

Editorial

CHARLOTTE LABOR JOURNAL & DIXIE FARM NEWS
Published Weekly at Charlotte, N. C.

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Entered as second-class mail matter September 11, 1931, at the Post Office at Charlotte, N. C., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$2.00 per year, payable in advance or 5c per copy.
ADVERTISING RATES for commercial advertising reasonable.

Official Organ of the Charlotte Central Labor Union and Approved by The American Federation of Labor and the North Carolina Federation of Labor

Address All Communications to Post Office Box 1061
Telephones 3-3094 and 4-5502
Office of Publication: 118 East Sixth Street, Charlotte, N. C.

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TWO MAYORS HIT SLAVE BILL

By William O'Dwyer, Mayor of New York

It's been a long time now, but most of us have not forgotten the Republican depression that began in 1929. When we hit bottom in 1932 and President Roosevelt took hold, we needed help from Government. And so began the New Deal—a philosophy of Government based on the simple, democratic principle that we should do the most good for the most people.

As conditions improved, the same old crowd that led us right into the worst depression we have yet had, became vocal once more. In Congress, on the radio, in the newspapers, from the speaking platforms. The new Deal was under attack.

Government, they said, was trying to run business. The New Deal was "planned economy," "Statism," "socialism," and even "Communism."

If Washington would only let us alone, they said, we could solve all our problems ourselves. Get rid of the bureaucrats, the rules, the regulations they cried. The New Deal is unconstitutional, un-American, blood brothers to the foreign isms.

That's what they said in the days of President Roosevelt. But this is not all ancient history.

About one year ago we were assured by Robert Taft, Republican Senator from Ohio, and his cohorts in Congress, that prices were bound to come down if the Government's OPA ceilings were removed. They scoffed at the estimates of the Administration that living costs would skyrocket.

So the OPA was demolished in deference to those who clamored against government regulation of business. And what has been the result? You get the answer all too well when you go out to buy food and clothing and other necessities.

But we have to say this for the Republicans. At least they were consistent. They opposed the socially and economically beneficial legislation of the New Deal and they fought against regulatory War Emergency legislation.

But now what do we find with the passage of the Taft-Hartley bill by the Republican Congress? The great advocates of free private enterprise have now embarked on the most comprehensive program of regulation by government we have yet to see in this country.

Of course, they don't want to regulate everybody. Just the majority of the people—those who work for a living at wages of \$30, \$40 and \$50 a week.

It took the New York Times more than 14 full length newspaper columns to report the complete text of this bill. Practically no phase of the relations of management and labor are free from its restrictive provisions. Before a union is organized, there are laws governing what the workers can do. After a union is formed, there are rules for their dealings with management. There are restrictions on the kind of agreements that can be made. There are rules of procedure where no agreements are made. There are rules, regulations, restraints, restrictions and controls.

Those of us who sincerely believe in free private enterprise, also believe in free collective bargaining. Freedom cannot be apportioned on a class basis. If the Republicans want the freedom for capital to own and operate businesses, as I do, they must also recognize the right of the working men and women to own and operate their unions.

Now let me make this perfectly clear. I'm prepared to have it out both ways. I am against any kind of state control—for business or labor. I have an intense loathing and hatred for the fascist and communist glorification of the state at the expense of the individual.

Let me also make this clear. Government has a job to do in correcting abuses by industry or labor, and I'm in favor of having corrected the abuses by the extremists on both sides.

But that's a far cry from the Taft-Hartley form of state control of labor unions.

I have an abiding and deep-rooted faith in the common sense, the intelligence, the emotional stability of the working men and women, as well, for that matter, as the business men and women of America. I do not believe that either group must be placed in shackles. I therefore oppose, with all the vigor I can command, the Taft-Hartley Labor Control Law.

By Hubert H. Humphrey, Mayor of Minneapolis

As Mayor of Minneapolis I am grateful for the opportunity to give my views on the Taft-Hartley Labor Legislation. Having worked in the Labor Relations Field as a consultant, and having served as mediator in dispute, I have had some experience in labor relation, and naturally have some opinions on such matters.

I do not speak as an expert but I do speak as a citizen who has a burning desire to see and make freedom—personal freedom—economic freedom—a reality in our lives. Let me say at the outset I am strongly opposed to the Taft-Hartley Bill, and I hope President Truman vetoes it.

I oppose it because I consider it unsound legislation. I say it strikes at the heart of American industrial democracy and our free enterprise system. I say the Taft-Hartley Bill threatens the gains made by labor in the past fifteen years, and threatens to destroy our well-established system of free collective bargaining which has been the cornerstone of our industrial relations in a free economy.

The free enterprise system can exist only if the balance is kept between free management and free labor. When

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Today, as never before, millions of people across the seas look to Old Glory for courage.

In occupied Japan, our Flag points the way to enlightenment and self-respect. In occupied Germany, it stands as a promise of free, representative government. In the displaced persons camps of Germany and Austria, it spells hope of liberation and refuge.

And on this Flag Day, in remote corners of the earth, the Stars and Stripes fly over the graves of American soldiers—silent affirmation of our willingness to fight for human liberty.

By their deeds, American workers have given meaning to the Flag. During the long hard years of the war, union men did battle on every front where the Stars and Stripes were raised; while at home, we forged the planes and guns and tanks that brought us victory. Today, while the world struggles to find peace and common understanding among nations, we are winning our own battles for human rights, with American workers of every color, every creed and every national background, forging a common brotherhood.

Marching toward a brighter tomorrow for our own country and the world, we know that every delay in justice, every instance of racial and religious discrimination casts a shadow on Old Glory. Her future cannot stand upon the past alone. It must rest on the vigorous, day-to-day re-dedication of the American people. In the words of President Truman: "By showing that we, ourselves, know where we are going, and why, we can show the rest of the world the road to liberty and to peace."

this balance or equality of bargaining power exists, decisions which affect both parties can be made jointly at the bargaining table. Such decisions are voluntary, satisfactory to both parties, well adapted to the needs of industrial productivity. To give antiunion managements the power to cripple or destroy unions is a first step away from this voluntary process. It is a step toward compulsion and government regimentation. It is a step towards the destruction of faith and confidence which has been created between management and labor—a faith and confidence which has produced the practical demonstration of American economic power such as we know it today.

Legislation such as this, conceived in the emotions of a postwar era when the entire world is suffering from the destructive forces of war, will set a pattern for American economic life that will produce endless confusion and ever increasing regimentation for industry and management, as well as trade union organizations. Management and employers should remember that the strength of our economic system has not rested upon capital alone. The arsenal of democracy was a reality because of the ingenuity of management and the skill of workers. Our high standard of living is a living testimonial to the effectiveness and the soundness of the free and unfettered collective bargaining process of the American economic system. Legislation today aimed at crippling labor and destroying the voluntary joint decisions of free management relations is a double-edged sword. It strikes at our whole system of enterprise. Labor relations as contemplated under this bill will result in decisions arbitrarily dictated either by management or government. Bureaucratic boards will be brought between management and labor with elaborate machinery for making and enforcing decisions hearings, order, court action, trials, punishments. Decisions of economic policy will pass from the hands of management and free labor, who are intimately concerned and experienced in plant operation, to the detached bureaucrats and courts who know little or nothing about the important technical detail of industrial relations.

Once started, this process of arbitrary dictation, with its elaborate bureaucracy of boards and rulings, of necessity feeds upon itself and expands. More and more boards, specialists, enforcement agencies are needed to handle the huge volume of cases. Labor and management well remember how the War Labor Board expanded from a mere handful of persons to approximately 2,500 employees. If the voluntary process of labor-management negotiations is sabotaged by the Taft-Hartley Bill, regimentation will soon reach to other fields. Rulings which limit wage increases must be followed by rulings to control prices, production and profits if the economy is to be kept in balance. When collective bargaining no longer assures a just share of industrial earnings for workers, buying power dries up as it did in 1929 and depression follows. This time when government is called in to readjust the balance, wartime practices will be fresh in everyone's mind and managements who object to regimentation will undoubtedly find themselves carrying out government orders in government operated plants. There are elements in American economic and political life who are eager to see a government bureaucracy with rigid controls governing our economic system. This will make it easier for them to seize power.

LABOR WRITERS WANT COMPULSORY VOTING

The Eastern Labor Press Conference, in session here last Saturday, adopted a resolution asking Congress to enact a law requiring every qualified citizen to vote in national elections.

The conference, which is composed of about 100 AFL labor weeklies and monthlies, declared that 20,000,000 labor votes stayed home in the last two elections, which resulted in election of anti-labor Congressmen and the present anti-labor legislation.

The resolution also suggests that unions and means of persuading members to register and vote. Idea is not to tell anyone how to vote, but to ask them to just vote, in belief that if all trades unionists exercise their right of franchise results will be favorable.

The conference also congratulated the AFL on its campaign to defeat anti-labor legislation and urged labor newspapers to print the AFL ads without cost; urged the AFL to establish a daily newspaper to present labor's views to the public.

Arnold Zander, of Madison, Wis., president of State, County and Municipal Workers, was re-elected president of the conference; Frank B. Powers, editor of the Telegraphers International Union, Washington, was elected secretary-treasurer; Martin McIntyre, editor of the Union, Bradford, Pa., recording secretary.

Uncle Sam Says

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