New York, N. Y., Saturday, June 1, 1935.

Five Cents

At First GLANCE

By JAY LOVESTONE

these days of loose talk about N these days of 100se
"Every Man a King," it is appropriate
"cost one American king to single out at least one American king that is falling. We have in mind the collapse of "King Cotton." The plowing under of cotton, Roosevelt's morphine measure of fixing prices for the staple in utter disregard of those prevailing in the world market, the intensified international competition-these are only some of the factors making for the undoing of this commodity long occupying a dominant position in Southern economy and in American exports. In 1911 the U. S. produced 69% of the world's total. This year's cotton crop will be only about 40%. Thruout the world, spinners are adjusting their machinery to non-American cotton.

This undermining of American cottonproduction economy is pregnant with social and political consequences of major dimensions. The Cotton Belt of yesterday and today must find a new economic position. Will it be new industrialization characterized by the last word in technique? Very probably. What of the dismantling of the present vast machine with its huge investment in compresses, gins, and warehouses? What of the loss of jobs for the hundreds of thousands of "surplus" of cotton farmers and the millions of share-croppers literally torn out of and cast off by the reduced productive

Here are forces making for a fundamental change in the entire economic life of the Southern states and of the country. Here is fertile soil for deepgoing political changes. The plight and militancy of the sharecroppers, the bitterness of recent Southern labor struggles, the savagery of capitalist suppression below the Mason and Dixon line are or-ganically bound up with the sweeping economic changes now going on in this section. They are rumblings announcing an impending social and political storm attendant to economic readjustment.

What better reason for labor solidarity-Negro and white-with the workers in the cities and on the land thruout the

OUR very unworthy contemporary, the "Daily News," of tabloid infamy, descrees a vote of thanks for plain talk. Rushing to the support of Roose velt's coolie wage scales, it denounced Green's indictment of the New Deal route (19-94) to starvation in the following measured and significant words: "As for the implied threat of violence if the President doesn't jack up the relief wage scales— it may be a harsh thing to say, but we have police and militia and sol-diers to take care of violence and we will have to use them if relief workers get too fresh in any considerable num-

Certainly this is no mincing of words. Even the most regular reader of this sheet can understand this threat. Even the most loyal reader can now see "for what, and for whom" is the U. S. army. Surely the most politically purblind stenographer can tell who the "we" is in the editorial of her gazette. To the when the workers hunger for bread will be transformed into a thirst for revenge.

Indeed this should wake up at least some of the too many jobless workers reading this patriotic paper to the one simple fact stated with such straightforwardness in the above-cited editorial: The government of the U. S. is a strikebreaking racket, an infernal machine in the hands of the bosses against workers For a worker to trust the Wall Street government, commanded by the wagewrecker Roosevelt, is like touching pitch.

What the "Daily News" now says the government ought to do to the workers we communists have warned long ago it would try to do. Let labor begin to stir to stop wishing for good deeds from the counterfeit Samaritan in the White House. Let labor develop the will to fight against hunger rations and their legal protectors. This is the only road out of the miserable mess into which Roosevelt now seeks to shepherd us.

* * *

SOME months ago we urged every la-bor organization, every enemy of Nazi savagery to prevent Hitler Germany getting credits in the U. S. The Chicago title of "honorary Aryan" by Hitler, Federation of Labor, Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U., and other working class organizations responded promptly and Only the mass pressure of labor and of pledged resistance to the extension of all enemies of Fascism can thwart this such credits for stabilizing and extending would-be savior of darkest Germanythe life of this gangster government that is butchering labor.

Now we learn that for some weeks must be our motto!

THE WAGNER BILL

ABOR is at the point of winning a Pyrrhic victory. We are at the point of scoring a success that will go a long way towards undermining the vitality of the trade union movement, the very right of workers to organize.

It appears likely that the Wagner Labor Disputes Bill

will be enacted into law. Senator Wagner has, for some-time, been hailed by conservative labor officiadom as "the best friend" of the workers in Congress. Recently much homage has been paid to Wagner especially because of his Labor Relations Bill. Not only has the dominant leadership of the A. F. of L. been whooping it up for Wagner's measure, but even amongst progressive workers there

are altogether too many illusions about the intentions and efficacy of the Wagner bill as a measure against company union-

Threat of Government Domination

A careful analysis of the Wagner bill, particularly in the light of socalled normal interpretation of such provisions in recent years, clearly establishes that the measure is not at all in the interests of labor, that it is not against company unionism. Much worse than that. If enacted into law, the Wagner Labor Relations Bill will open the flood-gates of Government domination of the trade union movement. The Wagner proposal leaves the labor or

ganizations wide open to arbitrary rule, to reckless interference, to dictation by hostile government boards, as well as by a hostile President. We underscore the word "hostile" because there hasn't been a President and there because there hasn't been a President and there hasn't been a government board which in practice was not doing the bidding of big business against labor, par-ticularly in fundamental issues. Certainly labor's experi-ence with President Roosevelt, General Johnson, Chief Coordinator Richberg, confirms our conclusion beyond chal-

In Section 9 of the Wagner measure we get a glimpse of the sweeping powers to be accorded to the new Labor Relations Board. Here we find the following:
"The Board shall decide in each case whether, in or-

der to affectuate the policies of this Act, the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be Thus, the Board is to have the power to decide what is

a genuine union, who is the spokesman of labor, how jurisdictional disputes between labor organizations are to be adjusted. This Section deliberately leaves vague and hazy the meaning of the word "Unit". This is an old

game of corporation lawyers. It is a game in which labor always loses. No one need wonder why Wagner refuses to define the word "Unit" in his bill. It is not because he is illiterate; it is simply because the Wagners and their ilk see in such vagueness a clear and open path for ignoring and vitiating the interests of labor. With such planned vagaries labor has already had disastrous experiences. Witness the nurturing of company unionism by the Wolman Board in the auto industry.

Then again every worker should ask what does Wagner mean by "the employer unit"? What does Wagner mean by "or other unit"? Here are two expressions, here are

formulae thru which company unionism can drive with comfort and full legal protection.

Basis For Anti-Labor Injunctions

Furthermore the Wagner Bill gives the Government unlimited legal power not only over forms of labor organizations, but also over the sundry activities of the trade union membership. No other meaning can be attached to Section 1 of the Labor Relations Bill which says:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to remove obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to provide for the general welfare by encouraging the

practice of collective bargaining, and by protecting the exercise by the worker of tull freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of his employment or other mutual aid or protection."

This section is loaded with poison for labor. On the pretense of trying "to remove obstructions to the free flow of commerce" judges have time and again handed down vicious anti-working class decisions. Under the guise of seeking "to provide for the general welfare" an increasing number of powerful figures in the United States Government are now seeking to foist upon us incpora-tion of the trade unions. This was a line of argument pursued by General Johnson when he challenged labor's right to strike because the unrestricted right to strike, in his opinion, was contrary to "the general welfare". It was this shibboleth which General Johnson and the textile magnates peddled about the country during the textile strike while they were seeking to mobilize sentiment against the workers and for the bosses.

(Continued on Page 4)



Roosevelt: "Nothing for you, Buddy"

United Shoe in Merger Confab

New England Unions Meet To Discuss Possibility Of Complete Merger

BOSTON, Mass.-Representatives of the four largest idependent shoe unions, the American Shoe Workers Union, the by J. Friedman as secretary of the Local Brotherhood of Shoe & Allied Crafts- 22 progressive group, the conference will House, 311 West 34th St. "Daily News" editor we might offer just one piece of advice: There comes a time and the United Shoe & Leather Workers Union, met in conference on Saturday, May 18th to lay the basis for a merging of all the independent shoe unions in one national union.

> "Much progress toward the amalgamation of all shoe unions was accomplished" was the official verdict released to the press at the termination of the conference. Apprehension is held out in some quarters as to the genuineness of the desire for unity on the part of one or more of the unions in the conference Speculation is rife as to the ultimate out come, although well-informed sources are of the opinion that great strides toward amalgamation will be made.

Hitler has had the Jewish banker Jacob Goldschmidt prowling about Wall Street looking for credits for the very Fascist government that has degraded and hounded the poor and middle class Jews to the status of social and economic lepers. "How quickly nature falls into re volt when gold becomes her object!' That explains lots.

Despite difficulties in his path, banker Goldschmidt, who was recently given a stands a serious chance of succeeding in his mission for the Nazi head-choppers the Germany of Hitler. Unbounded vigilance against Hitler's newest emissary

|Needle Trades Progressives Issue Call for Conference

this city on Saturday afternoon, June 8, has just been issued by the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G. W.U. According to the letter sent out "discuss ways and means of bringing about closer organizational unity and cation and choose five delegates to at more effective cooperation" in the work of the movement as a whole. The official call follows:

Sisters and Brothers:

For the past several years there has been developing in the needle trades unions a progressive movement whose general purpose it is to stimulate a new spirit of constructive militancy and class struggle, of industrial unionism and of genuine union democracy. This progres sive movement has already become a recognized and influential force in a number of unions in our industry.

Naturally, with the passage of time we have all begun to feel the acute need for closer cooperation on the part of the progressive groups in the various needle trade unions. Our problems are so similar and our tasks so much along the same lines, that no one can doubt the benefits which closer relations would bring to all concerned. We know from our own experience how valuable such cooperation would be in bringing about united and harmonious action and in ments in the unions to get together, to gressivism in the labor movement.

It is with these considerations in mind ing together representatives of the vari- the problem of defense of the Soviet

A call to a conference of all progres- ous progressive groups in the needle sive groups in needle trades unions of trade unions to a conference to discuss ways and means of bringing about closer organizational unity and more effective cooperation in our work. This conference will take place on Saturday afternoon, June 8, 2:30 p.m., at Manhattan Opera

> cation and choose five delegates to at tend this conference? The credentials of these delegates should be sent to: J. Friedman, 2069 Mapes Ave., New York

Yours for a strong and united progressive movement,

J. Friedman, Sec'y.

Lovestone Writes On Soviet Foreign Policy

The rise of Hitler Germany to the position of the chief "disturber of the peace" of Europe; the energetic peace policy of the Soviet Union and the ultimate signing of the Franco-Soviet pact, have nounce that Jay Lovestone begins a seraroused heated discussions in the labor les of seven articles, on

The official Communist press has totally abstained from comment or at best has said very little.

The Trotskyist press, however, has united and harmonious action and in unleashed a vile and slanderous cam-helping to strengthen and spread the pro-paign around this issue. Having themgressive movement. Never, in fact, was selves shed every Communist princiit more necessary than today for all the ple when they fused with the reformconstructive, progressive, militant ele- ists of the Second International, they now point a finger at the Soviet Union join forces to advance the cause of pro- and scream their hysterical charge of "treason".

Since clarity on this most important that we are taking the initiative in call- question is of the greatest importance, 7. The U.S.S.R. and the World Revolu-

UnionLeaders InRallyforFD

Green Converts Garden Meet Into Roosevelt Rally—F.D.'s Starvation Scale Forgotten

When the huge labor rally at Madison Square Garden on May 23 opened the band played first "The Star Spangled Banner" and then the "Internationale". That symbolized the meeting. thousand workers had come to hear the leaders of American labor put forth their fighting program. What they heard was a Democratic campaign rally.

The rally had been planned by the Centrade Trades Council, the I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated and the Capmakers to boost the NRA. But when President Roosevelt announced the \$19-\$94 reliefwork wage the workers were told that the character of the rally had changedthat it was to be a protest. But the speakers had been told something else. No one of these leaders of the A. F. of L.—Ryan, Dubinsky, Hillman, Zaritsky, Green and Lewis—breathed a word against these slave wages. Instead they vehemently attacked the mysterious "interests" who oppose NRA extension, called for the passage of the vicious Wagner Disputes Bill and the 30 Hour Law. Especially was fire directed against the Democratic Senators who had the temerity to defy the orders of the Pres-

Progressives Protest Against NRA Ballyhoo

In the midst of this orgy of Rooseveltian hymns the Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. and the administration of the local were the sole voices raised in protest. Though the great majority of the needle trades leaders are nominal Socialists there was no sound from them decrying this manipulation of their organizations for the political interests of the Democratic Party. But the Progressives in a leaflet and the Local 22 administration in a telegram sent to the rally denounced the NRA and presented a positive, fighting program for labor including the freedom of unions from governmental interference and a plea for a Labor Party.

Faith In President

All the speeches ran to a definite pattern. The enormous political and economic power of the American Federation of Labor was waved aloft in threatening fashion—but all the threats were di-rected against those legislators who refuse the President's bidding. William Green, who two years ago called the NRA "the Magna Charta of Labor" has now transferred that title to the Wag-ner Bill. Given enough Magna Chartas Mr. Green apparently has a divine faith that something swell will happen.

The splendid mobilization of New York's organized workers was worthy of a better cause. It is the task of the Progressives to turn this labor militancy into labor action rather than to the interests of capitalist politics.

Socialist Minister Scored by Miners

BRUSSELS, Belgium.—Efforts of the government to suppress the coal strike have failed. The strike is spreading, 15,000 miners being now involved. Incensed at the attitude of the socialist members of the government toward their demand for higher wages, strikers have leveled the charge of treason against the socialists.

It will be recalled that Emil Vanderwelde, resigned his presidency of the Socialist and Labor International recently. to take a place in King Leopold's Cabi-

Union being involved, we are glad to an-

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The first article, appears in the next issue of Workers Age. The articles will appear in the following order:

- 1. What's Behind Soviet Foreign Policy
- Soviet Diplomacy at Work.
 and 4. Debunking Some Hostile Cri-
- 5. Bolshevik Foreign Policy in Retro-
- spect. 6. Soviet Foreign Policy and the Com-
- intern.

DUAL UNIONISM IN THE RAILWAY SHOPS

of the opposition and subsequent dual unionis group in the Mt. Clare railroad shops. H a shop committeeman, representing his A. F. of L. local in the shopcraft: and a

mered down). The program called for the organization of a new union, as part of the employers' producing machinery and capitalist government's said the new program. A beautiful drawing of the structure of the new union was printed decisions were not made by a vote of the membership, based on a discussion period. After the changes were made, came what discussion there was in order to give the appearance of inner Party democracy. Consequently, an opportunity was lost to work out a really correct lie and to re-educate those Party members who have been misled by the leftist.

Menthe was manimeted out of the mered down). The program called for the organization of a new union, as part of the new trade union center, the T.U.L. "The A. F. of L. is openly a part of the employers' producing machinery and capitalist government's said the new program. A beautiful drawing of the structure of the new union was printed. The International Railroad Amalgation Committee became the National Railroad Amalgation Committee became the National Railroad Lupon in the program to into the C.P.D. The sectarian line of the past five wears, in the corporation of the Industrial League (of course, the League embraced exactly the same workers as the C.P.) and the Eague was supposed to be for all workers, including the backward ones.) The function of the Spark-ler, as the organization of the Industrial League the was a organ of the Industrial League embraced exactly the same workers as the C.P.) and the opporation of the rank-and-file who saw that discussion there was in order to appeal to the own the was the c.P.D. The several mainly for the League was supposed to the only sensible thing to be done was to the only sensible thing to be done was to the workers, including the backward ones.) The function of the Spark-ler, as the organization of the Industrial League the was obsidet and expell us with the objection; as the organization of the Industrial the workers was observed to the was onshable thing to be done was town this distribute the as t monthly shop bulletin of the C.P.—The sectarian line of the past five years. Instead, the comrades were told that the line of building red unions was correct (and expelling those who thought this (and expelling those who thought that last convention was correct); that the line of the last convention was correct; and that it is now correct to reverse the line and of the C.P.—The sectarian line of the past five years. Instead, the comrades were told that the shop-craft organizations, of course, were shop-craft organizations, of course, were the six A. F. of L. unions in the shop; Machinists, Electricians; Carmen; boiler-shop who were federated in a shop craft.)

Destroying A Movement

What happened when our group of class-conscious workers began applying the dual unionist approach was. In the space of two years what had been a healthy, constructive opposition within the A. F. of L. was completely destroy-shop while the shop craft.)

The A. F. of L. is a company union ormanically desired the shop craft.

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at the same time give a pledge to the workers that these old errors are finished with and will not be repeated. The line of the past five years was not the first outbreak of leftist sickness. Without re-education it will not be the last, for our movement faces such elementary tasks in America that for some time the danger of leftist sectarianism will bein the factional language of the C.I.the main danger.

T.U.U.L. In Mt. Clare Shops In this article I want to give the his tory and lessons of one dual unionist adventure of the T.U.U.L. a few years

who were class-conscious was to work spiracy to intimidate". We are treated complete release be granted. And sec- Labor Party, spiracy to intimidate.

ization (because of the 1922 experience was being increasingly discredited.

Party's dual union in the fur trade.

Then the Communist Party members at

resourcefullness, called for the police and

ly "seen", and shackled by handcuffs to

two of them, the heroes of the dual

union did what they were too cowardly

Sarah Gross, the sole support

ridden with internal injuries inflicted by

kicks and blows in the abdomen with an

iron bar. George Weiss is in jail await

ing trial, a member of the Communis

Party pressing charges of felonious assault against him in the capitalist courts.

This newly inaugurated campaign of

to do when they had him alone—they

Dual Unionism Begins

The high point of activity and strength yers in their arguments to the Court of for the left-wing group was in the early Appeals. "This kind of a charge directpart of 1929. Although we made many ed against a union official . . . merely mistakes of application, we functioned because he is an official charged with successfully as a constructive opposition the interests of a group of workers and his removal is urgently desired by the At the Special Railroad Conference in opposing interests, carries with it a very C. P. Renews Terror

of the Industrial Union, the Communist strike.

Not content with this atrocity, the heads of the dual union had Comrade

But how is organized labor taking up George Weiss ambushed as he was entering the hallway of the building in which he works at 330 Seventh Ave. Paid mobsters had been trying for weeks to catch him alone in order to send him to the hospital. Though faced with lead pipes, knives and other weapons Weiss defended himself ably against the gang representative of the Workers League of representative of the Workers League of Canada, two decisions were adopted the scene, with their usual revolutionary which involved the carrying on of a wide publicity campaign amongst the Canadhad our comrade jailed.

While still in the hands of the three

While still in the hands of the three cops, who obviously had been previous- for the release of the convicted trade

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

JAY LOVESTONE begins his series or

GEORGE F. MILĖS answers the question "IS ORGANIC UNITY POSSIBLE?"

terror in the fur market is the answer of the dual union leaders to the resolution adopted at the convention of the International Fur Workers Union in Tor-BERT WOLFE writes on onto last week offering unity and the es-"WHAT ABOUT THE LIBERALS" tablishment of one union in the fur

Sectarianism Meant Defeat of Our Movement

Of Trade Unions

of the Balto, section of the National we offered the B. & O. workers was our group in the struggle for a better was dried up—blighted by the dual of the Balto. section of the National Of course, it is good that a less section in the process of birth. But it is necessary to openly admit the past errors in order to re-educate and politically develop the Party membership and at the same time give a pledge to the same time give offered the B. & O. workers was of the B. & O. workers was our group in the struggle for a better (amalgamated) and stronger (bringing in the unorgazined) A. F. of L. would and stronger (bringing in the unorgazined) A. F. of L. would a that this happened despite the fact that the same time of the same time and t

ed in their old suicidal policy of lob-

A Challenge to Canadian Labor Fight For Release Of Breslow unionists. These decisions were not car-tested the case to the Minister of Justice and the "New Commonwealth" of Lice. And the "New Commonwealth" of And Rudin Must Be Task | ried out as yet. Tom moore, A. T. of L. | ficial organ of the Cooperative Common-

and in the Mt. Clare shops in Baltimore.
About 2000 workers were regularly employed in these shops, the Mt. Clare being the main shop of the B. & O. system.

Conditions in these shops were favorable to organization. Part of the work-able to organization the six control of the Montreal courts last week.

The determination of the Montreal bying and crawling on their belies before the capitalist politicians, the completion of the Montreal to their old suicidal policy of lob-bying and crawling on their belies before the capitalist politicians, the conservative trade union leaders of Moore's take up the challenge thrown to it by the judiciary threatening its very right of existence. Coupled by injunction proposition!

The determination of the Montreal bying and crawling on their belies before the capitalist politicians, the constitution of the workers.

Labor Must Meet Challenge

The Canadian labor movement must take up the challenge thrown to it by the judiciary threatening its very right of existence. Coupled by injunction proposition!

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The Canadian labor movement must take up the challenge

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The determination of the Montreal bying and crawling on their belies before the capitalist politicians, the constitution of the capitalist politi able to organization. Part of the workers were organized into the six craft
unions, federated together in a shopcraft. The problem facing those of us
who were class-conscious was to work
who were reflecting the pressure of must under no circumstances accept this
in the legal history of Quebec. It was
on a similar case that the British Latimidation against Breslow—the very
same charge of "inmust under no circumstances accept this
in the legal history of Quebec. It was
on a similar case that the British Latimidation sets a precedent
in the workers in the shops did oppose the
change to a dual unionist line. But the
railroad work of the section was put
under the leadership of a Doctor, who

who were class-conscious was to work for Amalgamation, for a Labor Party, for Amalgamation, for a Labor Party of Great Britain.

Spiracy to intimidate". We are treated for organizing the unorgazined into the A. F. of L., and for less conservative leadership and policies.

Conditions were also favorable to leftwing activity. Among those who were organized there was growing dissatisfaction with some of the union officials who were former scabs and had become instruments in the hands of the supervising staff. The craft system of organization (because of the 1922 experience

That this conviction carries with it a later to mode the conviction, while the Later to mode the movement for the release be granted. And secomplete release of firm and by the movement for the release of modify the movement for the release of sproth or the class justice. Breslow and Rudin has been started allow provided organizer and the Carbon for modify the movement in the movement for the release of modify the movement fo and political organizations went on recserious threat to organized labor, of this
there is no doubt in labor circles. To
prove this it is worth while quoting the
following contention of the defense law-

Lumber Strikers Fighting Hard

By EARL LANE

And to quote from another section of the defense—"It is felt that this judg fur workers, the widow of Aaron Gross, noted Communist leader of the ment opens the door to charges of confur workers, was brutally assaulted Thursday noon in the fur market. The assault was committed no offense against the crimanssault was committed by a six foot assault was assault was committed by a six foot assault was assault was committed by a six foot assault was assault was committed by a six foot assault was committed by assault was committed by under a temporary agreement, not a crew ber workers. The International Longber Workers Union is affiliated. Up until the last minute before the strike date, May 6th, Muir had discounted the post

> May 6th Muir and his fellow leaders redoubled their sabotaging tactics. Instead of calling for a general walkout, they were satisfied to have the strike and as there was every indication that a sabotaging tactics. Instead of calling for a general walkout, they were satisfied to have the strike and as there was every indication that a sabotaging tactics. Instead to the owners and had been answered by counter proposals which granted beggarly concessions. A strike the field of bluff and bombast is being seriously menaced. onfined to the more militant workers strike would be called the bosses locked and frantically worked behind the scenes them out on the 18th. vorkers on the job in the plants still There is every indication that the lum

Muir triumphantly announced that a "model agreement" had been reached with the Weverhauser Lumber Co. the largest operator in the Northwest. The "SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND terms of the proposed agreement were 471/2 cents an hour, 40 hour week, red ognition of the union, but no closed shop. The union demands are: 30 hour week, 75 cents per hour, and a closed shop. Muir announced that as soon as this agreement was ratified by the workers at the Weyerhauser plant it would be used as a basis for an agreement with all the other operators. But to the consternation of the sell-out artists the Weyerhauser workers did not even take

the trouble to vote on the sell-out and

walked out solidly the very next morning

not be necessary."

As soon as the walkout started on demands to the owners and had been Monthly, May, 1935.

workers on the job in the plants still operating. The only, effort toward spreading the strike was confined to the rank and file who sent flying squads of pickets to plants still working and called the workers of the strike into their own hands, and pickets to plants still working and called the workers cart. The working and called the workers cart. pickets to plants still working and called the workers out. This was successful.

The strike was just four days old when Muir triumphantly announced that a

GIUSTI'S

SPAGHETTI INN 49 WEST 16th STREET NEW YORK CITY 4 & 5 Course LUNCHEON 40c & 50c 6 Course CHICKEN CINNER 60c SPECIAL LUNCHEON 35c Spaghetti — Dessert — Coffee 35c A La Carte All Day WINE AND BEER SERVED

backward to understand the need of joining the A. F. of L. naturally could member of the section committee of the Com- Cleveland, Sept. 1st and 2nd 1929, the League then you were equally ready for controlled, capitalist-dominated organiza- ary," "red" union. Thirdly, we played munist Party in Baltimore. He has recently new line was hammered out (or hampioned the C.P.O.

The program called for to be for all workers, including the back-the only sensible thing to be done was into the hands of the controlled, capital to the hands of the back-the workers, it was obvious to us that toleration of the rank-and-file who saw to the only sensible thing to be done was

Wharton's salary from \$8000 to \$12,000. (This was when we still had the benefit of past good policies.) But, regardless of the favorable conditions, regardless of the good work done, at the end of two years activity stopped-the former leftwing was washed up. Good comrades and supporters got demoralized; the strug-gle for better unions and in the long run G.W.U. leaders not to indulge in any wealth Federation has thrown its col- for Communism and the defense of the publicity campaign because in his opinion it would do harm to the case. Blind-release of Breslow and Rudin.

Soviet Union was weakned; the dual unionist line made us agents for the burocrats by isolating ourselves, rather

ites," and perhaps there would be some

But, even if it's late, the lesson can be tactics, is not an abstract question. It means the undoing of good work: it opposing interests, carries with it a very serious threat to organized labor. If the vague and all-embracing offence of conspiracy is going to be used by employ
walked out solidly the very next morning means the undoing of good work; it after the "agreement" was announced. Later in the week a vote was taken on the lumber workers of the Northwest contents its second week with over 40,000 the proposed agreement at the Weyer
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walked out solidly the very next morning means the undoing of good work; it after the "agreement" was announced. Later in the week a vote was taken on the proposed agreement at the week and the proposed agreement at the week announced.

HAND-MADE HERO

sibility of a strike, saying he was sure an "understanding with the employers would be reached and that a strike would are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 "The leader of the Toledo strike of affiliated to the Carpenters and Joiners, are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 Budenz is perhaps the best known strike of a strike would are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 Budenz is perhaps the best known strike of a strike would be reached and that a strike would are locked out in Portland. About 2,200 Budenz is perhaps the best known strike of a strike would be reached and that a strike would be reached and the reached and that a strike would be reached and the reached and the reached and the reached and t men are affected. They had presented leader in America today."-Modern

Programmatic documents of the Communist Opposition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS Civil War in Austria — Present Situation and Tasks of the Communists — The San Francisco General Strike — Independent Unionism Today — Letter to the Socialist Party - Exchange of Correspondence between Communist Party and Communist Party (Opposi-

Volume 4 -:- Price 25 cents

DISCUSSING COMMUNISM AND AMERICANISM

Our Attitude to Flag, National Pride and Love of Country

In this article Comrade Wolfe answers the ninth question in a series sent to the Workers Age under the title, "Things We Want to

to millions of others. Don't sneer at symbol- Stars and Stripes. Yet they fired on in it, those who maintain poverty in the loyal to the great mass of American pro-'em. But my flag has a revolutionary tradi-tion much older than yours. It originally stood for liberty and freedom and equality of op-portunity—and to my mind it still does. I'll and the church, the ikons and the flag.

American people we are unswervingly the master class is ashamed and ashamed loyal.

No one ever heard us voicing the voicing the treacherous slogan: "Our country right treathers of the Revolution, proud of its em. But my flag has a revolutionary tradi- tarian revolution.

You say you are proud of what our cause they do not yet sufficiently discountry has stood for in the past? So believe in the things it stands for today. are we. We are proud of the fierce resistance of the American colonials to As to Love of Country British tyranny. Proud of the American | We Communists yield to no one in clamation of the eternal right of the people to freedom, equality, control of their government, and the right to alter or even abolish their government whenever even abolish their government whenever the even abolish the even

rooted in privilege, property, slavery and distrust of the masses; but we are of the Bill of Rights forced into that document by the more revolutionary of our

In 1931, we almost alone celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Liberator. Only we today remember with gratitude and understanding, and draw inspiration from the heroic struggles of Thaddeus Stevens and Wendell Phillips, and the leaders of the slave revolts, which in most histories go even unrecorded. The American government, which commendates the hunder of the struggles and the real import of the Roosevelt program. It constitutes a huge offensive dunion organizations that have fought and program. It constitutes a huge offensive dustry now has a free hand for lowering wages all along the line. Private industry. By the trade union organizations that have fought and union organizations that have even unrecorded. The American government which commemorates the hun
workers Age. Now, President Rooseports that "the rates were far below frontal attack upon the trade unions to the president recorded."

"although the president recorded to the recorded unions to the recorded to the recorded unions to the recorded to the record ment which commemorates the hundred dredth anniversary of every little, piddling nobody and nothing, left the hundredth anniversary of the heroic deeds dredth anniversary of the heroic deeds have been dredth anniversary of the heroic deeds lavel but her gone them one better understandable. That the rates were far below irontal attack upon the trade unions in an attempt to drive standards down to present industrial wages . . .," although the gone them one better understandable. That the rates were far below irontal attack upon the trade unions in an attempt to drive standards down to broader analysis. Roosevelt has not only editornally, it defends the scales. Its observe the government. In such a situation, there can be no illusions about the put it again in the vanguard of the free needless of the earth. dredth anniversary of the heroic deeds of those titans of our history, the abolitionists and Negro leaders of slave revolts, unpostage-stamped, uncoined, un-

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make that dream a reality. You use the past to block the present. We use the played. past to build the future.

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MUST I SUBSTITUTE A RED FLAG
FOR THE STARS AND STRIPES? Now,
don't laugh at me. This is serious to me and
So were the Southerners proud of the it hated abroad, those who spread misery

MUST I SUBSTITUTE A RED FLAG
exploit its inhabitants, those who make unit. It has its class divisions, and every the southerners proud of the it hated abroad, those who spread misery

American must decide whether to be

ism. You cheer your own Red Flag, don't them. Cheered another flag. And today midst of its abundant plenty, those who ducers or to the little oligarchy of you? Well, I love mine, too. My father, are flying the stars and stripes again. grand-father and great-grand-father all So the German masses have cheered of love of country! To them we are disfought for it. I wore the uniform myself. I'll the Imperial banner, then the Republoyal. To American capitalism and imreadily grant you that most of the things it lican, and latterly in great numbers, the perialism we are disloyal. To the interfact. stood for have been dragged in the gutter. You don't have to give me a lecture on the evils of Capitalism. I've seen 'em. I know rally in the sun will rise tomorrow, they will be interests of the great masses of American And it is that awareness which characteristic workingmen and working farmers, to the terrizes our "national" pride. We are evils of Capitalism. I've seen 'em. I know rally in the red flag of prole-interests of the vast majority of the generally proud of the things of which

portunity—and to my mind it still does. It gladly join in any movement to purge it of its stains but I'd like to preserve it.

Nationalism, you say? Obsolete, you provided the stains and the charter, the months and the lag. treatherous stogan: Our country right traditions of the Revolution, proud of its or wrong!" On the contrary, so long as role in world history, proud of the generative stains but I'd like to preserve it.

Nationalism, you say? Obsolete, you provided the starvation, important the starvation, important the starvation in the standard treatherous stogan: Our country right traditions of the Revolution, proud of its or wrong!" On the contrary, so long as role in world history, proud of the generative stains but I'd like to preserve it.

Nationalism, you say? Obsolete, you preserve it. declare? Perhaps—but I'm sincere. Strange to say, I love my country—still do in spite of all the things that have happened in her. hate their symbols, the very symbols mass of Americans who do not own the of Jacksonian democracy and populism, And you'll have a devil of a time winning they had reverenced so blindly. That country altho they have built it. In that the unawed opposition of the "muckrakmy support if you spit on my flag. If we must fight for freedom, why won't you let us damnable Liberals do it under our own ing to other symbols because they were rallyrallying to other things. The American no task involving greater loyalty to the proud, too, of the fruitful genius and masses still believe in the symbol be-

American people we are unswervingly the master class is ashamed and ashamed

The "National Pride" Of the Communists

Therefore do we hate with a deep hatred all that is slavish and corrupt in

Aside from holding out threats to the

ment of man, in place of his emancipa tion. Therefore do we hate the humbuggery and demagogy and corruption politics. Therefore are we ashamed of the national auction sale of human welfare

almighty dollar. Therefore do we scorn to see our land appear before the world as the hypocritical preparer of war in a smoke-cloud of unctuous pacifist phrases, as the brutal jailer of Latin America, the pawnbroker Uncle Shylock, the wielder of the big stick, symbol of world

Today there can be no conflict between onest, worker-and-farmer-loval nationpeace, in historic fate, that a separation from the economic and historic fate of the rest of the world is the dream of the ignorant and the rascally deception of the scoundrel.

the nationalism of a Hitler. He is disloval to the interests of the masses of alism today is, at the same time, internationalism. That is the nationalism of the Communists. It represents loyalty to the masses of our people, and their allies and comrades in arms, the masses everyour national life, all the "hoggish, cheat- where. The real interests of our people We Communists are not devoid of ing and bedbug qualities," as Walt Whit- coincide with the interests of the toilers Revolution. Proud of the French Revolution and oppressed through the world. "Wall shadow of the French Revolution and oppressed through the world of the wor money kings, not only rules us; it tyrannizes over much of the world. Our struggle helps the masses elsewhere; their

And even in that we are determined to be profoundly "national." We are determined to do our duty above all in We are not proud of the Constitution
We are not proud of the Constitution
Octed in privilege property slavery and
Standard For that history has given the American people a tremendous historic role, that in defeating our own master class, we defeat the most powerful and oppressive standards of living of the entire working class there is also the added fact that or-Offensive

That's the real import of the Roosevelt rogram. It constitutes a hure offensive union organization.

medalled, unexpositioned and unrecorded!

| Comparison of the pursuing exploited masses. | Indeed, the pursuing exploited masses. | Indeed, the pursuing exploited masses | Indeed, the pursuing exploited mas come out with denunciatory remarks. cially organization of the unemployed—tion to the whole nature and phase thru or the policy of consultation and arbitration and social system is York State Federation of Labor com- tion that will lead to the regimentation passing. It reveals the path that the

rose to label the Y.P.S.L. as traitors be- NRA and the code system of price fixing that gives the monopolies the chance to This is not a new question for the con- run the system; and now the relief wage

Under that flag they fought in the French and Indian wars in 1763 they marched back, victorious in the last of those wars, drums beating, colors flying, heads high, proud of their status as freeborn Englishmen. Only twelve years later, Americans largely of the same generation, fired on the union jack at Lexington, bore a red flag with snake Lexington, bore a red flag with snake are not confined to the unemployed who are on relief. The whole working class is at least 526.

How A NI DDOC Inc.

A Menace To

This get-together was arranged to prepare for a demonstration on Memorial Day against war and fascism. It was deferences with 526 delegates who had paid quarters and filled out registration cards. The total number of delegates present assures us of one thing, namely that the membership of the Young Communist League is at least 526.

In line with this, it should be noted fifteences are not solved by equivocal formulations. The this conference the Y.P. Such tactics merely delay and sharpen differences. At this conference the Y.P. S.L. finally swung around to the position of the Communist Youth Opposition. There is still another objection to the American Youth Congress. It professes to be a multi-class youth united front. A similar united front in 1933—the anti-ference, a recovery in profits thru the mass lowering of the standard of living. cepted an ambiguous formulation. But differences are not solved by equivocal In line with this, it should be noted is at least 526.

Among the organizations which withdrew when the motion to exclude the dual unions was defeated, were the Y.P.

SI Companying Youth Opposition Stu S.L., Communist Youth Opposition, Student League for Industrial Democracy of the leadership remaining in the hands class of this country attempts to bring and a number of Young Circle League of the working class organizations. The back its kind of prosperity. The task of Clubs. These organizations considered the fight as basically one for the unification of the labor movement.

But that is precisely what the YCL is duplicating the error of 1933.

The y.C.L.'s failure to recognize the importance of the unions was seen in the treatment of the observer from the observer from the treatment of the observer from the treatment of the observer from the treatment of the observer from the precisely what the YCL is duplicating the error of 1933.

The y.C.L.'s failure to recognize the importance of the unions was seen in the treatment of the observer from the precisely what the YCL is duplicating the error of 1933. does not grasp. Instead of attempting Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. The union state capitalism and therefore to the patiently to win the basic organizations was not even mentioned in the reports of the workers—the trade unions—for of the conference. Of what importance arm of labor—the labor party; thru the the united front, they are satisfied with securing the support of a few insignificant non-working class groups. The cant non-working class groups. The chairman of the conference a certain Men's Hebrew Association?

Mr. Whitebook of the American Jewish

The May 11th Conference went a long

JOIN

Communist Opposition 51 West 14th Street

BRADLEY'S ..

scales announced under the relief program would jeopardize all that the work- Trade Unions ers have been striving for in the direc- In Danger ion of maintaing standards of living."

By ECONOMIST "The real and realistic picture of the average American family is that Industry To Take of a poor man struggling just a few Offensive

Starvation Standard For

Nation's Toilers

The Bill of Rights today belongs to us. The master class honors those rights today by their breach and not by their today by their breach and not by their and \$94 for technical and professional latoday by their breach and not by their breach and not by their breach and not by their and \$94 for technical and professional land \$95 for technical and \$95 for technical and professional land \$95 for technical state in the South technical state is proved to the native state of "quastive for the Rosevert Schedules. The native for the following features. The native for the following features. The state of the labor movement to this rotten deal, the trade union movement of the part of the labor movement to this ortent deal

SEASONABLE

By A. EPSTEIN

Sectarianism not only isolates but also cause of its opposition to the TUUL. As to the Flag.

You think the American people are blindly attached to the Stars and Stripes, prize the symbol and reject the reality.

As to the Flag.

You think the American people are blindly attached to the Stars and Stripes, prize the symbol and reject the reality. prize the symbol and reject the reality. Cd persons in the South must maintain the Don't you believe it. We Americans are no exceptions. So were the colonials once attached to the British Union Jack. Under that flag they fought in the South must maintain the South must maintain out and other groups were driven out and other groups were driven out and other prevented from joining because of the inclusion of the dual unions, is considered by the Young Common that the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven out and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven out and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven out and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and other groups were driven the proposal of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the inclusion of the dual unions, is considered by the Young Communist League as a triumph for the unit-proposal of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the proposal of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the proposal of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the proposal of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the Communist Opposition and others prevented from joining because of the Communist Opposition and other specific and other proposal opposition and other proposal opposition and oth

STATIONERS & UNION PRINTERS | will feel the effects of the New Deal standards.

Senator McCarran, in commenting on he scales, indicates the meaning of the situation when he states: "If government, as the greatest employer of labor in the world, is going to scale down, the inev-

.. CAFETERIA

REASONABLE

Congress symbolized this condition best.

He profoundly declared that not being plished in the direction of genuine unitpart of the labor movement he was not concerned with the "squabbles" in the Socialists and set back the process of 6th Ave. at 14th St. trade unions. He was, however, very winning trade union support for the much concerned with the dual unions and struggle against war and fascism.

WORKERS

Organ of the National Committee Communist Party U.S.A. (Opposition) 51 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone: GRamercy 5-8903





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June 1, 1935

THE WAGNER BILL

(Continued from Page 1) Fortifying Company

The expression, "The exercise by the worker of full freedom of association", is the stock phrase of all opponents of the American Federation of Labor, of all champions of the company union or any other but genuine form of trade union organization. These people always are so solicitous of the rights of the individual "worker" remaining intact! When these open shoppers speak of "full freedom of association" they have in mind only the freedom to associate in economic organizations other than bonafide unions. The Wagner Bill in effect lends further legal status and juridical fortification to the slyest and trickiest boosters of company unionism. The measure is deliberately drawn up with extreme looseness so as to tie up labor in hopeless knots.

Many labor officials have been doing a lot of talking about putting teeth into Section 7-A with which we had such disastrous experiences and from which many labor leaders expected so much. Even the sharpest teeth put into a carcass are of no avail to the carcass, the teeth, and the objects to be bitten into. However, there is something much worse to be feared. The kind of teeth that the Wagner Labor Disputes Act really seeks to put into Section 7-A will only prove shark's teeth biting into our labor bodies. The Wagner proposal would give the Labor Relations Board the right to inquire into any "other means of adjustthat have been or may be resorted to "by agreement, code, law, or otherwise." Here is a dangerous opening for countless evils. It spells catastrophic consequences for the efficacy of the strike as a weapon. Under this provision strikes can be "inquired" to death. The Board is herewith given carte blanche to take all conceivable measures for preparing the ground and opening the road for compulsory arbitration.

"Other means of adjustment"! What a multitude of crimes against labor can be covered by this blanket provision! We have had a taste of such laws. The word "other", undefined and unlimited, puts a weapon into the hands of this Government board which can be used by the bosses who own the Government with the deadliest effect against workers on strike fighting for better conditions— fighting for the right to organize.

Forcing Agreement

What the Wagner measure is really after in these hazy terms is most clearly seen when it seeks to legalize all previous decisions of the National Labor Relations Board now in existence. There is about time we stopped tieing our ears are about a dozen of them of any importance and involving the very basis of craftiest politicians posing as friends of the decision is the Houde case. In this labor. case, collective bargaining was taken by the Government to mean something more than the mere choosing of representavernmen

stresses in this decision that collective bargaining means "a reasonable effort" to reach an agreement. That is what the Government is really after, for it said: "Collective bargaining, then, is simply a means to an end, the end is agreement." And we can surely leave it between corporations and workers and, rapidly, and the cultural, kindly philan-then, offer such "agreement" as proof that collective bargaining has been at-"uplift" the poor and "aid them to bear that collective bargaining has been at tained.

How dangerous the Wagner measure is for labor is further established by the fact that it gives the Board full power to pass judgment upon the motives, objectives, and economic arguments of the

Labor Must Move Against Bill.

In short, the Wagner measure will go a long way towards making the trade union movement a ward of the Government-in life, in the everyday economic relations, in negotiating with employ-ers—a prisoner of the Government. Even Matthew Woll than whom there is no more reactionary official in the trade union movement could see that when he stressed: "Government can not well concern itself merely with final collective agreements without also concerning itself with parties or organizations claiming such high privileges and power under our philosophy of govern-ment." Of course, given the present Government with its Wall Street philosophy of government, such "concern" can only spell government domination of the unions. Labor must quit playing around with such dangerous meas-The Wagner Bill is offered to quench the workers' desire to fight for better conditions. Its basic provisions are harmful to our most fundamental interests. What we need instead is a kindling of our will to struggle, our faith in and reliance on our own organizations in militant conflict with the wage cutters and union smashers inside and outside the Government machine.

All the ceremony about the Wagner Bill being pro-labor was cunningly de vised to set a gloss over its essential provisions for anti-labor actions. substance, this bill is of such stuff as nightmares are made.

To-day, now, is the time for labor to stir and move against the bill-certainly not to lift a finger or a voice in be-half of this proposed act. If the Wagner bill is enacted into law the labor organizations will find themselves unable even to walk in the very night it will bring to the trade unions to-morrow. It to the slick tongues of Wall Street's

Powerful militant industrial unions and a national mass labor party-here is the road leading towards working class success and victory.

Herndon and Negro Leadership

By CLARENCE JENKINS

The aged and decrepit old gentlemen of the Supreme Court (the living symbols of the decaying American capitalism) again illustrated the glory of capitalist justice by giving to the Georgia lynch mob leaders the pleasure of seeing Angelo Herndon on a Georgia chain gang for twenty years. The Southern robber barons stupidly believe that the heinous justice meted out to Herndon will stem the growing unity in struggle of the black and white workers in the

Negro reformist leaders (the lap-dogs of the American ruling class) have been yapping loud and long against the radicals who sent Herndon to Georgia to fight for the liberation of the black and white workers. They loudly insist that Herndon and all Negros affiliated with radical movements are but unsuspecting pawns in the hands of self-seeking and unscrupulous white radicals. They solemnly admonish the enslaved Negro masses to be loyal to their masters; have faith in their stupid and futile appeals for bourgeois justice and shun the radicals. Many of these betrayers of the Negro masses encouraged the Negro youth in 1917 to help "make the world safe for democracy."

Many of the brave and unsuspecting Negro soldiers, who died to perpetuate Herndon from the Georgia lynchers.

this system of American capitalism, be lieved that they were dying to emancipate an enslaved humanity. Many returned to find that they had fought to make the South safe for the lynchers and the exploiters. To witness the humiliating jim-crowing of the Negro gold star mothers, whose sons' bodies fertilized the fields of Flanders. To witness the passing of such decisions as the "Texas Primary Decision" and to discover that they have been pawns-but in the hands of the American ruling class

The Negro youths went to France unwillingly to fight in the interests of their oppressors. Angelo Herndon went Soutl willingly to help in the struggles of the black and white masses; to complete the historical tasks which the Civil War lef unfinished.

The militancy, courage and fighting spirit embodied in the personality of An gelo Herndon is but the symbol of the new type of Negro leadership that is emerging. A type of leadership that possesses intelligence, vision and cour age. The type of leadership that will forge the weapons that will sever unite with white class-conscious workers to put an end to reaction:

Black and white workers, thunder your protest against the vicious decision of the Supreme Court and raise funds to assist the struggle to snatch Angelo

Books of the Age

by Bertram D. Wolfe

YORK CITY, by A. J. Kennedy, fine talk had never been uttered at all. Kathryn Farra and others. Columbia The social worker stands in about the Univ. Press. 600pp., \$5.00.

This is a survey of the "settlement houses" in New York City, their numbers, activities, membership and administration. Eighty social settlements are included, virtually all in closely congested areas and drawing into their sphere of influence for shorter or longer periods mental principles upon which that order somewhere between fifty and seventyfive thousand young people of poor family.

"The aim of the settlement house" says the report, "is to bring about a new kind of community life." A careful examination of the survey reveals that after long periods of acitivity and "spread of cultural influence" for as much as forty years in the case of some houses slums are still slums, squalor is still squalor, and poverty is still poverty. These institutions and their methods of attacking the urban problem of congestion and mass impoverishment are survivals of 19th century humanitarianism and its illusions. The number of settlement houses is rapidly diminishing, the to the Government to force agreement rate of construction is declining more their burdens," have lost their significance, in proportion as philanthropy has become less "cultural" and the "poor" have given place to an increasingly selforganized and class-conscious proletariat. But the weakness of the proletarian program, hers the only critical voice movement makes the settlement houses still an important influence among the working class youth.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK, Kansas 1934. Univ. of Chicago Press. 612pp. \$3.00.

Reviewed by M. C. STEWART Social workers are wont to look upon themselves as leaders and guides of social progress, as busy workers in proabout their plans for "social reconstruca large share of credit for the launching of the Civil Works Administration of recent memory, and of participation in the New Deal, which is giving them the opportunity of laying the foundations or at least the outlines of a "new and better society." They discuss plans for social insurance, plans for permanent care of the unemployed, and plans for a higher standard of living for all, as blithely as if all this fine talk were no sooner said than done

At the same time, however, the New Deal and NRA turn out to be programs for plowing under not only the product but the producer, the government sharp-ly reduces the standard of living and the purchasing power, raises prices and they know who butters their bread.

SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS IN NEW lowers wages, as blithely as if all this

The social worker stands in about the same relation to the government as the whistle to the locomotive, and makes noises accordingly. Thus, William Hod-son president of the conference—"So long as he (the social worker) remains a beneficiary of the existing order, he will be expected to support the funda is based, always reserving the right to advocate change and modification of the methods by which those principles find practical expression in the life of the community." The whistle could not have been sounded any better.

which most of the forty-eight papers read at the Conference are based. There are some honorable exceptions—three papers by Mary van Kleek and one by a Joseph H. Levy. The latter, reviewing "New forms of Organization among the Social Workers" concludes by remarking the concern for the producing class which social-work employees have in common with all workers, and the necessity of protective organization against boards of trustees on questions of adequate salary and working conditions. Mary van Kleek sharply criticizes the role of social workers, and the theory of their functions as defined by Hodson. Hers is the only criticism of NRA as against the general servile attitude sion of the Soviet Union and its social directed against the government and the

New Deal. There is not enough space here to deal with Miss van Kleeks' papers other than by the briefest mention. I raise one point, however, on her discussion (again a lone voice) of the American Federation of Labor. Correctly pointing out that collective bargaining power of the workers in their organizations is, politically, an acceptance by labor of the status quo, she distinguishes between the A. grams of social amelioration, and have grams of social amelioration, and have even come now to the point of talking and the "independent" unions (which 'are arising at a pace") and an increastion," as they put it with such nicety. ing minority of the workers who are For example, in this volume they claim "becoming" conscious that the struggle is between the old economic system and the new social order, and not merely be-

tween workers and employers. We trust that the disintegration of the influx into the A. F. of L., which was taking place while she was talking, have taught her to examine labor organization in America and its history somewhat more carefully.

To come back to our main point. Social work and workers are for making the with any working class party—even with best of things as they are. This means only that they are on the side of reaction lon with an issue for playing upon the (except for a small section of the rank backwardness and prejudices of the and file and somewhat isolated persons), and it is easy to see that crisis or not

A similar position was taken by the

dressmakers union in regard to the lock-

out of 120 employees by the Beth Moses

22, urging that the I.L.G.W.U. use its

influence as a labor organization and as a heavy contributor to the societies

operating the hospitals, to secure jus-

tice for the workers discharged or locked

Resolutions to the same effect were also adopted by the Joint Council Knit-

goods Workers Union. The resolutions

were signed by Harry Spindel, Presi-

COMPANY UNION HEAD

JOINS REAL UNION

NEW YORK, N. Y .- James M. Man-

nix, Chairman of the company union

system of the Consolidated Gas Com-

post after one year in office, with a

damning indictment of company union-

"Your employe representation plan"

said Mr. Mannix in his statement, "is

a sham and a smoke-screen. It is based

upon hypocrisy and is dominated and controlled by the management.

"In spite of the management's wish-

dent and Louis Nelson, Manager.

ing conditions in the hospital.

TRADE UNION **NOTES**

By GEORGE F. MILES

The Toledo strike ended some nine ays ago but time and effort in discussing some of its lessons cannot be considered as wasted.

A simple question presents itself for solution: why was it possible for the discredited Dillon to walk into a packed meeting and win two-thirds of it after these same workers had shown their hostility to Dillon by voting, two hours earlier not to give him the floor?

The Militant Explains

For an answer to this question we turn to the Workers Party, which as you This formulation is the theory upon know claims to have run the whole pro-

We have waded thru long articles and an even longer editorial in the Militant —"Lessons Of The Toledo Battle"—and we believe that all these explain precisely nothing. In a hundred different ways we are told what double-dyed burocrats and wreckers are Dillon and local organizer Schwake, but all these stories do not explain what made the workers turn, at the last moment, away from Roland? These workers who "eagerly read" the leaflets of the Workers Party and were so convinced that the Workers Party was "suggesting to the strikers the practical and necessary course to be pursued in the strike", why did these workers so blithely forsake the Workers Party; why did they so easily forget the warnings against Dillon when they should have remembered them most clearly?

These questions are not answered. It might not be a bad idea for those who scream so hysterically about "Stalinist Treason" at every point of the compass to write very frankly also about some Trotskyist stupidities in Todelo which gave to Dillon sufficient arms and ammunition to crush the militants in the

Role of W. P. In Strike

An analysis of the very documents of the Workers Party prove that it was not satisfied to make its influence felt. No, it had to make its face and its fist seen as a manipulator of the strike.

In a situation strained from the very outset, with the A. F. of L. burocrats searching for issues to open fire on the local progressives, in such a situation 'independent" unions and the enormous Muste found it necessary to openly pose as a strike advisor.

Let no one be fooled about the cries of radicalization. Even Toledo, which the Trotskyites tell us was a rehearsal for almost a revolution, still has plenty of workers who fear to be associated the Workers Party. Muste supplied Dilworkers. Dillon succeeded.

These tactics of smearing every strike red, which the Trotskyites themselves condemned when they were practiced by the Communist Party, were now adopted in full in Toledo, with great harm to the strike. And the W. P. not only fails to see the harm done but rather glories in it. Here are a few excerpts from the editorial in the Militant:

"General Motors knew whom it was fighting . . . it (red baiting and incitement to violence) was directed against the Workers Party and its national sec-

"That the A. F. of L. burocrats shared mediate reinstatement of twenty six dis-charged and recognition of right of attested by Francis Dillon's petulant exclamation when the Chevrolet workers barred him from speaking at their meeting: 'Let Muste run their union for them if they want him'."

Many more excerpts could be cited to show that the W. P. glories in having to the fact that the Federation, depend- their protest against intolerable work- smeared its name over the strike. From In an effort to secure intervention on the W. P. the results are still in doubt organizations, could not assume the "attitude of the open shop, labor-hating titude of the open shop, labor-hating tions, Mr. Zimmerman addressed a let-upon the strike, the results were immediate and disastrous.

Attitude To A. F. of L.

From the very outset of the strike the W. P. misjudged the attitude of the workers towards the A. F. of L. They took it to be one of histility when it was merely a desire for militant strike action. The very declaration of a strike without even consulting the officials of the A. F. of L. (even the their answer was to be expected) helped to scare the most backward in the strike.

But by far the most disastrous strategical blunder, at a crucial moment, was the decision to keep Dillon from speaking at the last strike meeting when the agreement was voted upon. With this act the local leadership placed itself in a position of possible hostility to the A. F. of L. as a whole and lost most of the workers, who remained loyal to the A. F. of L. That this is so is proved pany—an organization with a member-ship of about 50,000—has resigned his by the workers reversing that decision and permitting Dillon to speak two hours later.

> In the next issue we will show that these errors flow logically out of the general trade union position of the W.P.

shown me. It should be called the 'company representation plan'."

Mr. Mannix's statement concluded

with an appeal to the workers to join labeled, my experiences of one year have the Brotherhood of Utility Employees.

Hospital Strike Gets Union Aid

Federation.

out.

Sharp protest against the summary ish Philanthropic Societies which oper discharge of twenty-six employees of ates hospital depends on public support Lebanon Hospital for their participa- and contributions of workers and worktion in a two-hour stoppage on May 14, ers organizations and therefore cannot and the demand for their reinstatement assume attitude of open shop, labor hatwere registered by Charles S. Zimmerman, secretary-manager of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., in the name of the 30,000 members of the mediate reinstatement of twenty six discontinuous disco union. In a telegram sent to George E. Halpern, superintendent of Lebanon Hospital, to Samuel D. Leidersdorf, president of the board of trustees of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, which operates the hospital, and to Hospital in Brooklyn. Here the workers others, Mr. Zimmerman called attention were driven from their jobs because of it does on public support and the contributions of workers and workers employer" towards the employees of the ter to David Dubinsky, president of the hospital, arbitrarily denying them the International Ladies Garment Workers right to organize and bargain collective- Union, the parent organization of Local The telegram follows in full:

In name of thirty thousand workers organized in its ranks, Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., vigorously protests against outrageous discharge of twenty six employees of Lebanon Hospital merely because they participate in demonstration for right to organize and bargain collectively. Federation of Jew-

SONG OF A NEW WORLD

Do not dream that you can hold us chained forever to your lies; though black prison walls enfold us, bright without we sense the skies.

Do not judge us half-complacent with the paltry crumbs you give; a fetal earth cries to be nascent, burst the stifling womb, and live,

you shall not rule forever; in the darkness brain and bone bonds of steel and walls of stone.

In its dungeon womb of sorrow toils and swells the world to be; gird us for the red tomorrow-Tremble, for we shall be free!

es I refuse to lie about the merits of company unionism. The plan is mis--EMMA WINTLER JOHNSON