members in two decades, thus solves one of the first tasks laid down by the recent convention of the international union.

TWOC Wins Lowell Strike

The settlement of the strike of 1,7000 at the Boott Mills, Lowell, Mass., with union recognition, 40-hour week and arbitration of disputes and wage rates, brings to 130,000 the total employes affected by agreements won by the Textile Workers Organizing Committee to date, Sidney Hillman, T.W.O.C. chairman announced. About 360 firms are involved in the contracts.

The great majority of the firms which have signed with the C.I.O. textile group are located in the New England states and Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey, with a few in the Middle West and on the West Coast. Fourteen plants have been signed in the South.

Several branches of the industry are nearing complete organization. With the T.W.O.C. recognized at the Alexander Smith Carpet Co. in Yonkers, N. Y., only two of the larger carpet firms remain to be signed up, Mohawk in Yonkers and Whittall in Worcester, Mass. Fancy jacquard silk manufacturers are about 75 per cent under contract, and the makers of synthetic yarn or rayon, about 65 per cent. The threat of a general strike in plain silks, it is expected, will bring about an agreement for this part of the textile industry.

EUROPE TODAY

(*Continued from Page* 4)

People's Front. This is a conscious deception of the working class, for everybody knows that the Senate demands the undermining of the reforms and everybody knows that the Senate Radical-Socialists themselves have led the manouvers in the Senate.

In this crisis, the C.P.F. declared its willingness to enter the government. It is significant that this offer was silently ignored by other participants.

The second phase of the People's Front government, under Radical-Socialist leadership and with a Radical-Socialists majority in the Cabinet, can only bring additional curtailment of the social reforms, new capitulations before the demands of big capital, new disappointments of the working class, accelerated discredit for the People's Front. The People's Front is entering a stage of intensified decline. Reaction and fascism will gain by it.

In the crisis, the C.P.F. played with the comedy of abstention only to drop it at once and vote for the Blum government. The last compromise proposal made in the Senate carried with it, among other things, the discontinuance of all further social reforms. It is clear that if the Senate rejected this offer, it intends to go further and curtail the existing reforms. The C.P.F. will support the Chautemps government also.

TRADE UNION NOTES

(*Continued from Page* 5)

There are those, like Walter Lippman, who already hear the death knell for the C.I.O. in the current developments. These gentlemen will find themselves sadly mistaken. The C.I.O. is being hardened and toughened in these bitter battles. It will result in a closer knitting together of the C.I.O.'s forces, an improved coordination of all its parts, resulting in greater mobility and better concentration of national labor resources at any given point that labor's battle front may call for.

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