Vol. 8, No. 3.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1939.

5 CENTS

AT FIRST GLANCE

= by Jay Lovestone =

THE ROOSEVELT BUDGET

NO ONE can accuse President Roosevelt of being pessimistic about the economic situation and economic trends during his Administration. In this light, it is very significant that in his budget message, the estimated revenue for 1940 is but \$149,000,000 greater than that expected for the current year. This estimated income of the federal government is still well under the actual revenue for 1938. Certainly, this small increase does not show that we can expect any economic improvement to speak of in the coming months. Otherwise, the prospects for much larger tax revenue flowing into the federal coffers would be infinitely brighter.

Yet, we find the President proposing an outright reduction of about \$859,000,000 from the W.P.A. total. The Congressional leaders are now proposing to make the W.P.A. cut a flat billion. The President himself has asked Congress to cut down the appropriation providing some work for the jobless, at a ratio six times that of the gain in federal revenue flowing from the improvement in the economic situation (859 as against 149). Actually, the ratio is even more lopsided against the jobless because recent years have shown an increase in unemployment coming with socalled "prosperity" as well with depression days. In fact, we are now developing a type of unemployment rooted in the very nature of so-called "prosperity" periods. At best, men are disemployed much faster in a

downard trend than they are reemployed in an upward economic trend. In toto, the "recovery-and-relief" items are to be cut down, according to the President's proposals, by \$921,500,000. While the niggardly socialsecurity provisions, while our most vital interests at home are to be depressed outright by approximately a billion dollars in the coming year, "national defense" (of employing-class interests) is being boosted directly by over half a billion. And this is only a beginning and not the sole increase! For example, the National Youth Administration's expenditures are to be largely diverted to military purposes. For that matter, the entire in all negotiations, hails achieve-N.Y.A. is now being militarized at so fast a clip that even some of the most ardent admirers of the President are getting worried.

In parenthesis, it must be said that the Stalin agency of this country posing as a workers party and as a friend of labor, has heartily endorsed the President's proposals.

OUR NOBLE "DEMOCRACY"

OUR unworthy contemporary, the Daily Worker, screams in its issue of January 8: "Tom Mooney, a Story of the People's Triumph Over Greed and Injustice."

There have certainly been few moments in living memory when most elementary truth has been so largely at a discount as it is today. When one examines the speeches and promises of Hitler, the umbrella-diplomacy of Chamberlain, the fraud and studied deceit of Stalin and his shadows he is bound to conclude that the whole situation is utterly revolting and that we are face to face with calculated dishonesty on a hitherto unheard-

A few years ago, the writer had the privilege of spending quite some time with Tom Mooney and going over things with him. Some conclusions and impressions gathered from these sessions are ineradicable in my mind. For instance, I shall never forget Tom's conviction that what saved his life was not faith in capitalist "democracy," was not the generosity of liberal government officials, but the revolutionary mass demonstration of the workers in Petrograd against the representative of American "democracy" in Russia in 1917—Ambassador Francis, if our memory does not of the local to Stalinists. Plymouth betray us. Obviously, here was a triumph of working-class action and not

of that nebulous, yet very definite, hodge-podge known as "the people." No one should for a moment lose sight of the fact that it was in the world's purest and strongest bourgeois "democracy," that it was in a "democratic" dungeon, that Mooney spent twenty-two of his best years. There has been no more significant commentary on the true nature of American "democracy" than the imprisonment of Mooney and Billigs.

Some of Mooney's false, tho at the moment active "friends," are today lined up with the very forces that sent Mooney to prison and would have sent him to the gallows had the revolutionary workers of Petrograd not intervened. The war-makers of 1916 continue to be the war-makers of today because the working-class revolution which conquered Russia in October 1917 was unable to extend its triumphs westward. The Liberty Bond salesmen of 1917, some of whom are in the top ranks of the Communist Party today, will be the Liberty Bond boosters of 1939. There is just this to be added-and it is offered in the friendliest spirit. Tom Mooney cannot count on the forces and the interests responsible for his imprisonment as a fighter against imperialist war in 1916 to stand by him in 1939 as another war to make the world safe again for the same sort of "democracy" is being prepared. In 1917-1918, Tom could have had his freedom in a jiffy if he had only come out and endorsed Woodrow Wilson's war. Very courageously Mooney told those who brought him the offer to go plumb to hell. We are confident that Tom will not be ensnared by the preparedness boosters of today, tho some of them now wrap themselves in a much-sullied and badly faded red flag.

HOPEFUL SIGNS

THERE is a mounting stream of evidence that the building-trades or ganizations of the A. F. of L. are about to intensify unionization efforts in the ranks of workers now subject to rates substantially under the union scale. It does not require any hardy optimism to sense in such sustained efforts consequences of major import. Should such underpaid building-trades workers be brought into these unions to any great extent, it will have a profound effect on the composition of these organizations. In time, this change in composition may serve to make these unions less

Then, should the hitherto extremely conservative building-trades organizations become somewhat more progressive, because of the influx of new workers hitherto considered as sort of second-class craftsmen, it would go quite a way towards strengthening the progressive forces in

Until recently, building-trades unions in greater New York did not make any serious effort to organize workers on small jobs on the assump tion that it was difficult to enforce the full union scale in such fields. Recently, however, Plasterers Local 314 announced a drive to unionize workers on one and two-family houses in Queens. The plumbing and electrical unions are beginning to follow suit. It will not be long before this will entail a demand for higher wages for these newly organized workers. The immediate job is to take measures to prevent jurisdictional disputes which have been the curse of the A. F. of L. Should that be done with any degree of success, sailing would be infinitely smoother. The entire situation bears watching and encouragement.

Evicted Croppers Camp On U. S. Highway

Mass in Protest Against Loss of Land

of sharecroppers and their families part of an effort to convert the cropcamping along Missouri highways on pers into day laborers and rob them Friday of last week under orders of of government payments under the Dr. Harry Parker, State Health federal cotton-acreage reduction Commissioner, who ruled that the program. The demonstration was situation constituted a "menace to decided upon at a conference of public health." No steps have been share-croppers held at Sikestown taken, however, to alleviate the dis- Mo., on January 7. tress of the croppers that led to the demonstration.

share-croppers and their families, large numbers of share-croppers and under the leadership of the South- their families accomodated for the ern Tenant Farmers Union, began period of their exodus. One of the their long march last week along most significant features of the

State troopers dispersed the army have been taking place recently as

The lines along the highway stretched over a hundred miles in length. Tents were pitched just off Thousands of south-east Missouri the road, kitchens set up and the

Auto Workers Back F.D.R. Asks More Martin, Hit Board

Ford Local Endorses U.A.W. Head's Negotiations

U.A.W. DEVELOPMENTS

- International Board convenes on January 9 with the intention of removing Homer Martin from the presidency for his negotiations with Ford allegedly to "form a company union." Martin reports on Ford negotiations and blasts the Board for factionalism and for disrupting the progress of Ford negotiations. (Sections of Martin's report are published on page 4.—Editor.) He demands an emergency convention claiming that the membership backs him as against the Board.
- Board is undecided on an emergency convention, fearing ouster by the membership. Signs are that it may favor a convention if it can first eliminate President Martin by mpeachment.
- Ford Local No. 600 declares itself squarely behind President Martin. States it participated fully ments and condemns the Board meddling, which it terms "sabotage."
- Board removes President Martin as editor of United Automobile Worker. The Stalinist stooge, Henry Krause, removed as editor of Flint Auto Worker more then a year ago, is being groomed for the post.
- Board invites C.I.O. "participation" in sessions despite President Martin's demand for abolition of Coordinating Committee. C.I.O. representatives have not yet stepped in openly.
- Board reverses the action of 1,000 Plymouth workers who, in local meeting on January 8 ordered the removal of their Stalinist administration and authorized President Martin to appoint two administrators and to prepare for democratic elections of local officers within ten days. Delegations from Plymouth local defy the International Board and refuse to turn over the property

Coughlinites In Riot

Reactionaries Disrupt Board Hearing

By JERRY KANE

New York City
A concentration of fascist and semi-fascist groups afforded the gathering at a Board of Education public hearing last week with a spectacle of intolerant rowdyism that seems to be becoming more preva-

lent these days. The hearing was on a civil-rights gag bill presented by Colonel W. J. Carlin, lone Tammany member of the tionally known liberal and pro-labor Board. It would empower the Super- | educators was the article in the Deintendent of Schools "to deny the cember 17, 1938 issue of the Nation, use of school buildings to any person or group of persons or organ- ten by James Wechsler, Stalinist ization whenever the object, purpose leader in the student and college

(Continued on Page 3)

spokesmen claim 9,000 of the 10,000 | lication, and vigorously reaffirmed workers in the local stand by Pres- his determination to press for a ident Martin against the Board.

 Several thousand workers leave their jobs in Packard, Plymouth, Ford and Dodge, storm union headquarters when they learn that anti-Martin forces have taken possession of the International office of the union. Withdraw only when anti-Martin forces vacate premises. To escape the resentment of auto workers, the great bulk of whom are loyal to President Martin, the Board considers moving sessions to some other city.

> (Special to Workers Age) Detroit, Michigan

January 11, 1939. HOMER MARTIN, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, told newspapermen at the conclusion of the afternoon session of the International Executive Board that he and his followers would exert all efforts to guarantee "that the right of the membership to protected but promoted." He con-Automobile Worker, the union pub-

By D. BENJAMIN

RISIS again in the New York

Teachers Union! This time, be-

cause of the destructive hand of

as an auxiliary of one particular

Teachers Union Local 537 has pre-

cipitated a crisis that has national

significance for the teachers union

movement. In protest against such

methods, Professors Childs, Hacker,

Raupp and others have resigned

while Professor Counts has come

out with sharp public criticism on

the same score, deciding, however,

to remain in the union for the pur-

pose of "correcting evils and abuses

The immediate cause of the rebel-

lion on the part of these interna-

"Twilight at Teachers College," writ-

field. There a vicious attack was

CAUSE OF

REBELLION

oint the dominated leadership of the College

New York City.

special convention. Charging that the present Board majority was in deadly fear of an immediate convention, Martin indicated that the Board statement approving a convention for an unspecified date was merely an attempt to dodge the issue and

BOARD DEFIES WORKERS

Early on Thursday, twenty memers of the Ford Local, belonging to the group of 29 Ford workers ordered reinstated on findings of the N.L. R.B., attempted to see the Board and express their complete confidence in Homer Martin's handling of the Ford situation. Indignant, they waited in the corridors of the Griswold Building for hours, ignored by the Board. Finally the Board sent Loren Houser to see the committee. Houser said the Board would not meet with any "pressure committees" but was willing to meet with a delegation of speak on all issues will not only be five or six members. This the workers rejected. They told Mr. Houser firmed the report that he had been that, as far as they were concerned, removed as editor of the United the whole committee would have to (Continued on Page 3)

Teachers Union Aroused

College Group Leads Fight for Democratic Control

servative interests. Among the pro-

gressive wing of the faculty is a

deepening sense of gloom. . . . One

hears morbid speculation over the

Dean's next victims: one notes in-

creasing reticence among some of

those who were formerly boldest, a

pronounced decline in progressive

activity, perhaps best exhibited in

the doldrums which afflict the Social

Frontier and important defections

Professors Counts, Newlon, Hart-

nan, Childs, Curti and many others

answered this article, its author and

the methods of the Stalinists in a

letter to the Nation, published in its

from the Teachers Union.'

Against Clique Rule

For Armament

Knife in the Back

FEW days ago Ambassa-A dors Kennedy and Bullitt testified before a Senate committee on the situation in Europe. From the report of their testimony in the New York Herald-Tribune (Jan. 11), we

take the following paragraph: "The probability of serious developments in the Spring was emphasized with gravity by both Ambassadors. Britain and France would almost consider it a benefit if Germany went into the Ukraine, they suggested, because they were more afraid of an Italian threat to French territory,

Tunisia, Corsica or Savoy." Here we have the stark reality behind European imperialist politics, shorn of the shoddy camouflage of "collective security." The "great deare asked to cooperate—would welcome a German thrust to the East, against Soviet Rus-

up the real reason for Child's resig-

nation, at the same time serving the

strategy of "destroying those who

At this point, it is interesting to

note that the leadership of the Col-

lege Teachers Union has found it

necessary to dissociate itself official-

ly from Wechsler's article. In a let-

ter to the Nation, it said: "This

union has too much confidence in the

liberal members of the Tachers Col-

lege faculty to believe in the 'Twi-

light of Liberalism' at Teachers Col-

lege." It was also compelled to rec-

ognize that the Professor Childs it

The controversy immediately be-

came public property. It comes with

years ago attacked the Teachers

Union, organized the Classroom

Teachers Group against the union,

disrupted public meetings of the

union and sabotaged the union from

within, to start a campaign against

Professor Childs for publicly de-

fending himself against Wechsler's

attacks, made first and made public-

ly. It is to be regretted, however,

that Professor Childs did not follow

Professor Counts's example, remain

within the union and fight to defeat

the totalitarian methods of the Stal-

will not go along"?)

But Relief Is Cut Again

President Calls For Half Billion In New Message To Congress

In a special message to Congress delivered last week, President Roosevelt asked for an immediate appropriation of \$552,000,000 to finance "a minimum program for the necessities of defense." Of this sum, he said, just a little under half would have to be spent before the end of the next fiscal year.

The money would be an "extraordinary" appropriation over and above the \$1,126,000,000 carried in the regular 1940 budget for the army, navy and Marine Corps. Even this latter item, however, is bigger than may appear on the face of it, for to it must be added at least half a billion dollars in military expenditures classed under other heads.

About \$300,000,000 of the "extraordinary" appropriation would be spent on army airplanes, providing it is estimated, at least 3,000 planes and raising the total to more than

WAR SCARES

Mr. Roosevelt denied any attempt on the part of the Administration to whip up a war hysteria in the country. His assurances, however, were in sharp contradiction to the general tenor of the propaganda that has been coming from the White House and the State Department lately. Only two days before the President sent his special "defense" message sity. To those acquainted with Stal- termined to "destroy whatever it to Congress, Ambassadors Kennedy inist methods, it is difficult to believe cannot capture." In an additional and Bullitt testified before a Senate that this was written without malice letter, Professor Childs made clear committee in a manner obviously Stalinism. Introducing methods of aforethought. A brief quotation that his resignation from the Teach-calculated to arouse widespread Stalinism. Introducing methods of totalitarianism, treating the union as an auxiliary of one particular gives the gist: "All these events (at Teachers College—D.B.) show two the Stalinist-controlled leadership. continuing elements—internal auto-cracy and pandering to external con-the union earlier in 1938. Was the of the preparedness campaign of the Wechsler article an effort to cover Administration.

SLASH IN RELIEF

While President Roosevelt was urging an increase of the already record-breaking armaments budget, the House of Representatives was at work cutting the already depleted relief budget. Dominated by a conservative-Democratic and Republican majority, the House adopted by a vote of 226 to 137 the recommendation of the Appropriations Committee to take \$150,000,000 from the President's suggested \$875,000,000 deficiency appropriation for W.P.A., bringing it down to \$725,000,000. This slash, should it be approved by the Senate, would throw over a million jobless off W.P.A. rolls, thus depriving more than four million people of their means of existence. In making this slash, the first in the history of the New Deal on a relief appropriation, the House took care to avoid a roll-call vote so as to shield the reactionaries from the wrath of the people at the polls.

The trend of developments in the new Congress is now clear: huge appropriations for armaments, slashes in relief and other social-welfare expenditures. It is time for labor to unite its forces and act to stave off the reaction that is ahead.

(Read the article by Chas. S. Zimmerman on page 2.—Editor.)

A.L.P. Maps Program

American Labor Party will urge upon the State Legislature was made public last week by Alex Rose, A.L.P. state executive secretary. Heading the list of proposed enactments were two measures for which Rose said the A.L.P. will conduct a vigorous campaign. One is a state wages-and-hours law to supplement federal legislation. The other is an amendment to the unemployment-insurance act to provide that all unemployed workers entitled to any benefits may receive the minimum payments for sixteen

year; a compulsory health-security plan for wage-earners, with contributions from employees, employers and the state; and a state-wide system of medical assistance for lowincome groups with the cost to be borne by the state.

The A.L.P. backed Mayor La

Guardia's demand for a larger relief contribution from the state proposing that the state's share be in creased from 40% to 60%Establishment of a State Depart

ment of the Consumer, rigid regulation of food, drug and cosmetic advertising, the establishment of a city-owned yardstick milk plant also were favored.

Labor bills favored include proposals to bar all activities in the state of run-away employers, shut off public contracts from employers who fail to abide by orders of the state or federal labor relations boards, and prohibit arrest of pickets except where there has been a

December 24 issue. They called a characterized at public meetings as a "fascist," "partner of Representative Dies," etc., and in its publications as a "defender of academic autocracy," was the leader in improving the "working conditions among Teachers College cafeteria

workers.

made on progressive educators at spade a spade, pointing out that a

Teachers College, Columbia Univer- "certain political viewpoint" was de-

State Wage-Hour Law Demanded By Labor ill grace from those who but five

A twelve-point program which the

Other proposals to be advanced or supported by the A.L.P. include ratification of the federal child-labor amendment; maximum use of publichousing funds made available under the recently adopted constitutional amendment, and extension of the Minkoff rent-control law for another

definite breach of the peace.

TEACHERS DISCUSS ISSUES OF CRISIS

Immediately, the ranks of union members not only in the College Teachers Local 537 but in Local 5 (public-school teachers, mainly) began to buzz because they sensed that there must be certain basic, underlying causes for the crisis. Furthermore, the national reputation of Professors Counts, Childs, Hacker, the present session of Congress, it Raupp and the rest was bound to have a significant effect upon nonunion teachers thruout the country. Instead of recognizing their own re- the C.I.O.'s 1939 legislative prosponsibility for such a development, the leadership of the three New ment made in Washington, D.C., on York locals (5, 537, 453), all of the December 21, by John L. Lewis, same character, are trying to silence | president of the organization. (Continued on Page 2)

"AMERICAN SOCIALISM TO-DAY"

NORMAN THOMAS

Friday, Jan. 20-8 P. M.

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 West 33rd Stret New York City

Labor Fights Lynching

CIO And AFL Join To Back Federal Bill

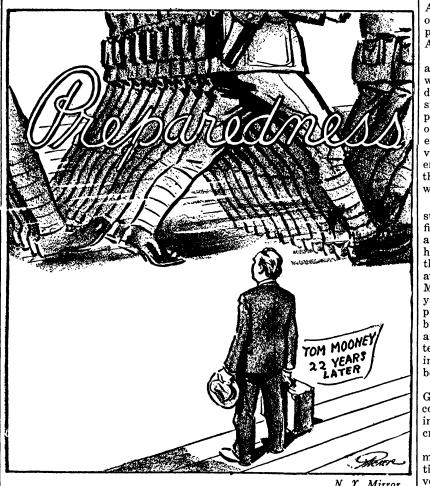
Both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. vill support the fight for passage of a federal anti-lynching bill during was revealed in Washington recently.

Passage of the bill is called for under the civil liberties section of gram, according to an announce-

Replying to a telegram from Walter White, head of the N.A.A.C.P., urging that the A. F. of L. include active support of a federal antilynching bill and a non-discrimination clause in the federal government's program for the distribution of education funds to southern states in the Federation's 1939 legislative program, William Green said:

"The American Federation of Labor is in accord with the suggestions submitted in your telegram."

Green's statement was issued in a telegram sent from the Washington headquarters of the Federation on December 21.



AGAIN PREPAREDNESS

N. Y. Mirror

WENTY-TWO years ago, in 1916, when Tom Mooney was railroaded L to prison on framed-up charges, the country was in the throes of a frantic preparedness campaign designed to drive this country into the World War. Next year, the country was in the war. Today, in 1938, when Mooney leaves his prison cell, the country is once more in the grip of a gigantic preparedness campaign, again facing the danger of being involved in a new world war.

Twenty-two years ago, Tom Mooney was a valiant champion of peace U. S. Highway 61, as a demonstra- movement was the solidarity and co- against the war-preparedness madness. Now he has been freed just in tion against the mass evictions that operation between Negro and white. | time to take up the fight again!

Zimmerman Calls for Unity of Labor Against Reaction

By CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN

(The following paragraphs are from a radio address recently delivered over Station WEVD by Charles S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.—Editor.)

THE 76th Congress is opening as there are signs that the recovery movement is beginning to slow down. On the action of this Congress, therefore, depends whether recovery will be further retarded or whether legislation will be adopted which will carry on the recovery movement and bring a measure of better times to this country.

In his message to Congress, the President outlines what in his estimation are the tasks confronting the nation in the sphere of internal and international affairs. It is very significant that virtually the only proposal for new legislation the President makes is increased armaments. Indeed, the President's own statement, "We have now passed the period of internal conflict in the launching of our social program,' carries with it the distinct implication that the New Deal program has come to a complete halt and that no new legislation is intended or considered necessary.

No more disastrous mistake could be made. The President's failure to propose new legislation, his statement that such legislation is really unnecessary, will undoubtedly be understood by the reactionaries in Congress as an admission of weakness in progressive ranks. These reactionaries will be encouraged to proceed with their plans of revising and modifying important social legislation. If they are given a free hand, they will revise and modify these measures to the point where they become meaningless, and whatever benefits they have given labor will disappear.

This condition is extremely dangerous to the workers of this country. It can be met only in one way: it calls for drastic and courageous action on the part of the labor movement of this country. This situation makes it mandatory upon the responsible labor leaders of this country to bring about immediate united action on the part of all sections of the labor movement. The C.I.O. and A.F. of L. and the railway brotherhoods should call a national conference at once for the purpose of formulating a united legislative program and with united effort and united strength, attempt to get Congress to enact this program into

It is possible for labor to get together and agree on a legislative program. There are many questions gram is taken from the C.I.O. and and would provide employment for of the proposal of the Independent was criticizing the New York Post could well serve as a basis for united action:

1. No cuts in W.P.A. expenditures and employment—right of every employable person to a job. W.P.A. is necessary not alone to help the unemployed but to invigorate and strengthen recovery. W.P.A. employment even at its peak of 3,264,-000 on November 5, 1938, was never American people. sufficient to take care of all the unemployed. During the past nine weeks, W.P.A. employment has been reduced by hundreds of thousands. Unless there are new appropriations, all W.P.A. projects will be closed down by February 7. Congress will make some appropriations but ment-C.I.O., A.F. of L. and the strong conservative forces want to railway brotherhoods, representing make it as small as possible. Labor demands appropriations of a least a in Washington and there formulate POSITION billion dollars to provide work for and announce to Congress and the 3,000,000 unemployed workers for people their own program of necesthe next five months.

housing. A national program of slum clearance must be formulated and larger federal appropriations



CHAS. S. ZIMMERMAN

long-range program of low-cost housing. This action would not only mean social betterment and higher standards of living but it would also strengthen economic recovery.

reorganization. There must be support of the legislative program of ers entrusted the leadership of their the railway unions for federal aid to solve the railroad problem.

4. National Labor Relations Act. There must be opposition to all amendments that would impair or PROBLEMS destroy rights of the workers now guaranteed by law.

5. Extension of the federal wageand-hour act. The act must cover increasingly larger numbers of wageearners and salaried employees, with fuller protection of special groups of workers, including apprentices and learners.

6. Strengthening social security measures. As a minimum, there must be enacted the amendments proposed by the Advisory Council on National Security (a government body composed of 25 representatives of the public, employers and employees). In addition, other amendments are necessary to enlarge the number of beneficiaries of old-age pensions and unemployment insurance, to increase the benefits paid and to include agricultural and domestic workers.

7. Full rights for the Negro people. Enactment of legislation to impose civil and criminal penalties for discrimination in employment leasing homes and public accomodaions, jury service, relief, etc.

8. Federal health program. There must be legislative enactment of the proposals of the President's Comon which all sections of the labor mittee on National Health. This Group of Local 5 that both view-points be presented at the Delegate view in the controversy." As it hap-A.F. of L. legislative programs and tens of thousands of professional people now unemployed and make it possible for them to use their training for the benefit of the people.

9. Federal farm-aid program. More comprehensive and planned legislation is necessary to aid the farmers, to increase their income and to make their products available for consumption by the mass of the

10. Civil liberties. There must be increased and uncompromising protection of civil liberties and the rights of labor.

Let labor set the example now, as it has so frequently done in the past. Let all branches of the labor movein all nine million workers—convene sary legislation and fight unitedly 2. More federal aid for low-cost any reactionary opposition to this

program. This is the time for labor to take the lead. If it leads intelligently and must be made for a comprehensive, courageously, the people will follow

Progressive Achievements In Knitgoods Union

Conditions Greatly Improved Thru Strong Organization

By PAUL TAUBER

THE New York Joint Council L Knitgoods Workers Union, I. L. G.W.U., born during the N.R.A. period, has in the past five years of its existence, waged many valiant battles for a more abundant and better life for thousands of knitgoods workers. The progressives in this union won the support of the masses of the union members as a result of their active participation in all the struggles to improve the conditions of the workers, their constructive role in the building of the organization and their championship of progressive principles by which to guide the union in every phase of its life. In the very first election 3. Federal action for railroad for officers of our union, held in September 1934, the knitgoods workunion to the progressive forces headed by Louis Nelson.

MANY DIFFICULT

With faith in the determination and loyalty of the knitgoods workers, the progressive administration, immediately upon assum-

(Continued from Page 1)

all criticism on the ground that such

criticism would be "used" by Hearst.

Dies, etc. An attack upon their total-

itarianism is conveniently inter-

preted as an attack upon the Teach-

ers Union or even upon unionism as

sembly of Local 5 on January 6,

where but a few weeks ago Benjamin

administration of Local 537 was ac-

Their spokesman, Margaret

Schlauch, attempted to minimize the

whole matter, called it a "Childs

incident" and pointed out that other

professors had joined the union since

the resignations. She pooh-poohed

Professor Childs's services and even

classified him among enemies of la-

bor. The supporters of the ruling

group of the union, who would have

cheered themselves hoarse for Pro-

fessor Childs, had he but gone along

with them, now gave an ovation to

their spokesman and her demagogic

Mr. Davidson, spokesman for the

the issue could not be minimized,

that it was not a Childs matter at

all (had not Professor Counts made

was not an arithmetical question of

rather that the crisis could be traced

the union as an auxiliary of a poli-

totalitarian regime in the union, movement.

INDEPENDENTS PRESENT

tually presented.

attacks.

Teachers Aroused

College Group Leads Fight for Democracy

The debate was transferred to the the membership could become ac-

ing judgment.

recent meeting of the Delegate As- quainted with all facts before pass-

ed because his opinions differed from no two sides. And this at a time

those of the administration. In spite when the College Teachers Local

Assembly meeting, only that of the pened, the Post did present both

to do so.

Against Clique

many and difficult problems confronting it. What were these problems? The knitgoods workers, newly organized and without union tradition, had to be inspired with union. The employers in the trade, having for decades enjoyed the open shop and being unaccustomed to union control, even tho they had signed union agreements, considered every union demand an invasion of their "sacred rights" to exploit the workers. Organizationally, the union was at that time in a very difficult situation. Four unions existed in the field-the United Textile Workers Union, the dual Industrial Union, and our own Local 155, I.L.G.W.U. The out-of-town knitgoods centers were completely unorganized and the New York market was only partly unionized. The union treasury was empty and tens of thousands of dollars in debts, incurred during the 1934 general strike by the former leadership, were due to the International.

The progressive administration, thru an energetic struggle to enforce the minimum wage scales and by a thoro check-up on the hours of ing office, began to face the work thru volunteer committees

where, in spite of democratic forms,

a lynch-spirit is frequently en-

gendered against all who dissent,

making democratic, critical, objec-

tive discussion impossible. He sug-

gested a special membership meet-

ing where authoritative spokesmen

for both sides could speak, where

Later in the discussion, when one

points of view. Only the leaders of

Locals 5 and 537 were not willing

Mr. Hendley, the president of

Local 5, admitted that under pres-

sure of the Independent Group, he

was inviting Professor Counts to

present his side at a future member-

ship meeting. The real leaders of the

administration had no other alterna-

tive but to accept this action; so the

motion was adopted by the meeting.

ers Union will not be solved until

the conditions that give rise to the

whole problem are changed. The In-

dependent Group of Local 5 is

fight and, as a first step, will have

Professor Counts address its meet-

ing on Thursday, January 19,

West 57 St. It is obvious that many

members of the College Teachers

Union also are beginning to appre-

union democracy and for a realistic,

tion of the American Federation of

many forces nationally who under-

oledged to carry on this constructive

The crisis in the New York Teach-

which visited the mills on Saturdays holidays and evenings, developed a militant spirit and a feeling of union loyalty and confidence among the knitgoods workers. Thru scores of confidence in themselves and in their stoppages and strikes, the employers were finally convinced that union agreements must be lived up to and workers rights could not be trampled upon. To involve the members closely in the life and activities of the union, the progressive administration immediately instituted regular monthly membership, shop-chairmen, and shop meetings. At all these meetings, the issues and problems confronting the workers are brought to the union members for discussion and decision.

The progressive administration

UNITY ACHIEVED

successfully merged the four unions nto one and thereby eliminated divsion in the ranks of the organized knitgoods workers. The progressive administration also immediately initiated an organization drive in which many mills were unionized, company unions smashed, injunctions broken down, and the union membership doubled. Thru a careful, responsible handling of union funds, the progressive administration paid back tens of thousands of dollars in union debts. To provide for the mental and physical development of the union members, the progressive administration estab lished an educational department with classes in trade unionism and labor subjects, as well as numerous cultural and recreational activities. A Labor Buro, thru which the employers had to call the union to hire this way, competition between workers for the job was abolished and placed on jobs. To help workers in aled 4,343-a lead over the T.W.U sickness and distress, the progres- of almost 1,000 votes. Sure enough Sick and Relief Fund, has since paid inal, Atlantic, Elmhurst, Hub, Leval out tens of thousands of dollars in Lyric and Pacific, but of these only sick benefits and relief and has enabled many sick members, by sending them to sanitariums, to regain strong oppositions. The combined Mazen, the very effective chairman of of the Independents made a motion their health and again return to the Legal Aid and Grievance Com- for such a meeting, the administratheir jobs and families. mittee of the union, had been remov- tion objected, saying that there were

In the general labor movement, our union became a recognized progressive force, participating in the struggle for social and labor legislation, supporting the American Labor Party, aiding materially the anti-fascist fight in Europe and strengthening the labor movement in this country by every means in its

In 1935, the progressive administration, on the record of its achievements, was reelected to lead the union. In the next two years, the most unfavorable economic and industrial conditions arose. The deepening of the economic crisis, changes of style, development of new labordisplacing machinery and a lessened demand for our product increased unemployment for thousands of knitgoods workers. The employers, with the active assistance of the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce and the National Outerwear Association, attempted to utilize this situation to smash our union. In the months preceding the 1936 general strike, induced by promises of cheap nonunion labor, free rent, moving expenses and no labor troubles, 35 mills employing 2,000 workers moved away from New York City into small towns. Several mills locked out their workers for over a year, while others attempted to force company unions on their workers. Arrests by the hundred, attacks by ACHIEVEMENT thugs on union members, frame-ups, raids by police on the union offices and the confiscation of the union books by the district attorney, were frequent occurrences

HIGH MORALE **MAINTAINED**

Despite such unfavorable conditions, the progressive administration succeeded in maintaining a high morale among the knitgoods workers. The few available jobs coming into the union were distributed in an impartial and just manner. Our union took vigorous action in following up the runaway shops and striking them. Some of these shops were organized out-of-town, others were forced to move back to the city and reemploy their former workers under union conditions. Some of these strikes lasted as long as 13 months, the struggle on the picket lines until the union was victorious. To meet goods mills, our union, with three other New York locals, financed 50% by the national office of the I.L.G. W.U., established the Miscellaneous Locals Out-of-Town Organization Department and thereby succeeded organizing many out-of-town

In August 1936, in preparation for the expiration of the collective agreement, the union set up a strike machinery and mobilized the entire membership for a decisive battle against the employers. In the face of the unfavorable economic conditions, the militant determination of the knitgoods workers smashed the antiunion employers association and forced the mill owners to sign new union agreements maintaining and AS MOONEY WAS PARDONED



Trade Union Notes

= by George F. Miles =

A N examination of the results in the recent Wagner Act elections of taxi drivers in New York City leads one to conclude that the Transport Workers Union is hardly in the impregnable position that one has been led to believe it was. The facts are quite disturbing, all the more so because the resulting majority against the Transport Workers Union was recorded by a number of organizations, unaffiliated with the A. F. of L., some of whose very nelp, was established and, in standing as trade unions is very much in doubt.

What are the facts? Out of about 8,000 ballots cast, the T.W.U. polled many unemployed union members 3,465 and the opposing groups totsive administration established a the T.W.U. carried Parmelee, Term-Parmelee and Terminal are important and these showed surprisingly vote in Parmelee and Terminal stood 2,306 for the T.W.U. and 1,685 against, but only one year ago the T.W.U. secured 2,027 votes as against only 293 for the opposition. What happened in the one year of T.W.U. activity to arouse the workers against it to such an extent that they turned out en masse to vote

against it? The Bell company which last year gave the T.W.U. a majority of 332 to 12, this time defeated the T.W.U. by a vote of 350 to 300. The precarious position of the T.W.U. is best indicated by the fact that its margin of victory in the companies t carried is slightly over 700 while the majority of its opponents in the other firms tops the 1,600 mark.

Negotiations for a contract are now going on but it is hardly likely that the T.W.U. will secure conditions for its members much better than those in any of the concerns where it lost out. Since the T.W.U. is there in a minority, conditions in these latter companies will tend to set the pace.

The entire situation should be provocative of profound thought. Perhaps its position would be materially improved were the T.W.U. leadership less well known as Stalinist stooges and better known for its tolerance and democratic procedure within its own organization.

A NOTABLE

THe New York dress industry has 1 just renewed its agreement with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. This is the first time in the history of the trade that an agreement was renewed before its legal expiration date—a sufficient sign of the respect which the employers associations have for this powerful and militant garment union.

The agreement remains the same in all respects—including also the 35 hour week. A number of technical changes were introduced for purposes of more efficient enforcement of the contract. Most interesting of the new provisions is the one providing for the establishment of a labor buro thru which the employers will

improving conditions. After our own but the knitgoods workers continued general strike, our union took over the Textile Trimming Workers Union, which had been smashed by the problem of the out-of-town knit- the employers, and succeeded in organizing these workers as an integral part of our union.

(Concluded in the next issue)

of the BOUND VOLUME

A Limited Number of Copies

WORKERS AGE: 1938

will be available shortly Please order yours in advance at \$1.75 per volume

> WORKERS AGE 131 West 33rd Street New York City

be obliged to hire labor. This buro, it is stipulated, will be administered by the impartial machinery set up in the past as part of the operation of the contract. The union is now carefully studying the entire plan and will soon present definite proposals.

STALINIST "SOCIALISM"

THE Soviet Union has been in the news quite a lot lately because of a series of unique labor provisions recently enacted. Some time ago Stalin ordered that every worker must be equipped with a "labor book," a sort of passport to be used within the country. On this passport are to be recorded the worker's entire history, his occupation, efficiency rating, responsibility, etc. This system was made necessary because of the many thousands of Russian workers who were constantly quitting their jobs in search for better pay. The passport system will make the free movement of a worker impossible if the plant foreman decides that he is needed in the shop and withholds his passport.

Having thus anchored the worker to his job by a sort of industrialserfdom system. Stalin was then able to go further. A dispatch a few days ago informed the world that wages are about to be cut and speedup increased because of the low productivity of Russian industry. A still more recent cable brings further enlightenment. Foremen and inspectors who, lacking training in the ways of Simon Legree, show the slightest letdown in driving the workers, will be severely punished by means of jail sentences. All these measures, it is explained.

were due to falling production, poor quality of goods produced, lack of interest and "shiftlessness" of the Russian workers. And, in typical Stalinist fashion, the solution is found, not in improving wages and working conditions but in converting the Russian worker to literal slavery. Of course, the net effect of these

burocratic-administrative measures will be to make things even worse.

WATCH EDISON

ONSOLIDATED Edison continues to make hav-tho they may pay for it later in terms of a complaint to the National Labor Relations Board. As we reported recently, official bulletin-board announcements called upon the men to sign cards asking the firm to check off dues to be turned over to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. But very few signed up and a new scheme was resorted to. The supervisers signed up with the I.B.E.W. and, armed with a stack of I.B.E.W. check-off cards, canvassed the workers in their departments and intimated that the big poys wouldn't like it a bit if the card wasn't signed.

The cards were signed. Only the nost hardy of C.I.O. supporters

COMIC RELIEF

DEVELOPMENTS in the Textile Workers Organizing Committee have taken a turn towards heavy-handed humor of the comicopera variety. These can be grouped roughly into three acts.

Act 1. Francis Gorman and other former leaders of the United Textile Workers agree to utilize genuine ${f dissatisfaction}$ within T.W.O.C. ranks over contracts, conditions, and (Continued on Page 4)

Winter School Term Opens

THE Independent Labor Institute workers, to be even more effective ■ begins the Winter term with a as a labor educational institution. feeling of confidence and satisfaction. During the Fall term, it did significant work, despite all limitations, in the education of labor forces toward a more class-conscious point of view—a view leading to organized and intelligent action, towards the realization of labor's ultimate objective, a socialist society.

During the Winter school term we hope to extend our efforts, to reach even a greater number of LAckawanna 4-5282).

The instructors and student body will continue to be guided by the general principle that no dogma or belief is so sacred as to be beyond reexamination or further discussion.

We urge you to register for the courses listed below. Don't delay. Send in your registration to the Independent Labor Institute, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. (Tel.

1. SOME CENTRAL PROBLEMS OF SOCIALISMWill Herberg Monday, 7 P.M., beginning Jan. 30-10 sessions 2. LABOR'S ROAD FORWARD: PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY

Tuesday, 8:15 P.M., beginning Jan. 31-10 sessions

3. LARGER ASPECTS OF THE NEW DEAL Jav Lovestone Wednesday, 8:15 P.M., beginning Feb. 1-5 sessions

4. AMERICAN CIVILIZATION TODAY A Symposium course Lecturers: Norman Thomas, Angelica Balabanoff, Roger Baldwin. James Rorty, Horace Coon, Nathaniel Minkoff, Lewis Corey, Bertram D. Wolfe, Benjamin Stolberg, Will Her-

berg, and others. Friday, 8:15 P.M., beginning Jan. 20-12 sessions

Single Admission to Any Course—25c Send for Descriptive Catalog

Address: Independent Labor Institute, 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

TEAMSTERS WIN IN BOSTON

Independent Group, pointed out that 8.15 p, m,, at Steinway Hall, 118

the same public criticism!), that it ciate the necessity of a struggle for

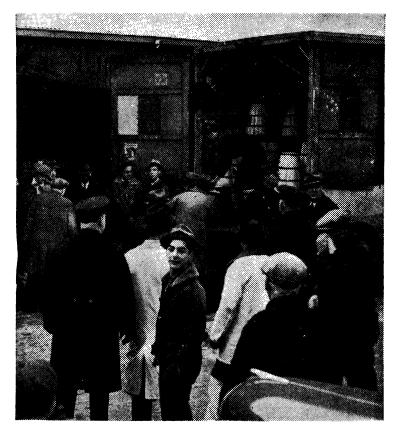
four resigning and four joining, but positive program. The last conven-

to two basic causes: (1) conducting | Teachers showed that there are

tical viewpoint, thus narrowing its stand the problem and the need for

basis, its opportunity for growth and solving it. This is a struggle that

checking its inner life; and (2) the has significance for the entire labor



Seven-day strike of 5,700 Boston truck drivers ended in victory last week as truckers won \$2 a week increase.

Problem of Autonomy Confronts the C.I.O.

Dangerous Situation Is Created by Top Control

By WILL HERBERG

THE problem of what kird of set- protection. up should prevail wthin the trade-union movement, h.s always been a difficult one, for thre are ap- trary direction. The great bulk of parently contradictory requirements to reconcile. On the ore hand, in order to be able to stan up against fresh fields—that is, calling new modern big business, the labor movement needs a corsiderable degree of centralization and internal consolidation and control. On the other, democracy in its various aspects is even more esential. For not cil to its autonomous affiliates. That only is genuine denocracy one of the great goals towards which the labor movement is striving and and temporary. As soon as the new which could neve be achieved were unions would be able to stand on it absent in its own ranks. Democratic procedure is also the only way in which a free and voluntary movement of masses can possibly recruit with all the rights and privileges of and mobilize its forces as well as autonomy. acquire maturity and stability thru INTENTIONS AND its own experience.

TRADITIONAL SYSTEM IN

AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT Out of years of experience, the American labor movement developed a system of relationships to meet both of these requirements: centralinternational unions joined together ate this type of direct control and on a voluntary basis in a national federation in which each affiliate retained its full autonomy. Only too frequently in the past, it is true, was this ideal plan ignored or violated. The international unions were many of them far from democratic and the American Federation of Labor would sometimes, under one pretext or another, go beyond its proper powers. But most of the criticism of the progressive elements in the trade unions was directed than against the rule itself, which was generally held to be quite sound

theme, especially at the time of the the way, that still exists. Tampa convention of the A. F. of L.

This tendency we felt to be so dangerous that we called attention

C.I.O. but rather taken under its full of June 20, 1936, George F. Miles

Yet, from the very beginning, there were forces operating in a conthe work of the C.I.O., in the earlier days, at any rate, was organizing unions into existence. Naturally, its relation to these newly created organizations tended to resemble more that of an International Board to its locals than that of a federated countheir own feet, they would be freed from the leading-strings of the C.I.O. headquarters and be vested

REALITIES

Such was the avowed intention but the reality soon began to look quite different. The role of the C.I.O. in directly dominating what might be called its own creations was so great and all-absorbing that the tendency was rather to perpetuextend it even to those unions that had voluntarily joined the C.I.O. with their own rights and privileges fully guaranteed. This trend was greatly aggravated by the thoroly undemocratic regime that soon came to prevail within the top circles of the C.I.O.

There were ominous signs on the horizon from the very beginning. In May 1936, about a half-year after the formation of the C.I.O., the latter entered into an agreement with against violations of the rule rather Iron, Steel and Tin Workers for the the Amalgamated Association of purpose of setting up a Steel Workers Organizing Committee to unionize the great steel industry. This When the C.I.O. emerged upon the \mid step was a very welcome one and scene, one of its big issues against was hailed by progressives everythe Executive Council of the A. F. where. Yet even here there was an of L. was that the latter was ille- aspect that gave thoughtful observgally exceeding its powers under ers much cause for concern—the the constitution of the A. F. of L. slight regard shown in the agreeand was invading the autonomy of ment for the autonomous rights of affiliated international unions by the A.A., one of the oldest unions in trying to penalize them for banding America. It was not a question of together to propagate the idea of any tenderness for the moribund industrial unionism and promote the A.A. but rather a question of genorganization of the mass-production eral policy and precedent. In effect industries. We still remember the the S.W.O.C. agreement established impassioned addresses and articles a C.I.O. receivership over the A.A. of the late Charles P. Howard, then and over any future organization in secretary of the C.I.O., on this the steel industry, a receivership, by

tried system of internal relationships to it and criticized it upon its first

Books of the Age

= by $Jim\ Cork$

THE POPULAR FRONT IN | local movements for anti-fascist

TODAY the French People's Front exists no more. The dead body was formally buried by the Radical-Socialists, since, after the Munich pact, they reorganized their cabinet and their program, repudiating the Communist Party and its support. Thus, the Radical-Socialist party, on whose behalf the C.P. and the S.P. had sabotaged social legislation, broken strikes and knifed the Spanish Loyalists, has itself broken the alliance and is now taking the initiative towards the right, organizing and uniting the French capitalist parties for support of Daladier's de-

cree government. This pamphlet, written by a member of the Socialist Workers and Peasants Party (P.S.O.P.), is particularly timely. It represents revolutionary opposition to the class collaboration, to the opportunism, to the "collective-security" demagogy, to the mobilization of the masses behind imperialist war, that are the main characteristics of the People's Front. Vincent writes the history of the French working class since the attempted fascist putsch of 1934 and the February 1934 general strike, down to the opposition of the Revolutionary Left of the S.P. to a "national-union" government, their formation of the P.S.O.P. on the basis of repudiation of the Popular Front and advocacy of revolutionary struggle against war and capitalism.

ing of the role of the Radical-Social- stronger revolutionary tendency ists and the compromises accepted within the working class, it could by the working-class parties. It gives | have kept the leadership of the a detailed explanation of the back- movement in its hands and led the ward march of events under the workers to an open attack on capi-People's Front. It should be careful- talism. Vincent considers it necesly studied by American workers to- sary for the workers to continue a day as we face the initial problem of coalition with the Radicals in order establishing an independent political to win the support of the middle organization of labor and as we fight class. Experience shows the opposite. the Stalinist propaganda for a Coalition with a capitalist party—

"democratic front." the reformist trade unions that ning the support of the petty bourcalled the 1934 general strike. The geoisie for the workers is that of Communist Party was too confused winning the support of the petty and too "revolutionary" to know bourgeoisie for socialism. The workwhom to fight. He emphasizes that ers must, therefore, aim to win the the reactionary National govern- middle-class masses away from the ment that came in as a result of the capitalist parties and not to bolster fascist putsch was supported by the up the prestige of these parties Radical-Socialists and that Herriot while undermining their own power (the latest C.P. hero) actually en- and demoralizing their own ranks in tered this government. The People's the process. Front was preceded by spontaneous

FRANCE, by Charles Vincent. unity, including the middle classes, Published by the I.L.P. London, around working-class organizations. These were not supported by the Radical-Socialists, who were then in the National government and did not enter the Popular Front until 1935, and then only in order to recover

their lost prestige. At that time, the C.P. began to vote invariably with the Radicals against the workingclass groups in the councils of the People's Front. And, in October 1937, altho the socialists won 155 seats at the local council elections, they took no advantage of their victory because, before the elections, they had signed an agreement with the Radicals that the composition of the Cabinet would not be changed

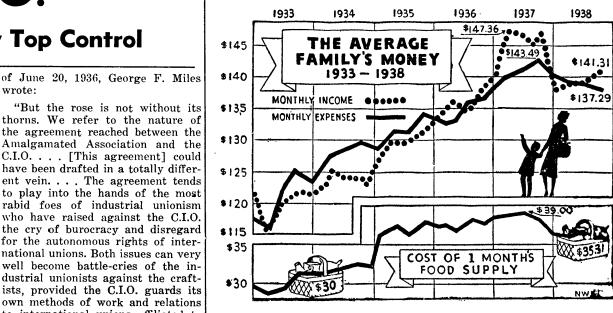
Charles Vincent does a good job in laying bare the reactionary, antilabor character of the French People's Front. There is, however, one major point of difference with the author. He contends that the People's Front, as such, was not wrong "in principle," but turned out so in practise. It was the reformist leadership of the S.P. and the C.P. he claims, that held back the working class, administering defeats instead of gaining victories, but this was not necessarily inherent in the very

whatever the results!

This, and all other books reviewed in these columns, can be purchased at expulsion by the burocracy, and the Workers Age Bookshop, Room 707, 131 West 33 St., New York City.

structure of the movement. He main-The pamphlet is also very reveal- tains that, if there had been a the Radicals—means acceptance of The author points out that it was capitalism. The problem of win-

IVING COSTS AND WAGES



THE above chart, prepared by the Northwestern National Life Insurance Co., shows how living costs have run neck-and-neck with wage increases since 1933. The dotted line on the top chart measures the rise in the income of a United States family, averaging \$120 a month in 1933. The heavy line shows the increase in the cost of maintaining the same standard of living which the family could enjoy on \$120 a month at average

Wage increases did not catch up with the mounting cost of living till early in 1936. Then came the new depression with curtailed working hours, which sent family income into a steep decline in the Fall and Winter of 1937-1938. When, a few months later, some recovery set in, the average family income once more climbed above living costs.

The graph illustrates vividly how wage increases and price rises can pretty well offset each other in their their see-saw race. After six years of the New Deal, average family income is in no better shape in relation to cost of living than it was in 1933. In other words, we're just about where we started. Of course, had the labor movement not fought and fought hard half years since have tended not to for wage increases, we would have been completely ovehwhelmed by the dispel the fears expressed in June rise in prices. In short, in this topsy-turvy world of the profit system, you have to keep running full speed ahead in order to keep in the same place! ty," he said, "to the coming months projects.

Martin Hits **Armament Economics**

Labor Regimentation Is Danger, He Declares

"It is true that labor wants work. but we object strenuously to a fictitious type of economic recovery brought about thru the manufacture of armaments.

This statement was made by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, in a speech recently before a business men's association in Detroit.

He continued, "There can be no lasting gains thru the production of goods which have no social value and which do not increase the wealth of mankind.' Disheartened to see the world

rushing headlong toward "mechanized slaughter," Mr. Martin declared that "labor is more than mildly interested because it is chiefly from the ranks of labor that those who do the killing and those who will be killed will be drawn."

Pointing to the wave of fascist dictatorships created out of the last war, the union president warned that "with the coming war there will be even greater tendencies toward setting up military dictatorships even in the remaining democratic countries." Such tendencies, he cautioned, are likely to mean the final destruction of democratic forms of government in this country as well as in

DOVE OF PEACE: 1938



because we see that in the move towards armed conflict there is a gradual tendency to centralize and regiment the activity of all groups in society and subordinate all interests and all liberties to the main objective—that of mass murder."

Mr. Martin expressed labor's opposition to using relief workers and W.P.A. workers in war preparations "Labor looks forward with anxie- as a substitute for public works

Behind the Recent To Mr. Chamberlain Nazi Pogroms

Letter from Germany Describes Crisis

By FRITZ

"But the rose is not without its

thorns. We refer to the nature of

the agreement reached between the

Amalgamated Association and the

C.I.O. . . . [This agreement] could

have been drafted in a totally differ-

ent vein. . . . The agreement tends

rabid foes of industrial unionism

who have raised against the C.I.O

for the autonomous rights of inter

national unions. Both issues can very

well become battle-cries of the in-

dustrial unionists against the craft

own methods of work and relations

to international unions affiliated to

it. . . . The C.I.O. must do nothing

to create the belief among steel

workers and other workers that au-

tonomous rights of the union are

peing infringed upon and that a

burocratic receivership over them

has been established. . . . It is with this in mind that we believe that

certain errors have crept into the

drafting of the document. The C.I.O.

can, however, do much to dispel such

fears by the manner in which it will

conduct itself in these trying days.'

These words have turned out to be

truly prophetic. The actions of the

C.I.O. leadership in the two and a

(Continued on Page 4)

well-prepared action of the governber 15, all Jews were deprived of tions. their passports. The persecutions in July and August and the mass expulsions of the Polish Jews were rehearsal, so to speak.

NOT "SPONTANEOUS

There can hardly be a question that all the talk about "spontaneous actions" of the population is a fraud. After the death of von Rath, nothing happened in Germany for many hours—and then suddenly hell broke loose thruout the country at two o'clock in the morning. Nor could the residences of the Jews in the big cities have been known to ordinary "mobs." Yet the "mobs" did proceed

definitely. find the slightest echo among the least they must fear us." The camman people—above all the working with these bestialities, and showed featism in case of war. their resentment almost openly. In spite of the danger, there were inaspect of the situation.

new Workers Age.

utilized by the authorities to unleash the pogroms are connected with the THE anti-Semitic pogroms in Ger- internal difficulties in which the many were a deliberate and regime finds itself despite its successes on the field of foreign affairs. ment. The preparations reach as far There are the old difficulties of a fiback as last Summer. At that time, | nancial and economic character a decree was issued that all concerns brought about primarily by the inand business houses in Jewish hands credibly burdensome rearmament should be marked with a special program. These were multiplied by sign. Jewish business houses were new difficulties created by the analso ordered to make full property nexation of Austria and the Sudeten reports, which becomes especially regions as well as by the great damsignificant in view of the recent age and disturbance done to eco-'fine" levied on the Jews. On Octo- nomic life by the several mobiliza-

Anti-Semitic pogroms on such a vast scale would never have been possible without the Munich triumph. Its growth of prestige on the field of foreign affairs permitted the Hitler government to take a chance on throwing such a monstrous provocation in the face of world opinion without worrying too much about the consequences.

SITUATION WITHIN GERMANY

But within Germany the situation is entirely different. For a long time. the Nazis have known that it is absolutely hopeless to win the masses straight to these residences, for of the people, above all, of course, there were lists prepared. Evidence the workers. They know very well of this sort could be multiplied in- what is awaiting them should they risk a war. So they have raised the The anti-Semitic outrages did not slogan: "If they don't love us, at general population. Quite the con- paign of persecution against the trary. The vast majority of the Ger- Jews with all its horrors is the answer of the Nazi regime to the hosmasses—had nothing whatever to do tility of the masses and to their de-

Naturally, the financial aspect is numerable attempts to aid the vic- by no means to be ignored. It is one tims of the terror. Even the Nazi of the main purposes of the entire eadership was not deceived as to this affair. These methods are being continued. The next victims of financial The reasons why the attack on extortion will probably be the recalvon Rath at the Paris embassy was citrant clergy, and perhaps even the

Make Sure the New

WORKERS AGE

Is Here To Stay

Contribute Now to the

Special Press Fund Drive

of \$3,500

Here is my contribution to assure the continued success of the

GOD placed the Russian peasant Under the Great White Czar; God put the Prussian worker Beneath the Lord of War. But he sent the English gentleman, The perfect English gentleman God's own good English gentleman, To make us what we are.

Our fathers once were freemen, And as freemen wont to toil, To reap the fruitful harvest, And to gather golden spoil. But the greedy, grasping gentlemen, The land-engrossing gentlemen, The honest English gentlemen, They stole away the soil.

They drove'us from our villages By force and fraud and stealth. They drove us into factories, They robbed us of our health. But the cotton-spinning gentlemen, The coal-mine, shipyard gentlemen, Stock-broking, banking gentlemen, They gathered wondrous wealth.

We toil to make them prosperous. We fight to make them great; But we know how they have robbed us, We bide our time and wait: While the fat, well-living gentlemen, The easy, well-bred gentlemen, The thoughtless, careless gentlemen, Forget that slaves can hate.

The patient Russian peasant Has overthrown his Czar; The patient Prussian worker Has smashed his Lord of War. And soon-ah! soon, our gentlemen, Our proud, all-powerful gentlemen, Our God-damned English gentlemen, Shall find out what we are.

evangelical churches and the Cath olic Church in their entirety. Outside of Germany there is ap-

parently a great deal of horror and protest at the anti-semitic pogroms. Yet there remans hardly a country today where the Jews are not denied entry or from which Jewish refugees, including women and children, are not turned back at the border or driven back to Germany.

A few "democratic" statesmen have made a move to intervene with the Nazi government that it should allow the refugees to take with them as much as 30% of their property. But the poor devils who have been robbed of everything or who never had anything anyway, nobody seems to worry about them.

The sympathy of the "democratic" statesmen for the persecuted Jews is more than dubious. But there can be no doubt about the concern of all EXPOSE CORRUPTION capitalist elements, even those who are pro-fascist, even the "Aryan" capitalists in Germany, at the way the Brown hooligans are trampling all over "law and order" to the utter disregard of the "sacred rights of of the majority of the Plymouth lo- ways hire large halls in the neighproperty." They are beginning with the Jews, it is said, and then the church and God knows where it will end. . . . What sort of "order" is it, anyway, that these "guardians of law and order" pretend to preserve? Robbery, plunder, murder. Large sections of the German bourgeoisie are very much disturbed at the spirit of unrestrained violence prevalent especially among the youth, and the dominant capitalist groups in other countries unquestionably share this

feeling.
The first effect of the anti-Jewish persecutions upon the broad masses was undoubtedly to scare them. Certainly, in themselves, they will not lead to any significant movement against the Nazi regime. But when the fascist dictatorship is forced to resort to such methods in order to bolster up its rule and the bourgeois order, it really undermines the foundations of the social order to its very roots. This the future will show.

(Fritz is a German worker actively engaged in underground political work

UAW Membership Backs Martin

Ford Local Endorses Negotiations

(Continued from Page 1) seeing the Board but they em- of the 10,000 workers in the plant." phatically let it be known that what reinstatements, ending strikes in several cities, etc., would result in amongst Ford workers thruout the

PLYMOUTH WORKERS

Late Thursday afternoon, forty members of the Plymouth local, characteristic language that the strongest opposition of the Plymouth members. They protested any contemplated action by the Board reinstating Leo LaMotte and his gang as the heads of the local and insisted that the administrators appointed by Martin be retained. They said that, regardless of what the Board might decide, they would not turn over the local to the Communist

McCartney charged that, during Coughlinites LaMotte's reign over the local, \$500 had been voted to the "unity" group, payable to George F. Addes. The audited books reveal that the "loan" has not been repayed. Asked whether he had any intention of repaying, Addes replied: "That's a question."

McCartney confronted the Board members, who shook in their breeches with the charge that they were deliberately slandering and maligning Pete McGavin, of the Plymouth local, as a "Ford service-man." The Board was asked to publicly repudiate this charge. This request the Board rejected. McGavin had given up half a day's work to appear before the Board but was not admitted into their presence until his stalwart union brothers arrived and forced themselves into the Board session.

press, declared that Martin had apentirely constitutional. Moreover, he ling."

said, "we are circulating a petition see the board and that they consider- of complete confidence in President ed the special Board meeting nothing | Homer Martin and will tomorrow but a "pressure" move against present the Board with that petition Homer Martin. They left without bearing the signatures of 9,000 out

McCartney recited a dramatic and the Board had done to wreck the factual story of the corruption progress made by Homer Martin under the LaMotte-Communist Party with the Ford Company relative to administration. He revealed that checks totaling \$7,025, made out to "cash," had been signed by LaMotte bitterest opposition to the Board and were unaccounted for. (LaMotte claims the sum was invested in bonds.) Seventy-six shop-stewards had taken between \$3,000 and \$4,000 out of the treasury for personal use. Checks, never approved by the local, made out to some Communist Party affiliates, were also discovered. Sixty headed by Chief Steward Pat the Communist Party paper, the dollars a month was being paid to McCartney, invaded the Board Midwest Record. McCartney said chambers after having been refused that an independent audit of the loadmission and told the Board in cal's books was being made and that more revelations would shortly be Board decisions would meet with the forthcoming. He said that, thru such corruption, LaMotte and the Communist Party had hitherto maintained their machine in the local. He further stated that the local would defy any attempt by the

Board to deprive it of control of its own affairs or of its books. Only a court decision could do this, he said.

In Riot

(Continued from Page 1) or subject of the meeting is of a con-

troversial nature . . . "

The hearing was picketed by an assortment of Coughlinite outfits. Once the meeting began, these elements set up a clamor against opponents of the bill that seems to have been copied from the best of Nazi tactics.

Outstanding among the speakers advocating free use of the schools were Norman Thomas, John Haynes Holmes, and a representative of the state committee of the American Labor Party. Charles McDowell, speaking for the I.L.L.A., brought out in clear, forceful language that, "as an organization fighting Leaving the Board chamber, Pat for full civil rights for labor McCartney, in a interview with the and views the free use of the schools as a prerogative particularly pointed administrators at the request needed by workers who cannot alcal members so that the action was borhood they wish to hold a meet-

BOOK BARGAINS FOR THE NEW YEAR Of Current Interest

for any title listed below Materialism

Karl Marx, Man and Fighter Emerson's Essays

Rousseau's Writings Who rules America?

Assignment in Utopia \$3.00

Germany: Empire or Revolution

My Life as Rebel

School For Dictators

Story of the C.I.O.

at substantial reductions

by Angelica Balabanoff

by Benjamin Stolberg

by Gunther Reimann

by Ignazio Silone

\$2.25

\$1.75

Portrait of America, by Wolfe, a \$3.75 book for \$1.25! Send in your orders and get further information from

49c

Thalheimer's Dialectical Crisis of the Middle Class

Aristotle's Ethics Paine's Writings Voltaire's Philosophical

The Case of Leon Trotsky

by Eugene Lyons EXTRA SPECIAL: Bonaparte by Tarle, a \$4.50 book for \$1.25!

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

Workers Age

131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Pub. Ass'n. Subscription Rates: \$1.50 per year; \$.85 for six month; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.50; Canada \$1.75 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282. WILL HERBERG, Editor

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

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1939.

AFTER 22 YEARS

TOM MOONEY is free at last! What a thrill of joy and encouragement these words must bring to scores of millions of workers and liberty-loving people generally thruout the world. If Tom Mooney in prison was the symbol of the perversion of justice in the interests of employing-class reaction, Tom Mooney freed is the symbol of the triumph of justice brought about thru the mass power of organized protest. The liberation of Tom Mooney is a victory of historical proportions for the forces of progress every-

But it is not the "vindication of American democracy," as some claim. Fine "democracy," indeed, that permitted an innocent man to languish in jail for twenty-two years on obviously framedup charges at a time when all those connected with the case, from the judges down, urged his release! And Billings is still in prison, let us remember, altho he is just as guiltless as Mooney. It will take more than a belated pardon after twenty-two years to vindicate the American "democracy" that kept Mooney and Billings behind prison bars for nearly a quarter of a century and that sent a long line of victims from the Haymarket martyrs to Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottosboro boys to the gallows or the dungeon.

In 1916, when Mooney was railroaded to prison, the country was in the throes of a war-preparedness drive. By no means the least of the reasons that led the reactionary interests of California to frame Mooney with the hope of sending him to his death was his uncompromising hostility, as a militant socialist, to the preparedness agitation and the war plans of the Wilson Administration. Today, as Tom Mooney emerges from prison, the country is again in the grip of a preparedness fever on an even more gigantic scale; again the country is being whipped into a war frenzy thru a campaign conceived and directed by the White House. Tom Mooney's liberation should certainly serve as a clarion call to action against the Administration's drive for re- Out of War Committee.—Editor.) armament and war. And in this great anti-war movement the post of honor naturally falls to Tom Mooney himself. We hope that he will soon find it possible to take his rightful place in the van.

Tom Mooney's release brings him into direct contact once and navy in our history. And newsmore with the labor movement and its problems at this most papers in the West, where I have No ruler depending on it for economic critical hour. During his long years behind bars, Tom retained unimpaired his keen interest in the movement and succeeded vices as well as special disvery well in keeping abreast of latest developments. Nevertheless, he will undoubtedly require some period of orientation to find his that this rearmament program is way about. The best advice we can offer him is to watch closely those who are now crowding around him claiming to be his "friends," people of the type of Bridges, who have the infallible arms program the basis of our reknack of discrediting themselves and everything they touch. This covery effort instead of depending is not the company for Tom Mooney.

A new career is opening before this man who has been for so many years the living symbol of labor unity against capitalist oppression. On this happy occasion, for which we waited and hoped so long, we greet Tom Mooney in militant solidarity.

"REVISING" NEUTRALITY

N essential aspect of the Administration program as revealed in A the President's recent message to Congress, is the effort to bring about the "revision" of the Neutrality Act along lines satisfactory to the White House and the State Department. Nothing more dangerous to the peace and welfare of this country is likely to come up at the present session of Congress.

What the President wants is clear enough. He wants Congress to give him discretionary power to "name the aggressor" in any conflict and to apply all of the restrictions provided for in the act against the party thus named. A "revision" of this character would not be a mere modification of the present law; it would transform it into its very opposite. It would turn it into a mechanism for driving this country into every foreign war to take place.

The present law, with all its faults, at least binds the hands of the President to this extent: he cannot officially choose sides in a foreign war and thereby involve the United States in such a war on the side he hay happen to favor. But that is exactly the power President Roosevelt wants. He wants nothing short of the power to commit this country to war whenever he may think it fitting and proper to do so.

It is part of the new strategy of the Administration to pretend that its efforts to "revise" neutrality are due to its eagerness to right the wrong done to Loyalist Spain by the embargo on arms shipments. This is the sheerest hypocrisy. There is no other word for it. If the United States is helping to strangle Loyalist Spain thru the arms embargo, the responsibility lies entirely with the Administration. It was the State Department that insisted on including civil wars within the scope of the Neutrality Act so as to make it cover the Spanish conflict. Above all, it was President Roosevelt himself who invoked the Neutrality Act in the Spanish situation and thus called the embargo into being. What compelled him to do so? Why couldn't he have declined to apply the Neutrality Act to Spain by refusing to "recognize" that a state of war existed there, as he has done in the case of the far bigger war in China? Had he not invoked the act, there would have been no embargo on arms shipments to Loyalist behind him, and even the officers Spain in the first place. But President Roosevelt did invoke the act under pressure from London and Catholic elements in this country. And now he tries to exploit the popular indignation at the consequences of his own action in order to arrogate to himself even greater powers in fashioning foreign policy.

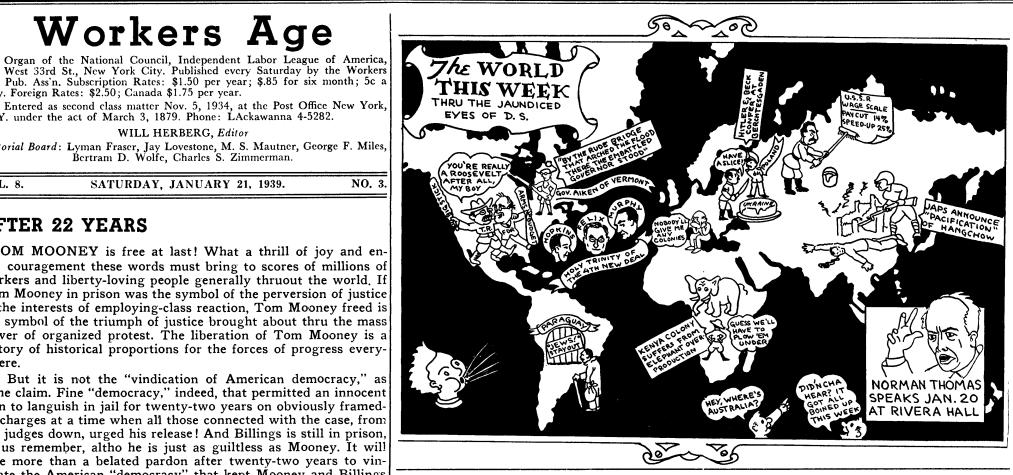
Yes, the embargo against Spain must be lifted and lifted without delay. But for that it is not at all necessary to grant the President the discretionary power he demands. The logical way to do it is by direct Congressional action or else by excluding civil wars altogether from the scope of the Neutrality Act. The Administration is playing a clever game of exploiting popular sympathy for Loyalist Spain in order to promote its own war plans. It is up to the anti-war movement to expose the trick and bring the truth to the masses of the American people.

"MEN OF GOOD WILL"

CERTAIN amount of confusion appears to exist about the political nature of the President's recent appointments. Some of the most liberal New Dealers have been given key posts in the government, at a time when the general policy of the Administration hurtles onward to the militarist reaction of armament economics. Thus Harry Hopkins becomes Secretary of Commerce, a post which is all-important in the relations between the government and business. Felix Frankfurter is appointed to the Supreme Court vacancy. Frank Murphy, humanitarian governor of Michigan, is appointed Attorney-General, to direct law enforcement and to take charge of whatever political police we have in this country.

In each individual case, there is a specific political reason. Frankfurter, for example, is, in the set-up of present-day politics, a heavy creditor of the New Deal. His disciples are in key positions, and, altho Roosevelt passed him up before in the appointment of Reed and Black, the debt had to be paid this time. Hopkins, it appears, must be given a "respectable' tone to be built up for 1940. Frank Murphy was a compromise candidate according to Washington rumor. Farley, who has his own political ambitions, blocked the move to appoint Robert Jackson as Attorney-General, since Jackson is a New Yorker as is Farley. Knowing the strength of the inner New Deal group, he had to use as acceptable a radical as Murphy to achieve his purpose.

But these are merely the individual reasons for individual cases. We are more concerned with the trend evinced here, a trend as significant as the armaments drive itself. What is now happening in American politics is blatant demagogy in practise as well as in speech. The "men of the Left," as the French say, are being utilized to do "the work of the Right." Obviously, Hopkins and Murphy in administrative positions can only carry out the dictates of the regime. But they serve as a front; they are popular with the workers and with the disemployed. Their liberal reputation may serve to cover up the reactionary course of the Administration a little while longer. But they will serve to make clearer than ever before that a reactionary policy carried out by liberals is still reactionary. Program, not "men of good-will," is what counts in the long run.



Armament Economics No Road to Recovery

Repeated War Scares Used to Push Arms Program

By JOHN T. FLYNN

(These paragraphs are from an ar pamphlet form by the Keep America war alarms upon the people. The war Therefore, we must arm. Besides,

THE next phase is the President's current plans for the greatest peace-time rearmament of both army war preparations, it is impossible been traveling around-press serpatches from Washington - say to represent a shift of emphasis in our recovery effort. We are now to attempt to make a great on consumer-goods production. If there is in this world a more dangerous stratagem than this I cannot imagine what it may be.

The present curse of Italy and Germany is that the dictators there have made vast arms operations the medium of spending money and creating employment. You can't build battleships and make guns and war materials without putting great industries to work. The support of the economic system of both Hitler and Mussolini is the employment they have created and the income they itiate by means of the armament industry. There are grave reasons why war preparations are easier to these desperate adventurers than peace-time operations like our

Trade Union **Notes**

(Continued from Page 2) leadership, to launch a movement "to give the union back to the textile workers." Gorman is offered the leadership with one proviso—he must break with his C.P. pals. He hesitates, finally assents.

Act. 2. After a false start, Gorman returns to the fold shamefacedly. Finally-he's off! Dramatically, he speaks in the name of the officers and members of the U.T.W.. condemns T.W.O.C. practises, and issues orders. But alas, he is alone. Few if any of the members are have deserted him because, they say, he has dallied too long with his 'communist friends.'

Act. 3. Gorman having been deeated by going to war without an army, the United Textile Workers, which no longer exists, now goes to trial without a defendant. Even tho Gorman has stated that he is now a member of the A. F. of L., the U.T.W. places him on trial for 'sponsoring dual unionism," violating the U.T.W. constitution and repudiating the contract between the U.T.W. and the T.W.O.C.

(The finale has just been written. Gorman has been found guilty and ordered shot with blank bullets,

25 YEARS AGO

Jan. 15, 1914—Charles H. Moyer, president of Western Federation of Miners, and 37 union officials indicted on charges of conspiracy in connection with copper strike.

Jan. 20.—President Wilson reads to Congress his message on the 'very difficult and intricate matter of trusts and monopolies." General tone of message conciliatory.

Jan. 21.—The Army Victualling Committee of Paris meets with the Ministry of War. They declare that two days after the issue of a mobilization order Paris would be without bread. Decide that ten thousand tons of flour be permanently stored in

Jan. 21.—Bolshevik fraction in Russian Duma draw up plans of work. Introduce bills on the eight-

W.P.A. and P.W.A. But the con- fascist penetration of Mexico and tinuation of these war preparations South America; we cannot hope to ticle by John T. Flynn circulated in requires the ceaseless unloosing of scare is an essential implement to this will be a good thing. It will the war-preparation program.

> Having embarked upon a policy of supporting recovery by means of to demobilize a great war industry. life would dare do it. And, consequently, he would not dare make an end of his war alarms. . . .

silent or, worse, march off behind this reactionary and barbaric ban- eral wing. And I doubt not, all the ner? Yet that is precisely what we seem to be preparing to do. The war | friendly correspondents who cultiscares are served up to us at inmust be prepared for Japan; we must be prepared for a German spired to keep the type hot with trade invasion of South America; whatever propaganda is necessary we must be ready for the attempted to pep up this movement.

make business. It will stimulate the heavy industries. It is incredible . . . And it is not being done by the munitions makers It is not being publicized and man-

remain out of a European brawl.

aged by the war-craft builders. It is not being inspired by the economic rovalists who are interested in spreading and protecting trade and Can it be that the United States profits. It is not being sponsored by is to embark upon this dreadful the Republican party, the traditional course? Can it be that the great | big-navy party. It is being done by liberal groups are going to remain a Democratic Administration supposedly in the possession of its lib sponsored columnists and all of the vate the interests of the New Dea creasingly frequent intervals. We rather than the dissemination of news for their papers will be in

Problem of Autonomy Confronts the C.I.O.

(Continued from Page 3) 1936 but rather to intensify and confirm them.

C.I.O. TENDENCY TOWARDS SUPER-CENTRALIZED CONTROL

The whole policy of the C.I.O. leadership has been to undermine and, where possible, to wipe out the autonomy of affiliated unions-to make of the C.I.O. a super-centralized body exercising dominant overhead control upon its affiliates-to convert the supposedly autonomous international unions into mere administrative subsidiaries of the C.I.O. headquarters, into mere C.I.O. organizing committees.

The S.W.O.C. was set up over two and a half years ago. Scores and The C.I.O. stepped in and stepped in even hundreds of thousands of steel workers have been organized under it. But organized into what? Not into a union in the usual sense of trigues carried on by C.I.O. headthe term! For, to this very day, the members of the S.W.O.C. possess none whatever of the rights of full- torious "peace" pact, was to disperse fledged union members. Their leadership is still an appointed sub-committee of the C.I.O. and regional directors and organizers chosen by this sub-committee; their policies are still those handed down to them by this appointed leadership. Even on the Executive Board of the C.I.O., the steel workers are represented by Van Bittner, a member of Lewis's United Mine Workers. The "burocratic receivership" against which we warned in June 1936 has long at first. since become a reality and there seems to be no prospect of its being lifted in the measurable future.

The same is true of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and Amalgamated Clothing Workwhich has actually dissolved and ers, old-established unions, that liquidated the supposedly autonom- really run the C.I.O. and are cer-T.W.O.C. is also merely an appointed are a number of new unions so com sub-committee of the C.I.O. and the pletely under the thumb of C.I.O. rights of the membership have been whittled down to the vanishing strumentality of a Stalinist leaderpoint. Indeed, the very concept of ship, that the external forms of auunion membership seems to be in tonomy may well be allowed to redanger of disappearing, for when main as "harmless." But, in both bership" of the T.W.O.C. he refers the latter by confirmation, the perto the workers covered by T.W.O.C. | sistent drive of the dominant eleagreements with the employersthat is, to the total number of work- | tem of direct overhead control by a ers in the plants that are under contract-without regard to how many of these workers have actually signed up in the T.W.O.C. or are even friendly to it. It is on this basis, too, that the T.W.O.C. is represented at C.I.O. conventions and on the trol that has hitherto prevented the C.I.O. Executive Board.

CASE OF THE U.A.W.

while still in the A. F. of L. after a article.

bitter struggle for independence. I joined the C.I.O. in 1936 and immediately launched an amazing organ izational drive that within a few months established it as a powerful union of 400,000 dues-paying members with agreements with all important automobile concerns outside of Ford. Most gratifying of all, in showed signs of developing a stable progressive, self-reliant and responsible leadership, headed by President Homer Martin. But evidently that was precisely what the dominant elements at C.I.O. headquarters could not tolerate—that and the short work that was being made of the Stalinites and other disruptive elements by the U.A.W. leadership with a vengeance. Today it is clear that the underlying purpose of al the complicated manouvers and inquarters in connection with the U.A.W. and culminating in the no the responsible leadership the U.A W. was slowly developing out of its own ranks and to convert the auton omous U.A.W. into an "Auto Work ers Organizing Committee," an administrative adjunct of the C.I.O. even if to achieve these ends i would be necessary to paralyze the union and dismantle its machinery Fortunately, it looks as if the C.I.O is not going to find it quite as easy a job as it seems to have expected There are two types of C.I.O. af

filiates where the autonomy issue hardly arises. First are such organizations as the United Mine Workers ous United Textile Workers, one of tainly not going to infringe on their the founders of the C.I.O. The own rights and privileges. Then there headquarters, usually thru the in-Sidney Hillman speaks of the "mem- cases, in the former by contrast and ments in the C.I.O. towards a sysnarrow group of leaders, is clearly illustrated.

This underlying trend is, of course, closely associated with the marked tendency towards authoritarian conemergence in the C.I.O. of the institutions and practises of collective democratic leadership so fundamen-But the case of the United Auto- tal to any healthy and really effecmobile Workers is surely the most tive labor movement. But of this, as flagrant example of all. Here is the well as of the disastrous results of case of a union that had established the kind of regime that prevails in itself as an autonomous organization the C.I.O., I shall write in my next

Martin's Indictment Of the UAW Board

Asks That Issues Be Put to Membership

(We publish below sections of the report of Honer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, to the special meeing of the International Executive Board on January 10, 1939. An account of the latest developments in this union will be found on page 1.—Editor.)

TT was my sincere hope that the twenty-pint program, unanimously adopted by the Board, could serve as a univing force. The failure of this program was, I believe, attributable to the lact that there could be no possible unity as long as the policies and program of the so-called "unity" caucus originated outside the union and did not stem from within the U.A.W. itself. Its program and policies were mage to serve as the instrument for effecting the objectives of the Community Party in the U.A.W.

It is my contention that we have had in reality two unions in existence since the Milwaukee Convention. On the one hand there is the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, controlled by the membership, thru duly-elected officers functioning according to the constitution and responsive to the will and the needs of the membership. On the other hand, there has existed a union within the LA.W., an organized body whose members, while holding membership in the U.A.W., have given their first loyalty and their chief support to this union within a union, treating the authority and the policies of the International Union with contempt. This dual union has gone by various names but has commonly called itself the "unity" group.

WHEN the proposed C.I.O. "peace" pact was under consideration by the International Executive Board, you will recall that I was opposed to its adoption because the terms of the settlement did not strike at the basic issues at the root of the factional warfare in the union and because the terms of the pact constituted a serious threat to the autonomy and democratic control of the International Union, I finally yielded and agreed to accept the "peace" pact in good faith and accede to the desire of the majority oi the Board.

The ink was scarcely dry on the so-called "peace" pact, however, when the new majority, apparently obsessed by its new-found power, launched a series of factional manouvers directed chiefly at undermining the powers of the president, as determined by the constitution of the U.A.W., and negating some of the major achievements attained by the union. Ore of the moves of this character was the attempt to take the United Automobile Worker out of the hands of the automobile workers and place it under the control of the C.I.O. It was only at my insistence plus the protest of the membership that the Board finally altered its decision on this matter.

NOTHER action of the International Executive Board which revealed A the sham of the pledges to work for peace and harmony was the purging from the staff of the union of a number of competent, constructive and efficient employees, solely for factional motives. In most cases the purges have resulted in serious hampering of the constructive work of the union in a number of fields, and on this basis I would recommend the reconsideration of this action.

THERE are other matters involving decisions of the International Board L. which are of importance. I refer to such decisions as the one authorizing the payment of some \$6,000 in so-called back-pay to the reinstated officers. I believe that it is unfair to tax the membership to the extent of subsidizing the activities carried on by the officers during their period of suspension and expulsion, at which time they were not even members

of the union in good-standing and were not conducting union business. The Board should give serious consideration to the fact that we have with difficulty weathered an economic crisis and that even the paying of dues by automobile workers, working only a few hours a week, entails considerable sacrifice in behalf of the union. It is for this reason that I felt that it was inadvisable to levy an assessment upon the membership particularly at the time the Board decided to do so.

ET me turn to the recent action of the Board abolishing the W.P.A. L Division as a national department. There is scarcely any activity undertaken by the International Union in recent months which has been as beneficial to the union as our activities in organizing W.P.A. workers. The abolition of the W.P.A. Division as a national department has brought serious injury to the organization of W.P.A. workers and has reduced the effectiveness of the organization in coping with the problems of the unemployed. I am, therefore, asking the I.E.B. to rescind its previous action abolishing the W.P.A. division as a national department.

THE allegation that there have been "secret meetings" between myself 1. and Harry Bennett, personnel director of the Ford Motor Co., is totally false. I am suprised that members of the Executive Board should nsider it unusual for me as president of the International confer with executives of automobile companies concerning union organization and other matters affecting the welfare of automobile workers. I fail to see, therefore, why the Board should feel it necessary to call an emergency meeting and threaten to oust me as president of the International Union for endeavoring to bring about thru the channels of the union a collective-bargaining relationship with the most important unorganized automobile manufacturer in the world. Am I to believe that certain members of the Executive Board do not want the Ford Motor Co. unionized? Or am I to believe that the Executive Board is willing to subordinate the task of unionizing a hundred thousand or more automobile workers to their own narrow factional interests?

No agreement [with Ford] has been finally arrived at. However, I do wish to state that these conferences which have been held have been moving in the direction of an understanding between the Ford Motor Co. and the U.A.W. that would bring about many important benefits to the Ford workers. If the crisis occasioned by the calling of this special Board meeting serves to obstruct or prevent the attainment of this understanding. then the full responsibility for denying these benefits to the Ford workers rests upon those members of the International Executive Board responsible for this situation.

NE of the basic reasons for our leaving the A. F. of L. was that we were denied the right to choose our own officers and to have full control over the determination and direction of our union policies. We felt that in the C.I.O. our union would be an autonomous body, an equal among equals. It is natural, therefore, that a considerable section of the union viewed with misgivings the intervention of the C.I.O. in the internal affairs of the U.A.W. These misgivings were not lessened by the further participation in the internal affairs of the union by the so-called Coordinating Committee set up under the C.I.O. "peace" pact. This Coordinating Committee has functioned as a super-body having final authority on all matters referred to it. The continued existence of the union in a state of receivership could only result in serious injury to the growth and progress of the union. In asking for a return of the autonomy of the U.A.W. we are not asking for anything which it is not our right to possess.

■ HAVE stated my attitude and my position unequivocally in this re-1 port. I believe my position represents the opinion of the majority of the members of this union. However, I am prepared to let that fact be determined by the membership. To accomplish this objective and to terminate once and for all the factional war in the union, I am asking the International Executive Board to issue a call for a special convention of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, not later than March 1. This union belongs to the automobile workers and it is to them we must turn to have the future of our union decided.

DON'T MISS THIS!

667THE STATE OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION" A course no thinking man or woman can afford to miss.

NORMAN THOMAS

"AMERICAN SOCIALISM TODAY" Friday, January 20, 8 p. m.

ANGELICA BALABANOFF

"AMERICAN LABOR AND INTERNATIONALISM" Friday, January 27, 8 p. m.

Opening Lectures in a Friday evening symposium course in which the following will participate:

BEN STOLBERG (Labor); JAMES RORTY (Radio); HORACE COON (The Foundations); LEWIS COREY (American Economy); NATHANIEL MINKOFF (Labor Politics); PHILIP RAHV (Left Literature); ROGER BALDWIN (Civil Liberty); WILL HERBERG (Governmental Structure); BERT WOLFE (Whither America?)

FEE-\$1.50, course of 12 lectures; single admission 25c. Send for descriptive catalog

THE INDEPENDENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE LAckawanna 4-5282 131 W. 33rd St. 7th Floor