HIGH COURT DECISIONS SHOW AR-

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Vol. 9, No. 3.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1940.

Behind the Headlines:

Against the Stream

By JAY LOVESTONE

N these cataclysmic days, words often lose their meaning or come to mean the very opposite. Formulas with definite connotation for decades are faring no better. Slogans and battle-cries which once rallied aspiring armies have been meeting the same fate. In tine, the present hour demands unceasing, cautious scrutiny, not only in the realm of platitudes and personalities but also in the world of principles, ideas and ideals. We stress this approach in order to insure a wholesome, critical attitude in these days of kaleidoscopic changes when totalitarianism, cynicism and ideological nihilism are so rampant.

Let's look at some recent events to bring home our point in the concrete. Hitler, the high-priest of fascist totalitarianism, issues a proclamation to usher in the new year. Its big noise centers around the call for the "socialist millenium." Pope Pius, dictator of the first and foremost fortress of totalitarianism—the Roman Catholic Church, with its traditions of the Inquisitorial mind and torture—fervently reveals to the world that the "the Church sees with clarity and favors with indefatiguable zeal the imperative duty of that 'redemption of the proletariat' that had group of southern Senators. In past already begun in the grotto ot Bethlehem." Words, words, words smoke, smoke, smoke—but not a ray of light to lead out of the enough to kill the bill. Whether this darkness of capitalist reaction, bankruptcy and war.

Particularly in recent months have the unexpected and unforeseen held sway. Take the case of the character of the war. It has assumed s the sponsor of the anti-lynching Particularly energetic in its support the nature of a violent economic conflict in its initial stages. And the measure in the Senate. signs are multiplying to upset turther the expert calculations about the severest military struggle immediately coming at the center instead of 108 Democrats, 140 Republicans, 1 the periphery of European politics. More and more, it would seem that American Laborite, and 2 Progressian some decisive actions are at hand in Finland, the Scandinavian countries and the Balkans before the principal opponents will dare fling themselves at the Maginot Line or the West-Wall. Likewise, those countless prophets who, on the basis of the 1914 experience, counted so much on the world war instantly bringing prosperity to American agriculture and industry, ficials found negligent in protectmust now throw overboard their cherished but refuted conclusions. The ing persons within their custody and 1940 economic outlook for the American farmers and workers borders in allowing them to be seized by much too much on the bleak.

During these critical moments in the life of humanity, when affairs are so complex, and when so much of the weird prevails, it is imperative to watch the tides. But watching the tides of time and history doesn't at all mean that one must go along with them. Especially in days of con- amount being \$10,000. fusion and reaction when men and movements have gone so berserk is it necessary often to swim against the tide. We must learn not to go with the momentarily prevailing current, in one stream or another, merely bor violence from the penalties. Rebecause it is dominant. Today, there is nothing more fatal to social presentative Gavagan of New York progress than the ideological stampede—the loss of the capacity to dif terentiate, the destruction of the sense of discrimination, the tendency to fall in line-without regard to its direction-but solely because it i long and crowded and well-equipped. Such a tendency means accepting a lower standard regardless of the fact that it may appear to enhance the immediate comfort of the conformist. In every age, our own not excluded, there are some who render the greatest homage to mankind by refusing to accept the lower ethical, social, political and economic standards of their day.

The tragedy of Finland is all-revealing from the above viewpoint. Words fail us to condemn the crime of Stalin in his wanton attack on Finland. Not even for a split second have we wavered in this attitude. However, this does not mean that we must lose our sense of balance and discrimination, and join hands, as too many labor organizations have already done, with the Hoovers and the Roosevelts, the Chamberlains and the Daladiers, in their crocodile tears for "poor little Finland." Anent this, we cite two meaningful types of comment which deserve most serious the transfer of American ships to employ Civilian Conservation Corps consideration. From the well-edited British weekly, the New Statesman and Nation, of December 9, 1939, we cull the following timely excerpt:

"The sympathy of all that is progressive in two hemispheres was one Clark, who is ill, by his Missouri col- General George C Marshall, chief of of the main defenses of the Soviet Union. If he (Stalin) sapped this league, Harry Truman. It was said staff, and was rejected by James J defense by his purge, he has now almost destroyed it. While he lives to be designed to stop transfers such McEntee, acting CCC. director. and reigns, few of us will orient our praying-carpets towards Moscow.

We shall do well, however, to bridle indignation. It would quickly place us in unwelcome company. Not the most vociferous friends of Finhand and however, to bridle indignation. It would quickly place us in unwelcome company. Not the most vociferous friends of Finhand and however, to bridle indignation. It would quickly sels to a Norwegian corporation, of whose stock the U. S. Lines holds basis and that the volunteers be land can hope to compete in their moral wrath with the Duce. What the 40%, and the same firm's earlier un- established in special camps near ar-Albanians and Abyssinians felt is not recorded. In America, as in Europe, successful effort to transfer eight my posts and training centers such (Continued on page 4)

House Passes Anti-Lynch Bill, 251-132

But Faces Prospect of Long Filibuster In Senate by Southern Democrats

was passed by the House of Reprethe southern states. The vote in the pretation of this amendment.

The bill was then sent to the Senwill be the case at the present session is not certain, but some such

The House vote was as follows:

The bill, the third of its kind to pass the House since 1922, would impose fines on county and state ofcourts would have jurisdiction to try suits against counties for damages to persons so injured, or to relatives of those killed, the maximum

After passing the bill, the House struck out a provision exempting la-

Clark Urges Ban on Ship **Transfers**

Senator Introduces Bill To Bar Evasion of Neutrality

foreign registry by sale, lease or any volunteers as troop auxiliaries. other method.

Washington, D. C. | author of the bill in the House, of-The Gavagan anti-lynching bill ferew the motion by which the provision was stricken out. Considerable sentative last week after three days anxiety was felt in labor circles as of bitter attack by spokesmen from to the meaning and possible inter-

> The first move to kill the bill in the Senate will come in an attempt until the end of the session. Should Senator Connally of Texas, have threatened to stage a prolonged filibuster.

> The Wagner-Gavagan bill is backed by a wide array of labor, liberal and civil-rights organizations has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

Fight for Wagner Health Bill Pushed

Washington, D. C. Despite an indication that the Administration has grown cold towards the Wagner health bill, proponents of the measure will fight hard for its adoption, it was said here as Congress convened.

The President's announced substitute of construction of small hospitals in poorer communities by the federal government does not meet with the approval of labor nor of those Congressmen who see the need

ting up hospitals in poor communities without providing funds for their servicing wouldn't guarantee needed services for the sick, as the communities would have no money with which to operate them.

Senate Education and Labor Committee early in January.

The military per.odical said a pro-

General Marshall vas said to have

War Costs 150 Millions a Day

Paris, France. THE war is costing Europe **1** around \$150,000,000 daily above ordinary budgetary expenditures, a statistical survey made here last week showed.

The estimates, originating in French sources and subject to a degree of speculation in regard to German and Russian expenditures, follow:

Great Britain, \$33,000,000; France, \$22,500,000; Germany, \$45,000,000; Russia, \$22,500,-

Finland and small neutral nations which have mobilized for self-defense are estimated to be spending \$30,000,000.

American Version

'Cannon Before Butter"—

preciable let-up in unemployment. How many jobless there are in the

country is not exactly known; about ten million would be a fair estimate.

000,000 is to be further cut by another \$400,000,000, thus bringing the total down to just about a billion. During the course of this year, half

purges; on the basis of the 1941 budget, another half million at least are

And the C.C.C. and N.Y.A. are to suffer the same drastic retrench-

ments as the W.P.A. As for public housing, on which great store was

set as a way out of the depression, the subject was not even men-

this field will be reduced to insignificant proportions.

just as it has remained at about this level for the past decade.

Anti-Russia Lineup **Grows in Balkans**

Italy Inspires Moves With Approval Of Allies: Soviet Reverses Continue

Soviet Russia's international position grew markedly worse last week of hostilities, were in the Balkans as signs multiplied that in various and in southeastern Europe. In parts of Europe diplomatic align- Venice, the two-day conference bements were emerging that were not tween Italian Foreign Minister Ciaonly anti-Russian in themselves but no and Hungarian Foreign Minister that seemed destined to be combined sooner or later into a general front block Russian penetration in the against Russia, perhaps even into a Balkans by military force if necesjoint assault upon that country. Chief developments last week, the

Csaky resulted in an agreement to sary. The hostility to Moscow was undisguised, even in official pro-

Two days later, reports from Belgrade asserted that Yugoslavia had entered the anti-Russian front by promising to permit the passage of Italian troops thru the country in case of military action resulting from any Russian move. There was WE do not intend to follow the example of certain foreign nations—

President Roosevelt assured us in his message to Congress last

| trom any Russian move. There was a hint that the Italo-Yugoslavian accord might go much farther along week-and look to an armaments boom to solve our unemployment problithe same lines.

lem. That was what he said. But what he did in the way of allotting During the same week, secret congovernmental expenditures in next year's federal budget was something ferences were held between king else again. As one observer remarked, he damned the doctor, but took Carol of Rumania and Regent Prince Paul of Yugoslavia. The Rumanian king had already hurled sharp defi-Unemployment is now higher than it has ever been since 1933. ance at Russian threats to Bessarabia There is no prospect whatever of any industrial boom taking up a in an address the previous week. Rumeasurable proportion of the slack in the near future. Indeed, every manua's adherence to the anti-Ruseconomist now recognizes that, under present conditions, even a big sian front in the Balkans was rerise in the level of production would not by any means imply an apgarded as certain.

In Turkey, too, anti-Moscow sentiment grew stronger and more pronounced. The only country in south-And ten million it is likely to remain for the next year or two at least; eastern Europe which maintained a less hostile attitude was Bulgaria, How does the President's budget reflect this critical situation? which apparently hoped for the aid The sums allotted to W.P.A. and other forms of relief are slashed to the of Russia in making good some of bone. This year's already scandalously reduced W.P.A. outlay of \$1,400,- 1ts claims against Rumania.

The conference of the Balkan Entente on February 2 is expected to a million workers were dropped from W.P.A. rolls in a series of ruthless give some sort of indication of how far the new anti-Russian line-up will to be dropped and deprived of the work-relief on which they depend go. The whole development has the Russian invasion of Finland and the sudden deflation of the prestige of Russia's military might.

> Behind the network of dig maneuvering in the Balkans

tioned by the President. There is every indication that expenditures in Italian Foreign Office, who ivities are meeting with undisguised But there is one type of spending that will not be stinted, and that approval in London, Paris and is spending for the army and navy. The 1941 budget drives expenditures for relief, public works and farm aid, in short, expenditures for socially washington. Should the efforts to turn the present war into a general useful purposes, down to record lows for the seven years of the New assault upon Russia, now being Deal, but it sends armament outlays hurtling upward to record peace-European capitals, come to sometime highs. According to the official figures, military-naval expenditures thing, the new alignments in the are to reach \$2,336,000,000, as against the already record high of Balkans would easily fit into the \$1,760,000,000 for the current year, with the likelihood that before the plan as a whole. fiscal year 1941 is over, the armament figure will approach three billion.

In Finland, the sixth week of the invasion was marked by continued These are the official figures as presented by President Roosevelt Russian reverses. A far-reaching himself. Slashes in relief and public works—skyrocketing increases in arms shake-up in the Russian armies and spending. Yet the President denies that the Administration is seeking the "recall" of over a hundred oficers were reported. In Moscow, Mikhail M. Kaganovitch, head of the aviation industry, was removed and thing must be cut to the bone for the sake of the arms budget! This "transferred to another post," M. M. slogan, already dominant in Europe, totalitarian and "democratic" alice, Kaganovitch is the brother of Lanow bids fair to become the guiding star of the Administration that zar M. Kaganovitch, very high up in the Soviet burocracy. According to Finnish reports, picked troops of the G.P U., or Russian secret police, were sent into action on the Suomussalmı front ın a vain attempt to retrieve something from the disaster suffered by the Russians recently.

Chance for Anti-Lynch Bill in Senate Seen

The slogan of an arms economy is: "Cannon before butter!" Every

Pressure of Election Year May Count

By FRANK HOWARD

salvation in an armaments boom!

once proclaimed a New Deal for America.

for their subsistence.

Dinner speeches or the new Presidential appointments but the revival of the anti-lynching bill and its paschance of passing the Senate this election year than ever before. The National Association for the Adthe job and predicts that Jack Garner has seen the handwriting on the on this issue which I am sure will be forthcoming from stalwart members of Franklin Roosevelt's South There is no doubt that the Republicans are gleeful at this opportunity to embarrass the majority party once more. However, the Presi- Dies's Committee report is clear. dent shows little enthusiasm for elementary civil rights for 15,000,000 | up to the usual erratic performance fellow-citizens when he does not of Mr. Dies. Instead, they found speak militantly in favor of this bill. themselves reading a New Deal doc-

remains silent on this fundamental Dies was sick in Texas! matter; I will bet you almost as the necessity of preserving democ-

ism, not to speak of radicalism. exceedingly long faces around Wash- sure that, by some sleight-of-hand, they say.

hardly a sign of robust progressiv-

Ington because of the slashing attacks on all social-service bud-Washington, D. C. gets which have been initiated by THE biggest news down here this the White House-not merely apweek is not the Jackson Day proved. F.D.R.'s strategy seems to be to bet everything on his pro-Bri- their people have gained thru the tish foreign policy, on which Garner and Co. find themselves in entire agreement with him. With this much sage in the House. It is freely pre- of the "line" in common, the hope dicted that it will have a better of the third-termers is that the emasculated New Deal for the home front can be disguised and sugarcoated in such a way as to make it palatable by the time the Democratvancement of Colored People is on ic convention rolls around. Whether this strategy will win is being serlously questioned by those New Dealers who are heads of agencies wall and will favor it this time. By which are suffering most as the rethe time you read this letter, you sult of the proposed budget cuts will have heard of some rich oratory | They do not believe that Jack Garner will be fooled by all of this mumbo-jumbo and they say that F.D.R. and the New Deal would be party. Most of the opposition will more certain of winning if they pullcome from Democrats from the ed out all of the stops and played with abandon.

That many Rooseveltians suffered a distinct shock when they read the They expected a report measuring will bet you any amount that he ument, adopted unanimously. Mr.

It is important to read the report, that the country overwhelmingly much that, during the same period, if you have not done so. Copies can favors its continuation. Therefore, he will make another statement on be obtained from the committee. It they will go along after doing their mirrors the present New Deal atti- best to make sure that the Voorhis ments. It does not apply where the ferences by then, in order to stop racy in the world. This may be good tude on Stalinism and its works as type of Congressman is dominant in politics in an election year but it is well as any document I have. Every- the committee membership. This one knows, of course, that it is anti- will absolutely insure reports and Nazi, so I make no comment on this procedure in line with this final well-Many New Dealers are wearing aspect of the report. You may be worded report of the committee,

Jerry Voorhis, with the cooperation of Casey and Dempsey, inserted into the report such statements as the

"Every modern democratic nation is confronted by two pressing problems. The first is the preservation of the constitutional liberties which years of struggle.'

"It is at least equally important that in combating subversive groups of this character nothing should be done which would undermine the fundamental structure of constitutional liberty itself."

"If the findings of this committee were to be used as a pretext for the building of an un-American movement of any sort on the excuse that such a movement were 'necessary to combat such-and-such a danger to the country', clearly a disservice to our democratic institutions would have been done.

"We owe them (the people of the country) a solution of the economir and social problem of unnecessary poverty in the midst of possi-

This is not Martin Dies speaking! What the Workers Age said, editorially, two weeks ago about this gentleman is accurate and sound. The New Dealers are trying to get the committee reconstrtuted with some one like T. V. Smith as the chairman. Some of them think the committee has done its job and is not needed any longer but they know

House was 251 to 132.

ate where a majority of nearly two to keep it locked up in committee to one is said to favor it. The prospects are, however, that it will meet the measure reach the floor, a group with a filibuster conducted by a of southern Democrats, headed by sessions, such a filibuster was outcome is feared. Senator Wagner

Restrictions on Shipping

of its ships to Panamanian registry. as Fort Benning, Ga

of a real health program.

Labor's attitude is that just put-

Meanwhile, Senator Wagner is preparing a new draft of his bili which will be ready for study by the

Washington, D. C. The Army and Navy Register Senator Bennett Champ Clark in- Roosevelt may be called on to detroduced a bill last week to prohibit cide an army-initiated proposal to

The measure was introduced for posal to this effect was advanced by

Reaction Made Big Gains in State Legislatures in 1939

Organization, Collective Bargaining Rights Restricted

By J. ELWOOD

URING the legislative year of 1939, important measures restricting the rights of labor to or- on strike. This virtually destroys employer with the majority of his tions, varying from 5 to 10 days. ganize and bargain collectively were the organizing power of the trade adopted in several states. Shortly unions in the state and leaves them after the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935, five states-Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah and Wisconsin-enacted labor-relations laws modeled after the federal act. During 1939, however, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania drastically changed their "Little Wagner Acts," while Michigan and Minnesota enacted new far-reaching legislation restricting workers in their rights to organize and bargain collectively. Wisconsin and Pennsylvania also giving the employer a chance to changed their anti-injunction laws play off one section of his employees so that injunctions may now be granted more often in labor disputes. But, while 1939 state legislation on labor relations was mainly negative and restrictive, the record does include enactment of an anti-injunction law, modeled on the Norris-La Guardia Act, in Connecticut, while New Mexico limited court procedure in issuing anti-labor injunctions.

OREGON SETS THE PACE

of the workers at the plant concerning hours, wages and working condi- Wisconsin is made applicable only and other vital industries, the truce tions of the workers in the plant to such controversies as involve an period is 30 days; in other occupa-

Wisconsin repealed its 1937 "Little Wagner Act" and replaced it with an act which creates a new State Employment Relations Board. In addition to guaranteeing the right of employees to engage in lawful concerted activities, as provided in the former act, the new law specifically provides for the "right to refrain from such activities"—thus against the other. According to the act, wherever a question of representation arises it must be determined by a secret ballot, and employees who have been found guilty of an tises of employees, thus taking each employee. Sit-down strikes as the labor movement back to the well as attempts to "coerce" felloweighteenth century court view of workers in matters of union mem-Starting with the adoption of an labor relations. The unfair practises bership or in the choice of a bargaininitiated measure in November 1938 of employees include coercion and ing agent are forbidden. in Oregon, there have been a series intimidation, mass picketing, seconof enactments aimed at limiting dary boycotts, violation of a collec-sylvania has also been changed. It rather than extending the right of tive-bargaining agreement, picketing labor to organize and engage in or boycotting unless a strike has violation of existing labor agree- Unless labor can compose its difconcerted activities. The Oregon been called, and taking unauthorized measure regulates the conduct of possession of the property of an strikes and boycotts and prohibits employer. The law also provides that have not joined a labor organization ment will wake up too late to find

at the mercy of the employers.

picketing at or near the premises labor representatives are to keep a or when the union or its members out that most of its basic rights, of the employer unless a dispute is record of financial transactions and have engaged in a sit-down strike. gained thru many years of struggle, in progress involving a majority make reports to members.

employees in a designated collective- These acts also prohibit certain bargaining unit. In other labor unfair labor practises, including disputes, injunctions may now be coercion of employees by either emgranted. This is in contrast to the ployers, "other employees or labor previous law under which an injunction could be used only in rare their rights to join unions or strike. instances. Furthermore, this act The Minnesota law prohibits picketvirtually outlaws the bulk of strikes ing in the absence of a strike and which usually occur in periods of organization, as it prohibits picketing by a union which does not represent a majority of the employees for which it is attempting to bargain By amendments to the Pennsyl-

vania State Labor Relations Act, the law was changed from the Wagner type to the so-called "equalizing" type, of a distinctly "anti-labor"

unfair labor practise may be ex- labor practises of employers as well ployers were not able to accomplish cluded from voting. The act defines as of employees. The check-off is in the form of emasculatory amendunfair labor practises of employers considered an unfair practise unless! so as to include the check-off of the employer is authorized by a union dues unless authorized in majority vote of the employees and writing. It also defines unfair prac- by the individual authorization of

The anti-injunction law of Penn-

The Pennsylvania State Labor have been drastically curtailed.

Relations Act also curtails the State Labor Board's power to invalidate contracts between employer and employees—a familiar way of protecting company-dominated unions.

MEDIATION ACTS AGAINST STRIKES

Michigan and Minnesota adopted mediation acts with required truce periods before strikes and lock-outs, in order to allow time for negotia-The new anti-injunction law of tion and mediation. In public utilities organizations." in the exercise of requires that a majority of pickets be employees of the plant or establıshment,

In 1934, 44 of the state legislatures met in regular session. In 22 of these states, bills were introduced with the aim of imposing serious restrictions on labor's right to strike, picket and bargain collectively. In four states, Oregon excluded, these reactionary measures were adopted. The amended act prohibits unfair It is obvious that what the emments to the Wagner Act during last year's Congressional session, they strove to accomplish in the state legislatures. To some extent, they succeeded in no small measure due to the division within the organized labor movement and the embitterment and alienation of public opinion

resulting therefrom. It is generally predicted that an anti-labor drive will sweep the state does not apply to labor disputes in legislatures this coming Spring. majority of the employees involved the wave of reaction, the labor move-

High Court Decisions Show Arbitrary Powers of N.L.R.B. Necessities

Labor Disunity Multiplies Peril of Encroachment

By ROBERT WALTERS

THE decisions of the United States ■ Supreme Court in the three labor-relations cases that came before it two weeks ago undoubtedly strengthen the legal position of the National Labor Relations Board in the administration of the Wagner Act. But it does not follow that these decisions therefore also strengthen the hand of organized labor in enforcing its rights of selforganization and collective bargaining thru representatives of its own choosing. On the contrary, in two of three cases— the third, the Falk Corporation case, deals with the effective disestablishment of a company union-the high court's decision points to a situation that already constitutes a danger to free trade unionism and may well grow even more ominous in the future.

ISSUES BEFORE THE COURT

The two cases—the West Coast longshoremen's case and the Consumers Power Company case-involve essentially the same principle and were treated as belonging together by the Supreme Court. Let us examine these cases and see exactly what the issue was and what the court decided.

Last year, we may remember, the National Labor Relations Board ruled that the appropriate collectivebargaining unit for the longshoremen on the Pacific Coast was the coast as a whole-that is, all longshoremen employed by companies doing business on the West Coast were to constitute a single group and as a group vote to decide which union, if any, they wanted to represent them. Elections on this basis were held and the majority of the all-coast bargaining unit chose the C.I.O.'s International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges. The A. F. of L.'s International Longshoremen's Association immediately protested. The A. F. of L. union pointed out that in city after city on the West Coast, in concern after concern in these cities, the big majority of the longshoremen were pro-A. F. of L. and wanted the I.L.A., to which they belonged, to represent them, but under the Board certification of the C.I.O. union for the entire coast. this was denied to them.

The I.L.A. thereupon appealed to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, petitioning the review the Board's action fication and to set it aside. deral court dismissed the petition on the ground of lack of jurisdiction. An appeal was taken to N our own country, until about a employers had no constitutional the Supreme Court and the Supreme Lacentury ago, it was not only an rights to trespass on the rights of Court decided unanimously sustain- unfair labor practise for working employees. In making this decision, ing the lower court.

GROUND OF THE COURT'S ACTION

But on what ground did the Supreme Court affirm the stand taken by the court of appeals? On the purely technical and procedural ground that the Wagner Act as it stands does not give federal courts the power to review certifications of collective-bargaining representation issued by the Board. Let me quote from the opinion of the court, delivered by Justice Stone:

"Here it is evident that the entire structure of the act emphasizes, for purposes of review, the distinction between an 'order' of the Board restraining an unfair labor practise and a certification in representation proceedings. The one, authorized by Section 10, may be reviewed by the court on petition of who will accept lower wages. the Board for enforcement of the order, or of a person aggrieved, in the same view, and for nearly a conformity to the procedure laid hundred years, the legality of labor down in Section 10, which says nothing of certification.

"The other, authorized by Section 9, 1s nowhere spoken of as an order and no procedure is prescribed for its review apart from an order prohibiting an unfair labor practise.

In other words, a Board order restraining unfair labor practises may be brought to the courts for review by an employer who doesn't like the order, but a Board decision on what kind of unit is appropriate collectively for great numbers of for collective bargaining is not thus reviewable; in short, it is final.1

So there you are—the Board decides how workers shall be grouped for bargaining and there is very little anyone can do about it. The Supreme Court opinion makes it abundantly clear that the A. F. of L complaint as to its members in many cities on the West Coast being actually denied the right to have collective bargaining representatives of their own choosing, is substantially grounded in fact. But the court inthe law is clear and precise on the

POWER TO FIX

point.

THE BALLOT the Board may go appears very

1 To be more precise, there is a way for such Board decisions to come under court review. If an order restraining an unfair labor practise comes up for review, then all Board decisions as to certification, etc., involved in the case are also subject to review. But a Board order can come before a court only if the Board asks the court to enforce it or the employer appeals against it. If neither of these things happens, Board de- in the Texas and New Orleans case cisions on bargaining unit and the like already mentioned (in the first ar-

"LET'S GET THAT OLD AXE DOWN!"



-from Justice

the C.I.O.'s Utility Workers Organ- held. izing Committee, 1,072 for the A. F. of L.'s International Brotherhood against both unions or for neither lot for the run-off election it placed the A. F. of L. union, altho the latter is the final step in such a proceeding had received almost as many votes and which we have just held Conas its rival (92 less out of a total gress has excluded from the review of 2,806)! The A. F. of L. immediately appealed to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. The court took

strikingly in the second of the two | the case under review and set aside cases, the Consumers Power case, the Board direction on the run-off which in its various stages has been election. But when the matter came much discussed in these columns. An up before the Supreme Court, the election of the employees of this circuit court was reversed and the company was held in January 1939, power of the Board to arrange the with the following results: 1,164 for run-off ballot in its own way up-

The decision here-Justice Stone who delivered the high court's of Electrical Workers, and 570 opinion, pointed out-was controlled by the decision in the West Coast one. Since no majority was apparent, longshoremen's case. "The direction the Board thereupon decided to hold for an election is but part of the a run-off election. But on the bal- representation proceeding authorized by Section 9(c) and is no more designations only for or against the subject to review under Section C.I.O. union and altogether omitted 10(f) than is a certification, which afforded by that subdivision."

So there you are again—not only (Continued on Page 4)

Background of Policy Behind Wagner Act

Progress Thru Century Showed Way

By WM. M. LEISERSON

people to organize to improve their the court considered a contention of conditions of employment by bar- the employer that no property ingaining with their employers; it terest was involved in the right of was a crime. The members of a so- employees to choose their own reciety of shoemakers in Philadelphia presentatives for bargaining. The in 1803 were found "guilty" of a com- answer of the court was that if it bination to raise their wages," fined is necessary to show a property and assessed costs. In 1842, however, interest, then "we are of the opinion the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, that there was such an interest with reversing a conviction for labor con- respect to the selection of represenspiracy, ruled that a combination of tatives to confer with the employer employees to improve their condi- in relation to contracts of service. tions is not essentially different Citing this decision, a United States from a combination of people to District Court ruled in 1935 in the fight the evils of intemperance. As Virginian Railway case that "the working men may join together and right of self-organization and reprerefuse to work in a shop where sentation in the matter of rates of liquor is furnished or refuse to work pay, hours of labor and working conwith any employee who habitually ditions is a property right, the loss uses liquor, the court reasoned, so of which would result in irreparable also may they combine to refuse to damage to complainants." This deciwork for wages they consider too sion later was upheld both in the low or to work with an employee Circuit Court of Appeals and the

Other courts subsequently took organizations has not been questioned. But until recently, the freedom of working people to organize meant union men, imposing yellow-dog contracts on employees, and organizing company unions with forced memberships. Management, bargaining stockholders, was protected in its right to insist on bargaining individually with helpless workers in need of jobs.

SUPREME COURT **BLOCKS REFORM**

The legal rights favored the employer. Congress and the states attempted to put employees and employers on the basis of equality before the law in the matter of bargaining, but the Supreme Court declared the early efforts unconstitusists it can grant no relief because tional. In the cases of Adair v. the rights as equal in sanctity to the United States and Croppage v. Kansas the Court held that an employer's property right in his business included the right to discharge or discriminate against employees for How far the arbitrary power of any or no reason. Apparently, neither Congress nor the state legislatures could protect employees against employers who used their economic position to trespass on the rights of those who worked for them. Courts could not hear cases of employees discharged for exercising their legal right to join labor organ-

The labor-relation acts changed all this. The basis for the change was laid by the Supreme Court in 1930 are not subject to appeal or review. | ticle of this series.—Editor), when 3. They must not discriminate in gaining unit shall be the employer

lit ruled that the decisions in Adair v. United States and Coppage v. Washington, D. C. Kansas were not applicable because Supreme Court.

LABOR POLICY CHANGES

In a hundred years, therefore, the labor policy of the United States has only freedom from prosecution by been developed and changed by slow the government. Employers were steps from one in which organiza- cordance with the act. free to destroy unions by spying on tion for collective bargaining was those who joined them, discharging held to be a crime to one in which members, refusing employment to it is protected by law as a property PRACTISES right with the sanctions that surround private ownership of property. Shall we now undo all this developthree acts of Congress-Norris-La. Relations Act—together with the supporting decisions of the courts, are designed, I take it, to establish and maintain a national labor policy of treating the employees property employers property rights.

Turning now to the specific pro visions of the Labor Relations Act, the meat of them is contained in Section 8, which lists five prohibited unfair labor practises. These are:

1. Employers must not interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their right to selforganization, to form or join labor organizations, to bargain collectively thru representatives of their own

2. They must not dominate or inministration of any labor organiza- presentative of all the employees in tion or contribute to the financial or other support of it. That refers to National Labor Relations Board to the well-known company unions.

Poor Families Held to Bare

OF every dollar the "average" worker finds in his pay envelope, he spends 33.5 cents for food, 24.2 cents for housing and fuel, 10.6 cents for clothing, 8.3 cents for transportation, and has 23.4 cents care, education, and other miscellaneous costs.

These are the findings of a survey made by U. S. Buro of Labor Statcities during 12 months in 1934-35. Families covered were those of "em ployed wage-earners and clerical workers who had received no relief during the year," had at least one employed member, and a minimum income for the year of \$500.

Average number of persons per family in this group was 3.6. And come was only \$1,458, that is, half of the families had less than this

Keep in mind, when considering the figures in Table A, that they are annual average expenditures of this group of employed workers.

Some 53.3% of the families covaverage income given in the table above and many millions, of course, have substantially less to live on. For these poorer families a larger share of their income goes for food, housing and clothing, leaving them much less for other necessities This is indicated in Table B showing, for the lower-income groups, the proportions of their income spent for the three essentials.

In other words, for the "average" worker's family covered in the survey, 335 cents out of every dollar went for food. But for those earning from \$600 to \$900 per year, food of every dollar, and for those with 38.4 cents. It is clear from such fig-lerism," ures that any rises in food prices, "great

Food

TABLE A AVERAGE ANNUAL CURRENT EXPENDITURES OF ALL FAMILIES

Amount

Clothing		160		10.6
Housing		259		17.1
Fuel, light and refrigeration		108		7.1
Other household operation	-	. 58		3.8
Furnishings and equipment		60		40
Personal care		30		2.0
Transportation		126		8.3
Medical care		59		3.9
Recreation		82		5.4
Education		7		0.5
Vocation		6		0.4
Community welfare		19		1.3
Gifts and contributions to perso	ons outside	the		1.0
economic family		24		1.6
Other items		7		0.5
		·	_	0.0
ALL ITEMS		\$1,513		100.0
	ABLE B			
Families with annual net income of \$500		\$600	\$900	\$120
	to	to	to	to
	\$600	\$900	\$1200	\$150
Food	38.4%	37.0%	35.8%	34 49
Clothin	7.5%	8.7%	9.1%	9.99
Housing	20.3%	19.9%	19.3%	17.99
Fuel, light, refrigeration	9.7%	8.9%	8.5%	7.79
Other household operation	3.1%	3.5%	3.4%	3 6%
Total	79.0%	78.0%	76.1%	73 5%
Balance for all other expenses	21.0%	22.0%	23.9%	26.5%
-	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

4. They must not discharge or otherwise discriminate against employees who file charges or give testimony under the act.

5. They must not refuse to bargain collectively with representatives of employees designated in ac-

UNFAIR LABOR

ment and retrace our steps so that not just think them up as a good list the property rights thus achieved to prohibit. It found that employers may be taken away from employees had been practising all these things; by their employers? Fairness and justice in labor relations cannot be they had become established practises in American industry in order achieved or maintained without re- to prevent employees from organizgarding the property rights of em- ing and bargaining collectively. ployees every bit as sacred as the Many investigations had established property rights of employers. The the facts, and there was much complaint against the unfairness and Guardia, Railway Labor and Labor injustice of the practises. Industrial managers had every opportunity to rid themselves of the practises. They would not do so, and the working people of the country turned to the government to make them get rid of the practises. Certainly the workers did not act hastily in the matter. They waited patiently for many years, and only as a last resort did they use their votes to remove an intolerable condition.

The fifth unfair labor practise makes it necessary that the employer shall know who is the true representative of the employees duly designated and selected in accordance with the act. Section 9 deals with this problem. It provides that a majority of the employees in any unit appropriate for collective bargaining shall have the right to deterfere with the formation or ad- signate or select an exclusive resuch unit. Then it authorizes the decide in each case whether the bar-

hiring, discharge or any condition of | unit, craft unit, plant unit or subemployment to encourage or dis- division thereof. If a dispute arises In such an investigation, the Board break with it and its policies. must provide for a hearing, may take a secret ballot or use any other suitable method of ascertaining the choice of the employees.

These provisions of Sections 8 and 9 are about all there is to the National Labor Relations Act. The rest is concerned mainly with procedures for carrying the provisions Congress was not original in mak- into effect. The National Labor Relaing up this list of practises. It did tions Board is empowered to prevent employers from engaging in any of the listed unfair practises, and gressive, and one who welcomes and the Board is given authority to issue rules and regulations to carry out in the program of the Dressmakers the provisions of the act.

> (These paragraphs are from the statement presented by William M Leiserson to the Smith Committee investigating the NLRB The next article in this series will deal with the procedures outlined in the Wagner Act and elaborated in the Board's regulations —Editor)

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WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

N. Y. Teachers Union Counts Declares C.P. Doesn't Sway Shifts on War Issue

Stalinist Clique Follows Moscow New Line

Russia.

By D. BENJAMIN

New York City. Union, Local 5, New York, the presented a resolution for adoption, istics covering 14,469 families in 42 to the effect "that our country be not involved in the wars of other nations and that the attention of our government be directed to the internal problems of unemployment, social security, educational opportunity and civil liberties, . . . and that the Teachers Union expresses average annual income of the group its opposition to huge armament was \$1,515 per year, but median in- budgets and the militarization of the young people of our country." Resovoted down unceremoniously by the administration forces.

What has happened to bring about ered in this survey had less than the such a change of policy on the part of the Teachers Union administration? Has there been an honest change of heart? Did the Independent Group achieve the impossible and convince the administration or England and France; and then, Nazi its supporters? The answer must unfortunately be no. The real, the sole | Stalin-Laval pact to the Stalin-Hitreason was the same that brought about the sudden disaffiliation of Local 5 from the American League for Peace and Democracy. The reason can be stated in three words-the Stalın-Hitler pact.

Whereas in previous years and months, up to very recent days, the administration filled the meeting expenditures consumed 37 cents out halls with cries against fascism, "defeat the aggressors," "concerted ncomes of from \$500 to \$600, it took action against the scourge of Hitthe united front of the democracies" caused by the war, hit hardest the France, Russia, United States) (England.

% of Total

against Nazism, support of Roosevelt in "quarantining the aggressors," unequivocal and unquestiontransportation, and has 23.4 cents left to cover medical and personal care, education, and other miscella-January 5 meeting these slogans were conspicuous by their absence Stalinist-controlled administration and in their place we find arguments against the imperialism of the "great democracies," the war-like moves and tendencies of the Roosevelt Administration, the dangerous effects of growing armaments here upon education and the social services (how we were scoffed at when we said that but a few months ago!) but not a word about fascism, the invasion of Poland by Hitler-Stalin, the attack upon Finland by Stalinist

> tion made no effort to explain the lutions to the same effect had been real cause of the change of policy introduced several months before by policy. It devolved upon the Independent Group spokesmen to do that. The real cause, it was pointed out, lay in the fact that Stalin, instead of depending essentially upon the support of the Russian masses and of the international working class for Soviet defense, relied rather upon alliances with the big imperialist states-first, the "democracies," Germany. The change from the ler pact brought about a parallel change of policy in the New York Teachers Union-from attack against Hitler to attack against the 'democratic" imperialisms, from advocacy of American entry into the "broad. democratic anti-fascist front" to opposition to American involvement in war as part of that verv "democratic" front.

The reporter for the administra-

Actually, the Local 5 administration's policy is not real opposition to war but rather support to the diplomatic and military policy of Stalin by keeping the U.S.A. from joining the enemies of the Stalin-Hitler

The reasons offered by the administration for the anti-war resolution—disastrous effects of the growing armament economy and militarızatıon upon schools, students, relief, rights of labor, civil libertiesall existed just as well a few months ago, a half-year ago, a year ago, as they do now. But resolutions and arguments offered by the Independent Group against militarization, against the trend of Roosevelt toward war, against unreserved support to the New Deal Administration, were voted down while their proponents were booed and jeered.

roduced a resolution for the war referendum amendment, which the administration shamefacedly accepted, after having maligned the Independents for years because of their advocacy of that proposal. The Independents drove home the very important point that the whole course of events showed that democratic methods did not prevail in the union-that while majority voting existed, it existed on a factional and intolerant basis, on the basis of not giving earnest consideration to the point of view and arguments of the minority of the union. Furthermore, it was emphasized that the position and analysis of the Independents on the war question had been fully confirmed.

Delegates listened more attentivehad to say. In fact, there have been courage membership in any labor organization.

as to the representation of employees, the Board may investigate and of protest to the Executive Board, tion has been taken formally on certify in writing the name of the that more and more supporters of some of the points at issue, I am designated or selected representative. the administration are beginning to convinced in the light of innumerable

Teachers Union

By GEORGE S. COUNTS

(We publish below an article by George S Counts, "Is Our Union Controlled by Communists?" from the December issue of the American Teacher, official paper of the American Federation of Teachers Dr Counts is president of the AFT -Editor)

DUBLIC charges have been made from time to time that the American Federation of Teachers is "controlled by the communists." Now the Dies Committee, for reasons of its own, has begun hearings on the affairs and politics of the union. The purpose, the moving forces and the consequences of this inquiry are by no means clear. Its pattern, like American life in general, is doubtless full of inconsistencies, contradictions and ambiguities. In this situation, amid the heat and passion of bitter partisan struggle, the maintenance of a calm and tranquil spirit is the counsel of wisdom. Nevertheless, we are under obligation both to the American people and to ourselves to make a clear and candid statement on the major issues involved.

It is true that members of the official Communist Party are enrolled in the American Federation of Teachers. It is also true that organized units of the party have operated in certain locals and in the national organization. Anyone at all familiar with the union, however, knows that the communists constitute but the smallest fraction of the total membership On the other hand, because of their solidarity, their loyalty to the "party line," their tenacity of purpose, their unflagging zeal, their practise of anonymity and their methods of work generally, coupled with the indifference of many noncommunist teachers, their influence always greatly exceeds their num-

In recent years, under the aegis of the "united front," they have seemed to achieve new heights of power. This achievement, however, tho the occasion of much self-congratulation on the part of party spokesmen, is essentially spurious. By outwardly abandoning many of their doctrines and deliberately advocating policies which they knew liberal-minded teachers would be inclined to support, the communists often deceived themselves into thinking that they were exercising the role of leadership when they were merely marching with the crowd. That they can actually deliver this crowd to any destiny of their own choosing has been proved false by the events of the last three months. The allegation that the party controls the Federation is clearly contrary to fact. At various times and places, along The Independents supported the resolution but made clear their litically ambitious persons and politically ambitious persons and political factions are politically ambitious persons are politically ambitious persons and political factions are politically ambitious persons are politically ambitious person has split ods of manipulation, achieved a precarious temporary control in some communities, hampered the work of the national organization and driven teachers from the Federation. But to speak of control is to credit a boast which no sober communist would make unless he were reporting his successes in Moscow with the hope of being awarded the "Order of the Red Banner of Labor." The fact that, both as individuals and as an organization, they customarily resort to secrecy and anonymity reveals a deep sense of inadequacy and weakness. Openly working under the banners of communism, they would be quickly shorn of influence.

The American people, however, are entitled to know not only whether the communists control the Federaly than usual to what the minority tion but also where the Federation stands on the entire question of tot-(Continued on Page 3)

Urges Local 22 Progressives To Include War Issue

New York City.

Editor, Workers Age

AS one who has been all his adult life a trade unionist and a proagrees with every one of the points Progressive Group of Local 22, I L. G.W.U., published in your last issue, I wish to make a fraternal criticism of a serious deficiency in that program. No trade union today that has the interests of its members and of labor at heart, and no group of progressive trade unionists, has the right to be silent on the major question facing the organized labor movement and all American workers-the question of

It seems to me that the progressives should work at least for the tend they are opposed to dictatorfollowing things:

1. To keep this country out of war, itarianism, not because they give a since our entrance would mean a damn for the welfare of the mass of totalitarian military dictatorship in the United States, rising living costs, tend they are opponents of Amereconomic crisis, destruction of our ica's involvement in war because inadequate and hard-won liberties.

2. Opposition to the proposed military-naval budget which is so big that it can have meaning only if widely read by progressive needlethe Administration is secretly pre- trades workers, I ask for the printparing to plunge us into overseas war, and which proposes to cut down unemployment relief, farm relief, understand the spirit of frank and youth relief, etc., in favor of more fraternal sympathy in which it is battleships for what is already the written.

3. Opposition to the industrialconscription plans of the War Department and the dictatorship bill of the Navy Department which involve government control of trade unions and the enslavement of labor.

4. Support for the LaFollette-Ludlow constitutional amendment for a referendum on war, which would apply democracy to the issues of foreign policy and give the people the right to decide the question of peace and war.

Without these things today, any trade-union program is incomplete. I hope the progressives will enlarge their program to include these matters. Otherwise, may I point out, they leave the issue of opposition to war and dictatorship to demagogic abuse by the Stalinists who will preship in this country because it suits them as agents of Stalinist total-American workers, and who will prethey are really agents of the war aims of the Stalin-Hitler camp.

Knowing that the Workers Age is ing of this letter in your columns. and I am sure that progressives will

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

Finn Labor Must Keep Independence in Crisis

Finland Mere Pawn for British in Diplomacy

By WILL HERBERG

N the face of the Russian invasion what should the Finnish masses What course, what line of ests in this critical situation?

This question can best be answered by answering another question: What would Russian conquest actually mean for the Finnish masses? We have already answered this question in general terms in the previous article, and here we need but restate our conclusions. Conquest by Stalinist Russia would bring the INDEPENDENCE Finns not socialism and freedomwhere would Stalin get these boons to give, even if they could be nish labor movement, must be: bestowed at the point of the bayonet?-but national and political op- forces of organized labor, in their pression under military-totalitarian rule from Moscow. Conquest by cooperative societies and farmers Stalinist Russia would mean the repression, the extermination by the firing squads of the G.P.U., of the by the flood of uncritical "nationalsocialist, trade-union and cooperative movements. (And in Finland, let us the emotionalism, the labor moverecall, the organized labor movement is quite strong: in the last election, the socialists won nearly 45% of the upon this power of independent action total vote.) For the Finns, in short, victory of the Russian invader would amount to a national disaster only the fate of the labor movement of the first magnitude, a disaster un- but the fate of the entire Finnish mitigated by any considerations of immediate or ultimate advantage.

MUST RESIST INVASION

How, then, is it possible for the Trotskyites, again serving as volun teer advocates for Stalinist aggresision, to tell the Finns that not only shouldn't they defend themselves but that they should actually help the invader? Yet this is just what the Trotskyıtes do say (Socialist Appeal, December 1, 1939):

"If a struggle breaks out between bourgeois Finland and the Soviet Union, it is the duty of the Finnish workers to be Soviet partisans in

the struggle. Such advice is nothing short o monstrous, and in truth only an because we take the democratic right apologist for Stalinism in its worst excesses could possibly give it.

Emphatically, the Finnish masses must rally arms in hand against the Russian invader. Emphatically, they must defend their national independence and their labor organizations against Stalin's invading hordes. That is their elementary duty, the duty imposed on them by their own immediate interests and the higher interests of freedom and the least doubt.

A WORD OF WAŔNING

bourgeois and government leaders; on the contrary, they must learn to Hardly any more reliance in the long place implicit confidence in their keep a close watch over them. The run can be placed in the bourgeois present Finnish government and its and government elements who are representative spokesmen, for all dominant in Finland today. The only their ringing appeals, cannot be safeguard of the Finnish masses and trusted as a reliable, steadfast, supopenly. The ruling elements in Fin- labor movement. land, only yesterday engaged in a diplomatic flirtation with Nazi Ger- tragedy of what Stalinism has done many, are at present bound up very to Russia, international socialism closely with the British Foreign preserves its deep faith in the re-Office; and to the British Foreign surgence of the Russian Revolution, Office Finland is simply a pawn in in a new upsurge of revolutionary diplomacy. British diplomacy sacri- away Stalin and his totalitarian dicficed Czecho-Slovakia to Hitler; a tatorship, that will again raise few weeks ago, it offered to make aloft the banner of socialism, freehalf of Poland. Who knows what in- self-determination of peoples! trigues are now being cooked up by the agents of Downing Street at the expense of the Finns! No group in Will Herberg on "The New Stalin Im-Finland that is so dependent upon | persalism "-Editor.)

Books

by Jim Cork=

EVER, By Elliot Paul. Random

"The Stars and Stripes Forever"

THE STARS AND STRIPES FOR-

House, New York, 1939.

covered America.

the British Foreign Office as are the bourgeois ruling circles of that country today can be fully trusted to defend Finnish independence to the last. At the critical moment, when action, represents their true inter- Britain, for one reason or another but certainly for reasons of its own imperialist advantage, decides to sell out, those who are so loud in their cries of defiance today will most probably be the first to crumple up and capitulate.

VIGILANCE AND

And so the watchword of the Finnish masses, particularly of the Fin-Vigilance and independence! The political organizations, trade unions leagues, cannot afford to allow their independent voice to be drowned out unity" sentiment. In the midst of all ment must not lose its power of independent thought and action. For may soon come to depend, if experience teaches us anything at all, not people as well. In the long run, the cause of Finnish independence will not be in safe hands until it is in the hands of the popular masses themselves acting thru their own independent organizations.

POSITION OF SOCIALISM

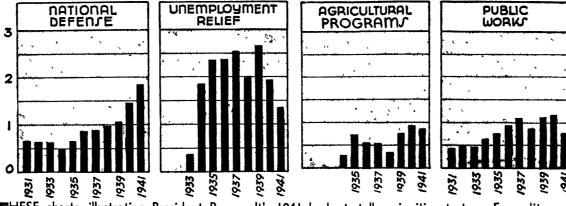
What is the attitude of international socialism in this crisis? It is obvious that international socialism sympathizes and sides with the Finnish people in their struggle for independence; otherwise the much vaunted socialist ideals and principles would become a hollow mockery, a mere bit of demagogic trickery. We sympathize with the Finns in their struggle for independence of national self-determination seriously. We sympathize with the Finns because we are profoundly convinced that victory for the Russian invader would run counter to the true interests not only of the Finnish masses but of the Russian

Precisely because it so thoroly sympathizes with the cause of Finnish independence, international sowarning that it would be suicidal for the Finnish masses to place any reliance on Anglo-French or American imperialism as a support for their But at this point, a strong word cause. The disaster of Loyalist Spain, of warning is necessary. The Finnish masses cannot and must not leaders and leaders and leaders are all the state of Loyalist Spain, which went down to defeat primarily because its statesmen and leaders staked everything on Anglo- French port of Finnish independence; this fight remains the independent orfact must be faced frankly and ganization and action of the Finnish

Finally, despite the heartbreaking the crooked game of imperialist energy of the masses that will sweep a deal with Stalin at the expense of dom and the democratic right of the

(This is the last of four articles by

EVERYTHING DOWN BUT ARMAMENTS



HESE charts, illustrating President Roosevelt's 1941 budget, tell a signiticant story. Expenditures for unemployment relief, farm aid and public works drastically cut-but outlays for army and navy raised to record peace-time highs!

Towards A Better America:

Socialism the Only Road

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(Concluded from Last Issue)

SOME are candid enough, perhaps, to admit that war would mean misery here, but they tell us that if Hitler wins in Europe, he will invade America! That is indeed a figment of "giddy minds" busying themselves with "foreign quarrels" America is still economically the most powerful nation in the world It has two oceans as its natural frontiers. And another few years of war in an already decaying and warruined Europe will leave no victors, only chaos and ruin on that continent.

Some would have us join with resources, perhaps later with men, in a war to end Hitler. I can only say, with Mr Waldman, that "the means frequently determine the end and the projected end is often destroyed by the means employed to achieve it."

We have no confidence in the ruling class of England or France or Poland or America as a means to bring freedom to Germany. We have no confidence in imperialist war as a means to freedom. Imperialist war can only bring enslavement abroad, and totalitamanism at home. We join McGovern and Pivert in putting our faith in the German people, aided by the people of all other lands, to put an end to totalitarianism as it exists in Germany, and as it is spreading even now in France and England.

Imperialism, militarism, reaction, and war, are not these the symptoms and products of a dying social order? We do not put our faith in dying capitalism as a means to overcome the evils it itself engenders. Only the people, taking their destinies in their own hands, dictating a just and enduring peace, transforming a dying social order and building the foundations socialism. Of that there cannot be calism cannot fail to stress the of a new free, democratic, socialist society, can put an end to hunger, and exploitation, to militarism and totalitarianism, to the prospect of endless wars and

> We of the Independent Labor League have put the word "Independent" in our name because we believe in the independent organization of our class, econonucally and politically, foreign affairs as well as domestic policy. We believe that only by the independence of our class organization and efforts can we solve our own problems or give real aid to the

> We believe in the independent political organization of labor in a party, based upon the organized labor movement, increasingly-nay, absolutely-free of the influence of employing-class parties and politicians, employing-class ideas and programs.

> We have put "Labor" in our name because we spring from the producers and identify cur fate with theirs. We do not ascribe to labor a monopoly of decency or wisdom; far from it. But we do believe that its position in society makes it the key class in the modern world, makes it the deepest sufferer from depression and war, tends to put it in the vanguard of the struggle for a new society, for a better America and a better world.

learned from the last war, and the post-war period, to a better world also.

from our own efforts and errors and those of others.

We have learned not to take seriously the holy phrases of imperialist war-makers. Those who have not learned this have learned nothing from the two decades of war and post-war history.

We have learned that imperialist war is not an instrument for exporting freedom abroad or preserving it at home. We have learned that the struggle against totalitarianism begins at home, not in Rome or Berlin, London or Moscow And we have learned that the struggle against totalitarianism is first of all a struggle against war, war-makers and war-mongers.

We have learned that movements of advanced and conscious workers are no substitute for the labor movement as a whole, that they must not withdraw or permit themselves to be isolated from the whole movement of their class, that they must not make of their program a shibboleth of separation. That our task is to help, contribute, persuade and convince from within, not beckon or sneer from without That no individual and no movement has a monopoly of wisdom, and that only those can teach and contribute who can also learn and accept collective decisions.

We have come to the conclusion that in the long run collective wisdom is always better than individual wisdom, collective deliberation superior to individual determination.

We are convinced that we cannot go forward faster than the main body of labor.

We are convinced that labor should be organized gain collectively—in short, on all politically into a party based upon the organized labor movement. We feel that we can help in that movement, help build and clarify it, and learn from it too, but not substitute for it.

We are convinced that division in the labor movement is of help only to its enemies. We believe that we will not go far towards a better America until of the Industrial Mobilization Plan there is unity between the A. F of L. and the C.I O. | dared not venture to put forth in in a single democratic and powerful labor movement. direct terms. Thus, subtle language

We are convinced that division in the socialist movement is injurious to labor, and that so far as a and, under sheep's clothing, the wolf common program and common aims will permit, we was made to enter the arena and must have a unified socialist movement. We believe that there is room for difference on many questions struggled and sacrificed for these in that movement, provided there is agreement on the need for working-class democracy, for the independence and unity of the working class, for the attainment of power by that class and the use of that power to transform society and achieve its democratic and socialist goal, and agreement in the most urgent but a faint memory; the Fair Stantask of all, to defeat our own war-makers and keep America out of war,

The road of unity, the road of organization, the road of independence, the road of peace, the road of democracy, the road of socialism-that, we believe, is the road out of the tangled social jungle of decaying capitalism. That we believe is the road that will enable us to go forward towards a better America. And permitted. All of these restrictions that is the road which will enable us to give the greatest help to our brethren in Europe and Asia and I want to close by mentioning a few things we have Africa For the road to a better America is the road

I.M.P. Includes Many **Anti-Labor Clauses**

Labor Laws to Be Wiped Out by War Boards

By MATTHEW WOLL

(We continue below publication of the most important sections of the address delivered by Matthew Woll, vicepresident of the A F of L, on December 1, 1939, before the Irenton, N 7 Central Labor Union -Editor)

TET us now examine some of the provisions of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, which specifically concern labor and which, in an emergency due to the imminence of war or in time of war, are to be administered by the War Labor Administrator.

The the War Labor Administrator acting under the President, is the final arbiter of all problems dealing with labor, the Industrial Mobilization Plan makes provisions for an Advisory Council which may "meet from time to time as directed by the Administrator" and consider such questions as.

"1. Measures to prevent grievances of employers or employees, whether actual or imaginary, from interferng with war production.

"2. The effect of organization of employers into trade associations and of labor into trade unions and the effect of the maintenance of the right of collective bargaining between such organizations on industry's ability to meet the material requirements of the armed forces.

"3. Standards of wages, hours of labor, and working conditions. "4. Equality of pay for identical

work. "5. Necessity for the modification of the statutory work-day with due regard for the national necessity and the welfare of labor.

"6. Maintenance of maximum production in all war work, and the suspension for the period of the actual emergency and a reasonable adjustment thereafter of restrictive regulations not having the force of law which unreasonably limit pro-

In other words, during an emergency due to an imminence of war or in time of war, the War Labor Administration, the composition of which we have carefully noted, is to be the final authority on wages, hours, working conditions, the right to join unions and the right to barthose things which labor has taken one hundred and fifty years to safe-

Indeed, it would seem that this Advisory Council was merely a clever design by which to delegate authority to the War Labor Adhas been used to disregard the specific prohibitions of set aside all the rights, privileges and benefits for which labor had many, many years.

LABOR LAWS

Under the Industrial Mobilization Plan, the Walsh-Healy Act will be dards Wage and Hour Act will be but a picture of the past; and the Wagner Labor Relations Act will no longer be in operation.

Under the Plan, collective bargaining will become a matter of history and labor will be deprived of its most effective weapon in disputes with employers. Strikes will not be and limitations are not directly referred to. However, it is selfevident that the power to call into military service any union or other representative of labor who may

speak for other employees in attempts to secure higher wages, is the power to deny collective bargaining and to prevent strikes. This can also be done thru the use of military force in removing the spokesmen from the plant or the union involved to other plants or into active service or thru cutting off the food allowance of all strikers. Then, too, there is nothing to pievent the War Department from inducting all the workers in any plant in the country into military service, forcing them to work under military orders. Thus, the worker will be faced with the threat to work or starve or fightif he is not court-martialed.

Other laws might be cited to evidence the fact that labor will be completely regimented and, if there be lacking sufficient law, the catchall—the conspiracy doctrine—will be invoked to make lawful acts a criminal conspiracy because we are

WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO BE ENSLAVED

There are other functions which the Advisory Council may be asked to advise upon The Industrial Mobilization Plan contemplates the regimentation of women and children and with no thought of their present or future welfare. This mobilization plan will override labor agreements and labor laws and will brook no interference on the part of anyone. For instance, the Industrial Mobilization Plan has this to say about child-labor and other labor regulatory laws:

"For various reasons, the statutes of the various states prescribe certain restrictions in the hours and conditions of employment of women and minors in industry. Many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the nation or the workers. In a national emergency, much of this expediency is lost and the operation of some of these regulations and restrictions may well be suspended.

One can only suppose from this that, under a national emergency, the federal government proposes to nullify the child-labor laws in those states that are so fortunate as to have them.

Note the observation that "many of these regulations and restrictions are expedient rather than necessary to the well-being of either the nation or the workers." This is, indeed, strange language in our day and time! Here we are told that to take our children out of the workshops, mines and mills and to place them. in the schoolrooms is not necessary to the well-being of the nation or the workers—that it is all merely "expedient". Then, too, we are told that to prevent the exploitation of (Continued on page 4)

tional opportunity." Recognizing the importance of a strong labor group in the fight against war and for social reconstruction, the convention recommended that "labor unions wherever possible establish youth auxiliaries to promote an understanding of the labor movement among young people."

CALL TO A.S.U. DELEGATES

Among the points in the new Y. C.A.W. program is a statement condemning all forms of totalitarian-18m. As the Stalmist-controlled American Student Union was then holding its convention at Madison. Wisc., the time seemed ripe to call upon all members of the A.S.U. to reexamine their program. With this in view, a telegram was sent to the delegates of the A.S.U. convention as follows:

"The Youth Committee Against its opposition to all forms of totalitarianism-the fascism of Germany, the war dictatorship of Britain and France, the despotism of the new imperialist Russia, the steady encroachment on American liberties.

"If these principles are yours and you cannot work for them in the A.S.U., we invite you to join us at the National Y.C.A.W. Congress to help lay the foundations for a war-The realization that so many dif-

ferent organizations and groups refuse to believe that America must inevitably enter the war, that they are willing to cooperate in an intensified, coordinated movement against war, was an inspiration to the convention. The material and spiritual aid they can give to antiwar movements in belligerent countries is invaluable.

Every member of the Y.C.A.W. pledged himself to work for:

2. An end to the protection of American dollars at the risk of American lives.

4. Rejection of all alliances and proposals which might involve use 5. Abandonment of all mobiliza-

7. Promotion of alternatives to

Youth Committee Against War Girds for Peace Fight

Santa Claus With An Air Bomb

Santa Claus. About this

steadfastly defend freedom of conscience for the individual, refuse to countenance heresy-hunting in any and every form, cultivate a spirit of tolerance and charity and welcome

Believing all of this, as we do, we his story. I think the day is gone presented with artistry. "The Stars afford to serve as a "front" for any the agency of introducing into Amerto organize, it might itself become

66 YES, Virginia, there is a

time of the year, he is coming out of the North with happiness and good cheer for the children of White Russia, the Polish Ukraine and Finland." -From an editorial in the New Masses.

to the Federation all teachers in our public schools.

do not hold the Dies Committee beyond critic'sm. On the contrary, as American teachers and citizens, we have the right and the obligation to criticize this or any other committee and to insist that it conduct its operations in the spirit of democracy. Because of the anxieties generated among our people by the war in Europe, we must all be vigilant lest an organ of government, created to combat "un-American activities," be converted into an instrument of Reviewed by E. B. process. At the same time, we must ever on our guard.

Convention Expands Program, Addresses Appeals to ASU

By D. C.

Chicago, Ill. PENING its second annual convention at Chicago on December 27, the Youth Committee Against War, youth section of the Keep America Out of War Congreetings of the International Workers Front Against War. This was appropriately followed by the address of a representative of the already enforced in Canada, the entire assembly seemed to draw together both to lend this fraternal delegate sympathy and support and to form a solid wall against war dictatorship here. All too clear was the fact that "democracy perishes when war begins."

LABOR, FARMERS REPRESENTED

Delegates and observers comprised "un-Americanism." If this committee a group of about 430. The Farmers should serve to weaken our civil lib- Union and the Southern Tenant power between states but in the of government war machines. erties, propagate a spirit of intoler- | Farmers Union were well represented | and contributed much information nation to create the conditions for tion plans. on the farmer's problems and his economic and social reconstruction." relation to war. Al Barbour spoke In line with this, they demanded strike against war. when we consider a proletarian novel and Stripes Forever" is just diluted movement that can even be suspected ican life the philosophy of totali- Local 7, C.I.O. In addition, the income for the farmers and workers, of being disloyal to the democratic tarianism. Against this we must be Workers Security Federation, a adequate youth-aid legislation, decent union of the unemployed, sent housing and educational and recreationalism based on peace and justice.

delegates who placed the problems of the unemployed vividly before the convention. The Young People's Socialist League and the youth section of the Independent Labor League of America continued their efforts of the previous year, as did various students, peace, and religious gress, enthusiastically received the organizations, such as the Students Peace Service, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Y.W.C.A. groups, and the National Council of Methodist Youth. New America and Union Now were Canadian Cooperative Youth Move- two of the comparatively new groups ment As he described the war present. In passing, we might censorship and the labor restrictions mention that there were three representatives of youth forums associated with the Trotskyist youth movement. Unfortunately, they were unaware not only of the substance of the Y.C.A.W. call but also of the rudiments of parliamentary procedure, thus giving Al Hamilton, the very capable chairman, every occasion to keep order.

> Farmers, workers, students and unemployed united in the opinion that "the future of world peace hes not in the struggle for common action of the people of each

PLATFORM OF CONVENTION

1. A halt to the steady militarization of the United States.

3. Passage of a genuine war-

referendum amendment.

6. Endorsement of the student

armaments economics at home. 8. Advancement of real interna-

Mr. Paul's two earlier books ("Life

characters. They are all stock figures that one encounters in any "prolethat one encounters in any "prole-tarian" novel. There is the sym-pathetic brother-in-law of the boss, the understanding girl reporter, the bought newspaper editor. All are puppets going thru their antics on

either side of the fence. I don't quarrel with Mr. Paul's and Death of a Spanish Town" and facts. But I do wish he had used "Concert Pitch") had much that was tatorship in our society. Less than forts on the part of working people more skill or artistry in presenting beautiful and understanding, and any other body of citizens can we

Counts Declares C.P. Does **Not Sway Teachers Union**

Also Urges Vigilance on Dies Committee's Activities

(Continued from page 2)

ELLIOT PAUL'S book continues conferences with union members of all ranks in many parts of the counwaving novelists who have just dis- try during recent months that there is widespread agreement among us on social orientation and purpose. is really a skeleton novel. It tells the story of the progress and outcome of fense of the economic, civic and proa strike in one of those typically fessional rights and interests of American small towns. The workers teachers, the guarding and improveresent, and then actively hate, their ment of public education and the union-busting employer. Stock in- conservation and development of our cidents follow one another. There is American democratic heritage. We a rumor that the plant may be are utterly opposed to the dominamoved. Strike guards and strike- tion of the Federation by any politibreakers are imported. Violence fol- cal faction or partisan body whatlows the provocations of the strike soever. In particular, we are unalbreakers. The only newspaper that terably and unequivocally opposed to tells the truth about the workers is totalitarianism in every form. We the Daily Worker. (I think this must are opposed to any movement or tenindicate Mr. Paul's political naivete.) dency that repudiates the civil liber-There is absolutely no character delineation or humanizing of the and dictatorship, and looks with fa-

patterns known as communism, fascism and Nazism. Knowing, however, that these movements and patterns arise from conditions of insecurity, misery and frustration, we are equally opposed to all tendencies, however respectable their guise, which drive men and women first to contemplate and then to embrace desperate measures. We are convinced, moreover, that the greatest threat to American democracy comes, not from doctrines and movements imported from beyond the seas, but rather from our failures at home. Neither the Dies Committee nor any other influence should be permitted to shift our major attention from this fundamental truth. We believe that teachers above all others must oppose without ceasing every effort and every movement calculated to limit and crush the freedom of the human mind. If we are true to our own calling, we must believe in education and enlightenment as the way to a better world. We and our craft, as we understand the processes of education, would be the first casualties of the triumph of dic-

power. In still greater particular,

we are opposed without exception to

the current political movements and

Workers Age

33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. 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 D. Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, Bertram D. Wolfe Charles S. Zimmerman.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 20, 1940. VOL. 9.

ONCE IS PLENTY

ORD Lothian is British ambassador to the United States. Being as English gentleman, a noble lord and a British ambassador, he does not engage in propaganua. On dear no, certainly not! We must therefore assume that his recent address before the Chicago Council on Foreign Kelations was just another piece of tree advice to us on how to manage our attairs for our own good. The british ruling classes are rather distinguished for their big-nearted concern for other people's interests.

And what advice does Lord Lotnian give us? With the appearance of off-hand candor that the British aristocracy carry so well, he assures us that the present was is just the latest round in the age-old struggle between the torces or light and darkness, between democracy and autocracy—autocracy being now known as totalitarianism. Britain, ot course. is on the side of the angels, in the van of the forces of virtue and light and, the noble ford hims delicately but rather obviously, that it is the proper place for America as well.

Then the noble lorg turns on his realistic, let's-tace-the-facts manner. American security, ne rens us, depends on British naval predominance. It we let Germany win in Europe, we're next. And then there's Japan in the rar East. . . . Upviously we just can't afford to leave good old England in the lurch.

Does his lordship suggest, then, that we should get into the war! Meavens toibid, no: inat would be propaganua—and vulgar into the pargain. He merely indicates that it is our duty to ourselves and the universe to act in concern with the Allies. How far we are to go the nople ford graciously leaves to our own consciences and to what he calls the rejentiess maich of events. How very nice of him!

The only trouble is, we've heard all that before. It may be irreverent and not quite cricket to bring it up, but wasn't that line of talk fried on us in the years before we got into the tworld war in 191// We tell for it in those days. we got into the war and nelped the Allies win. what happened! Did we make the world sate for democracy! Did we "end war ! Not so you could notice it! The British and French bankers, industrialists and imperialists got theirs, in terms or territory, markets, resources, military power, but what aid the American people get out or it! Several hunared thousand dead and wounded, billions gone up in smoke and shells, ten billions more in unpaid war debts, totalitarianism and war rampant thruout the world.

Now his Lordship wants us to bite gain. That may be all right for the big-business imperialists on Wall Street or the Administration warmongers in Washington, who have their own ends to serve, but the great masses of the American people will say in emphatic, unmistakable, rather vulgar terms: 'Nothing doing, buddy! Inever again! Unce is plenty!"

STALIN'S CHRISTMAS GIFT

ESS than a year ago, a big majority of the American people felt that Nazi activities in this country warranted more investigation and attention on the part of the Dies Committee than the activities of the Communist Party. Today, about 70% of the people who have an opinion on the question feel that Stalinist activities should get major attention trom the government and only 30% believe that Nazi activities are more

These are the results of surveys made eight months ago and last month by Dr. George Gallup's American institute of Public Opinion.

A reversal of public sentiment so swift and so sharp is of more organary significance. Stalin and all he stands for are now detested by opposes every form of oppression, including also that them where it doesn't suit their purpose, or where the great masses of the American people far more widely than Hitler and of one nation by another. his system, whereas not so long ago the Nazi leader was the prize devil and Stalin got off comparatively easy. Poland and especially Finland politicians as Lenin and Trotsky and their friends, same means which make it impossible to introduce so- of the Consumers Power case. But changed all that.

they appreciate it.

AGAINST THE STREAM

(Continued from Page 1)

the press of the more reactionary section of the owning class leads the chorus of calculating anger. It will fall on the more active section of the working class in France and the United States long before it can reach

And the New York World-Telegram of December 20, 1939, in its leading editorial, captioned "A Hint to the Rich," treats us to the following:

"Those who have been loudest in their hate of communism have been the ones who have the most to lose. Now is the time for them to show their sentiments with something more than red faces and profanity.

"For the rich this is something in the nature of a bargain. They can get more than a dollar for every dollar subscribed.

"By a ruling of the United States Treasury, donations to such causes as Finnish Relief, Inc., are deductible for income-tax purposes up to 15% of total net income.

"A word to the wise and a hint to the rich are sometimes sufficient. And as an insurance proposition for the rest of the world Finnish Relief, Inc., looks like the best in our lifetime-regardless of your income bracket."

What more sinister call to the colors for all forces of darkness could one issue! We sound the alarm in the hope that it is not too late. When Editor, Workers Age: times are out of joint, it is best to walk warily, to watch one's step, to see not only where we are going, but to see who goes with us and with see not only where we are going, but to see who goes with us and with whom we go. Labor in our country and everywhere else must play an INDEPENDENT role and not form partnerships with capitalist reaction of any stripe, regardless of how extreme the provocation may be. This is vital if humanity is to go forward and not be plunged into a long period of stagnation, recession and reaction.

THE Berlin correspondent of the well-informed Stockholm paper, Svenska Dagblad, reports that Joseph Stalin has awarded or is planning to award to Hitler's Foreign Minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, the Order of Lenin.

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By Rosa Luxemburg:

No. 3

The Nationalities Question

time translated in full in English by Bertram D Wolfe -

THE Bolsheviks are in part responsible for the fact that the military defeat was transformed into the collapse and breakdown of Russia. Moreover, the Bolsheviks themselves have, to a great extent, sharpened the objective difficulties of this situation by a slogan which they placed in the foreground of their policies: the so-called right of self-determination of peoples, or -something which was really implicit in this slogan--the disintegration of Russia.

The formula of the right of the various nationalities of the Russian Empire to determine their fate independently "even to the point of the right of governmental separation from Russia," was proclaimed again with doctrinaire obstinacy as a special battle cry of Lenin and his comrades during their opposition against Miliukovist, and then Kerenskyan imperialism.8 It constituted the axis of their inner policy after the October Revolution also. And it constituted the entire platform of the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk, all they had to oppose to the display of force by German imperialism.9

One is immediately struck with the obstinacy and rigid consistency with which Lenin and his comrades stuck to this slogan, a slogan which is in sharp contradiction to their otherwise outspoken centralism in politics as well as to the attitude they have assumed towards other democratic principles. While they showed a quite cool contempt for the Constituent Assembly, universal suffrage, freedom of press and assemblage, in short, for the whole apparatus of the basic democratic liberties of the people which, taken all together, constituted the "right of self-determination" inside Russia, they treated the right of self-determination of peoples as a jewel of democratic policy for the sake of which all practical considerations of real criticism had to be stilled. While they did not permit themselves to be imposed upon in the slightest by the plebiscite for the Constituent Assembly in Russia, a plebiscite on the basis of the most democratic suffrage in the world, carried out in the full declared this plebiscite null and void on the basis of a very sober evaluation of its results, still they championed the "popular vote" of the foreign nationalities of Russia on the question of which land they wanted to belong to, as the true palladium of all freedom and democracy, the unadulterated quintessence of the will of the peoples and as the court of last resort in questions of the political fate of nations.

The contradiction that is so obvious here is all the harder to understand since the democratic forms of political life in each land, as we shall see, actually involve the most valuable and even indispensable foundations of socialist policy, whereas the famous "right of self-determination of nations" is nothing but hol- in which the bourgeoisie could have influenced the rival unions are affected. But these low, petty-bourgeois phraseology and humbug.

elongs to the ABC of socialist policy that socialism that the ruling class will either know how to prevent

who have nothing but an ironical shrug for every This is Stalin's Christmas gift to his American adorers. We hope sort of utopian phrase such as disarmament, league of nations, etc., have in this case made a hollow and his comrades clearly calculated that there was no lution, to the cause of the socialist proletariat, than border countries. that of offering them, in the name of the revolution and of socialism, the most extreme and most unlimited freedom to determine their own fate. This was analogous to the policy of the Bolsheviks towards the Russian peasants, whose land-hunger was satisfied by the slogan of direct seizure of the noble estates and who were supposed to be bound thereby to the banner of the revolution and the proletarian govern-Russia. ment. In both cases, unfortunately, the calculation was entirely wrong.

While Lenin and his comrades clearly expected the representatives of Germany early in 1918

(We continue publication of Rosa Luxemburg's "The that, as champions of national freedom even to the Russian Revolution," written in 1918 and now for the first extent of "separation," they would turn Finland, the Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic countries, the Caucasus, etc., into so many faithful allies of the Russian Revolution, we have witnessed the opposite spectacle One after another, these "nations" used the freshly granted freedom to ally themselves with German imperialism against the Russian Revolution as its mortal enemy, and, under German protection, to carry the banner of counter-revolution into Russia itself. The little game with the Ukraine at Brest which caused a decisive turn of affairs in those negotiations and brought about the entire inner and outer political situation at present prevailing for the Bolsheviks, is a perfect case in point. The conduct of Finland, Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic lands, the peoples of the Caucasus, shows most convincingly that we are not dealing here with an exceptional case. but with a typical phenomenon.

> To be sure, in all these cases, it was really not the people" who engaged in these reactionary policies, but only the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes, who—in sharpest opposition to their own proletarian masses-- perverted the "national right of self-determination" into an instrument of their counter-revolutionary class policies. But—and here we come to tion, and its decisions on these questhe very heart of the question--it is in this that the utopian, petty-bourgeois character of this nationalistic slogan resides that in the midst of the crude realities of class society and when class antagonisms are sharpened to the uttermost, it is simply converted into a means of bourgeois class rule The Bolsheviks were to be taught to their own great huit and that of the revolution, that under the rule of capitalism there is no self-determination of peoples, that in a class society each class of the nation strives to "determine itself" in a different fashion, and that, for the bourgeois classes, the standpoint of national freedom is fully subordinated to that of class rule The Finnish bourgeoisie, like the Ukrainian bourgeoisie, were unanimous in preferring the violent rule of Germany to national freedom if the latter should be bound up with Bolshevism.

The hope of transforming these actual class relationships somehow into their opposite and of getting freedom of a popular republic, and while they simply a majority vote for union with the Russian Revolution by depending on the revolutionary masses-if it was seriously meant by Lenin and Trotsky-represented an incomprehensible degree of optimism And if it an anti-labor board operating as an was only meant as a tactical flourish in the duel with agency of a reactionary, anti-labor C.I.O. is beside itself with glee at the German politics of force, then it represented dangerous playing with fire. Even without German military occupation, the famous "popular plebiscite," supposing that it had come to that in the border states, would have yielded a result, in all probability, which would have given the Bolsheviks little cause for rejoicing; for we must take into consideration the psychology of the peasant masses and of great sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, and the thousand ways vote. Indeed, it can be taken as an unbreakable rule are arguments to be addressed to Indeed, what is this right supposed to signify? It in these matters of plebiscites on the national question Congress and not to the courts." they somehow occur, will know how to influence the procedure of run-off elections If, despite all this, such generally sober and critical their results by all sorts of means, big and little, the so as to avoid the glaring injustice cialism by a popular vote.

The mere fact that the question of national aspirations and tendencies towards separation were injected phrase of exactly the same kind into their special at all into the midst of the revolutionary struggle, hobby, this arose, it seems to us, as a result of some and were even pushed into the foreground and made kind of policy made to order for the occasion Lenin into the shibboleth of socialist and revolutionary policy as a result of the Brest peace, has served to bring be-fixed mandatorily by law? Then surer method of binding the many foreign peoples the greatest confusion into socialist ranks and has ac- it is certain to be regarded as an op- safely and soundly perform the funcwithin the Russian Empire to the cause of the revo- tually destroyed the position of the proletariat in the

(Concluded in next issue)

8 The governments of Miliukov and Kerensky were two do not possess, of reviewing adregimes preceding that of the Bolsheviks during the earlier months of 1917, after the downfall of the Czar Both of these governments attempted to continue the war for the imperialist objectives of the old Russian Empire and denied for it would merely shift to the the right of the national minorities to separation from federal courts the ultimate power

9 Brest-Litovsk was the town in which the representatives of Soviet Russia conducted peace negotiations with

Letters from Our Readers:

Goes Back Farther

contributions by the trade unions act which forbade the civil-service but, for the record, it should be not- unions to affiliate to the Trades ed that the attempt on the part of Union Congress. vested interests to hamper independent political action by the unions in Britain did not start after the general strike in 1926 but goes back to years earlier than your editorial the Osborne Judgment of 1908. This judgment stopped the unions from ly they were right from their own making political levies to support the Labor Party.

The situation was remedied by the Trade Union Act of 1913 but exemptions were permitted for members who filled out the necessary declara-

KEEP AMERICA OUT

OF WAR

By Norman Thomas

and

Bertram D. Wolfe

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محد !JUST OUT

New York City | tions. In 1927, the "Scabs Charter" made the payment involve the de-

> In other words, the old-line political parties tried to hamper political activity by the unions nearly twenty suggests. And, of course, instinctivepoint of view

MARK STARR Educational Director, I.L.G.W.U.

Lincoln Brigade Vets Protest

(In the New York Times of December 27, 1939, there appeared an editorsal, "Helsinks and Barcelona," upbraiding the Americans who fought for Loyalist Spain with the resolution recently adopted by the convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade justifying the Russian bombing of Helsinki. This letter is the reply of two veterans who served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade -Editor)

New York City. Editor, Workers Age:

The vast majority of men who ism" of Stalinist Russia. went to Spain were and still are sin-WHEN the Veterans of the cere in their beliefs. They oppose Abraham Lincoln Brigade is- wholeheartedly the invasion of Finsues any resolution, you may be land by the Soviet Union and do not

sure it is only following the dictates organization has been since its inthat as soon as any veteran raises his voice against Stalin and Stalin-1sm, he is expelled from the organ-

As a matter of fact, the majority of the veterans have long ceased being active in any way as members of this organization. At the very first few meetings of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, there were uprisings against the leadership of the organization. These people had been made leaders thru the manipulations of a high Communist Party fraction within the group. Some of these leaders were made the scapegoats but the new ones selected in their place were soon doing the same things. It wasn't long before most of the veterans just stopped attending any meetings of the organization. Many had to Russia had any of these democratic and still have to maintain their connection because of their need of be given on the point of the bayonet medical and pecuniary aid which and explosion of the aerial bomb. they received from the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and which would have stopped immediately if they were to raise their voices too vociferously against the and labor movement in their strugleadership of the veterans organiza tion and the Stalin party.

What You Can Expect

(This forecast of political trends is from the United States News, January

ESSENTIAL trends in the period just ahead will be conservative.

The President will suggest little new . . . will again put emphasis

on the need for this nation to be united.

Congress will shy away from most new ideas, will edge toward the business viewpoint. . . .

Resulting outlook is for:

Some change in the Labor Relations Act to modify employer op-

Some change in the Wage-Hour Act to ease the 42-hour week now pplying to white-collar workers

No new taxes to provide money for continued farm-subsidy payments. No new experiments that might offend private industry and finance. . .

Court Decisions Show Big Powers of N.L.R.B.

Disunity of Labor Ranks Multiplies Danger

(Continued from Page 2) can the Board decide in every case the appropriate unit for collective bargaining but it can also decide which unions are to be granted a the present Board. place on the ballot in a run-off elections, not being final orders restraining unfair labor practises of employers, are not subject to appeal or

GRAVE DANGER TO LABOR

Such a situation is obviously intolerable not only from the standpoint of general democratic procedure but above all from the standpoint of the freedom of action of the trade-union movement. An appointed three-man board is vested with apparently final power over wide areas of trade-union functioning And arbitrary power, too: in the Chrysler elections, the Board decided that each separate plant was an ": ppropriate" unit, but in the Pacific longshoremen's elections, the entire coast was such a unit! As it is, the exercise of such arbitrary, undefined the governmental agencies involved powers has already brought a growcomplaints; just imagine what such ment can always be played off powers might mean in the hands of against the other, to the common administration!

It is easier to depict the dangers opinion, hinted that the A. F. of L. might turn to Congress for relief:

"It seems to be thought that this failure to provide for a court review is productive of peculiar hardships, which were perhaps not foreseen, in cases where the interests of

But would amendment of the Wagner Act really solve the problem? It might be possible to modify what about the central problem of appropriate bargaining unit. At present, the Board can fix it at its discretion, and the exercise of that discretion has frequently been obnoxious to either the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O., and sometimes even to both at once. Shall the type of unit pressive imposition by either one or the other of the two national labor pedient" and is not necessary to federations, depending on which way it is fixed. Grant the courts or the workers. the power, which at present they ministrative decisions that are not "final orders"? That might be advisable but it would solve nothing, in such matters as fixing the col-

2 According to the press, the AFL is trying out another avenue of approach in the Pacific longshoremen's case The new line of attack is apparently an equity suit in the federal district court of the Communist Party. All this charging that the Board injured the A F of L union "unlawfully" when it ception is a rubber stamp for the certified the CIO union for the whole Stalmssts. Ample proof of this is coast What this line of approach will bring is still uncertain

apologize in any way for Stalin's ization as a "deserter," "victim of shell-shock," "liar," "stool-pigeon," the big cities of that country. They went to Spain to fight against the invasion of Spain by Germany and Italy because they firmly believed that every nation has a right to decide for itself the form of government it desires. They felt that Germany and Italy were interfering with that desire of the great mass of Spanish people and for that reason answered the call for help from Loyalist Spain.

The majority of the veterans beneve that a strengthening and furthering of the democratic rights of humanity is the need of a world which is today on the brink of mass slaughter and totalitarianism. But they also believe that even if Soviet rights to give to Finland, it can't

We say with knowledge and a firm belief that the majority of the regardless of age or sex who directly veterans of the late Spanish civil war are behind the Finnish people gle to maintain national independence against the "yellow imperial

BILL HARVEY BOB GLADNICK Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

lective-bargaining unit, and it can hardly be argued that the courts are better equipped by training or sympathy to settle such questions than

The fact of the matter is that, as long as the labor movement remains split and divided against itself, there can be no real solution of the aching problems that threaten to destroy the whole system of labor-relations legislation. Legislation of this character, in the very nature of the case, places great and irreducibly arbitrary power over the labor movement in the hands of governmental agencies. If the labor movement is united, it can hope to cope effectively with the danger that such governmental power involves and to extract the full benefits from such legislation. But if the labor movement is unable to put up a solid front and act as a single unit, settling all disputed questions as to structure and organization within its own ranks, the whole machinery of labor relations is threatened with collapse, and the arbitrary power of is left virtually without restraint, ing accumulation of abuses and for one section of the labor movedetriment of both. Thus, today the the opinion of the Supreme Court that the Board's administrative deciof the situation than to suggest sions are final and not subject to remedies. The Supreme Court, in its appeal or review, just because at the moment these decisions favor it at the expense of the A. F. of L. Tomorrow, it may be the reverse. But in either case, it is labor as whole that suffers; in either case, it is the fundamental interests of the entire labor movement that are placed in

> And these fundamental interests of labor will remain in jeopardy as long as civil war continues to rage in its ranks. Peace and unity are

I.M.P. Includes Many Anti-Labor **Provisions**

(Continued from Page 3) women and to safeguard them in their physical health so they may tion of motherhood is merely "exhe well-being of either the nation

Pray, what kind of men are those who entertain such ideas, and yet are entrusted with the designing of powers to be exercised during a period of war? Could it be possible that Congress had any such purposes in mind when it first authorized the appointment of such a commission? Is it possible that Congress will remain silent when it awakens to what has been transpiring within our midst and what is in store for us by the simple finding, on the part of the President, whoever he may be, that there is an "imminence of war"?

Still another agency under the War Labor Administration will have jurisdiction over "the 10,000,000 women and girls over sixteen years of age employed in industry, commerce and the professions."

Note also the following:

"While the employment of children under the age of 16 in industry or agriculture will be avoided wherever possible, it must be recognized from the beginning that the nature of the emergency may require such employment in its later stages. In the earlier stages, minors over 18 years of age, and in some cases over 16 years, can be utilized to advantage."

The wording of the Industrial Mobilization Plan on the question of which portions of the population will be required to register with the War Department or a board under its jurisdiction in time of war or an emergency due to the imminence of war, is vague. Tho all males between the ages of 18 and 45 are required to register for possible induction into the armed forces, it also seems apparent that all members of the civilian population or indirectly could be used in the conduct of the war, will also be required to register.

(Continued in the Next Issue)

SPREAD THE WORKERS AGE