

Thanks—But It's Only a Beginning!

WE thank you, fellow readers and friends of the Workers Age. You have made it possible for your paper to appear again in full size. But so far you have answered our appeal only in part—enough to make it possible to get out this issue and at best to HOPE for the next one.

These are no days for mincing words, putting on false airs, patting yourself on the back, or pretending great progress. Everywhere labor is having a tough time and is up against stern and all too often very difficult realities. The Workers Age is a militant and vigorous voice of labor. As such, we have neither wanted to dodge the difficulties nor be able to avoid the hardships faced by the working-class movement at home and abroad. It would be more pleasant to write or talk otherwise—but—and the "but" is a mighty big one—to live in a world of illusion, sweet as that may momentarily appear, is a sure road to disillusionment, defeat and disaster.

The Workers Age has made every effort to face the facts, to meet the challenge of realities, and to help labor become a real, challenging force to the capitalist war-makers, and to reaction of every shade and stripe. We have not had a single rich uncle in this country or anywhere else to help us. In fact, the

Workers Age has been more than an ordinarily effective instrument for helping oppressed labor in other countries as well as in our own. Not a single angel has come down to help us in our every-day, earthly and not always easy tasks. We are not complaining. We are explaining. Our appearance, our work, our existence—only you readers and friends have made possible.

And the maintenance, the continuance, the improvement, and the growth of the Workers Age only you yourself can ensure or make impossible. We need more. Much more. Very much more of the generous help you have given in response to our alarm call last week. Surely you do not want your paper to cease publication, or to appear irregularly, or to come out again pitifully reduced!

We have just got to raise at least \$2,000 in the next fortnight—or else. But there can be no "or else." There simply must be no "or else." You and we must not allow it. The Workers Age counts on you. You can count on the Workers Age—more than ever—in the decisive days ahead when you will need it more than ever before.

We need your help today. RIGHT NOW.

We heartily thank you RIGHT NOW for your encouraging help yesterday and YOUR DECISIVE HELP TODAY.

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

NATIONALIST IDOLATRY

THESE are days when much is being said about national virtues, about inherent, unalterable, eternal national characteristics. A good deal of this talk reflects the mounting confusion and chaos in the realm of thought so representative of the present historical moment. But some of this widespread haranguing is definitely studied, planned and calculated to the point of highest precision. In the latter case, such gibberish is nothing else but conscious propaganda in preparation for war—propaganda seeking to prove, in advance, that one side in the coming war has biologically ingrained virtues while the other side has all the world's vices right in the blood-stream of every one of its population.

While the last thing in the world we would do is to deny the fact that various nations have specific characteristics and peculiarities, due to historical and socio-economic forces rather than to biological factors, yet we have nothing but contempt for the content and purpose of this phase of so-called "moral rearmament" now spreading throughout the world. We reject such false nationalism and nationalist idolatry as reactionary and harmful to the peace of the world—whether it emanates from Germany, Japan, the United States, or the U.S.S.R. This line of propaganda seeks to dress up the cheap "heroes" and synthetic "great men" of today in the garments of the men of calibre and character of yesterday. Again an incursion into reaction!

In stressing all of this, we make haste to emphasize that far more import must be attached to certain laws of class relations, to certain common features characterizing like periods in the history of different people, than to all the definite assurances that are now being given us in such trite remarks as: "But the British are not like that." "With us Anglo-Saxons that would be unthinkable." The real issues involved in all of the above were strikingly brought home to me recently by the British historian, G. M. Trevelyan, in his valuable book, "The English Revolution 1688-9," when he pointed out:

"The conduct of the Whigs and Tories between 1678 and 1685 is so mad and bad that it is a psychological puzzle to recognize any of the better elements usually found in English political character—humanity, decency or common sense. Whigs and Tories act like nervous and hot-blooded factions of a South European race. They shout, scream, bully, assassinate men by forms of law, study no interest but their own, and betray even their own thru sheer folly and passion."

We couldn't say it anywhere nearly as well. It is all a very timely but rude reminder to those who tell us—because they do or don't believe it themselves—that fascism (which is bred by and is an integral part of war preparations) will be more civilized, more refined and softer in England, the U. S. A., and France—if and when it should come to power.

"LIBERALISM"—NEW STYLE

THE regime of General Metaxas is one of the darling little "democracies" to be preserved by the "Grand Peace Alliance" (and us) in the impending world war. The French "democratic" press has recently been especially profuse in its compliments for the Metaxas "reconstruction" program. The authoritative Le Temps has hailed the general's government as a "liberal regime."

The fact of the matter is that there are few governments in this present-day berserk world of ours that have more vicious and contemptible features than the Metaxas dictatorship. From the very first moment of its ascent to power, the present Greek regime has been conducting a bloody reign of terror. On the pretext of the repression of communism, the police hound and hang the feeblest utterer of the slightest dissatisfaction. This dictatorship which we will before long be called upon to defend—for reasons best known to British imperialism—has no mass base of support in Greece and is ideologically—in so far as ideology counts for anything at all—intimately bound up with the Hitler terror outfit.

In exact figures it is next to impossible to express the extent of the terror. Daily, hundreds are arrested. Refusal or hesitation to sign a declaration of "eternal friendship" for the regime of General Metaxas means prison or concentration camp. There are nearly 4,000 such Greek prisoners. A particularly savage concentration camp in the medieval fortress of Nauplie (Akronopolis) is reserved for prisoners charged with active political opposition. A castor-oil purge greets the victim the moment he crosses the threshold of the police station for preliminary hearings and investigation. The knout, cudgelling, stripped prisoners on ice slabs, and nailing are amongst the methods employed by Metaxas and constitute what this brutal dictator calls Greece's "Third Civilization." The deserted islands in the Ionian and Aegean Seas are living hells of this "Third Reich" of Metaxas, whose continuity in power and entire system are now guaranteed by the "great democracies" about to be engaged in another war to "make the world safe for democracy."

And this is what Le Temps calls a "liberal regime." Precisely so. This is the "twentieth-century liberalism" of all the bourgeois ruling classes desperately holding to their power and privileges in a hopelessly diseased social system that has everywhere—in every land—outlived its historical usefulness. More and more, the differences in methods employed by these exploiting classes to hold on to their loot tend to vanish. Going headlong into another infernal war, these capitalist classes of all countries, cultures, languages and traditions discard even the slightest pretense to democratic procedure and drown in blood even the slightest attempt to secure freedom and social progress.

House Bill Cuts Relief, Perils W.P.A.

Lewis States Labor Peace 'Impossible'

CIO Executive Committee Hears Report on Recent Unity Negotiations

Washington, D. C. John L. Lewis slammed the door on labor unity with a resounding bang last week when he declared, in a press statement issued immediately after the session of the Executive Committee of the C.I.O., that it was "impossible" to make peace with the A. F. of L. because of the "reactionary" character of its leadership. Lewis's astounding declaration, coming at a time when the resumption of negotiations was expected at any moment, produced a great deal of bewilderment in labor circles throughout the country.

Lewis made no mention whatever of the original issue of industrial unionism in his statement. Instead, he went off into a somewhat incoherent denunciation of Matthew Woll and Thomas Rickert, A. F. of L. vice-presidents and members of the negotiating committee, for their connection with a "monopoly of advertising in the Federationist" and a "life-insurance company," something obviously irrelevant to the big problem of the reunification of the ranks of labor.

Mr. Lewis further declared that the C.I.O. Executive Board, having heard the report of its negotiating committee, was unanimously of the opinion that the primary purpose of the organization was to organize the

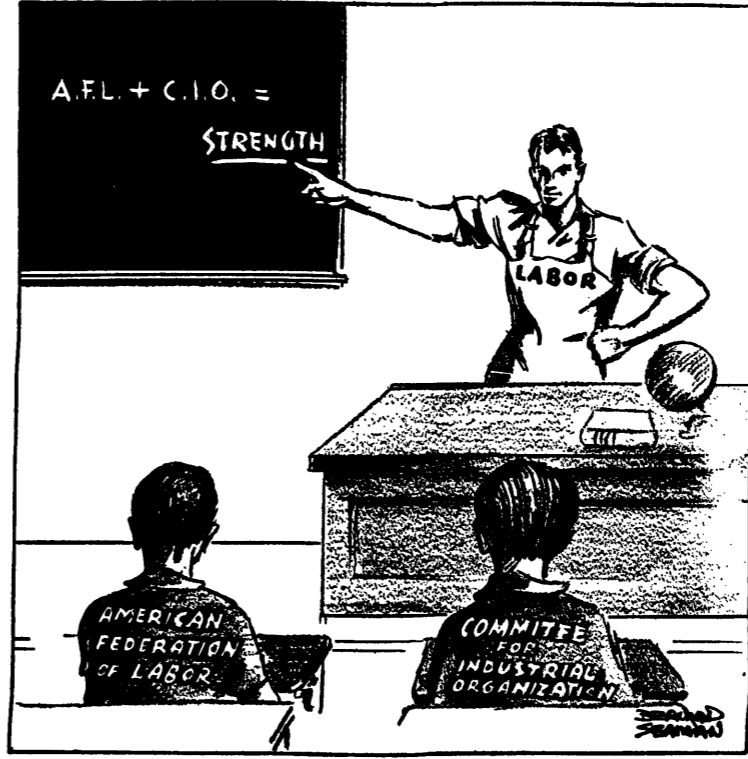
unorganized and build a progressive labor movement. Peace, he said, was "secondary" to these objectives. Mr. Lewis indicated clearly that, as far as he was concerned, it was a "fight to the finish" from now on.

William Green, president of the A. F. of L., characterized the "reasons" given by Mr. Lewis for the impossibility of unity as "too ridiculous to merit serious consideration." "The leader of the C.I.O.," he continued, "has again blocked labor peace. The A. F. of L. has consistently done its utmost to effect a reasonable peace in the interest of labor and of the country. Now Mr. Lewis says peace is impossible."

The Executive Committee of the C.I.O., at the close of whose sessions Mr. Lewis made his statement blasting the hopes of an early peace, heard reports of affiliated organizations and made a number of decisions on policy and immediate activities.

In Administration circles, it was said that, despite Lewis's outburst, a renewed effort would be made by the White House to bring the two parties together for a resumption of negotiations.

(Read the editorial on this page and the A. F. of L. statement on page 2.—Editor.)



—from Justice

The Fight for Unity Must Go On!

A painful shock of bewilderment and dismay must have been felt by millions of workers in this country last week when John L. Lewis made his startling declaration that unity with the A. F. of L. was "impossible" and that it was now a "fight to the finish" as far as he was concerned.

Why the sudden outburst after weeks of negotiation, interrupted, we were told, only because Mr. Lewis was busy with some pressing affairs of his union? Why is unity "impossible" today? The reasons Mr. Lewis gives are obviously too frivolous to be taken seriously. Matthew Woll heads the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, while Thomas Rickert is connected with a "monopoly of advertising in the Federationist." So they are, and Mr. Lewis may not think it all quite ethical, altho he never said a word about it in all the years he was in the A. F. of L. or out of it, for that matter. But are these reasons for perpetuating the suicidal state of division in labor's ranks? It just doesn't make sense, Mr. Lewis!

The A. F. of L., Mr. Lewis charges, has a wrong attitude on amending the Wagner Act and on many questions of social and labor legislation. We think so too. But, again, is that a sufficient reason for perpetuating the self-destructing civil war in labor's ranks? Let there once be unity and most of the differences on the Wagner Act will disappear of themselves while other disagreements on policy will be resolved thru democratic procedure within the united organization. Surely Mr. Lewis does not mean to justify the perpetuation of the split in the labor movement on the ground that Mr. Green and Mr. Woll are all wrong, in his opinion, on certain "public questions."

In his entire statement, Mr. Lewis never so much as mentions the question of industrial unionism. Yet it was on this issue that the Federation split. It was in order to bring industrial unionism to the mass-production industries that the C.I.O. was formed and it was from this mission that it received its historical justification. Why no mention of it now? Because Mr. Lewis knows that the A. F. of L. is now ready to recognize industrial jurisdictions not only for the big mass-production industries which the C.I.O. has organized but for a considerable number of other fields as well. This is clearly shown by the late Charles P. Howard's minutes of the December 1937 peace negotiations made public recently. It is widely known, furthermore, that during the recent negotiations, the A. F. of L. showed itself ready to make concessions so substantial as to surprise and confound John L. Lewis himself. With this shift of attitude on the part of the A. F. of L., the fundamental obstacle to unity disappears. Many difficulties, especially some sore points of jurisdictional conflict, still remain, (Continued on page 4)

Washington Aghast At Lewis Statement

Frank Howard's Weekly Washington Letter

By FRANK HOWARD

Washington, D. C. I do say that the New Dealers are upset by Lewis's statement that unity with the A. F. of L. is "impossible" is a supreme understatement. They are flabbergasted. Consternation reigns. Its unexpectedness helps explain the confusion which is evident as one overhears table-talk today, twenty-four hours after the statement was made. It was generally agreed, two days ago, by New Dealers and persons here who are very close to the C.I.O., that the chances for peace were very bright. It was known that Hillman recognized labor unity was a political necessity for the Democrats. Now, Lewis gets front-page headlines for slogans which sound like Foster in the worst days of the Trade Union Unity League. What does it mean? Will Hillman support Lewis? Persons who think he will not support him point out that this statement came out of a personal press conference arranged for John L.

but it is certain that this campaign will not be helped by the widely publicized pictures of Morgan and the King having tea together at the garden party. A friend of mine who was one of the few hot polloi who got into Lindsay's "heaven" tells me that J. P. rather obviously monopolized George. Bad public relations, John Bull! If the naive of some Congressmen is likely to be shared by their constituents, we are sunk. Representative Fulmer, Democrat of South Carolina, became convinced at the reception that King George and his Queen came to America primarily on a good-will tour. "I had my doubts and wanted to find out," he explained, "so when I shook hands with the Queen, I squeezed her hand gently. In return, she squeezed mine gently and smiled and now I'm convinced it was a good-will tour."

LABOR BOARD ON SPOT

Ed Smith of the Labor Board, in testifying before the Senate Education and Labor Committee, recently made charges against the press in (Continued on page 2)

I have tried to get some inside information on how Lewis happened to speak in this way when the worst that was expected from him was that he would be silent on the unity question or express pious wishes for a solution of the difficulties. The best guesses I can get from authorities here is that the Communist Party, thru Lee Pressman, influenced him as much as possible against unity now on terms which the leadership of the A. F. of L. would reasonably accept. They hoped he would not phrase this rejection of peace, however, in a categorical fashion, which would be objectively anti-New Deal. But Lewis is not the kind of person who can be completely controlled in such a situation and he clearly expressed his own arrogance and "rule-or-ruin" policy which his friends have frequently denied in the past when Dubinsky and the I.L.G. W.U. made such charges against him and his regime in the C.I.O. By the time you read this letter, it will be clear what the C.P. publicly thinks about this "new line" or better, this revelation of the "old line." Whatever they say publicly, they are unhappy privately at the way it was phrased because they are caught between two contradictory concerns. They want "national unity," social peace and an alliance with the Soviet Union. On the other hand, they know that they will be of very little influence in the united labor movement, so they are against it. Lewis, in helping them realize their second objective, may have doomed their realization of the first objective. This point is being seriously made here by some of the ablest Democratic party leaders.

It is hard to say how much the visit of the King and Queen will help the war party achieve its goal

Federal Election Seen For Canada This Year

New Forces Arise on Political Scene

(Special to the Workers Age) Toronto, Canada.

THERE may be a federal election in Canada in the Fall and speculation is rife. New political alignments are in sight. For instance, there is George McCullagh, the "golden boy," who at the age of thirty-three is editor-in-chief of the Globe and Mail—a combination of two Toronto morning papers of the same name—purchased by George's patron, W. H. Wright, a mining magnate.

After a series of radio broadcasts, McCullagh launched the Leadership League. In his talks, he advised the youth to emulate the spirit of Horatio Alger. As a basis for a program, he urged the abolition of provincial legislatures and municipal councils, and the setting up of work camps for the unemployed. It is thought the League will also favor the amalgamation of Canada's two railway systems with control going to the privately owned C.P.R. This is a burning question in Canadian politics and still more for labor because it involves the loss of 20,000 jobs. Trades unions and all workers

parties have denounced the Leadership League and charged it with having fascist leanings.

Another person soon to be heard from is W. D. Herridge. He is a former government representative at Washington and a brother-in-law of the one-time multi-millionaire premier of Canada, R. B. Bennett. Mr. Herridge has broken with the Conservative party because it would not accept his resolution calling for social reform. He has at present no program and no party, but thru a number of supporters, he has let it be known that he will sponsor not a new party but a united front of all "progressive" parties on a minimum program. Mr. Herridge hopes to secure the nomination of only one "progressive" candidate in each constituency. The main plank in his platform will be monetary reform and the control of Canada's central bank for that purpose.

In a speech recently made in Vancouver, Herridge warned that the next election might be the last chance for the people of Canada to exercise democracy. The Communist Party has taken new inspiration from these remarks and is now busy conferring the stamp of approval upon Herridge. Tim Buck, C. P. leader, says: "Herridge is a liberal

Tension Grows In China Over Jap Blockade

A tense situation developed in the Far East last week as the Japanese proceeded to blockade and isolate the British and French concessions at Tientsin and Kulangsu on the ground that the British authorities had refused to hand over four Chinese alleged to be assassins. Protests and indirect threats from London brought no results. The cabinet in Tokyo decided that the "problem must be settled locally," that is, by the Japanese army.

While no official steps were taken by Britain last week beyond diplomatic protests, it became known that the British Foreign Office was sounding out Washington for some sort of joint action. "Isolationist" and anti-war spokesmen in the United States issued a strong warning against any intervention by the American government in support of British imperialism, stressing that any such action would entangle this country in a dangerous war situation.

capitalist who will guarantee the continuance of democracy." The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation—which is also known as the Farmer-Labor Party—has no deal with Herridge, but is making strenuous (Continued on page 4)

Widespread Lay-Offs Threatened

Proposed Measure Would Wipe Out Present Prevailing Wage Standards

Washington, D. C. With a few relatively unimportant modifications, the 1940 relief bill was passed by the House of Representatives early Saturday, June 17, by a vote of 373 to 21.

The N.Y.A. allotment was raised from \$81,000,000 to \$100,000,000, thus increasing the total relief appropriation to \$1,735,000,000. The \$25,000 top limit on W.P.A. projects was lifted to \$50,000. Men over 45 who are heads of families and war veterans were exempted from the mandatory dismissal of all those on W.P.A. over 18 months. Despite these and a few other changes, the bill as passed by the House retained all of the worst features of the original proposal.

The bill was piloted thru the House by Representative Clifton A. Woodrum, the notorious "economy" slasher. He was greatly aided in his task by Administration spokesmen in the House, including Speaker Bankhead and Sam Rayburn, Majority leader. Attacks on the bill by a number of progressive Congressmen were met by Representative Woodrum with the statement that the Speaker and the House leadership were supporting it. Majority leader Rayburn at one time declared that he thought "all in all, the [Woodrum] committee has done a good job."

The bill now goes to the Senate where a stronger fight is expected.

Washington, D. C. A bill to change the entire set-up on W.P.A. and to drastically curtail its funds was reported out last week by the House Appropriations subcommittee handling relief-fund appropriations. The Republican minority report gave qualified support but insisted that the majority program did not go "far enough."

The most important provisions relating to supply and allocation of funds were the following: Appropriation of \$1,716,600,000 for relief for the fiscal year 1940. This is \$45,000,000 less than what President Roosevelt asked and \$823,000,000 less than what was expended for relief this year.

Appropriation of \$1,477,000,000 of this total for W.P.A., with \$125,000,000 earmarked for P.W.A. The committee report provides for an average W.P.A. payroll of slightly more than 2,000,000 workers in the 1940 fiscal year, with a gradual tapering off to 1,500,000 by June 30, 1940. There are over 11,000,000 people out of work in the country today.

Slash of \$42,000,000 from the \$125,000,000 recommended for the National Youth Administration by President Roosevelt. The \$81,000,000, however, represents a \$6,000,000 increase over the past year.

Limitation of W.P.A. construction projects to \$25,000. Complete elimination of any provision for direct relief. During the past year, the federal government used up \$40,000,000 for this purpose. Direct relief is henceforth to be entirely a matter for the states and local communities.

PROCEDURAL AND POLICY CHANGES

The bill included a total of nineteen new procedural and policy requirements, the most important of which are as follows:

Elimination of the present W.P.A. prevailing wage with the substitution of a monthly wage schedule fixed by the W.P.A. board.

Dropping of all W.P.A. workers from projects after 18 months employment, the first dismissals to take place on October 1. These workers are to spend 60 days hunting for private jobs. If they fail to get such employment within the specified period, they will have to make new application for W.P.A. jobs and be reclassified under a new and more burdensome procedure. This provision was openly avowed to be a scheme of getting Workers Alliance members off W.P.A. by refusing them reclassification after the 60-day period. Lists of Workers Alliance members are understood to have been prepared in recent weeks for such use.

Replacement of the present one-man administrator by a three-man bipartisan board.

Abolition of all art, theater and music projects as federal projects. Funds for such projects will be obtainable only upon state or local sponsorship.

After April 1, 1940, dismissal from W.P.A. rolls of all those eligible to receive social-security benefits, no matter how small.

"Purging" of W.P.A. rolls every six months to eliminate "unworthy" recipients. (Continued on page 3)

CIO Textile Union Set Up At TWOC Convention

Over 145,000 Workers Represented at Big Parley

By G. F. M.

THE Textile Workers Union of America, affiliated with the C.I.O., was formed on May 15 at the Philadelphia convention, as a result of the merger of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee (T.W.O.C.) and the United Textile Workers of America (C.I.O.). This event is of greater significance for the labor movement and for the organized movement of textile workers than might appear on the surface. It marks the end of the "organizing committee" period of the textile union, which now enters upon the stage of autonomous development. In fact, it is the only case of such development from organizing committee to autonomous international unions hitherto observed in the C.I.O.

NOW A MAJOR UNION

The convention was attended by 734 delegates, each representing an average of 200 dues-paying members, or a total of 146,800 dues-paying members. This was not in any way a padded representation, but was based on actual per-capita figures. This is worthy of comment, because the exaggerated claims of the C.I.O. itself as to textile-union membership (over 400,000) has tended to create the impression that the membership is a paper figure and that the actual dues-paying membership is insignificant. The convention demonstrated that tremendous strides forward were actually made during the drive of the C.I.O. to organize the textile industry.

Since this drive began, the membership has increased more than threefold, and instead of the 25 contracts which were inherited from the old U.T.W., the union today has more than a thousand! The reports demonstrated that the union has achieved substantial organization in the rayon, hosiery, dyeing, carpet, silk and velvet fields, and has made considerable advances in the cotton and woolen fields. It is now one of the major unions in this country.

Of great significance is the fact that for the first time the union has secured contracts with the giants of the industry, including the American Woolen Co., covering 13,000 workers; the American Viscose Corp., 20,000 workers; Bigelow Sanford Carpet Co., 6,000 workers; Cheney Brothers (silk); Duplan Silk Corp.; American Bemberg, and many other important manufacturers. Also significant is the fact that these agreements and the resulting improvements in wages and working conditions were secured, in many cases, by hard-fought strikes, as in the case of the Duplan Silk Co., the nine-week strike of 6,000 carpet workers in Bigelow-Sanford, and the general strikes in the silk industry.

ORGANIZATION IN THE SOUTH

More than a hundred delegates came from the southern states, representing 85 local unions. After years of heart-breaking work, the union has won, for the first time, many agreements in the South and is now negotiating with 40 more southern employers. The southern delegates, in an afternoon session given over exclusively to their problems, created a most inspiring impression. They have had to carry on their work under conditions of political and vigilante terrorism. One delegate is now under \$75,000 bond for the "crime" of distributing union leaflets. Others reported how they had been kidnapped, threatened with physical violence, or driven out of town by the gangsters hired by the mill-owners. In spite of these hardships, their courage and determination to carry on the fight to the finish swept the convention into its most enthusiastic and spontaneous demonstration.

HUGE LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS

The generous financial and organizational support of the labor movement has in a great measure contributed to the success in organizing the textile industry. A grand total of \$1,792,952 was spent in the organizing drive. First and foremost of the contributors was the Amalgamated Clothing Workers with \$529,000; next the United Mine Workers with \$198,000; the International Ladies Garment Workers Union with \$110,000; and the C.I.O. itself with \$85,000. Besides these huge sums, the T.W.O.C. raised from its own sources \$494,616; the hosiery workers contributed \$188,152; the dyers, \$59,711; and the U.T.W. locals, \$126,319.

THE GORMAN CONVENTION

In sharp contrast with the C.I.O. textile-workers convention, was the convention of the A. F. of L.'s United Textile Workers of America, called by Francis Gorman, which had been held during the previous week in Washington. Not only was Gorman's convention attended by only one-seventh the number represented at the C.I.O. union's convention, but even this tiny delegation was heavily padded. The A. F. of L. faction has only a few thousand dues-paying members in the entire industry. Thru the direct intervention of William Green, Gorman was relieved of his post as president of the union and replaced by a certain Fox, a lieutenant of Gogge, the A. F. of L. organizer in the South. The work of this faction is one of the worst examples of "spite strategy." Its at-

titude has been one of reckless vituperation and slander, which reached its peak in Gorman's frenzied statement that in the fight against the C.I.O. textile union, "Blood will flow!"

UNITY - KEYNOTE OF CONVENTION

The keynote of the Philadelphia convention, in contrast to that of the Gorman group, was unity. The most enthusiastic demonstrations at the convention came on the unity question. Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, in his two speeches, predicted the reunification of the labor movement within the year, and called upon the textile workers to avoid a hostile attitude toward the workers in the A. F. of L. and to cooperate with every legitimate A. F. of L. union. A resolution on trade-union unity favoring the immediate resumption of unity negotiations was unanimously adopted. The textile workers left no doubt as to their sentiment.

FROM "COMMITTEE" TO AUTONOMOUS UNION

The Philadelphia convention marked the union's coming of age. It adopted a democratic constitution and elected its own officers for a two-year term. Power of suspension of officers and locals was placed in the hands of the Executive Council. Emil Rieve, the president of the hosiery workers federation, was elected as the new president of the Textile Workers Union. George Baldanzi, of the dyers federation, and president of the United Textile Workers after Gorman's break with the C.I.O., was elected executive vice-president. William Pollock, of the Philadelphia Joint Board, was elected secretary-treasurer. Nineteen vice-presidents were elected, who together with the officers, constitute the Executive Council. The post of Chairman of the Executive Council was created for Sidney Hillman, with the unique constitutional provision that an officer of another international union may occupy the post. The constitution, however, provides that the executive power and the power of appointment of organizers and committees rests in the hands of the president. All officers were elected without a contest.

STALINISTS IN RETREAT

One factor making for the Textile Workers Union's steady progress in the past two years, and boding well for its future healthy development, is the declining influence of the Stalinists in the organization. They have consistently lost ground in the union. They played no role at the convention. They received no "recognition" as a force to be dealt with, and obtained no posts. If many of the resolutions adopted at the convention bear a strongly pro-Roosevelt character, it is due not to Stalinist influence, but to the much bigger influence of the A.C.W. upon the Textile Workers Union in such matters. Where the Stalinists do have a foothold in the union, such localities have been marked by sharp internal dissension and revolt of the membership. (See articles by Paterson Silk Worker in the January 7 and 14, 1939, issues of the Workers Age.)

PROBLEMS FACING UNION

In spite of the fine record of achievement and advancement in unionization of the textile industry registered at the convention, the biggest part of the job remains yet to be done. There are still from 900,000 to 1,000,000 textile workers in the United States who are unorganized. Many hundreds of thousands of these workers are in the South. The organization of the southern cotton workers would be a difficult task even for a united labor movement, but with an internecine war and struggle between rival unions, the difficulties are greatly multiplied.

A second major problem is that of financing organizational work of such magnitude. Until the convention, the T.W.O.C., as a committee of the C.I.O., received the larger part of its financial support and many of its organizers from the C.I.O. and its affiliated unions. In the next stage, the union will have to stand increasingly on its own feet, learn to conduct its own affairs, develop its own staff, meanwhile consolidating the gains that have already been made.

Thirdly, the union must coordinate its various sections in their work. In reality, the union is made up of three sections, the hosiery federation, the dyers federation and what was known as the T.W.O.C. There is a strong tradition of federationism, but efforts to extend the federation structure beyond the hosiery and dyers fields, were very properly

defeated. In the two fields mentioned, the federations have a prestige and tradition, in addition to a fine record of achievement. But the extension of the federation structure would so decentralize the union as to make it impossible for it to meet the most important task of organizing the yet unorganized majority of textile workers. The existing federations, inasmuch as they have their own constitutions, leadership and autonomy, serve as a brake on super-centralization which has plagued other unions. The present executive officers, moreover, coming as they do from the federations, are in a better position to coordinate the work of the various sections of the union than was the previous leadership of the U.T.W.

The Textile Workers Union, as John L. Lewis said in his speech to the convention, is potentially the biggest union in the labor movement. The accomplishment of the objective set by the convention, the complete organization of the industry, would mean not only a great advance for the textile workers, who are among the most exploited and underpaid of any group in the country, but would profoundly affect the status and future of labor as a whole, organizationally and politically.

Auto Labor Split Perils Unionism

UAW-CIO Goes in for Strike-Breaking

By S. MEFFAN

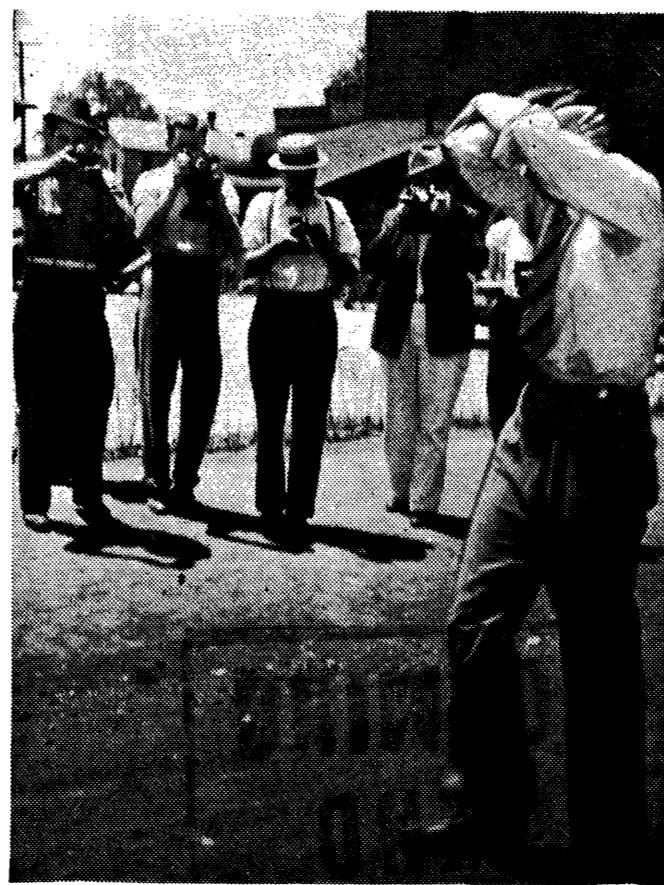
ON the afternoon of Friday, June 9, Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W.-A. F. of L., suddenly called a strike in three key General Motors plants, Fisher No. 1 and Chevrolet in Flint and Chevrolet Foundry in Saginaw. At the time of writing, the strikes have only succeeded in closing the shops partially, except Fisher No. 1, where the shut-down is complete. The U.A.W.-C.I.O. (Stalinist-controlled) has led many workers thru the picket lines and is doing a fine job of strike-breaking, enthusiastically led by the socialist, Walter Reuther, and his Stalinist friends, in close collaboration with the police. Thus the situation in the automobile workers factional war has reached a new low.

It might be well to go over the events of the past few weeks briefly to analyze the reasons for such tragic events. The Briggs strike, called on the basis of some legitimate grievances and having seeming justification, had as its main purpose to defeat Martin and the A. F. of L. in the auto field. Nevertheless, the tactics of Martin in attempting to interfere with the union, the interests of the Briggs workers, had not wiser counsels eventually prevailed in the U.A.W.-A.F. of L. As it was, the Briggs workers gained little that could have not been gained by arbitration, while the U.A.W.-C.I.O. leaders succeeded in handing Martin a defeat. On the whole, it cannot be denied, that Mr. Dewey, the federal conciliator, did as good a job for the C.I.O. as if Mr. Lewis himself were in his shoes. He actually forced a contract covering not only the Briggs plants in Detroit but the Briggs plant in Evansville, Ind., which had a separate contract and in which the workers are without question for the U.A.W.-A.F. of L. for the most part. This is a definite example of government interference in union affairs working hand in hand with Stalinism, foreshadowing grim totalitarian possibilities in the future. On the other hand, correct tactics used in the Graham-Paige local when the C.I.O. struck the plant enabled the U.A.W.-A.F. of L. to defeat the former in a vote taken in the plant, despite all odds.

Faced with a stacked deck in the Briggs situation, the U.A.W.-A.F. of L. had good reason to believe that the C.I.O., with its powerful allies, the Stalinist stooges and their influence in high government circles, would go next to G.M. Many legitimate grievances existed in the G.M. plants. Committees were hardly recognized at all; workers were intimidated and afraid to present grievances; speed-up was being put over; and in a thousand ways the contract was being ignored. Certainly, if the Briggs workers had grievances, the General Motors workers had more. Martin and a few around him decided to strike some key plants, and if necessary, to broaden it out later, despite the advanced season.

Whatever the justification for striking, the only possibility of a victory which means anything is the

STRIKERS "SHOOT" SCAB



A scab at the Hercules Motor Corp. plant at Canton, Ohio, hides his face as he passes a group of strikers, members of the United Automobile Workers of America (A. F. of L.), who photographed all men entering the factory.

Auto Labor Split Perils Unionism

UAW-CIO Goes in for Strike-Breaking

By S. MEFFAN

organization of the workers behind a program of better conditions in the shops. Particularly in the GM situation was this necessary, in view of the fact that the season was nearly over. Up to date, this has been criminally neglected by Martin and those responsible for calling the strike. No real attempt has been made to organize the workers for strike action, or to acquaint them with the issues. Few mass-meetings have been held and practically no attempts made to sound out the sentiment of the workers. Some of the leaders have used the situation in order to further attempt to give Martin dictatorial powers not granted at the convention, namely, power to appoint regional directors.

Meanwhile, loyal U.A.W.-A. F. of L. members are sorely puzzled. While willing to sacrifice for some real issue, as thousands did in the years when the union was being built, they hesitate in the face of such ill advised, unorganized tactics. Many already face the possibility of dismissal if the strike fails. Their leaders, who have laid great stress, and correctly so, on the responsibility of the Stalinists, are now acting in precisely the same manner.

It is to be hoped that the years of experience of the A.F. of L. leadership will have a stabilizing effect on the U.A.W.-A.F. of L. and that, thru unity in the labor movement, the strike-breaking Stalinists and the stranglehold of this G.P.U. outfit on sections of the auto workers will be removed.

(Since this article was written, the U.A.W.-A. F. of L. settled with G.M. on the basis of recognition as collective-bargaining agency for its own members.—Editor.)

Unity—or Suicide?

TWO weeks ago in these columns, we called attention to certain dangerous aspects of the inter-union struggle in the automobile industry, and urged that the two unions, A. F. of L. and C.I.O., work out some system of relations that would avoid at least the worst excesses inherent in such a situation. Otherwise, we warned, unionism in the industry would be demoralized and shattered, the hand of the employers greatly strengthened against the workers, and the way opened for reactionary anti-labor legislation of all sorts.

If this warning was in place two weeks ago, it is emphatically more so today. For what has happened during the past week exceeds even our worst fears. In the face of a strike in General Motors plants called by the U.A.W.-A. F. of L. in Flint and nearby localities, the U.A.W.-C.I.O. has deliberately set out to act as a strike-breaker: it has ordered its members to walk thru the picket lines and continue at work despite everything. Nobody denies the strike is a legitimate one with the purpose of remedying certain flagrant grievances and strengthening the collective-bargaining machinery. But since it was called by the rival union, it must be sabotaged and hampered in every way!

Of course, every decent trade unionist will condemn such practices on the part of the leadership of the C.I.O.'s auto union. But let us not be blind to the more far-reaching implications of this entire situation. If one union goes in for strike-breaking against the other, how long will it be before the latter also is forced to adopt similar tactics as a matter of mere self-defense and retaliation? Despite all exhortations and preachments, a situation may soon arise where strike-breaking and scabbery will lose their meaning and become routine affairs, where each group of workers will be always on the watch to trip up the other, where mutual hatred and demoralization will spread like a plague. It is more than doubtful if unionism in the automobile industry could survive such a calamity.

Have the responsible leaders of the C.I.O.'s auto union completely lost their heads? Bad as things were in the Briggs and Graham-Paige situations, on which we commented in our recent editorial, nobody issued any call to the workers to break thru picket lines. It remained to Mr. Thomas, president of the C.I.O.-U.A.W., apparently drawing his inspiration from the editorial columns of the Daily Worker, to do this. But does Mr. Thomas really understand to what such irresponsible conduct may lead?

In the long run, the only solution is the reunification of the ranks of the auto workers into one union, but this, in our opinion,

Labor Anti-War Council Installed

(Special to the Workers Age)

THE Needle Trades Division of the Labor's Anti-War Council was formally installed at a mass-meeting here on Saturday, June 10, 1939. This organization was launched thru the efforts of a group of leading workers in the needle-trades unions, who stand for uncompromising opposition to war. Louis Nelson, manager of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., and Murray Gross, an officer of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., are chairman and secretary, respectively.

The meeting was addressed by both the above as well as by Rose Pasotta, a vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U.; Minnie Lurye, chairman of Local 22; Jay Lovestone of the I.L.L.A.; and Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party. All speakers stressed the importance of labor taking an independent stand in opposition to war preparations, and the timeliness of an organization such as the newly formed Needle Trades Division of Labor's Anti-War Council. At the close of the meeting, about 300 membership cards were distributed to workers who had already applied for membership in the organization.

The Needle Trades Division of Labor's Anti-War Council aims to propagate anti-war and anti-fascist ideas among the needle-trades workers and to organize and consolidate these forces for a struggle against war, war preparations and the "collective security" swindle which leads to war. It stands for the preservation of labor's democratic rights in the face of increasing reaction. It calls for all possible assistance to anti-war and anti-fascist groups and movement abroad, particularly in the fascist countries. It appeals to all needle-trades workers to join the organization and help in this great cause.

Woll Hits Lewis for Ending Peace Parleys

Charges CIO Head With Obstructing Unity

New York City

THE stand of the A. F. of L. on unity with the C.I.O. and on the recent declaration of John L. Lewis that peace was "impossible" was given last week by Matthew Woll, Federation vice-president and member of the negotiations committee, in a statement to the press.

Mr. Woll's statement follows: "The statement issued by Mr. Lewis, ostensibly in the name of the Executive Board of the C.I.O., blasting all hope of peace and unity in the labor movement, came as a shock to all who had hoped that the negotiations initiated by President Roosevelt would lead to a positive conclusion.

"Mr. Lewis's statement, marking an abrupt termination of the negotiations, was discourteous to the President in that the Chief Executive had requested the representatives of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. under no circumstances to terminate negotiations without first consulting with him. Mr. Lewis's action is, however, in keeping with his conduct in this situation on previous occasions.

"Negotiations between our committees had not collapsed. At the request of President Lewis, addressed to me during his recent bituminous negotiations, when he was pressed for time in the emergency then confronting the United Mine Workers, it was unanimously agreed to recess our negotiations until such time as Mr. Lewis was ready to resume the discussion. We had every reason to believe that the negotiations would be resumed. Mr. Lewis has now seen fit to terminate

them without cause. "This is the second time he has deliberately wrecked efforts to restore peace in the family of labor. The first occasion was in December 1937, when committees representing the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. had reached a unanimous agreement, which was vetoed at the last moment by Mr. Lewis. At that time, too, efforts were made to becloud the issue and misrepresent the agreement that had been reached. Nevertheless, subsequent events have demonstrated that an agreement had actually been reached.

"Mr. Lewis now repeats his performance of December 1937. In blasting the present negotiations, he has swept aside the issues upon which the C.I.O. has supposedly been waging its battle with the A. F. of L. and reveals that these issues were widely fictitious.

"Concealing the very substantial concessions made by our committee on questions of jurisdiction and so-called craft versus industrial unionism, and other problems raised during the discussions of the past three years and more, Mr. Lewis now falls back upon statements that have no basis in fact and upon irrelevances.

"He seeks again to sow confusion by attacking the leaders of the A. F. of L. who enjoy the confidence of the millions of its members. "As to who is pursuing a rule-or-ruin policy, is only too clear from Mr. Lewis's conduct. Mr. Lewis now says that it is to be a 'fight to a finish.' This certainly will be a grievous disappointment to the millions of workers in both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. who have been hoping and praying for peace. It will certainly be a disappointment to the general public of progressive and socially minded citizens.

"Mr. Lewis now says that peace is 'secondary' to him, that the primary purpose of the C.I.O. is the organization of the unorganized and the building of what he terms a progressive labor movement. Without arguing about the definition of 'progressive,' it may be asked how the interests of the labor movement can possibly be conserved and promoted without peace and unity.

"Peace and unity in the labor movement remains the issue. The workers in the American Federation of Labor will now see more clearly than ever who has made attainment of this objective impossible. The workers in the C.I.O. will now, likewise, perceive the truth, and unable to obtain peace and unity thru the C.I.O., will turn to the American Federation of Labor, under whose roof they will find what they want."

Why Socialism Opposes War

THE socialist opposition to war is based not merely on humanitarian grounds, potent and compelling as these are, but principally on the deep-rooted conviction that modern wars are at bottom sanguinary struggles for the commercial advantage of the possessing classes and that they are disastrous to the cause of the workers, their struggles and aspirations, their rights and liberties.—Morris Hillquit.

War-Making "Neutrality" Bill in House

Washington, D. C. By a vote of 12 to 8, with three Democrats absent and two Republicans abstaining, the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week approved the Bloom neutrality bill, designed to give legislative expression to the wishes of the Administration on this question. The Bloom bill will probably come before the House during the last week of this month.

The recommendations of the House committee differ from the existing neutrality law principally in that they give far broader discretion to the President and make no provision for an embargo on export of arms, ammunition and implements of war. At its final session, the committee rejected an amendment by Representative Eaton to include an embargo on articles destined for Japan for use in the manufacture of war weapons.

Also in the committee the vote was along strict party lines with the Democrats supporting the bill as finally recommended, observers declared that when the measure comes before the House, party lines would break and as many Democrats would oppose it as Republicans. The bill would probably be passed by the House, it was said, but would meet with stiff resistance in the Senate from the "neutrality" block, headed by Senator Nye, who recently expressed himself as determined to defeat it even if he had to resort to a filibuster. Spokesmen of this block emphasized that the Bloom bill was no neutrality measure at all but was, on the contrary, bound to facilitate the involvement of this country in any war situation abroad.

Frank Howard's Weekly Letter

(Continued from Page 1) such a way that Senator Holt put him on the spot and made him agree to submit the names of publishers who are consistently anti-labor and who consciously flout the laws of the land. Smith agreed to submit such a list and the Labor Board is in a tight fix trying to get a list which will not open it to the charge of trying to abridge freedom of speech. There is some rumor that this campaign soon to be opened by the Newspaper Guild against these same publishers and others. There is concern among New Dealers lest a certain columnist in Washington may spill the beans about this campaign in such a way as to smear the New Deal. This fear is in marked contrast to the "to hell with them" attitude which characterized the New Deal in the early days. It is a part of the great defeatism which has set in and which sees the only hope in F.D.R. as the Democratic candidate and which is not too sure that he will win.

NEUTRALITY ACT PROSPECTS

The Administration is again putting on the greatest possible pressure to amend the Neutrality Act. If I would not embarrass certain Congressmen, I could tell you how they have been threatened with every thing but bodily harm in order to get their vote for the Administration's proposal. At present writing, it seems likely that the act will be amended slightly in the direction which the Administration desires but the victory will at best be a very close one.

is hardly likely to come about until there is general unity in labor's ranks. Meanwhile, it is the bounden duty of the leaders of both auto unions to their own organizations and to the entire labor movement to work out some system of coexistence that will make impossible the recurrence of such excesses as have already cropped up and safeguard the existence of unionism in the automobile industry.

INFORMAL HOUSE
ARTHUR BOYER, Mgr.
Telephone: Kerhonkson 118 R. Box 245, Kerhonkson, N. Y. (7 miles from Ellenville)
120 acres of greenland high up in the heart of the Catskills. Handball, ping-pong, archery, dancing, sun-bathing, fishing, swimming and horse-back riding nearby.—Excellent meals.
Unusually low rates—\$18 weekly, \$6 week-ends
Directions: Bus—All buses go to Kerhonkson. We meet you at the bus station. Auto—Route 17 thru Ellenville; turn left 1 mile beyond Kerhonkson at the top of the hill and then follow sign for 3 miles.

Enjoy your vacation at
BOWRY CREEK FARM
SOUTH DURHAM, GREEN COUNTY, NEW YORK
Most picturesque section of the Catskill Mountains
MODERN ACCOMMODATIONS — HOMELIKE COOKING
COMRADELY ENVIRONMENT — INDIVIDUAL ATTENTION
Weekly Rates \$16.00 and up
REDUCED FARES TO CATSKILL
Directions: To Catskill by Hudson River Day or Night Line, West Shore and New York Central Railroad also bus lines. For information write to Milton Matz, Bowery Creek Farm, South Durham, N. Y. or call New York phone TRafalgar 7-2085.

In Memory of a Revolutionary Hero

Andres Nin Honored As Symbol of Militancy

THE International Workers Front Against War decided at its recent conference in April to dedicate June 16 of every year to the memory of Andres Nin, who disappeared on this day in 1937 in Barcelona under the most tragic circumstances.

Andres Nin, one of the most devoted fighters and most brilliant theoreticians of international socialism, was the successor of Joaquin Maurin as political secretary of the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.). He was the leader of this party when the Spanish revolution broke out.

After the May events in Barcelona, when the counter-revolutionary crusade of repression got under way openly, Andres Nin was arrested and assassinated by the Stalinists in the most cowardly manner.

From that moment on, a campaign of slander and calumny, the most infamous ever witnessed in the working-class movement, was launched against the revolutionary sections of Spanish labor and there opened a period of violent terror and repression against all the achievements and all the forces of the revolution.

In the same way, twenty years ago in Germany, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht fell under the murderous blows of reaction because they dared to stand up against militarist-bourgeois terror. To the same counter-revolutionary interests were sacrificed in Spain Andres Nin and those who, like him, perished in defending the Spanish revolution.

In shedding the blood of the Spartacans, the Noskes and Scheidemanns were merely consummating their treason of 1914. But in Spain it was under the protection of the Red Flag of the November Revolution and the Communist International that the Stalinists carried out their murderous role of traitors and hangmen.

Andres Nin! He was the symbol of the liberation of Spain from the heel of world imperialism, "democratic" as well as fascist.

Andres Nin! He was the symbol of socialism triumphant in Spain, symbol of the defeat of international capitalism on the road towards another imperialist war.

That is why the name of Andres Nin is also the symbol of the struggle of the proletarian revolution against the imperialist war in the making today. Around his name the working class must rally to carry forward to victory the struggle for socialism.

And so the International Workers Front Against War calls upon all working-class organizations and parties to pay homage to the memory of Andres Nin on this day, June 16.

It should be a living demonstration of solidarity with the thousands of militants who have fought the fight of Andres Nin for the victory of socialism in Spain. Abandoned by those who led the revolution to defeat, these fighters now suffer in the concentration camps of "generous" French "democracy".

Comrades, workers of all lands: Come to their support!
Long live the memory of Andres Nin!
Long live international revolutionary solidarity!
Long live the International Workers Front Against War!
Executive Committee

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS FRONT AGAINST WAR
London, June 3, 1939.

Negro Leaders Aid Drive for War

Try to Use Masses As Pawn for Own Ends

By CLARENCE JENKINS
The present position of prominent Negro leaders on the question of war, if widely accepted, will lead to disaster for the Negro people throughout the world. With high-sounding phrases about "collective security" and the "democratic front" to "save democracy from the onslaught of fascism," Negro leaders are carrying on an energetic campaign to mobilize the Negro masses behind American, British and French imperialism in the coming war. Influential Negro leaders are trying to convince the people of their race that "the future of the Negro race throughout the world is bound up with our present system of democracy. If the Negro race is to escape more brutal forms of exploitation in world economy and the horrors of barbarism, including compulsory sterilization, it must support the democracies in their crusade to save democracy from fascist barbarism."

REMEMBER THE LAST WAR

During the last world war, Negro people everywhere made heroic sacrifices for the "cause of democracy." French colonies supplied more than 200,000 Africans who saw active service in France. British imperialism organized a special West Indian regiment for service in France, Palestine and the East African campaign of 1914. Approximately 2,290,527 Negroes were registered by the United States government during the last war for service abroad as combatants and stevedores. Thousands of these Negroes were killed, maimed and wounded.

The triumph of "democracy" in 1918 established the economic and political domination of the "democratic" imperialist powers over the entire world. Under the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, Germany's African empire was divided up among the victors and more than one million square miles of African territory and millions of African people were handed over to the tender care of the great "democracies." These people, like all the rest of the native population of Africa, were deprived of every right of self-determination and subjected to an autocratic rule at least as vicious as anything conceived by Hitler or Mussolini. In the scheme of world economy, the colonial masses under the "great democracies" are relegated to the lowest depths of social degradation and slavery.

Today, more than 486,000,000 black and brown people living under the British Empire and more than 42,000,000 living under the French Tri-Color are deprived of every single right of democracy, even capitalist "democracy." Under the American Statue of Liberty, millions of members of the Negro race live under an oppressive caste system which brands them with the stigma of inferiority, makes them the objects of scorn and the victims of discrimination and lynch mobs.

The future of the Negro race throughout the world is not linked up with the fate of world imperialism. Imperialism, whatever its high pretensions to philanthropy, cannot be

ANDRES NIN



Books

by Jim Cork

THE WEDDING, by Grace Lumpkin. Lee Furman, New York. 1939. \$2.50.

ON the surface, Grace Lumpkin's new novel is a transparently simple tale. It consumes no more than twenty-four hours and its main events are a child's prank, explained before it can become too serious in its consequences, and a lover's quarrel on the eve of a wedding, made up in time for the marriage to come off as scheduled—nothing more. But the author has skillfully used these simple happenings as the focal point where cross all the myriad strands of the social life of a small southern town and of the private lives of the individuals concerned.

We catch suggestive glimpses into man's world, woman's world, child's world. We sense, without the author's comment, the compulsive, traditional and irrational character of a wedding ceremony with its whole complex of sanctions, proscriptions and taboos, all the elaborate forms and ceremonies with which man disguises from himself the nature and meaning of his own acts. We get the outlines of the entire life of the southern town in which the wedding is occurring; the heavy weight of pre-Civil War tradition on the lives of the backward-looking southern aristocracy; the shabby, pathetic debt-ridden gentility of its more broken-down members; the disturbing and transforming force of modern industry and capital migrating from the North; the plight of the Negro still living in semi-slavery; the whole complex fabric of old mores breaking down and new ones being grudgingly and imperfectly adopted. Never for a moment do we leave the sphere of the wedding and its participants, yet tiny threads lead outward from every act and thought, radiating in all directions toward the penetration of these myriad aspects of the life of the town and section and time in which the wedding occurs. That the story continues to appear so simple in its outlines, so natural, almost quiet in its gentle, friendly and always feminine probing of the thoughts and feelings of those concerned, is an evidence of the skill with which Miss Lumpkin accomplishes her intention.

Reviewed by B. D. W.

anything else but fascist in its actual operation as far as subject peoples are concerned. The gospel of "collective security" calls for the unreserved support of the "democratic" imperialist powers against their fascist rivals, and the abandonment of the struggle and agitation for the liberation of the colonial peoples. Wherever "collective security" has become the slogan, the betrayal of the colonial peoples has inevitably followed.

For the United States to wage a successful war against any imperialist rival it must, of necessity, set up a military dictatorship with all of the essential elements of fascism—and the Negroes will be among the first victims of this dictatorship. The effort of Negro middle-class elements to establish for themselves a favored caste position in American society and in the U. S. army, is utterly alien to the best interests of the Negro masses. To have a few Negroes become officers and aviators in the army may do much to promote an irrational sort of race pride but it will hardly serve the best interests of the great masses of Negroes in present-day American capitalist society.

A MESS OF POTTAGE

To ask millions of Negro youths to give their lives in war as the price for the establishment of a Jim Crow caste of Negro middle-class politicians and careerists in the United States army is asking the race to sell its birthright to liberty for a mess of pottage. To ask the Negro race to support imperialism in the name of "democracy" and "collective security" means the outright betrayal of the Negro and colonial peoples. In the struggle between the fascist and "democratic" powers, the Negro people must not permit themselves to be used as pawns; they must recognize the sinister designs of both of the imperialist cliques. The Negroes must take the attitude of a "plague on both your houses." Victory for either imperialist block can lead only to the further enslavement and degradation of the Negro and colonial peoples.

In the final analysis, the Negro people must recognize that their future is inseparably linked up with the world-wide movement for social emancipation against the reactionary forces of imperialism and capitalist slavery.

The Deadly Parallel

(Compiled for the American Mercury by Charles Yale Harrison.)

Everybody in Germany is a National Socialist—the few outside the (Nazi) party are either lunatics or idiots.
—Adolf Hitler, speaking at Klagenfurt, Austria.

The Soviet people are unanimously behind Stalin and the Communist Party. . . . Only criminals, spies, Trotskyists, underground vermin, and other social scum are opposed to the party of Stalin.
—Earl Browder, American communist Führer, at the Hippodrome, New York.

Nazi Germany has solved its labor problem. No loyal German is without work. Only enemies of Hitler are in want.
—Völkischer Beobachter, April 10, 1939

If there's anyone living in poverty in the Soviet Union, it can only be some small remnant of counter-revolutionists who have refused to merge themselves with the new social system.
—New Masses, March 28, 1939.

By kissing an Aryan girl, the Jew insulted not only the girl, but the entire German nation.
—Remarks of the Court at a trial in Hildesheim, Germany.

Comrades who maintain political, social or personal relationships with Trotskyists or other enemies of the Soviet Union are guilty of treason not only against the party but against the entire international working class.
—Instructions to members of the American Communist Party.

Anti-Labor Drive Sweeps State Legislatures

Reactionaries Curtail Basic Rights of Labor Unions

By JOSEPH ELWOOD

IN the Workers Age some weeks ago, the writer of this article warned that "if the schism in the American labor movement should continue, we will soon witness a drive in various state legislatures to enact restrictive legislation of the type proposed on the West Coast, which would curtail and cripple the labor movement." It is the purpose of this article to examine some of the reactionary laws which have been passed and some of the bills which are still pending in the various state legislatures throughout the country.

Wisconsin for three decades—until Governor Heil and his wrecking crew gained control of the state government—led all other states in the enactment of laws designed to give employees a more nearly equal footing with employers when selling their labor. Today, Wisconsin exceeds any other state in imposing legal handicaps upon working men.

In twenty-two out of forty-four state legislatures which have been in session this Spring, bills were introduced with the aim of imposing serious restrictions on labor's right to strike, picket and bargain collectively. Most of these bills are patterned after the notorious Oregon law passed last November.

In three states, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Pennsylvania, some of these restrictive bills have already been enacted. Similar legislation is still pending in Illinois, Michigan,

Ohio, California, New York, New Jersey, Nebraska and South Carolina.

WORST LAW IN WISCONSIN

The Peterson law in Wisconsin is the most dangerous of them all. It declares illegal any strike that is not approved in secret ballot by a majority of all employees in a designated bargaining unit, to be determined by a State Employment Relations Board. This virtually destroys the organizing power of the trade unions in the state and leaves them at the mercy of the employers. The law also bans any picketing or boycott that is not the direct result of a "legal" strike, as defined above, and restricts picketing in "legal" strikes to employees directly involved. The law further gives the newly created Board the authority to order employees participating in an "illegal" strike, as above defined, back to work, and upon refusal to do so to send them to jail. The law also forbids the employer to enter into a closed-shop agreement without the approval of three-fourths of all the employees in the designated bargaining unit, or to check off union dues without the consent of each employee in writing. The law goes even further than that. It empowers the Board to suspend for one year a union or an individual union member from enjoyment of any rights under the law if either is found guilty of an "unfair labor practice." Another Wisconsin measure, recently enacted, defines a "labor dispute" as a strike or lockout of a majority of the employees in a collective-bargaining unit, thus outlawing the great bulk of all strikes in periods of organization.

REACTIONARY SWEEP THROUGHOUT COUNTRY

The sweep of the reactionary drive is to be felt even in such a progressive state as New York. The New York State Legislature has just passed the Bewley bill which would make truck-drivers interfering with the distribution of goods guilty of either a misdemeanor or a felony. The effect would, of course, be to outlaw trucking strikes. It is obvious that a very considerable change has taken place in the "political climate" of the country in the past year or so—in no small measure aggravated by the division within the organized labor movement and the bitterness and alienation of

the Vance-Myre law of Minnesota has even "improved" on the Wisconsin law: it establishes a compulsory "cooling off" period of not less than 20 days between the time employees notify their employer of a grievance and the beginning of a strike. If a labor dispute concerns a business "affected with a public interest" in that a strike would "endanger the life, safety, health or well-being of a substantial number of people in any community," the conciliator must notify the governor and any strike is forbidden during the next 30 days. Thus, a sort of compulsory arbitration has been put into motion—a precedent pregnant with grave danger for the whole labor movement.

Of the reactionary labor bills still pending before the various legislatures, two in Wisconsin are the worst. One would require the licensing of all union organizers and business agents by the Secretary of State, the first at \$100 and the second at \$25 yearly. Persons in such capacity acting without license would be subject to a \$500 fine, a year in jail, or both. An identical bill is now pending in the Michigan legislature. Thus, the door to the incorporation of the trade-union movement so bitterly fought by the organized labor movement, is opened wide. Another Wisconsin bill even proposes that unions be required to file out every year a detailed account of all their financial transactions and to publish yearly financial statements in a legal newspaper.

RESTRICTIVE LAW IN PENNSYLVANIA

The Pennsylvania Legislature has also caught up with the reactionary swing and has just passed a law sharply defining the limits within which employees and labor groups can carry on union activities within the state. In addition to outlawing the sit-down strike and prohibiting the check-off unless authorized by a secret majority vote of the employees and written individual authorization from each employee, the measure declares it an "unfair labor practice" for an employer or a union "to . . . coerce any employee by threat of force or violence or harm with the intent of compelling such employee to join or to refrain from joining any labor organization." To include a ban on employees "coercing" other employees will

Who Bears the Brunt Of New Deal Taxes?

Big Business Pays Less Under FDR Regime

By CECIL OWEN

Washington, D. C.
TAX revision talk is 99.9% baloney—no matter how thin it is sliced.

In the first place, what is meant is not tax "revision" at all, but tax reduction.

One of the favorite words of the tax ballyhoosers is "deterrent." What they ask, they say, is removal of tax deterrents to business. To them, any tax is a deterrent. Logically, therefore, they should ask repeal, not change, of taxes.

Most of the tax squawks come from the handful of spokesmen for the upper crust of business. They would gladly have their taxes eased at the expense of small business and taxpayers generally. These are the same boys who continually yell about budget balancing. How taxes

can be cut and the budget also balanced is a trick no one around here has yet learned.

SOME TAX FACTS

Here are a few up-to-the-minute figures on corporation taxes that expose the falsity of this clamor.

Back in 1929, when big business had "confidence," corporations paid \$1,200,000,000 in federal taxes. In 1933, they paid \$1,500,000,000. The increase is negligible. Under the Old Deal, the corporations paid 35% of all federal taxes. Under the New Deal, they pay only 20% of federal taxes.

Truth is the New Deal has not been taxing business at high rates at all, but has been getting the money for the spending policy by borrowing from the banks.

Taxes on consumption, however, are a different story. In 1929, taxes on consumption were a billion dollars, but in 1938 they were \$3,400,000,000, an enormous increase.

Among taxes on consumption are the social-security payroll taxes, the liquor and tobacco revenues and taxes on various manufactured articles. All these taxes are paid by consumers. Some, like on liquor and tobacco, are direct sales taxes that increase prices to consumers. It is generally admitted that social-security taxes are passed on to consumers.

Tobacco and liquor alone paid taxes in 1938 almost equal to total corporation taxes. The figure was \$1,100,000,000. Social-security taxes came to \$1,500,000,000.

Of the total of \$7,700,000,000 collected in federal taxes in 1938, corporations paid about one-fifth, consumption taxes accounted for one-half, while individual income taxes, customs, estate and gift taxes, etc., took care of the rest.

Most of the corporation fire is directed at the undistributed-profits tax. This tax was slashed sharply last year and now is only 2 1/2%. The total revenue under it is about 75 million. And the tax only applies if a corporation retains its profits instead of paying them out to stockholders.

The propaganda that New Deal taxes are restraining corporations from doing business is sheer fiction. The figures show that corporations pay just about the same amount now as they did under Hoover. And the one big reform tax to force distribution of profits and stop evasions has been whittled down to a mere stump.

If anyone wants to complain about taxes, it ought to be the consumers and workers who pay most of them.

(Cecil Owen is publicity director for Labor's Non-Partisan League.—Editor.)

public opinion that follow in its wake. What the employers will not be able to accomplish in the form of emulcator amendments to the Wagner Act during this Congressional session, they are striving to accomplish in the state legislatures.

There is only one way to stop this wave of reaction: unity in the ranks of labor. Unless a truce, at least, is established within the next few weeks, the labor movement will wake up too late to find out that it has lost so much at the hands of the lawmakers that it would perhaps be better if the various "little Wagner acts" were repealed altogether.

Hull Sets Up A Straw Man In Attack on "Isolation"

State Secretary Raises Scare of "Regimentation"

By JOHN T. FLYNN

MR. CORDELL HULL, our Secretary of State delivered himself last week before the Sunday Evening Club of a discourse on isolation which seemed to me a masterpiece of confusion. The word "isolation" is one of those collections of letters used to confuse rather than to clarify thought. And the Secretary has managed to broaden the confusion inherent in this word.

At the present moment, the country is confronted with the necessity of making a decision about its foreign relations. That decision arises out of the controversy which rages in Europe between the Axis powers on one side and England, France and Russia on the other. The problem which vexes our minds is: Should the United States in the event of a war between these groups of powers go into the struggle on the side of one or the other; to what extent should we enter that struggle and, if we decide to stay out of it, how can that objective be attained?

There are those, like President Roosevelt, who believe that in the event of such a contest this country should aid France and England in every way "short of war." On the other hand, a large and powerful faction here insists that any attempt to do this will draw us into the conflict. That faction, therefore, insists that the United States should remain neutral—that when the war is begun, it should refuse to sell munitions to either side, should keep its citizens off the vessels of belligerents and should make no loans.

This policy is based upon the conviction that any attempt to trade with the belligerent powers in munitions or in credits will make us the economic allies of one side or the other and that, having taken the step, we will be drawn, as we were

in 1917, little by little into the disaster.

Those who take this view do not believe that we should cut off intercourse with the belligerent countries, that we should sever intellectual or personal contacts or that we should abandon trade. They merely insist that an intelligent people should perceive with clarity a very special chasm that yawns before it in international affairs and take steps to avoid such entanglements as will precipitate us into it.

The critics of this policy have dubbed it "isolation." . . . But to call those who advocate keeping out of the European war "isolationists" is an obvious exaggeration. Opponents of the "collective-security" idea, for the most part, believe in the fullest and most active intercourse with all the nations of the world. They merely object to being enlisted by France and England to fight their imperialist battles for them.

But now comes Mr. Hull to make his contribution to the general confusion, a role which is not entirely new for him. He proceeds to make an elaborate argument against "isolation" by setting up the assumption that the "isolationists" believe in cutting off all commercial and other intercourse with the rest of the world. He writes down the principle of economic nationalism. Mr. Hull must know as well as any man alive that this is not true. But he adopts the assumption and then proceeds to demolish the isolationists on this front. He delivers a sort of schoolboy essay on the importance of imports and exports and how, if we do not import, we cannot sell our own surpluses.

So far as I know, there is no important group in this country which has favored this kind of economic (Continued on page 4)

Workers Age

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 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 months; 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.

VOL. 8. SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1939. No. 25

HUMANITY BEGINS AT HOME

IN the last issue of this paper, we published the report of an investigator for the N.A.A.C.P. of the year's most recent lynching (the fifth since January), the mob murder of a colored lumber worker in Mississippi. The straightforward, unemotional manner in which the report is presented does not diminish, perhaps it really accentuates, the incredible horror of the story.

Joe Rodgers was a colored workman at a lumber company, a sober, hard-working man, a deacon of his church, president of the church choir. He protested the deduction of \$5.50 from his weekly wages for rent for a company-owned cabin which he did not occupy. His foreman struck him with a shovel; he defended himself; "whereupon he was captured, tied hand and foot, shot, tortured with red-hot irons and cut and the body thrown into the Pearl River. . . . There have been no arrests made. . . . The newspapers have not written a word. . . . The Negroes have been told not to discuss the incident."

And this happened just about a month ago, on May 8, not in some dictator-ridden country of Europe, not in some colony ruled by brute force, but right here, in the "land of the free," in "democratic America," in the state of Mississippi.

President Roosevelt never misses an opportunity to denounce the oppression of racial or national minorities by dictatorial regimes abroad. And the crimes committed by these dictatorships are indeed such as to call for indignant protest and denunciation on the part of every decent man and woman in this country. But let us ask ourselves frankly: Does not the red-hot iron torture lynching of the colored workman in Mississippi throw the atrocities of the fascist concentration camps into the shade? For sheer ferocity and blood-madness, it is hard to find a parallel in the history of organized sadism.

This horrible atrocity against a member of a "minority" race was committed in the country of which Franklin Delano Roosevelt is president. Has Mr. Roosevelt said one word about it, or about the scores of race lynchings of which this is merely the latest example? Nay more; has Mr. Roosevelt lifted so much as a little finger to help the passage of federal anti-lynching legislation, which might do something to protect the lives of millions of colored folk throughout large stretches of the country where the local authorities work hand in hand with the lynch gangs? Mr. Roosevelt found it quite possible to send a personal letter to Congress and otherwise intervene energetically to encompass the defeat of the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum amendment last year, but when it comes to the anti-lynching bill, blocked by stalwart members of his own party, he sees not, he hears not, he says not.

Humanity, like charity, begins at home. Before we launch another crusade to "make the world safe for democracy," would it not be well to introduce a little democracy at home where it is most needed, right in the heart of the Democratic South? A fine spectacle we make, indeed, championing the cause of oppressed minorities abroad with the blood of Joe Rodgers and hundreds of other like him on our hands!

"Oh, thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye. . . ."

GENUINE LIBERALISM

"I BELIEVE that American liberalism must refuse to follow the communist lead," Archibald MacLeish writes in the May Survey Graphic, "that it must refuse to forego its own nature and its own purposes, that it must refuse to identify democracy with the status-quo, that it must become not less liberal, not less radical but more liberal, more radical."

In this courageous declaration there is a profound truth which is well worth all the emphasis we can give it. Authentic American liberalism, the liberalism of "Old Bob" LaFollette and John Dewey, cannot without stultifying and destroying itself serve as a cover for Stalinist Popular Frontism based on a reactionary defense of the status-quo of economic and social injustice. That a number of recreant liberals have done so is obvious enough from the columns of the Nation and New Republic, but by donning the Stalinist uniform and accepting the particularly degrading job of covering with the whitewash of glib words the bloody atrocities of the Kremlin totalitarianism, they have renounced their heritage and belied their name. Their "liberalism" is of the Stalinized variety that has deservedly met with the profound contempt of all decent people.

Archibald MacLeish has now joined the growing number of liberals who are determined to differentiate themselves from the pseudo-"liberalism" that is merely a camouflage for Stalinism. Liberalism must refuse to "follow the communist lead," he stresses; it must refuse to identify itself with the status-quo; it must drive forward to ever greater liberalism, to ever greater radicalism. . . .

For such liberalism as Mr. MacLeish represents, the socialist has the highest regard as a progressive, constructive force; with such liberalism genuine cooperation is possible and welcome.

FIGHT FOR UNITY MUST GO ON!

(Continued from page 1)

but they are by no means insuperable and can easily be ironed out with patience and mutual concessions. There is now no longer any excuse or justification for the continuation of the split in labor's ranks and the disastrous civil war resulting from it.

Mr. Lewis declares that the C.I.O. must continue to exist as a separate organization in order to organize the unorganized and to "build a progressive labor movement". But the first objective can now be pursued within the framework of the A. F. of L., certainly as far as the big mass-production industries in which the C.I.O. has already established unions are concerned. And to justify the continued existence of the C.I.O. separate and apart from the A. F. of L. merely on the ground that the latter is not progressive enough, what is that but dual unionism as we have learned to know it from bitter experience in the past? What is that but abandoning the original outlook and original objectives of the C.I.O.? Mr. Lewis is on dangerous ground here, but it is ground on which he is compelled to tread as long as he maintains his blind, unyielding attitude on unity, an attitude that fails to see that peace and unity are the best guarantee for the advance of progressivism in the labor movement.

This attitude, Mr. Lewis says, was held unanimously by the Executive Committee of the C.I.O. at its recent session. Is there really no responsible leader of the C.I.O. who dares stand up and face Lewis with the truth? Where was Sidney Hillman who only a few weeks before had confidently forecast that unity would be achieved within the year?

Mr. Lewis declares he is ready to "fight to a finish". To a finish for what for whom? Only too likely to a finish of unionism and for the organized labor movement!

The mass of the workers inside the C.I.O. as well as the A. F. of L. don't want to fight to a finish. They want unity as soon as possible. They want a truce right now. They understand that unity is literally a life-and-death question for the labor movement today. And they are determined to have unity, whatever Mr. Lewis may think.

The fight for unity must go on!

