

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## Wage and Hour Bill Proposed

### Roosevelt Bill Will Ask Forty Hour Week And Forty Cents An Hour

A minimum wage and hour bill which, the administration hopes, may become the carrier for additional riders totalling a new NRA, is being introduced by Roosevelt. The bill will seek to establish a forty-four week maximum and a forty cents an hour minimum. Hours will be regulated by a three-man commission, which will be empowered to deal with this question "flexibly" so that the range, in any industry, could be from 48 hours, in the peak season, to 32 hours in the slack, so long as the annual average would be 40 hours. So far, it is intended that those earning over \$1500 per annum will not be affected.

This measure serves now to completely submerge the Black-Cornery 30-hour bill, and also raises the question of adversely affecting conditions higher than those proposed, where they have been won by the trade unions. Secondly, the power placed in the proposed commission of three individuals is very dangerous. As the plan is outlined, they would undoubtedly be able to override union conditions, Roosevelt's pledges notwithstanding.

## Cincinnati Meet of AFL Declares War on C. I. O.

### Fur Workers Convention Votes To Affiliate To the C. I. O.

Cincinnati, Ohio.—A. F. of L. leaders from every international union but one are arriving here ready to jump into the fray against the CIO. The one exception is the American Newspaper Guild which informed Green that it had no intentions of attending since the conference is not democratic in its composition and will not take up constructive union work.

The executive council meeting over the week-end decided on a policy of head-on-collision with the CIO and proposes to the international unions to dig down to pay for the war by doubling their per capita to the A. F. of L.

In the meantime the drift away from the A. F. of L. is on the increase. At its convention in Chicago the International Union of Fur Workers voted 94 to 4 for affiliation to the CIO; a number of white collar and professional unions have endorsed the CIO and will undoubtedly affiliate with it at their national convention to be held in Philadelphia on May 30 and 31. In New York Allan Haywood, CIO regional director, addressed local No. 5 of the American Federation of Teachers, the largest local union of teachers, and secured a unanimous vote asking the international union to affiliate with the CIO.

# SWOC Victory in J & L Forecasts Unionization of Entire Steel Industry

## J AND L VICTORY SPURS SWOC ORGANIZERS



Philip Murray, chairman of the SWOC, at left, speaks to a group of steel union organizers at Pittsburgh, to lay plans for the continuation of the drive to sign up the independent companies.

## Vote Gives SWOC Sole Bargaining Rights For First Time

By a vote of 17,412 to 7,207, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee forced Jones and Laughlin to accept it as sole bargaining agency for all the workers in its plants. This sweeping victory for the CIO affiliate marks a great advance over previous contracts, where the unions had been recognized as agents for their own members only, and breaks thru the wall of independent steel company opposition to following the example of United States Steel.

However, it is clear that the remaining independents, Republic, Youngstown, Crucible and Inland, still consider themselves "betrayed" by J & L's "capitulation," just as they considered themselves double-crossed, when the mighty power of the SWOC forced U. S. Steel to sign of the dotted line. Altho they will probably continue to buck the union, all odds now heavily favor labor. From all over the country, it is reported, workers phoned SWOC offices in Pittsburgh to learn the results; the great triumph of unionism will encourage the steel workers in the other corporations, and enable the union to have far more than an overwhelming majority in the industry in a short time.

Negotiations are now going on with Crucible. When this is settled to the satisfaction of the union, the drive will turn to Republic, which, the SWOC charged, attempted to turn the tide in the J & L vote, by sending in known thugs.

silk mill in New England, the Cheyney Bros. in South Manchester, Conn., (2,500 workers) signed a contract with the union. In this agreement the company recognized the T.W.O.C. as the exclusive bargaining agency for the workers. The agreement provides for minimum wages of \$15 a week for unskilled labor and \$18 a week for weavers, and 8-hour day and 40 hour week, with time and one-half for overtime, and an increase in the basic hourly rate by 4c an hour.

### Sit Downs in Rayon

Sit down strikes have tied up two plants of the Industrial Rayon Corporation in Covington, Va. and Cleveland, Ohio. The latter plant employs 1,200 workers. The Cleveland strike began as a spontaneous protest of the workers against the company's policy of sponsoring and dominating the company union, the Industrial Rayon Employees Association, in violation of the Wagner Act, and against the action of the company union in petitioning the National Labor Relations Board for an election to determine the majority choice for a collective bargaining representative. Negotiations have begun between the T.W.O.C. and the Industrial Rayon Corp. for the settlement of these strikes.

## Wolfe Declares Valencia Cabinet Provoked Uprising

### Attempts Of Rightward Moving Gov't To Disarm The Workers Caused Spontaneous Revolt; Sees Defeat of Fascism Inevitable

NEW YORK CITY — After several months of intensive work in Spain, looking over the front, conversing with militia men in the trenches twenty meters from the fascist lines, interviewing government leaders in Valencia and Madrid, and Barcelona, discussing with communist, socialist, anarchist and POUM leaders, Bert Wolfe has finally returned to give his impressions of this great epic struggle.

"How does it look at close range in Spain," I asked, as soon as the gang plank was lowered from the Normandie and the gangling figure of Comrade Wolfe appeared. "The fascist can't possibly win the war even tho they may score a victory here or there. There is such deep and ingrained hatred of the fascists, such determination to win that victory is assured, altho it will not be easy and the fighting may last for a long time because of the tremendous resources made available to Franco by Hitler and Mussolini."

"How do you estimate the new cabinet?" "It is undoubtedly a move to the right," Wolfe declared, "and reflects the desires of both the French and British governments for a more right wing government in Spain. The Communist Party utilized the Catalonian events to precipitate a crisis and force out

of the government the anarchists and even the Caballero socialists whom the Communist Party accuses of having vacillated during the recent events in Catalonia."

"In view of Caballero's ouster," I continued my questioning, "how do you account for the conflicting stories about U.G.T.—the trade unions which Caballero leads?"

"The U.G.T.," Wolfe insisted, "does not support the present cabinet and has consistently refused to enter it. Only the regional

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BERTRAM D. WOLFE

## Textile Campaign At 100,000 Mark

The drive of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. to organize the workers in the textile industry has been surging forward with increasing success. New contracts are being signed daily with many large and important firms. On May 15th, the T.W.O.C. announced that 127 firms had signed with the union. The number of workers covered by such agreements is rapidly approaching the 100,000 mark. Every important sector of the textile industry, wool, rayon, cotton, silk, hosiery, and carpet is represented by such agreements.

The largest firm in the textile industry signed by the union, the Visiore Rayon Mfg. Corp. employing 20,000 workers and comprising six plants has signed an agreement with the T.W.O.C. Other firms that have signed up include the huge thread manufacturing plant, J. P. Coats Co., Pawtucket, R. I., with 4,000 workers; the International Braid Co. with 1,120 workers and the American Spinning Co. with 1,200 workers both located in Providence, R. I.; Goodyear Fabric Corp. in New Bedford with 700 workers; and 28 hosiery firms, among them the Allen-A in Kerosha, Wisconsin with 1,200 workers and the Nolde and Horst Co., Reading, employing 2,500 workers.

The Dallas Manufacturing Co. of Huntsville, Alabama, is the first southern cotton mill to sign with the T.W.O.C.

Victory in Cheyney Silk During this week, the largest

# Ladies Garment Union Denounces Government Control of Unions

The following is a statement on incorporation of trade unions drafted by Vice President Julius Hochman, chairman of the Resolutions Committee at the Atlantic City convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The adoption of this document by the convention places the I.L.G.W.U. in the forefront of the fight against these dangerous proposals aimed at emasculating the trade union movement.

Many resolutions dealing with these questions were introduced. The Resolutions Committee approved the resolutions introduced by Local 22 and 60 of New York.

—Editor



**JULIUS HOCHMAN**  
Vice-President of the ILGWU and Chairman of its Resolutions Committee at the Atlantic City Convention.

FOR MANY years those who are opposed to the organization of workers into trade unions, and some misguided liberals, have attempted at one time or another under various pretexts to introduce legislation for the regulation and control of trade unions by either state or federal government. These efforts have been on the increase since the passage of the National Labor Relations Act and its validation by the Supreme Court.

The history of labor in this country shows conclusively that, as labor has gained in strength, its enemies have attempted in devious ways to curtail and restrain its activity. Recently, New Deal legislation has brought new vigor to the campaign to restrict the rights of labor. Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs, Manufacturers Associations and their press—all unite in an outcry, demanding further muzzling of trade unions. Compulsory incorporation, registration or regulation of labor organizations is demanded by the organized enemies of labor.

An example of recent requests for trade union regulation is offered by the resolution adopted by the United States Chamber of Commerce on April 29. Among other things, the Chamber asks for limitation of the right to picket; prohibition of strikes on government projects; abolition of strikes in public utilities; registration of collective agreements; amendment of the Wagner Act; establishment of responsibility for the acts of labor organizations; and, finally, prohibition of trade unions to make contributions for political purposes.

The entire labor movement of this country is unalterably opposed to any legislation which attempts in any way to control its freedom of action by requiring either compulsory registration, regulation, or incorporation. Labor feels that these encroachments on its rights are completely unjustified.

**Unlimited Liability**

It is often stated by the proponents of the trade union incorporation plans that it is no more than fair for the trade unions to incorporate, since individual business establishments do so too. It is important in this connection to remember that corporations were chartered by the state with a view to granting capital certain special privileges. In order to encourage investments at the time when capitalism was growing, the state issued special charters to business enterprises, which granted their owners the privilege of "limited liability" in case of bankruptcy. In other words, as applied to business, the principle of incorporation means limited responsibility. In the case of incorporation of trade unions, however, its purpose is exactly the opposite—an attempt to increase responsibility.

Furthermore, it must also be pointed out that with the exception of banks, no business in the United States is forced to incorporate. To

Incorporation is apt to render unions liable to a multiplicity of suits by employers or by members of the unions acting at the instigation of unscrupulous lawyers or employers. As a result of such suits receivers would be demanded, and the receivers, according to court usage, would be appointed by the parties who are interested in the collection of judgments and the redress decreed by the courts. In other words, the receivers would be appointed by the very people who are interested in bringing about the general frustration of unionization. Employers acting as receivers would then be the ones who would be running the very unions organized to oppose them in an economic struggle.

**Balks Union Discipline**

It may also be pointed out that incorporation would weaken considerably the discipline and control which the unions may exercise over their members. The courts would have the right to review admission to and expulsion from the union, and in other ways interfere with disciplinary measures. The importance of this consideration is evidenced by the fact that the New York Stock Exchange and several important employers' organizations remain unincorporated, specifically for reasons of discipline.

It is true that a business corporation may usually be held liable for the acts of its officers and agents who are generally few in number. But it must be recognized that when it comes to trade unions, which represent thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers, it becomes a very simple matter for an unsympathetic judge to hold the act of any or all the members of the union as the authorized act of the organization on the theory that the union must have known about them. Damages may even be assessed against the union in such an amount in a single case as to put the union out of business for ever.

**Acts of Provocateurs**

We have known for a long time, and the LaFollette Committee has brought into full view, the activities of labor spies and agents provocateurs—how often they are planted into the ranks of the union with a view to bringing disrepute to the organization. What an easy matter it would be to hold that acts of these spies, committed at the instigation of the employers, are nevertheless acts for which the unions are liable and must pay damages.

Without a doubt, once legislation for compulsory incorporation of trade unions gets on the statute books, raids on union treasuries as a result of decisions of unfriendly judges would be a common occurrence. In a recent automobile strike, one judge was reported in the press as having stated that unless the injunction he had issued against the union were complied with, the union would be assessed damages to the amount of ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS!

**Registration of Trade Unions**

Registration of trade unions in practice means the same as incorporation.

**Union Funds Belong to Members**

We are unalterably opposed to compulsory filing of financial reports with the government. The funds of the union are not governmental property. The only financial reports which unions should be required to make—and which they do make—are to their own membership, to whom the funds belong. By publicly filing financial statements, the unions, in effect, announce to the employers their financial strength or weakness. Very often when a strike threatens this is one point which the union wishes to keep to itself. Much too often the employers are guided not by the justice of the union's case but by its financial strength or weakness.

# Labor and Clayton Anti-Trust Act

By SAUL HELD

**THE MISUSE** of the injunction and the Sherman Act rallied in support of the Clayton Act. It became law on October 15, 1914, and was at once hailed by Samuel Gompers and other trade leaders as labor's "Magna Charta" ("The Charter of Industrial Freedom—Labor Provisions of the Clayton Anti-Trust Law" by Samuel Gompers, American Federationist, Vol. 21, p. 957). Here are some pertinent sections of the Act:

**Provisions of Act**

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural, or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the anti-trust laws.

"That no restraining order or injunction shall be granted by any court of the United States, . . . in any case between an employer and employees, or between employers and employees . . . involving, or growing out of, a dispute concerning terms or conditions of employment, unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property, or to a property right, of the party making the application, for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law. . . .

"That any person, firm, corporation, or association shall be entitled to sue for and have injunctive

relief, in any court of the United States having jurisdiction over the parties, against threatened loss by a violation of the anti-trust laws. . . .

**Multiplying Trouble**

After over 100 years of the existence of unionism in the United States a law finally begrudgingly asserts that it is impossible to hold that a union as such is an unlawful organization! The law uttered a few fine words about not issuing injunctions in industrial disputes and then promptly stipulated "unless," which knocked hell out of the sentiment proffered labor. The last section of the above quotation contains the essence of the Clayton Act and added another procedure against labor. The Sherman Act provided for three types of enforcement, criminal proceedings, injunction proceedings brought by the government, and damage suits brought by private parties. Section 16 of the Clayton Act added a fourth method, injunction suits brought by private parties.

This new bill of rights multiplied labor's troubles immeasurably. Of a total of 64 proceedings against labor under the Sherman Act after passage of the Clayton Act, 34, or more than half, were private injunction suits.

**And The Wagner Act?**

From the foregoing it should be abundantly clear that labor's experience with legislation ostensibly designed to prevent combination or conspiracies "in restraint of trade or commerce" has been a most unhappy one. The myth of the federal judiciary's impartiality should have gone the way of all bubbles in consequence, yet . . .

What is popularly known as the Wagner Act declares in the very title, "An act to diminish the causes of labor disputes burdening or obstructing interstate or foreign commerce, to create a National Labor Relations Board, and for other purposes." And in Section 1, "The denial by employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective bargaining lead to strikes and other forms of industrial strife or unrest, which have the intent or the necessary effect of burdening or obstructing commerce. . . ."

With the decisions of the Supreme Court validating the Act extending the defined scope of interstate commerce to all manufacturing, labor is more vulnerable than ever to reprisals for strike action, since almost any strike can be construed as "burdening or obstructing interstate . . . commerce. . . ."

Nor does Section 13 ("Nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to interfere with or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike.") afford any guarantee against reprisals for strike action. The whole precedent of our law in favors against such a conclusion, as we have seen.

In the dissenting opinion delivered by Justice McReynolds on the Wagner Act, it was shrewdly observed: "And if this theory of a continuous 'stream of commerce' as now defined is correct, will it become the duty of the Federal Government hereafter to suppress every strike which by possibility may cause a blockade in that stream?" The answer is, of course, it can. The Sherman and Clayton Acts are still on the statute books.

**Fears Allayed**

The fears of big business that a pro-labor National Labor Relations Board might work hardship on it through the Wagner Act (Continued on Page 5)

## Profits Soar In Auto Industry

TABLE 1 — NET PROFITS AND PER CENT TO SALES (000 omitted from totals)

Net Sales	Four small Companies			total
	General Motors	Chrysler	total	
1928	\$276,942	\$30,991	\$70,110	\$377,569
1929	248,282	21,902	66,720	336,904
1935	167,226	34,975	1,314	203,915
1936	227,942	53,766	9,644	291,352
<b>Per Cent of Sales</b>				
1928	\$276,468	\$30,991	\$70,110	\$377,569
1928	18.9%	9.8%	11.6%	15.8%
1929	16.5	5.8	11.4	13.7
1935	14.5	6.8	0.8	11.2
1936	16.4	8.5	4.6	13.0

In table 1 the net profits and their relationship to dollar sales in the twelve months ended September 30, which will correspond closely to the results for the calendar year 1936, are compared with 1935, 1929 and 1928 for the six companies.

In the recovery, the automobile industry has reestablished in great measure the unusually high return on capital investment which characterized its earlier history. Originally, the high capital return of the industry was based largely on the fact that automobile manufacturers were primarily processors and assemblers of parts and semi-finished materials produced by other manufacturers and generally purchased on credit, whereas the finished automobiles were translated promptly into cash sales for shipment to retail dealers. Later, as the automobile plants became more integrated and produced themselves more of the equipment previously purchased from other enterprises, the high capital re-

turn was preserved by intensive technological development and use of advanced production methods that permitted extremely rapid turnover of investment.

In 1936, the combined net profits of the six companies cited above represented a return of 24.5% on capital investment. In 1929, the same companies as a group earned 26.27% on their investment and in 1928, 32.9%. The General Motors net capital return was 24.1%, against 27.5% in 1929 and 33.9% in 1928. Chrysler, which is now transacting 70% more business than in 1928-29 on a total capital some \$28,000,000 smaller, earned 42.3% on its net capital in 1936, against 20.8% in 1929 and 32.4% in 1928. Even the four small companies had a combined profit return of 8% on their investment in 1936, although this contrasted with the 24% earned by the same companies in 1929. It also earned on an investment reduced by readjustments and depression losses to \$117,000,000, from \$227,600,000 at the end of 1929.

# The C.I.O. and the Problem of Unity

By WILL HERBERG

"So I call upon labor to organize—to stand erect—demand its rights—organize—organize here in America. And, after we have organized, if someone wants to talk peace, we will talk peace." JOHN L. LEWIS, at the recent convention of the I.L.G.W.U.

Events are moving with extraordinary speed in the labor movement today. What we forecast a year ago as tendencies of development or possibilities for the future, are now accomplished facts before our very eyes. The power and sweep of the C.I.O. have surpassed even the most sanguine expectations. When Harry Hopkins now ventures to predict that in six months the great mass-production industries of the country will be thoroughly organized, somehow even this does not sound as far-fetched or extravagant as it may seem at first glance. In and thru the C.I.O., American labor is beginning to move at a real "American tempo" and it would be misleading indeed to try to estimate the present course of events by the traditional standards of yesterday. In the truest sense of the word, we have entered upon a new era that can be judged only in its own terms.

### The New Situation And The Question of Unity

The C.I.O. has been in existence just about a year and a half and yet it already counts over two million workers in its ranks, perhaps as many as remain in the A. F. of L. In fact, the C.I.O. has now definitely entered the second phase of its development. Its original program was to concentrate upon special drives in a few selected mass-production industries, such as steel, auto and rubber. Quite inevitably, thru the logic of the situation, it has now passed to the stage where it is functioning as an independent trade union center, chartering new unions, establishing city, state and regional offices, embarking on general organizational activities on a large scale. A new period has opened. . . .

It is but natural that, under the changed circumstances, the whole question of unity in the labor movement should assume a new aspect, giving rise to new problems and new tasks. What is the situation today? There is no use dodging the fact that there are in this country at the present time two rival trade union federations—the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.—one with its face turned to the dead past, the other to the living future; one static, with a constantly narrowing base, the other dynamic, expanding, possessed of unbounded possibilities. All signs, moreover, seem to indicate that the center of gravity has already shifted from the old to the new, that the C.I.O. has already marked out the channel along which the main stream of the American labor movement will certainly flow in the days to come.

Outside of both federations are a number of unions, some of them long established and powerful, such as the railroad brotherhoods. The problem of trade union unity cannot be solved without taking these organizations into serious consideration.

That the present division in the labor movement is in itself an evil—also, under the circumstances, a necessary evil—will hardly be denied. Disunity cannot be taken for granted or accepted indifferently, with a philosophic shrug of the shoulders. Ultimately the trade union movement will have to reestablish its unity. But how and on what basis? Nothing could be more dangerously false than to approach the question sentimentally, sighing and weeping over accomplished facts—abstractly, without regard to concrete circumstances—mechanically, on the basis of eternal, and therefore empty, formulas. Trade union unity is neither a routine phrase nor a noble aspiration; it is a complex and difficult problem that can be effectively met only by a realistic evaluation of the whole situation and a steadfast recognition of the new forces at work in the ranks of labor.

### Unity On What Basis?

Everybody is for unity, of course, but precisely for that reason the sentiment is meaningless. What kind of unity and on what basis? On this question there are three viewpoints:

1. **Unity on the basis of the A. F. of L.**—that is, on the basis of reactionary, old-line craft unionism as the standard system of labor organization. Such "unity" could come only thru the annihilating defeat or the voluntary capitulation of the C.I.O. It would mean the abandonment of the organization of the mass-production industries, the dismemberment and destruction of the powerful industrial unions that have been built up in the steel, auto, rubber and other fields, the extinction of all militancy, aggressiveness and hope in the ranks of labor. It would be the worst disaster that could possibly befall the American labor movement. It would indeed bring peace—the peace of the graveyard. Such is the "peace and unity" so ardently desired by Frey, Wharton, Green

and other leaders of the Executive Council.

2. **"Peace at any price."** This is the joint slogan of the so-called "conciliators" in the A. F. of L. (Matthew Woll) and the vacillating elements in the C.I.O. (Zaritsky). If it means anything at all, it means capitulation to the Executive Council, for obviously that is the only "price" at which the die-hard craft union chiefs will agree to any "peace." As a formula for "unity," it is no less disastrous, although more hypocritical and confusing, than the forthright attitude of Wharton and Frey. The utter hollowness of the "peace-at-any-price" idea was quite properly emphasized by Justice, the official organ of the I.L.G.W.U., in an editorial last December:

"There is more than a desire for peace that is involved in this dispute. There are involved in it fundamental concepts of trade union organization, methods and tactics. Such basic differences cannot be glossed over or shunted aside. A peace that would leave such fundamental issues out of consideration can not be lasting or beneficial to either side."

3. **Unity on the basis of the C.I.O.**—that is, on the basis of industrial unionism as the standard system, on the basis of the organization of the mass-production industries along industrial lines.

## THE REIGN OF TERROR IN HARLAN COUNTY

By EUGENE COEBURN

The author of this article is a Negro miner who has worked in the Kentucky coal fields for many years and knows the terror regime from the inside.—Editor

ONE OF the most amazing spectacles has been the recent investigation by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee of anti-labor practices in Harlan County. To those in the labor or radical movements, it has been of general knowledge that Harlan County formed one of America's most frequently smelted "cess pools of reaction" in its denial of the elementary rights of free speech and assembly of labor, but the extent to which certain sections of the coal industry have gone to suppress the growth of unionism among miners neither the Civil Liberties Committee nor any other congressional committee has the power or will to ascertain.

Since the wave of unionism that swept the coal industry during the first days of the NRA, Harlan County became the last line of defense for the die-hards of the coal industry. Routed and desperate, they chose to dig in and make a final stand against the onslaughts of the victorious mine workers. Subsidized by those die-hards, the Harlan County Coal Operators Association became a symbol of hope for the labor haters. Controlling both county political machines and equipped with a state-sanctioned privately paid deputy sheriff system, this enterprising coal association made murder and intimidation of labor organizers and sympathizers a thriving business for professional thugs and ex-convicts.

**Investigation Limited**

It is not a mere oversight that the Civil Liberties Committee did not extend the investigation to the activity of those criminals who give financial and moral support to their legal stooge, The Association, the instrument through which the "reign of terror" is maintained through diabolical efficiency, is the operating vehicle of the U. S. Steel

This is the only kind of unity in harmony with the fundamental interests of the labor movement; it is unity making for life and progress.

"Unity in the A. F. of L. was once the slogan of C.I.O. unionists and other progressives," declared the Union News Service, official organ of the C.I.O., in its issue of May 10, 1937. "A. F. of L. leaders destroyed that unity when they drove out the C.I.O. unions. Now the organizing success of the C.I.O. and its increasing power of attraction have made 'unity in and thru the C.I.O.' the logical slogan of all who hope to see a unified movement of America's tens of millions of working people."

### The Unity Question At The I.L.G.W.U. Convention

This whole question was dramatized at the recent convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union at Atlantic City, where the essential issues were thoroughly discussed in a number of addresses and declarations. Matthew Woll opened the debate. Speaking in his personal capacity as head of the Union Life Insurance Company, he made a tearful and thoroughly unrealistic plea for "peace and harmony" on no other basis, apparently, than general good-will and a mutual disregard of the issues involved. A few days

later, before the same gathering, John L. Lewis, as representative of the C.I.O., delivered a magnificent address in the course of which he very strikingly formulated the attitude of the industrial union forces.

"Labor in America," he pronounced with indescribable effect, "is now no longer weak. . . . Labor under the new inspiration is on the march and is going forward. . . . I have no desire to interrupt that march or to bring further confusion into the ranks of labor by stopping the work of organization and attempting again to negotiate or iron out our differences with the American Federation of Labor. If the American Federation of Labor wants peace, it should issue some official statement that it is willing to concede the principles for which the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed. The simplest premise upon which peace conversations may be held is to give some indication that the Federation is willing to bargain on a basis of equality and on the basis of recognition of the principle which caused the cleavage in the first instance."

Even before Lewis spoke, Local 22 had introduced a declaration on the C.I.O. which soon became the common platform of all pro-C.I.O. elements. In this statement, the

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Middleton. This exalts his removal to the position of a "public issue" of primary importance. Needless to say, this action is an attempt to make murderer Middleton the scapegoat without disturbing the equilibrium of the proprietary governmental structure of Harlan County. Although the Harlan County Coal Operators Association supported Chandler in his race for governor, the Bingham-Barkley gang feels that with clever maneuvering this powerful anti-union coal association can be swung back into their camp.

**"Wiping Out Shame"**

2. Liberal, civic and religious groups: These three groups are lumped together simply because they have acted more or less together in previous attempts to "impress the people of Kentucky with the unfortunate conditions existing in Harlan County." Their interest is confined more to the moral issue and general crime wave in Harlan County than to the problems of organized labor. It was these groups that forced former Gov. Laffoon to appoint a commission to study conditions in Harlan County a few years ago. The report of this commission, although stuffed with the usual meaningless "apprehensions" of one sort or another, did make a worthwhile observation when it reported to the governor that a "virtual reign of terror financed in general by a group of coal operators in collusion with certain public officials" existed in Harlan County. (During the Civil Liberties investigation Chandler could not find this report of the commission.) These groups have now, with renewed vigor, set for themselves the task of wiping out this "national shame" from the state of Kentucky.

**Forces Leading Fight**

Yet, despite these pre-arranged shortcomings and limitations of the investigation, the committee has done a worthwhile job in cementing public opinion throughout the state, both labor and middle-class, against the "corporate feudalism" that exists in Harlan County. As a result of the "national scandal" unearthed by the committee various forces in the state have initiated independent campaigns to prick the Harlan County sore and drain the pus.

The forces leading the attack can be classified into four distinct groups.

1. **Political:** Due to internal discord, the State Democratic party is divided into two opposing factions: the insurgent faction, headed by the present Gov. Chandler, and the Bingham-Barkley faction recently ousted from state control. The Bingham-Barkley bunch eager to "embarrass" the Chandler administration has hurled the Harlan County situation into the inner-party factional arena and has donned the ill-fitting robe of the public crusader. The depth of the proposed crusade revolves around the removal of the Chandler—supported Sheriff Theodore

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## CARNIVAL IN

WELCOME TO DELEGATES  
6th National Convention C.P.O.  
and to  
Bertram D. Wolfe

Dancing - Shooting Galleries - Hot Dogs -  
Drinks - Shooting Galleries - Prizes

## RED

FRIDAY EVENING, MAY 28th  
NEW WORKERS SCHOOL  
131 West 33rd St.  
N. Y. C.

Admission  
39c

WORKERS AGE

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PITTSBURGH AND CINCINNATI

A FEW days ago the press reported that the Committee for Industrial Organization had scored a smashing victory by securing the votes of more than 17,000 out of 24,000 voting employees of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, thus winning sole bargaining rights with that firm. And today, as we go to press, craft union chiefs from all sections of the country, summoned by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, are gathering in the city of Cincinnati as a great council of war against the CIO's efforts to organize the unorganized industries in the United States. These two events represent the very essence of the roles of the two contenders for power in the labor movement today.

For the CIO the vote in Jones & Laughlin constitutes the defeat of that "crouching lion" which held up a clean sweep in the steel industry. With Jones & Laughlin signed up it is a matter of a short time before Republic, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, Crucible, and the rest of the independents bend the knee, thus opening the gates of industrial unionism for an additional 200,000 workers. The significance to the steel workers and to the entire labor movement of a 100% organized and signed-up steel industry cannot possibly be exaggerated. It is this steady and persistent union building and these astonishing successes, particularly in industries which the A. F. of L. had considered unorganizable, that characterize the CIO.

And what of the A. F. of L. conference in Cincinnati? What does it seek to achieve? It is aimed at hindering and frustrating the vast organizing efforts of the CIO in the unorganized industries. It is negative, and destructive of the best interests of the widest sections of American labor. Like the warlords of China our craft leaders seek to keep labor as a whole weak and craft-divided. Hence their determination to dismember the industrially organized movements set on foot by the CIO. This represents the essence of A. F. of L. policy today.

Nevertheless, this conference is not an unmitigated evil. It will go a long way in disarming many able lieutenants of William Green and John P. Frey who today wear the mantle of "peace." These peace-mongers have served as the bearers of a false flag of truce, behind which the craft unionists wage war more effectively. Let those who honestly believe in peace open their eyes and they will see in the Cincinnati conference not a movement for peace but a widening and deepening movement for war. It is a war which the CIO did not want—witness the patient work of the CIO unions beginning with the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. in 1934. The first blow was struck by the A. F. of L. in suspending the ten international unions, followed by numerous hostile acts which could leave no doubt as to the aims and intentions of the executive council. To pose the problem today as a choice of peace or war is to deliberately distort the issue. The war is on and the only choice is one of sides. Those who continue to talk of peace do so, knowingly or not, as apologists and defenders of the craft union side of this war.

Bertram D. Wolfe

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THE WORKER IN NAZI GERMANY

By G. S.

AT THIS moment, when the French workers have built their unions into powerful organizations, thru which they are trying to better their conditions and gain new rights, it would be useful to remember that the Nazi regime has wiped out the Trade Unions and abolished all the gains won by the working class during the "liberal" era. The Nazi leaders commend themselves on abolishing for ever the class struggle and the antagonism between employers and workers, and replacing this by "social peace" and "community of enterprise." But what's hidden behind these idealistic phrases? The truth of it is that National Socialism—like all fascist regimes—has from its inception guaranteed the employers social and economic domination over their workers. This seems perfectly natural to Hitler, who says: "Our great industrial leaders have reached their high position because of their ability and their hard work. Thanks to this method of selection, which proves the superiority of their race, they have the right to command." The fact of belonging to the "inferior" and poor race of the working class is ample justification of the complete subordination of that class. It is through this reasoning that the law on the "organization of the labor of the nation" is based primarily on the recognition of the employer as "Führer" of the plant.

The workers are therefore the "followers" who owe complete "loyalty" to the leader. According to this principle of "leadership" the boss has the exclusive right to make decisions on all matters concerning the enterprise. The employer alone can determine wages, hours of work, hiring and firing, fines and all the other working conditions. Fines can be set very high in order to insure "respect for work" and to prevent the "violation of this most precious good." None of these decisions can even be discussed. The right to strike has been suppressed and the boss is dictator of the enterprise just as Hitler is dictator of the Third Reich. His position is identical with that of the feudal lord, of the Prussian Junker. He also was owner, judge and administrator all in one. Blind obedience is the only right of the worker in the authoritarian state that Hitler's admirers want to copy. To reinforce the relationship of subordination between employer and worker, the bosses have been named the "officers" of the economy. The workers must model their behavior on that of the soldier, and to emphasize the military spirit in the "army of labor," discipline and drill is forced upon the worker. The factory has become a barracks.

The "Confidence Men"

It is obvious that this military outlook is incompatible with democratic institutions. The old works councils, whereby the workers chose their representatives, have been suppressed, and have been replaced by the confidence men. These are chosen by the employer, in conjunction with the Nazi Party. They must be able to prove an unreserved fidelity to the regime. This list of selected men is given to the workers to "vote" on. They have no right to draw up their own ticket. Opposition can only be shown by a spoiled ballot or abstention from voting. In spite of the reign of terror this is what often happens. That is why there have been no elections for two years. Last year the authorities simply forbade any "election," a typical measure that proves that

the government is not at all sure of the sympathy of the workers, in spite of self-assured declarations by the leaders, and of "impartial" reporters.

Even the powers of the confidence men are restrained. They can only meet at the call and under the chairmanship of the manager of the factory. They haven't even the right to elect their own chairman. The law only allows them to give their "advice" on secondary matters. The important questions, such as wages etc. are left to the boss, and they can have no say. Even in unimportant matters the "confidence council" has only advisory powers and the "Führer" makes all decisions on his own responsibility. To criticize these rulings may have dangerous consequences. The confidence men's job is to explain the employers' decisions to the workers and to get them accepted but not criticized. In fact they do not represent the workers' interests before the boss, but the bosses' authority over the workers. The confidence men who have dared to speak for their fellow workers against the employer, have been brought to court for this "social attitude," and have lost their jobs.

If there is any difference of opinion between the employer and the confidence council, the latter can go to the "Treuhaender," the representative of the government in the various economic fields. There must further be a majority within the council and the complaint must be signed by the employer himself. There can be no suspension of the employer's decision and the guarantee provided in this method is just an illusion! However the confidence men do have an important function. They are the agents in the factories of the Gestapo (secret police). They are there to catch all anti-fascists and underground workers. For this reason they are allowed to poke their noses into everything, to go everywhere, even after working hours, and to make requisition and searches. The regime, thru the confidence men, has created a system of stool-pigeons within the factories.

The Government's Labor Director

He is designated by Hitler and receives all his instructions from the central government. His job is to insure "labor peace," to superintend the enterprises in his district and to report to the government. At the beginning of the Nazi regime he had the power to regulate working conditions, in place of the collective agreements that existed between the unions and the employers' associations. Later the regime placed this important power in the hands of the employers themselves. So the authority of the director is limited as regards the employer whilst he still retains absolute control over the interests of the workers. In other words, the boss sets a salary, but the director has power to declare this salary lower for certain individuals or grades of workers or to regulate it where "economic or social reasons" make this desirable. He can thus regulate wages that the employer does not feel are in "proportion" with the enterprise. This is a "flexible" method that enables wages to vary according to the conditions of each enterprise. Naturally the worker has no say or appeal against this arbitrary method of fixing his wages.

Courts of Social Honor aim to punish all "contraventions of duty" that would injure the "social honor" of the nation. Their main victims are employers who obviously abuse their power, workers who

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Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Nazis Blunder At Guernica; French People's Front Harsher To Workers.

London, May 5th, 1937.

THE HEINOUS destruction of the old Basque city Guernica in more than one respect reveals the German touch. First of all, the psychology involved is evidence of the boorish stupidity of the German Junkers and Fascists. The destruction of the peaceful, historic Basque city of Guernica was designed to intimidate the Basque population (especially the bourgeois-nationalist elements), and to bring about the surrender of the Basque country without further resistance. In fact, however, an opposite reaction was achieved. Now, the resistance of the Basque has become more inflexible than ever—which was, of course, to be expected.

The cold-blooded cynicism with which the latest thing in air bombs and the "totalitarian warfare" were "tested" at Guernica is genuinely German-Junker-militarist. From a technical viewpoint the operation came off brilliantly. From a political, and in the long run even from a military viewpoint, it was a fatal miscalculation. Lastly, this attempt, quickly to conquer the Basque country by subjecting its civil population to brutal terror, is an integral part of the German Nazis' Spanish policy. The Nazis are out to get possession of the splendid iron ore deposits of Bilbao which, (a) could be such a vital factor in the current German rearmament, and, (b) could serve the Nazis as a financial compensation for their expenditure in behalf of Franco, should the latter—and the Nazis apparently are beginning to figure with this possibility—collapse and go out of business.

The iron ore deposits of Bilbao, however, form a vital factor in Britain's rearmament as well, which is the prime reason for England's actively supplying Bilbao with foodstuffs and evacuating it. The majority of the English people, moreover, are horrified by this first sample of "totalitarian warfare" offered to the world by German militarists at Guernica. It is characteristic of the French People's Front government that "Le Temps," the official mouthpiece of the Quai d'Orsay, after the events at Guernica, admonished the English to go ahead and do something for the Basque republicans. And at no time have French ships participated in bringing supplies to the besieged.

The sinking of the "Espana," biggest battleship of the Rebels (14,000 tons) might greatly influence the development of modern naval warfare, were it to be established that she was destroyed by an air bomb. It would be the first case of this kind. Rebel news-sources, however, insist that the ship was not blown up by an air bomb but by a floating mine. Therefore the question remains a moot one.

INOLENCE TO WORKERS INCREASES IN FRANCE

From day to day the Radical Socialist partner in the People's Front is getting increasingly insolent and more sharp towards the workers. In a speech, before war veterans in the province on last Sunday, the Radical Socialist Cabinet minister, Chautemps, warned the workers against "anarchy which, at all times, resulted in a demand for dictatorship."

The May Day demonstration in Paris was impressive in size but rather subdued in spirit. The demonstrators themselves did not mention the People's Front Government. The leading slogans referred to Old Age Insurance for the workers, and Public Works. A few days prior, the Socialist Minister of Finance, Auriol, had informed the Chamber's Committee of Finance that a new appropriation, unless it were intended for military purposes, is quite out of the question.

Paul Faure, Secretary of the SFIO, corroborated in a speech that Public Works and Old Age Insurance have been stopped officially. Paul Faure suggested that the People's Front parties get together and reach an agreement for a new program. "Humanite" points out that such an agreement is unnecessary since both points in question are included in the People's Front program, subscribed to by all partners in the People's Front. Obviously the proposed agreement is to be on the discontinuation of the program.

This is precisely what the Radical Socialists are after and the SFIO volunteers as a candid go-

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BOOKS of the AGE

THE CONQUEST OF POWER, by Albert Weisbord, 2 volumes. Covici-Friede, New York, \$7.50.

Reviewed by D. Swift

In these two volumes, which weigh more than five pounds, Mr. Weisbord attempts to describe Liberalism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, Fascism, and the various shades of Communism. Of course, he is not content with merely describing these forces and to correlate them with the contemporary American scene. The purely historical sections in the volumes reveal a very cursory reading of the sources and standard commentaries, a reading no more thorough than that usually to be detected in the general run of theses for the master's degree in American universities. Mr. Weisbord's interpretations leave even more to be desired. They are either absurd or devoid of all sense. A few examples will be sufficient.

Mr. Weisbord believes that "the fascist movement is inevitable in the United States," and that already it is showing its head in every branch of American life, including "the intellectual and engineering fields." He states it as a fact that the Friends of New Germany, a Nazi organization, in New York City alone has "over ten thousand" members, whereas the latest figures of the Federal Department of Justice show that the number is in the neighborhood of 2500. Technocracy, it seems, was a herald of Fascism. "Characteristically enough, the movement received inspiration from the works of Professor Thorstein Veblen who, in turn, was inspired by the utopian, Edward Bellamy." To say that Veblen was inspired by Bellamy is like saying that Marx was inspired by the nightingale.

But to continue with Mr. Weisbord's ideas. He sees Fascism almost everywhere and in every body. He gives it as his considered opinion that "in the professional world, the liberal Charles A. Beard has now written a whole series of tomes that tend toward Fascism." Even the good and kindly John Dewey is tainted. He "seems to be changing his liberalism in a direction that Fascism might welcome." Then there are the city managers in a score or so American cities. They are all the forerunners of the American totalitarian state, for the city manager plan of municipal administration is "a fertile field for the growth of Fascist forces."

In spite of all this, Mr. Weisbord likes the American people, because he thinks they are full of a "natural pacifism," whatever that may mean. Mr. Weisbord also doesn't like the American people, as witness this polite sneer at them: "The proletarian movement in Europe is showing an incapacity further to lead the world. It may well be that the enormous weight of America is too heavy for the workers of Europe to remove from their necks." Finally, Mr. Weisbord has some profound thoughts on the American Negro problem. "If the Negro people want to form a Separate Negro Republic for themselves," he says, then all Communists of whatever shade should fight to the limit "to support the choice of the Negro people."

Mr. Weisbord, it should be clear by now, doesn't know what he is talking about. He is no more than a verbose and bewildered radical. It is difficult to imagine any possible value in his present two volumes. They do not add one proton to the sum of human knowledge.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

THE NEW DEAL IN WASHINGTON, D. C. By G. MORRIS

THE NEW DEAL IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

By G. MORRIS

One utterance of the smiling Roosevelt will no doubt go down in history along with such presidential mouthfuls as, "Too proud to fight," "War to end war," "Undesirable citizens," and such like gems. The utterance that I have in mind is the one that rang out across the land some three years ago—"No one shall starve," said Franklin D., and an echoing shout of approval went up from a mass of famine pinched throats. But in the city of half a million in the shadow of the White House and the Congressional Buildings a peculiar thing happened.

In April 1936 the money allotted for relief purposes in the District of Columbia dried up to the extent of refusing all relief to able bodied or "employable" persons who were not already on the relief rolls. These people who were on the relief rolls were put to work, as was the custom elsewhere, on various W.P.A. projects. The staffs of administrators, investigators and such officialdom did not suffer depletion to any marked extent. But for the "newly unemployed," or those who, having lived on their own or their relatives' resources as long as they could, simply had to apply to the public welfare for bread since April 1936 these people have had neither relief nor W.P.A. jobs.

Various so-called "employment offices" were maintained, one of these was in conjunction with the W.P.A. There, thousands of people were registered for W.P.A. jobs, but were told at the time of registration: "now you see all we can do here is register your need of employment, we cannot put you to work. You must first be certified by the Relief people as being in need of employment." This prided jobs—for the few in the office who filed away the application cards etc.

When the relief authorities were approached they told the unemployed that no machinery existed to even interview a person who was able bodied and therefore employable. To add insult to injury some of the needy workers were told to apply to private industry for a job—told that "industry is now absorbing you employables"! Last fall a delegation of unemployed stated those facts to a man high up in Federal Relief circles. He denied that no certifying agency existed in the District of Columbia—an agency to certify a person's need for relief, or employment. Proof was immediately brought in front of this official, he pressed a button on his desk, an understrapper appeared, a request was made for the actual facts in the case from some "investigator" of the set-up. The report came up in a few minutes; "there gentlemen, you see you were wrong, I am told that we have a certifying agency, but unfortunately it isn't functioning just at present!"

No wonder a crime wave sweeps over Washington, D. C. No wonder hold-ups and burglaries are keeping the police busy, no wonder that so many weary souls are seeking relief via the "gas" route. The private relief agencies figure that at least three thousand adults are unemployed and totally destitute, that, these with their dependents amount to at least ten thousand people. No wonder the streets of the National Capital are full of pan-handlers, recent recruits to this occupation, no wonder night watchmen of apartments and stores and warehouses are sheltering scores of evicted families; burlap sacks and pads of newspapers form the bedding of hundreds of families under the shadow of the Capitol Building.

The CIO and Labor Peace

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question of unity was treated along similar lines: "The reestablishment of unity in the labor movement now arises as an outstanding task for the future. But unity is no longer possible on the old, traditional basis of craft unionism. . . . Today, real peace and unity in the labor movement are possible only on the basis of industrial unionism and a militant, aggressive campaign to organize the mass-production workers along industrial lines. The expansion and consolidation of the C.I.O., therefore, constitute the surest foundation for a united labor movement in this country." And in the report finally adopted unanimously by the convention, the same approach is strongly emphasized: "Your committee is convinced that recognition of the principle of industrial unionism for the mass-production industries is the only basis for a lasting peace in the American labor movement."

Peace and unity on the basis of the program of the C.I.O.—that is the only constructive and realistic formula at the present time! Is A Negotiated Peace Possible? But how is such unity to be achieved under existing conditions? I think it may be taken pretty much for granted that, with things as they are, there is very little likelihood of a negotiated peace on a sound basis. The craft unionist bitter-enders on the Executive Council have not the slightest notion of recognizing the principles of industrial unionism in part or in whole, either before, during or after negotiations. In fact, under their inspiration, the A. F. of L. leadership has virtually converted itself into an agency for deterring the workers from action and for denouncing and obstructing labor struggles, even to the point of openly inviting to scabbery, as in the General Motors strike, or imitating the dirty tactics of a company union, as in the New York Edison situation. No one should be deceived by the "grabbing" policy recently adopted by the carpenters, machinists and other craft organizations. It

is not a sudden conversion to the idea of industrial unionism; it is simply a piece of dangerous war strategy. It is perfectly clear that, in their blind determination to protect what they regard as a vested interest, the craft union leaders will not listen for a moment to any proposal for unity on the basis of industrial unionism. The reckless splits engineered by them in so many city and state central bodies, and now the mobilization staged at the Cincinnati conference, show beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Wharton-Frey clique is out for a fight to the finish, cost what it may!

Thru the C.I.O. No—unity is not likely to be achieved thru a negotiated peace. The real road to unity lies thru the expansion and consolidation of the C.I.O. as the new labor movement of this country. Whatever is sound and healthy in the A. F. of L. will, in the long run, gravitate towards and be absorbed by the C.I.O., where there is plenty of room for whatever types of unionism are made necessary by the varying conditions of modern industry. And the same is true of organizations at present outside both federations. On the other hand, whatever proves incapable of finding its place in the new movement because it either will not or cannot adapt itself to modern industrial conditions, is necessarily doomed to stagnation, decay and ultimate extinction. Of course, a protracted period may prove necessary for the labor movement to effect such a fundamental shift of base, a period of internal warfare. But was it not in this way that the A. F. of L. itself emerged out of the ruins of the Knights of Labor? Today, a sudden, abrupt transition of a similar nature, a transition to a higher level of class organization, has begun. Nay, more—it is already well on its way! Thru what intermediate stages? The labor movement will have to pass on the way cannot now be determined, but the goal is clear—"unity in and thru the C.I.O."

(In a future article, Will Herberg will examine the attitude of the various tendencies in the labor movement on the "unity question.") —THE EDITOR

Reign of Terror In Harlan

(Continued from Page 3)

self of the cheap parking space in Kentucky. Also to counteract any drastic action on the part of organized labor this group intends to go forward with a "rehabilitation" campaign in Harlan County. Piercing the cover of this proposed campaign, one is apt to find the assassin paws of the Harlan County Coal Operators Association.

Labor's Fight 4. Organized labor: This includes the pro-CIO State Federation of Labor, Districts 19, 23, 28 and 30, of the UMWA and the Kentucky Non-Partisan Labor League. These forces have been by far the most potent and active in the campaign to rid Harlan County of every shred of feudalism. In the face of all opposition, both within and outside Harlan County, the United Mine Workers have sent droves of organizers into the section, only to have them ambushed, intimidated and beaten. Following up these costly sacrifices the UMWA instituted in 1935 a pressure campaign against various state legislators, which resulted in the introduction of a bill in the state legislature abolishing the privately paid deputy system. The bill passed the house but not defeat in the Senate. Chief aid to the defeat was "Harlan gold." Early in January of this year the Labor Non-Partisan

League, a powerful force in Kentucky, files charges against Sheriff Middleton of Harlan for misuse of office and demanded the governor to investigate. He did and described Mr. Middleton as "a competent, efficient and energetic official." Chandler probably used those adjectives in good faith for, undoubtedly, the Harlan County Coal Operators Association thinks they fit to the extent of the \$160,000 they have invested in him in the way of bonds required to back "Terrible Teddy," the Assassin of Looney Creek. On the heels of this slap in the face by Chandler, District 19 of the UMWA sent out a call to other districts of the bituminous field which resulted in extensive plans for a concerted drive on Harlan County. The UMWA was in the middle of the drive when Harlan County appeared before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee.

In the next article will be found a brief review of the testimony given before the committee hearings plus some additional pertinent facts on Harlan County which will give readers of the Workers Age a better picture of the tasks confronting organized labor in successfully bringing Harlan County into the fold of the United Mine Workers.

CLAYTON ACT AND LABOR MOVEMENT

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were allayed by Chief Justice Hughes in the opinion of the Court delivered in the Jones & Laughlin Steel Case:

"The Act has been criticised as onerous in its application; that it subjects the employer to supervision and restraint and leaves untouched the abuses for which employees may be responsible. "The Act establishes standards to which the Board must conform. There must be complaint, notice and hearing. The Board must receive evidence and make findings. The findings as to the facts are to be conclusive, but only if supported by evidence. The order of the Board is subject to review by the designated court, and only when sustained by the court may the order be enforced. Upon that review all questions of the jurisdiction of Board and the regularity of its proceedings, all questions of constitutional right or statutory authority are open to examination by the court."

Reference to "court" means any circuit court of appeals or district court of the United States. In the last analysis, therefore, labor's destiny according to the Act is left to the tender mercies of our federal courts. If experience with these agencies in the past sheds any revealing light on what these selfsame agencies may attempt to do in the immediate future, the Wagner Act does not herald the dawn of a rosetate day for labor.

## Miners Gain In Harlan

LYNCH, Ky. — Making good their February threat of immediate, complete organization of Harlan county, the United Mine Workers of America conducted one of the largest mass meetings in Harlan County's history. It was estimated that between 10,000 and 12,000 men, women and children, who came on foot, in private auto, in trucks, and in busses to attend the meeting on May 16th.

As the first month of the unionization campaign ended, directors of the drive claimed 6,000 to 10,000 members among the county's estimated 16,000 miners. The union goal is a complete unionization of the mining camps within another month. Principle speakers at the meeting were Sam Caddy, president of District 30; William Turnblazer, District 19 president and leader of the Harlan drive, and John Saxten, District 28 president.

Union agents circulated through the crowd soliciting membership, as Saxten urged miners to exercise the right of free and collective bargaining "guaranteed to you by Uncle Sam and the Wagner Act." He asserted: "The union is here to stay. In a few years you will wish this county had been organized sooner."

Sam Caddy condemning company unions, declared: "You men don't want to be represented in your bar-

## Pontiac Workers Hit High Rentals

The Pontiac Local of the United Automobile Workers of America served notice on 3,000 landlords in the town that a rent-strike would be the auto-workers' answer to higher rentals. The letter declared that adjustments would have to be made by June 1, since rent increases had tended to absorb higher wages won by the union.

A union fact-finding committee recommended that rentals be one percent of the assessed valuation.

gaining by company bosses and mine superintendents". This was interpreted as a reference to company unions at Benham and Lynch, scenes of some of the biggest coal operations in the county. Caddy declared further "The United Mine Workers is the only union for the coal miner. We will restore decent government to Harlan County."

William Turnblazer told the miners that "today marks the end of a rule of thuggery and terrorism in Harlan County." This meeting marked the introduction of State patrolmen in privately paid deputy-dominated Harlan county and these limbs of "private law and order" were conspicuous by their absence from the meeting.

E. C.

## Europe Today

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between. In fact the CPF has long since renounced its initial demands but it is expected to renounce any future agitation for them as well.

### A DEFEAT OF THE JAPANESE MILITARISTS

The election for a new Diet held on April 30th resulted in a resounding defeat of the Japanese militarists. The Hayashi Government's attempt to create a parliamentary party of its own failed miserably. Of 10.2 million votes cast, all fascist parties and groups, including the government party, received only 918,000 votes and 49 seats. They lost a total of 16 seats. The Minseito (majority) and the Seiyukai (minority), both parties of old tradition, polled, together, 7.3 million votes and won 354 seats. The outstanding event, however, was the more than 1 million (exactly 1,012,000) which were cast for the Social Democratic Party (Social Mass Party) giving them 37 seats, a gain of 16 representatives.

For the first time the working class of Japan emerges as a considerable political power. The elections indicate a sharp swing to the

## TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

"THE lack of unity in the labor movement does not seem to be such a bad thing." This sentence from the speech of John L. Lewis at the I.L.G.W.U. convention has horrified the editor of the "New Leader." The first effects of the shock over, the editor begins to reminisce thusly: "So far as our rather long memory and our rather wide reading serves us, no man holding a high and responsible position in the labor movement has ever before committed himself to such a doctrine as this. The best excuse that could be made for it would be that it was said in the heat of passion. But no responsible man permits himself to be carried away by passion in delivering a premeditated address on a highly important subject before a body of delegates representing a quarter of a million working people."

When Jim Oneal speaks of being

left in the sentiment of the masses which was precipitated by their conflicts with Big Capital as well as the militarist-feudalist-fascist government clique.

Naturally, and despite all this, it must not be forgotten that the Japanese militarists are still firmly holding the decisive means of power and that they will yield the dominant position of their class neither voluntarily nor peacefully.

carried away by passion he does so as an experienced hand at this business. In fact he shows it in the very lines quoted above. They are the product not only of passion but also of prejudice. Under the effect of both, Oneal finds it a labor of love to pry loose a sentence from its moorings and wax oratorical over its "dastardly" meaning. What did Lewis say? We quote from his speech:

"It is true that there are men in the federation who are now more concerned with the future of the federation than they were. It is true that they suggest that there ought to be peace. It is true that they now suggest that lack of unity in the labor movement is a bad thing, something that they didn't know a year ago. But I don't know that it is such a bad thing. There are a million and a quarter new members of organized labor who have come into the CIO."

In other words, Lewis is here propagating not division or splitting; he is not gloating over the rift; he is merely stating the fact that, regrettable as it may be, the division precipitated by the executive council is not an unmixed evil; that the organization of the "million and a quarter new members" would have been impossible had the CIO unions bowed to the paralysis of craft unionism and the incompetence of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy. Of course Jim Oneal and his Social Democratic clique do not agree to this, for they insist in the same editorial that abstract "unity of the labor movement is more important than any particular form of organization . . .", even tho this abstract unity throttles growth and leaves the labor movement a pitiful wreck. This is the real issue and no amount of distortion can confuse it.

After exhausting his passion on Lewis, Editor Oneal must have gone completely limp for he passed up an article, which he probably edited and approved, expressing precisely the same thought as the sentence he condemns so vigorously. In the same issue as the editorial quoted above (May 22, 1937) Oliver E. Carruth says, discussing the Cincinnati conference:

"Undoubtedly ways of resisting CIO assaults on existing craft unions will be considered, and this means an offensive designed to increase organization. The conference cannot but make plans for an aggressive organization drive and OUT OF THIS IS BOUND TO COME MORE AND STRONGER UNIONS." (my emphasis)

Will Jim Oneal please write a couple of calm and reasoned theses explaining the difference between the two thoughts? Doesn't Carruth insist (elsewhere in the article) that altho he hopes that words of peace and unity will fill the air, he knows that threats and organized resistance to CIO is the likely result of the conference? Doesn't he conclude that nevertheless some good will come of it because stronger A. F. of L. unions will result? Sure he does. But Oneal, reading Carruth's lines, became neither passionate nor prejudiced because it speaks of A. F. of L. unions being strengthened. This may not be consistent with the high-flown and highly idealistic pronouncements about peace and unity but it does express more accurately the real feelings and hopes of Jim Oneal and his kind.

Once again it is shown that "peace" and "unity are weapons in the arsenal of William Green in his war against the CIO.

## Wolfe Declares Valencia Cabinet Provoked Uprising

(Continued from Page 1)

U.G.T.'s in Catalonia and Basque region back the present government. The latter bodies were organized since the civil war began and are completely dominated by the Communist Party."

"Is it possible," I asked further, "that the raising of Negrin to the premiership will cause a differentiation in Spanish socialism?" "That is not impossible," Wolfe stated, "since Negrin always did represent a tendency far to the right of Caballero. However, it is much too early to say yes with any degree of certainty."

"And now Comrade Wolfe, tell us something about the Barcelona events. The bourgeois press, the liberal papers and the Communist Party press united in a campaign of most slanderous denunciation of the anarchists and the POUM supporters. Tell me, what started the fighting?"

"There is not the slightest doubt that fighting broke out spontane-

ously," Wolfe said. "It was a reaction to the deliberate and provocative attempts to disarm the workers patrols in Barcelona—the very ones which defeated the fascists on July 19 and continued to guard Catalonia against fascist plots and manipulations. It is most enlightening to find that the special troops used against the workers' patrols belonged to Negrin, then head of the treasury, and now premier. These special guards had been set up to guard Spain's gold which, by the way, is not in Spain. These were armed with carbines, automatic revolvers, a r m o r e d motorcycles equipped with machine guns—clearly troops for use against the workers. And that's precisely what they were used for."

"The attempt to disarm the workers," continued Wolfe warming to the topic, "is part of the people's front course of liquidating the proletarian features of the revolution in Catalonia."

"How do you judge that the fighting broke out spontaneously?"

"That the relations between the anarchists, the POUM and the government was sharpening, had become clear. But neither the POUM nor the anarchists called upon the workers or their own supporters to begin fighting. A full day elapsed before full support of the POUM and the anarchists was brought into play. Fighting stopped when the government agreed to halt the disarming of the workers."

"It has been said here," I continued, "that the fighting broke out on direct orders from Franco." Wolfe smiled and recalled that the Bolsheviks in 1917 were also accused by Kerensky of taking direct orders from the German General staff. "No, its not at all strange" he said, "that the government withdrew troops from the front to shoot down workers in Barcelona, but the anarchists and POUM did not—altho they have tens of thousands of members fighting loyally against Franco."

"The end is not yet," Wolfe concluded. "Remember in July of 1917 spontaneous armed workers' demonstrations, backed by the Bolsheviks, were defeated, the Communist Party declared illegal, and their leaders driven into jail or exile. But they won nevertheless."

And with this Wolfe would say no more. He insisted he must leave something for his meeting on Thursday night. (Center Hotel, 108 W. 43rd St., at 8 P. M.)

## The Worker In Nazi Germany

(Continued from Page 4)

"endanger the peace of labor" or who resist the orders of the Treuhander. The fines go up to 10,000 marks. Theoretically, employers can be expropriated just as workers can lose their jobs. The social demagogy of the regime aims to show that the worker and the boss are equal before the court, but the worker is easily able to realize that the whole regime is turned against him, whereas the boss can always find an indulgent judge.

### The Working Book—The Return To Serfdom

The regime has reintroduced the working book, once abolished by liberalism as incompatible with the liberty of the worker and his dignity as a man. Now all workers and employees must have such a book, a sort of passport to work. Nobody can get work unless he has this booklet, given him by the labor office at the end of his "labor service." When he gets work he gives it to the employer who writes what he has to say about the individual in it. All changes in work are marked. The police are in charge of superintending these books in the factories, and they have a double purpose: to check up on the activities of the worker and to prevent him from shifting his place or occupation.

These regulations hit the agricultural workers hardest, as they can no longer emigrate to the towns to escape the low working conditions in agriculture. (Insufficient wages and bad housing). When a worker wishes to better his conditions in this way, the farmers and the landlords can take away his book and send it to the employment office, with a notice of his intentions. After this he can never get a job. Even industrial workers who were once employed in agriculture have no longer the right to remain in the towns, and have been sent back to the country.

This method of controlling the working force is also aimed at the mobility of skilled workmen who might gain a raise, and inspire other workers to demand higher wages. Not a welcome consequence in this "Workers' State"!

By this ingenious system of con-

not only by his job, but physically. He is no longer free to choose with whom he will contract, and his position is very like that of the medieval serf.

Further the working book has great military importance. It is there to enforce "rational division of labor" in German economy, and by furnishing accurate employment statistics, the working book can be used as a basis for industrial mobilization during the next war. Specialized workers are trained and employed according to their usefulness in the war industries.

\* \* \*

Next week, the author discusses the Labor Front, its role as a school for national socialism, and the differences between it and the former trade union movement of Germany.

## Just Returned from Spain

### Bertram D. Wolfe

speaks on

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- What does the Spanish Communist Party want?
- Where are the Anarchists heading?
- What is the outlook for the defeat of Fascism?

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