Letter To The New Republic

By Jay Lovestone =

(The letter printed below appeared in the New Republic of August 24th. —Editor)

August 12, 1938

Editor

New Republic Dear Sir:

Please allow me to correct some of the wrong impressions and false conclusions which flow from an article on the auto union in your August 10th issue. In this article

"After a little more delay, Jay Lovestone, to whom President Martin had apparently submitted The New Republic manuscript, telephoned from his New York office to supply a welcomed minor correction in fact."

1. It was not a "minor" correction in fact that I made, but a correction of a serious major and clumsy misstatement of fact. I telephoned Mr. Bruce Bliven, Jr. to the effect that I would sue you for libel if you would print the follow-

'Without success he (John L. Lewis) tried to get Martin's Progressives to join in a unanimous statement to waiting reporters that all was harmonious. There were more conferences and finally Martin withdrew to Jay Lovestone's room at the Hotel Ambassador where (it was a hot day) there was cracked ice and ideology. Emerging, he handed suspension tickets to U.A.W. Vice Presidents Frankensteen, Mortimer, Hall and Wells, plus its Secretary-Treasurer George Addes."

After this conversation, you saw fit not to print these "facts." In a sense I am sorry that you omitted the above "facts" because their appearance in your columns would have helped reveal the fraudulent character of the entire information given to the author of the article by the Stalinite clique in the U.A.W.A.

I was not at the Hotel Ambassador nor anywhere near Washington on the day, week or month in question. Besides, I did not in any shape, manner or form at all propose the action taken by the Executive Board of the U.A.W.A. against the Stalinite union-splitters and dual unionists.

Men of sterling character and of national prominence in the American labor movement can be called upon to substantiate these statements of mine.

2. The author, probably with the best intentions, wrongly implies that I saw his article before it was published and that, except for this "minor correction" I did not challenge the opinions, veracity or 'facts" therein. This is entir elv untrue and grossly unfair to me. Had I seen the full article as it appeared in your columns, I would have considered it useless to draw your attention merely to this one glaring falsehood which would so effectively help put in their proper light the rest of the "facts" and accusations levelled by the Gebert-Frankensteen disruptionists against the U.A.W.A. through author W. L. White. I am afraid this author has been taken for a ride by some selfconfessed Stalinite "experts." The latter have simply taken advantage of Mr. White's nobility of motives and have-without his being aware of it-used him and thus your columns for relaying and peddling plain frauds and unvarnished distortions of the facts of the auto union situation.

3. Finally, I assume that author (Continued on Page 2)

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 35.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1938

5с а Сору

Martin Hits UAW Slander

Also Denounces Frey's "Red Scare" As New Attack on C.I.O.

New York, N. Y.—Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W.A. issued the following statement in response to a request from the press to comment on alleged decline in U.A.W. dues payments, and a conference of C.I.O. leaders with John L. Lewis on the internal situation in the auto union.

The statement read as follows:

"Clearly, this is an inspired story and is unmitigated propaganda against the U.A.W.A. It is contrary both to fact and to all elementary ethics of trade unionism. The leaders of the C.I.O., with which we have been affiliated from the first day we formed our national union, could have learned without difficulty that the opposite is true, had they consulted us before countenancing this silly panic story about our union's financial situation.

"The truth is that dues payments have increased substantially in the U.A.W. in the last two months and our financial situation is sound and encouraging at the present moment. Moreover we are looking hopefully forward to additional improvements in spite of sabotage on the part of our open enemies and our so-called friends.

"We have no knowledge as to the purpose of the reported conference at C.I.O. headquarters in Washington regarding our union. To those who presume to sit in judgment on us, I only wish to say that we are an autonomous organization, that our membership regard themselves as members of a free, democratic union whose destiny ultimately is to be decided by their own wills and their own

* * * MARTIN BLASTS FREY

Homer Martin, U.A.W. President, issued the following statement, last week in regard to the testimony of John P. Frey.

"We have noted with a great deal of interest John P. Frey's statement before the House Investigating Committee. It is quite obvious that Mr. Frey is speaking as an official of the A. F. of L., and desires only to use this opportunity to injure the C.I.O. Many Frey's statements are obviously

Knitgoods Union Renews Contract

A general strike in the knitgoods industry was averted when the employers' association, the United Knitwear Manufacturers League, agreed to drop its demands and to renew the present agreement with the Knitgoods Workers' Union for two more years.

David Dubinsky, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Charles S. Zimmerman, Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U. and Manager of Local 22, Luigi Antonini, Vice-President of the International and Chairman



HOMER MARTIN

calculated to prejudice the American people against the C.I.O. I do not hesitate to say that many of Mr. Frey's statements are simply not true.

"I have never talked at any time, with Mr. Frey concerning these matters, nor do I intend to. The automobile workers of the nation are not likely soon to forget Mr. Frey's position during the General Motors and Chrysler strikes.

"If the Dies' Committee subpoenas me, of course I will appear. However, the International Union has proceeded to deal with the problem of Communist activities in its own way. We do not need and do not want the assistance of reactionaries whose object is to weaken the C.I.O. and the labor movement generally."

Auto Locals Rally To Union Drives

Auto Union Maps Drives In Aircraft, Auto Plants As Production Picks Up; Splitters Rump Meet Moves Closer To Dualism

By GEORGE F. MILES

Detroit, Mich.-United Automobile Workers' union leaders were jubilant over the results of the week-end conferences called by the union in Michigan and Ohio, and were equally satisfied that the dual union conference called by the expelled officers in Toledo indicated a total lack of real mass backing.

The Michigan State conference held in Detroit was attended by 500 local union officers representing 101 locals, the Ohio State conference held in Cleveland included 35 local unions

represented by 191 local officers. The rump mass meeting, called a "national conference," held in Toledo under the hegemony of the Guilty Of Theft Stalinists, could lay claims to no more than 70 local unions despite the most outrageous falsifications in the number of locals represented as well as delegates present.

The union conferences were called for the purpose of mobilizing the union for improvement of conditions now that a pick-up in employment is noticeable. Reports were given on a proposed drive to secure the check-off, improved plans for organizing W.P.A. workers, outline of the campaign to swing the aircraft workers into the union, tasks in organizing competitive plants and perfection of machinery thru Labor's Non-Partisan League to secure the maximum mobilization for the reelection of Governor Murphy and whatever other candidates the League may put forward or endorse. The conferences also discussed the financial situation in the union and took steps to see that the organization is supplied with sufficient funds to carry out completely the program of most intensive activity outlined by the International Board.

Union leaders were especially gratified with the showing in the Ohio State conference. They point to the fact that at the last convention of the union the Ohio region elected three "unity" caucus leaders-Miley, Reisiger and Kramerto the International Board. No sooner had Board member Miley opened the Ohio State conference than it became clear that the conference was solidly behind President Martin and the union. The only test of strength at the conference ended in disaster for the "unity" crowd. "Unity" caucus Board members fought against the continuation of the W.P.A. union auxiliary and by implication proposed bringing in the Stalinist-controlled Workers Alliance. They were so overwhelmingly defeated that they dared not try any further tests.

The dual unionist conference in Toledo claimed much but really represented very little. Again union leaders point to the fact that such locals as Briggs, in the past a solid "unity" stronghold, was not represented. In addition union leaders charged wholesale fraud in the claims of the splitters. It is charged that everyone attending the conference was quickly pressed into service as a delegate in order to swell an otherwise miserable showing. To prove this, union leaders point to a few of the crassest examples. Flint local 156, Dodge local 3, Packard local 190 and (Continued on Page 2)

I.L.P. Denounces Stalinist Frame-Up of P.O.U.M.

Maxton, Brockway, McNair Ask Labor Action

(The following appeal was issued | ternational working class, to help by the Independent Labor Party of the Spanish workers. Great Britain to all working-class parties and organizations internationally, coupled with a plea for immediate action on behalf of the Spanish Workers' Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) - Editor)

WE desire above all things the victory of republican Spain over the forces of Spanish and international fascism. Right from the beginning of the struggle we have used all our efforts to assist our Spanish comrades in every possible way, and we are prepared to continue ourselves, and to use our utmost efforts to influence the in-

six thousand workers at special ratification meetings.

The union renewed the present agreement which calls for a thirtyfive hour week, time and one-half for overtime, three and one-half paid legal holidays, one week trial period. The union also won its demand that when a worker is called in to work, he is to be guaranteed ist Unity). at least a half-day's pay.

Simultaneously with stoppage for the ratification meetings the White had been given special of the American Labor Party, and union will launch a drive against reasons for saying "President Mar- | Louis Nelson, Manager of the Knit- | the open shops in an attempt to goods Workers' Union, addressed unionize the entire industry.

CP Leaders Are

Detroit Police authorities are

now working closely with the New

York City Police Department

checking on the various items-

personal property as well as docu-

ments-stolen from the apartment

of Jay Lovestone by paid agents

of the Communist Party and the

The prosecuting attorney of De-

troit is co-operating with District

Attorney Dewey's office and with

Davidson & Mann, attorneys for

It is significant that Mr. Sugar,

who at first claimed possession of

"originals" and photostats, now

vigorously disclaims in his own be-

(Continued on Page 2)

Mr. Lovestone in the case.

In spite of the gravity of the military situation in Spain we believe that, even now, the magnificent heroism of the Spanish workers and peasants will prevail against the forces of Franco; but there is one indispensable condition, and that is-working-class unity. Our absolute belief in this compels us to issue this appeal, although we realize that we shall be misunderstood and probably vilified in certain quarters. We believe steadfastly in the historic destiny of our class and prefer to state the truth in an attempt to remedy an intolerable abuse rather than, by our silence, become accomplices in a repression which is destroying the foundations of working-class

Persecution Of Revolutionaries

unity and action.

For more than a year 3,000 anti-Fascist workers have been kept in prison by the Spanish Republican Government. They consist of members of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the U.G. T., Left Socialists and the P.O.U.M. (Spanish Workers' Party of Marx-

These men and women were among those who stemmed the tide of Fascism. On July 19, 1936, the armed workers of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M. defeated the Fas-(Continued on Page 5)

Our Program of Action

(The paragraphs below constitute part of the Program of Action adopted by the recent convention of the Independent Labor League of America. Other sections have appeared in previous issues of this paper and publication will continue in subsequent issues. The whole will soon appear in pamphlet form.—Editor.)

FASCISM AND FASCIST AGGRESSION ABROAD

TASCISM and militaristic dictatorship, aided and abetted by the connivance of the "democratic" powers, are extending their deadly grip over large parts of the world, bringing with them mass enslavement, the suppression of all labor and progressive organizations, savage reaction all along the line. Fascist-imperialist aggression on the part of Italy against Ethiopia, Japan against China, and Germany against Austria and Czechoslovakia, has ravaged the world in the course of the past few years. And, in spite of all talk about "quarantining the aggressors" and "concerted action for peace and international law," the United States, just like the other imperialist "democracies," is actively assisting the fascist-imperialist aggressors in their nefarious adventures. At the very time that this country continues the one-sided embargo against Loyalist Spain in violation of all international law, it is freely selling arms, munitions and war materials to Japan for its war in China, just as a few years ago it sold huge quantities of oil to Italy for its attack on Ethiopia.

Resistance to fascism and fascist aggression abroad requires:

- 1. Solidarity with the working masses in the fascist-ridden countries of Europe. Full support of the Labor Chest and all other genuine efforts to extend financial assistance to the victims of fascist terror and to the underground labor movements in the fascist countries.
- 2. Solidarity with anti-fascist Spain in the struggle against Franco and his foreign fascist allies. Support of the Trade Union Relief for Spain. Full democracy for all anti-fascists in Loyalist Spain without regard to political differences in order to strengthen and consolidate the fighting front against Franco. Support of Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) in its struggle for a revolutionary war against Franco and a workers government in Spain.
- 3. Lifting of the arms embargo against Loyalist Spain.
- 4. A ban on all arms shipments, loans and credits to Japan during its war against China. American labor should take independent action to stop the shipment of munitions and war materials to Japan by refusing to handle such

5. Against fascist propaganda in this coun-

try. Against the poison of anti-Semitism and racial prejudice being spread in this country.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

THIRTEEN million workers are jobless in this country today as a result of the "recession" that has already become a serious depression. In the face of the grave and permanent character of the unemployment problem, the inadequacy of the present relief system and its standards becomes especially striking. In spite of this, reactionary bigbusiness interests are backing a campaign, conducted under various guises, to drive even the existing standards down below starvation levels.

During this depression, for the first time, the trade-union movement, especially the industrial engage in offensive struggles for unions in the C.I.O., has made an active effort to the purpose of maintaining and defend the interests of jobless members in an or- advancing the standard of living of ganized and systematic manner. A number of the internal contradictions of unions have already established unemployed de- capitalism. partments or committees to help members obtain relief, to bring about an increase in relief allotments and standards, etc. Such activities have had a powerful effect in preventing a breach from factory councils and farmers' com- this period of profound crisis. It arising between the employed and the unemployed and in maintaining at a high point, despite tremendous obstacles, the loyalty of the jobless must work towards the seizure of was founded in France. workers to the unions.

An adequate program to meet the unemployment and relief crisis requires:

- 1. Expansion of the W.P.A. program in order to provide jobs immediately for at least five million unemployed. No one must starve in this be led in every country by the country; all jobless are entitled to government
- 2. Operation of the work-relief system (W.P.A.) along humane and effective lines: a. Workers should be employed on work
- suited to their needs and skills. b. Work-relief projects should be sociallynecessary and productive.
- c. Work-relief jobs should be given according to need without requiring any degrading In the case of Chrysler the matter "pauper's oath." Direct certification by the W.P.A. Supplementary work for part-time
- d. Minimum work-relief rates should be raised all along the line. e. Abolition of geographical differentials in
- work-relief payments. 3. Increase of standards in direct relief. Pay- thizers came to the conference as rump conference. ment of direct relief in cash. Allocation of suf-
- ficient federal funds for direct relief. 4. Extension of the activities of the trade unions to organize the jobless workers in their inist splitters were determined to and going along with the Stalinists fields under their own auspices and to obtain serve the bosses by attempting to after the cream-puff battle was adequate relief for them.

(Further sections of this Program of Action will appear in the next issue of this paper.—Editor.)

French Labor Leader Greets American Labor

(Marceau Pivert, leader of the newly formed French Workers and Peasants Socialist Party, wrote the following especially for Workers Age.

Paris, July 25, 1938.

RATERNAL Greetings to the American Labor Movement!

The workers of every capitalist country today face the same problems and will sooner or later find the same solution to them provided the same solution to them provided they remain faithful to the lessons learned from hitter experience learned from bitter experience. First, the working class must reject all collaboration with im-

perialist forces preparing war for a redivision of the world. Second, the working class must

the great masses and of exposing The working class must establish elementary independent working workers against its own employ-

class organs containing the germ ing-class. Such a struggle would of future revolutionary power: mittees of action. And finally, the working class ers and Peasants Socialist Party

establishment of socialism. All direct class action undertaken | the powerful American trade union along these lines, any effective movement whose role will be resistance to the preparation of decisive in the world labor movewar and the rise of fascism must ment.

power, towards expropriation of



MARCEAU PIVERT

was in this spirit that the Work-

It is in this spirit that we extend the capitalists and towards the fraternal greetings to the workers of the world and particularly to

MARCEAU PIVERT

Locals Back UAW Drive

(Continued from Page 1) Chrysler local 7 are listed as being represented by full delegations. A check up proves that none of C.I.O. and not the U.A.W. is interthese locals elected delegates or preted as an open break with the authorized the sending of delegates. U.A.W. and a return to the preis even worse for a well attended per-capita taxes. Not the C.I.O., membership meeting of the local was held a few days before the U.A.W. is charged with the duty of Toledo conference but the matter was never raised on the floor by of the U.A.W. anyone. A full list of the locals has not been made public but it is certain that numerous Communist Party members and their sympaindividuals but were seated as delegates.

The entire conference was proof of union contentions that the Stal- of his majesty's loyal opposition split the organization, precisely ended in favor of the Stalinists. when, because of the pick-up in The action of the so-called Socialist employment, the union could march leaders of the West Side local is forward to new achievements. The a source of constant amazement extreme weakness of their showing to observers on the scene. As preproves that the membership is not viously reported all Socialist Party to be fooled by fake cries of loyal- bodies from the top down have ty to the C.I.O. and claims that adopted resolutions and printed John L. Lewis is behind them in the Socialist Call, opposing New Republic this mad venture into union-bust- participation in any of these rump

posal calling upon the C.I.O. to the policies of his Stalinist colviolate the autonomous rights of leagues than of his Socialist Party paign against the United Automobile Workers, in order to save whatever standing he has left with the Bar Association.

A notorious detective agency—anathema to every trade union in the country—was engaged for me. This is merely another painful overworking of the imagination. I hasten to reaffirm that if I had the country—was engaged for months by the Communist Party—was engaged for months where we was engaged for months wher New Republic manuscript" etc. to the U.A.W. by displacing the officomrades, for he has religiously the Bar Association.

The Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers was never presented, either by Mr. Sugar, any of his defendants or by their financial godfathers, with any photostatic or so-called original documents, despite the fact that the boss press and the Daily Worker have been flooded with all sorts of have been flooded with all sorts of "evidence" based on the material "evidence" based on the material "months by the Communist Party working under the instructions of the G.P.U., which has been building a "special" and not some c.P. stooges in his office have given them support. As a matter of fact, even the official or special "which has been building a "special" that if I had gen, before your publication, more than the excerpt sent on to me by my Detroit friends (and not by Mr. Martin) who inquired about its fantastic nature, I would not have uttered a syllable to you about the manuscript. I could thus have rendered a service to the labor movement and to your readers by facilitating the exposure of the whole laws and not some C.P. stooges in his office have given them support. As a matter of fact, even the official organ of the splitters—the Daily Worker—is forced to admit that laws have ment and to your readers by facilitating the exposure of the whole laws and not some C.P. stooges in his office have given them support. As a matter of fact, even the official organ of the splitters—the Daily Worker—is forced to admit that laws have made no commitments which has been building a "special" that if I had donnot by at some later date with the approval of the C.I.O. The constant reference to the C.I.O. is intended to strength the illusion that Lewis and not some C.P. stooges in his office have given them support. As a matter of fact, even the official organ of the splitters—the Daily Worker—is forced to admit that I have the proposition of the C.I.O. In the constant reference to the C.I.O. is intended to strength the C.I.O. is intended to strength the c.I.O. the constant reference to the C.I.O. is i not deter Attorney Maurice Sugar, ernal delegate. I am somewhat surprised that Mortimer and others from speak-Mr. White did not see through the ing in the name of Lewis. In fact thy for his cause-but he will also rest of the "information" given Mortimer stated that Lewis would find that the repressive policy of him by the Stalinite agents as he intervene on the side of the Com- Loyalist Spain in respect to the admits he did in this "welcomed munist Party within a week. In- revolutionary anti-fascist workers formed of these claims President of the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T., etc., Martin denied any such intention have greatly shocked American

The decision of the conference urging locals to send funds to the vious policies of non-payment of union spokesmen point out, but the

An additional indication of their determination to build a dual union is said to be the setting up of a constitutional committee at this

collecting dues from the members

Again the splitters were divided over policy, with Walter Reuther's West Side local playing the role conferences. So far "Socialist" The conference adopted a pro- Reuther seems to think more of

"evidence" based on the material which has been building a "special" itating the exposure of the whole Lewis has made no commitments week to attend the conference of article as a tissue of crass distor- whatever. These facts however did the Mexican trade unions as a frat-

Mr. Pena will find great sympa-JAY LOVESTONE by Lewis and added, "Let John trade unionists.

Stalinism Against a Labor Party

By GEORGE F. MILES

FEW days ago President Ho-Automobile Workers Union at- turism! tended a Democratic rally in honor of James Farley and upon the conclusion of the affair made a statement in the course of which he declared: "The United Automobile Workers Union gives its wholehearted support to President Roosevelt and Governor Murphy, but that does not necessarily imply support of the Democratic Party. "We are for the President and the Governor because they are great liberals in deed as well as

The implications of the statement are clear. Mr. Martin, and with him the powerful U.A.W. for which he "people's front." The basic characspeaks, does not identify the Prester of the labor party movement operate. This represents an ad- from the two big parties of the the field of labor politics unique in was created the fiction of a labor tisan League activity.

But this very position is itself one of the vital issues around which ers' organizations but also middle revolves the intensely fought fac- class elements and organizations as tion struggle in the U.A.W. initiated by American Stalinism.

A Labor Party Too Conservative

a labor party for the United States |bor party was to be organizedwas enough to send shudders down the crystallization of labor's forces now. They are using the labor par- nomic and social conditions. Thus, whites went by the boards. As a the sensitive spines of "loyal com- on the political field as an indemunists." Those were the days pendent body. when nothing was too radical for Stalin and his wooden soldiers. The whole world, inclusive of the United States, was simultaneously aflame with proletarian revolt. Every "impediment" had to be ruthlessly swept from the path of the onrushing revolution. The existing trade unions were little more than steel shackles to retard labor's forward drive-they had to be de-

ing class organization in any coun- Franco-British alliance.* try, failed to go under the knife, some to emerge stronger for having lost what had become a destructive force, others to hover between life and death for years to come because of severe blood-letting. Those were the days when official Communism saw red, and all who did not little brothers of the fascists, social fascists, or just plain fascists.

policies of the Socialists and the against Soviet Russia and would swashbuckling, reckless adventurism of official Communism, the lapotent, unable to lift a finger in his last book, his last will and capable of a more effective policy of such a move under present cirits own defense when the mad dogs testament, the warning that Ger- than the Kaiser or the "conservaof fascism were unleashed against them. Labor in Germany went down without striking a blow, in Austria it died a valiant death fighting on the barricades and in the socialistbuilt cooperative homes—an ironic commentary on "constructive so-

A Labor Party Too Radical

Stalinism, regardless of whether it ever admitted it, recoiled in unreasoning horror at the destruction it with a finger dipped in its own blood. Unreasoning, because in sheer terror. Stalinism now treme, fast outstripping the most be. France. . .

As if socialist opportunism had not suffered defeat and death simul-A mer Martin of the United taneously with Stalinist adven-

> The Stalinists now sharply swung the rudder to the right. Infantile radicalism subsided into ultra-conservatism, and recklessness now took on the protective coloring of deep respectability. That which but vesterday was the acme of wisdom became outright treachery and that which had been damned yesterday was blessed today.

It was as part of this drive that

the slogan of a labor party re

turned to favor, tho not without a totally new meaning and content, for it now became one of the stars in the dazzling constellation called ident and the Governor with the party under whose label they weaning the masses of workers vanced and independent position in bosses was distorted. In its place American trade unionism even dur-ing these days of Labor Non-Par-of the people's front (later to be rejected) in which were to be included not only workers' and farmwell as anti-fascist sections of the two big parties. In other words the retention of the slogan of a labor party, but the rejection of the For many years the very idea of meaning and intent for which a la-More recently even this outlook

C.I.O. UNION CRUSHES C.P.

COMPLETE tabulation of the elections in the National Maritime Union indicate the following sweep against the Stalinists:

For N. Y. patrolmen: deck division, rank and file, 6, others, 3; cooks and stewards, rank and file 10, others 1; engine division, rank and file, 9, others none. In other Gulf and Atlantic ports, the rank and file won thirty-five patrolmen and port agents out of fifty-two. The new national council is reported to stand 5 to 4 for the new administration.

has been found to be unrealistic by the oracles. Present day Stalinist policies call for individual infiltration by its membership into the Democratic and Republican Party and where local or state labor parties or Labor Non-Partisan Leagues exist, their conversion into a wing of the Democratic Party itself the people's front struggle against stands far to the right of Preswhy not the Democratic Party ruling powers.

(Continued on Page 6)

Is Germany Ready To Fight?

against Germany.

New Deal Turns Its Eyes South

ures reveal!

THE National Emergency Council, appointed by the President submitted to him a report on the What a primitive picture those figeconomic status of the South. The report claims to be limited to factual material, and is not supposed to suggest solutions. Yet its method of discussion reveals the limitaions of its outlook, which is essentially the dead-end which capitalism has reached in respect to the South. Of deep interest to the labor movement are the facts contained in the report, the reasons for the preparation and release of the material at the present time, and what prospects there are for doing anyhing about it.

The Facts Of The Situation

The South is in a particularly leep crisis because it has for long been the economic backwater of the nation. This derives from poliwhich now appears to receive macies begun as far back as the Civil | severely limited the American texjor consideration in the eyes of the War and the triumph of the con- tile market; 3) soil exhaustion thru Stalinists as the instrument for servative wing of the northern capitalists. It has been sustained fascism. If it could be the Radical and systematically entrenched by Socialist Party in France, which is the ravages of the one-crop sysneither radical nor socialist and tem, the limitation of industrial development, and the perpetuation ident Roosevelt's New Deal, then of social backwardness by the

Such are the instructions under rich in natural resources, yet these gan of "forty acres and a mule" which the Stalinists are operating are not matched by advanced eco- for the freed Negroes and the poor ty movement and the Labor Non- altho 28% of the people live in the result large-scale landlords rented Partisan Leagues as vehicles to southern area, only 16% of the out parcels of land which could be tangible industrial assets (factor- paid for, not in cash, but in the

A tremendous agricultural region farm population, the South has only to review social conditions, recently one-fifth of the farm implements.

> Southern economy has been progressively undermined by the effects of industrial and finance capital upon its primarily agrarian sysstem, a feature of capitalism the world over. The need for a fast-selling crop which would bring in cash, without which the southern rural and urban population could not exist in this commodity world, imposed "King Cotton" upon the South. As a result, the southern farmers in general suffer from: 1) conflict on the world market with other cotton-producing areas in which American cotton is at a disadvantage because of trade treaties drawn up primarily in the intersts of American industry; 2) the general domestic crisis which has decades of one-crop planting.

The Tenant-Cropper Problem

These all work upon the oustandng social problem of the Souththe tenant and cropper systems. The land was never broken up into free homesteads after the Civil The South is a region extremely War; the Radical Republican sloform of crops. With no real stake in the land, the croppers and tenants worked the one-crop cash system to death, and with it the ferility of the soil. Croppers and ten-(Continued on Page 6)

gaining foreign credits—have been

As a result of Hitler's policy, the

Quite recently, Hjalmar Schacht situation but, on the contrary, of the impossibility of financing the armaments program in the old way any longer. A short time ago, financial policy would inevitably tem in the immediate future, unless

New Treasury certificates will no The return of most of the "con onger be discounted at the Reichsbank, so that only a strictly limited amount of such credits can be obtained by the Nazi government in the future. In anticipation of the consequence policy of "wait and see." The crefor the Nazis. Hitler has been expolicy of "wait and see." The crepolicy of "wait

industrialists that they would not be able to rely in the future, to the same extent as in the past, on state orders or subsidies. They would have to develop more At the same time, as the finan- "private initiative" in order to

= By J. Braun ===

cow. Not a single significant work- Britain and preventing another Therefore, Hitler first tried to get

Policy Of The Army Chiefs

The "conservative" army leaders never believed that Great Britain would remain neutral if Germany fought France or seriously threatened it. On the contrary, they were quickly enough adjust their sights afraid that such a war would reand tints were forever damned as sult in greater isolation for German militarism than in 1914, thereby making success impossible. In or-Caught in the vicious cross fire der to avoid such isolation, they the enervating and weak-kneed opposed an aggressive policy have preferred the more cautious man diplomacy must secure a friendly, or at least a neutral position on the part of Russia in order between the "conservative" gento avoid the encirclement that was erals or diplomats, on the one hand,

accomplished at the expense of Rus- ods of achieving that goal.

stroyed. Laboriously Lozovsky THE strategic ideas of Hitler's circumvent isolation thru an al- | a cautious foreign policy which climbed to the very housetops and shouted it to the entire world. A "My Struggle" consist mainly of encouraged in his illusion by in- war. In addition, even under the war against a big power but it is labor party? Nothing doing! It was three points: German imperialist fluential groups in England as long most favorable conditions, without still less prepared for peace! a vicious trap of the Lovestoneites expansion on new soil can only be as he maintained the pretension any open hostile action, a high perto lead the revolutionary masses achieved in eastern Europe (Rus- that Germany's military forces centage of the technical equipment won an important domestic vicback into the camp of the bosses. sia); French militarism as a rival would be used only for fighting So- of the army became useless on the tory, as a result not of an improve-Began a period of disastrous power must be eliminated; this viet Russia. But such a war is too way from the frontier to Vienna, ment in Nazi Germany's financial union busting everywhere, advised, must be accomplished by establish- risky an enterprise for German because ersatz (substitute) materiordered and commanded from Mos- ing friendly relations with Great militarism in its present condition, al was not quite good enough. Today, most of those "conserva full control of south-eastern Eu- tive" generals, who were ousted a rope, which seemed an easy prey few months ago and retired from Schacht notified the government

after the Austrian victory. When, military service on account of that a continuation of the Reich's however, the Czechoslovakian state "bad health," have recovered suffidemonstrated its readiness to fight, ciently to be reinstated to leading lead to a collapse of the credit systhe possibility of a European war positions. They did not get their with France and the U.S.S.R. allied old posts back, but their faces were the government stopped financing against Nazi Germany, arose. The saved, their feelings protected, by armaments by the issuance of state British government was now com- allowing them to retain their forpelled to come into the open and to mer rank. reveal that it would adopt the same

stand as in 1914—with France, servative" generals to active service has not been announced in Germany because such an announcement would tend to impair the pres This is a great disappointment tige of Hitler and of the Nazi policy of "wait and see." The creation of the Reichswehr included in posed before his followers as in-

Financial Situation And Armaments Race

the outcome of the Kaiser's foreign and the Nazi party leaders, on the cial situation of the Reich becomes maintain production and survive. other, as to the aims of the Ger- more precarious, the international Hitler thought that he was clev- man foreign policy—to make Ger- armaments race continues at full quiet funeral for the illusions of rer than you Seeckt, that he could man militarism the master of Eu-speed. In Germany's neighbor counthose who hoped for an elimination rope and eventually of the whole tries, especially in Great Britain of private capitalism, for an estab-"If we want territory in Europe, world. However, there do exist se- and France, huge armaments pro- lishment of a nationally planned then, on the whole, this can only be rious differences as to the meth- grams are being carried out, for economy. The gigantic state pro-The "conservative" generals as German militarism is by finan-industries for the production of "Only with England to cover our never believed in the success of cial and economic difficulties.

and devastation which German and rear could it have been possible to Austrian labor marked up against begin with the new Teutonic march. therefore opposed it. Tho the Austrian labor marked up against begin with the new Teutonic march. To gain England's favor, no sactirian venture seemed to contradict against German militarism, and to state subsidies for works which rifice should be too great. . . "

"There must be full clarity about with Czechoslovakia iustified them. gaining immediate expansion branches of production but which one thing: the deadly enemy of the with Czechoslovakia justified them. gaining immediate expansion branches of production but which dashed madly to the opposite ex- German people is, and forever will Even the march into Austria turned abroad, which would improve the do not alter the general economic out to be a proof of the necessity of economic situation at home, or of situation.

This constitutes essentially a these states are not as handicapped gram of the construction of new ersatz materials and for making

CP Leaders Guilty of Robbery

squad for "special" purposes in

TO WORKERS AGE

the C.P.

(Continued from Page 1) | effect that the original plan of the half and in behalf of his clients Secretariat of the C.P. and of the financed G.P.U. agent in charge was not dual unionists) all knowledge of the merely to steal the documents but documents used by him in the cam- also to assault Lovestone fatally.

The New York District Attorney's office is in possession of the name of the "chief" of the G.P.U. burglary squads and is also in possession of information leading directly to the Secretariat of the Communist Party as the responsible agency for the burglary. Information is also piling up to the

tin had apparently submitted The

ninor correction of fact."

Sincerely yours.

Letter to the

(Continued from Page 1)

WORKERS AGE

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Phone: LAckawanna 4-5282

August 27, 1938

LABOR AGAINST STALINISM

NUMBER of important events have occurred A NUMBER of important containing the past in the trade-union movement during the past few weeks that, taken together, appear to mark an important phase of its current development. Let us re-capitulate these events:

- 1. The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America has expelled four former officers in a determined effort to safeguard the union from the pernicious influence of
- 2. In the National Maritime Union, the anti-Stalinist opposition has just scored a smashing victory after a long and hotly-contested election.
- 3. In California, four powerful unions-the I.L.G.W.U., the U.A.W., the United Rubber Workers, and the United Shoe Workers-have turned their backs upon the Bridges-dominated Industrial Union Council as no more than an instrument of Stalinist intrigue, utterly unrepresentative of labor's real interests, and have set-up a Los Angeles Trade Union Conference as a progressive rallying center for labor.
- 4. In the Fur Workers Union of New York, notoriously a mere department of the Communist Party, the Gold-Potash administration found itself confronted, in the recent elections, for the first time, with a united anti-Stalinist opposition polling a high proportion of the vote even according to the official returns which, it is charged, were grossly falsified by the administration.

What do these facts and many others like them add up to? There can be but little doubt of their general significance. On one front after another, the labor movement is beginning to rid itself of the Stalinist venom that has penetrated it in the course of the past few years. This is a natural and entirely wholesome process. For Stalinism is an influence utterly alien to the labor movement and hostile to its best interests-alien and hostile in its aim of establishing a stranglehold over the trade unions and subjecting them to a "party line" imposed from the outside; alien and hostile in its methods of unscrupulous intrigue, double-dealing, and gangsterism. Under cover of fine-sounding phrases about "constructive work" and by operating thru individuals sometimes only dimly aware of their own role, Stalinist agents succeeded in worming themselves into certain sections of the trade union movement, especially during the recent period of its great and sudden expansion. For a time, the toxin continued to spread. But, as in the human body so in the body of organized labor, the anti-toxin soon began to form. Gradually, aroused largely by what they themselves had seen of the results of Stalinist intrigue and domination, the more progressive, independent and responsible trade-unionists began to consider seriously how to save their organizations and to rid themselves of the plague infesting them. What is happening now is really part of a widespread effort of organizational sanitation in the interests of a healthier and more effective labor movement.

The example of the N.M.U. is especially instructive. Here the Communist Party started with a clear field to itself, with no opposition and with nothing to hamper it in its activities. But if Stalinism can do nothing else, it can certainly be trusted to unite all constructive sincere elements against itself, and thus to bring forth its own grave-digger. Better than anywhere else did Stalinism reveal itself in the N.M.U.

The top leadership of the C.I.O. would be well advised to give some serious consideration to this situation. It is utterly absurd, of course, to speak of the C.I.O. as "red" or under "communist domination." The facts to which we have referred above are themselves sufficient indication that the C.I.O. unions are very much alert to the Stalinist menace and energetic in combatting it. In this, it seems to us, the top leadership of the C.I.O. at Washington should show the way. What better way of spiking the malicious slanders of the Greens, the Freys, and the Girdlers? What better way of encouraging and supporting the awakening forces of constructive, re-

sponsible progressivism in the labor movement? The fight against Stalinism is not at all a "political, factional squabble," as some still believe. It is certainly not "red-baiting" by any stretch of the capitalism and to British imperialimagination. It is a struggle for the very existence and future of the labor movement. It is a duty that They are eager to unite with the falls upon everyone who has the best interests of Arab workers in a common socialist the labor movement at heart!

Problem of Palestine WORLD TODAY

British Imperialist Policy is "Divide and Rule"

THE problem of Palestine is one No. 35 of the most difficult of all the problems which face the internaional working-class movement.

Three separate elements must be perialism, the Jews and the Arabs.

British Imperialism

Palestine is of enormous import ance to the British empire. It i key territory both for the sea and air routes to India and Australia.

During the war of 1914, the British government made promises both to the Arabs and to the Jews with the object of facilitating British control of Palestine at the end of the war.

The British government denies the interpretation placed upon these promises; but the fact is that the Arabs believed they had been romised independence, whilst the Jews believed they had been promised that Palestine should become Jewish state.

The British government certainly period of British-Italian antagondid not want to see Palestine an independent Arab state. Indeed, Mussolini. part of its purpose in promising he Jews a "national home" was to establish allies in Palestine who could be counted on to resist Arab

The Jewish immigration into Palestine, however, has not worked out to plan. Thousands of Jews who have gone there from the countries of persecution in Europe are socialists who are not prepared be the tools of British imperial-

As a consequence, the British government now has in Palestine wo forces which it regards as its nemies; first, the Arabs, who are demanding independence; and econd, Jewish socialists, equally opposed to British imperialism.

Under these circumstances, in rder to maintain its power, the olicy of the British government nas been to encourage antagonism between the Arab and Jewish races and finally to divide Palestine by by the Revisionists among the

The Jews In Palestine

The original negotiations for a lewish "national home" in Palesine were conducted between the British War government and important Jewish capitalist and financial circles whose help the British government wanted.

The development of the Jewish 'national home" in Palestine has argely taken place under the patronage of Jewish capitalists and inanciers. With these Jewish elements and their ambitions, labor an have no sympathy.

If they had their way, these ine and make it overwhelmingly a Jewish workers, his death was cer-Jewish state.

The most extreme nationalists ists. They are a kind of Jewish fascists. It is the Revisionists who both sides, against British imperif terror against the Arabs.

But the Jewish workers have capitalism. prought to Palestine trade unionsm, the cooperative movement and and warships. They are not conagricultural collectives. The official and moderate sections of the labor perialism or to perpetuate British movement have been inclined, as in most other countries, to retain an independent workers state and their nationalism.

But, within the Jewish workers movement, there are sections which boring Arab states, so that out of have a genuine socialist attitude and which are opposed to Jewish states can finally be built. ism. They have no idea of establishing an exclusively Jewish state struggle with the object of building

a united Jewish-Arabic workers

The Arabs In Palestine

The Arabs are largely an illiterate peasant population living under religious leaders.

These lords and leaders have the Jews, and it has been easy for them to stir up among the Arab masses antagonism to the Jews. Part of this has been based on a demand for national independence but added to this has been an intense desire to keep the Arab masses in subjection and to prevent them from coming under the influence of trade-union and socialist ideas introduced by the Jewish workers.

The feudal lords and religious leaders have encouraged gangs of terrorists to attack the Jews. Their anti-Semitism has led them to look sympathetically towards Hitler, and there is no doubt that, during the ism, they received assistance from

But, in the towns, the Arab workers have come into contact with the Jewish workers and have

The Move To Unity

The difficulty of developing any general unity between the Jewish and Arab workers has been the absence of any real workers organizations among the Arabs. On the Jewish side, the Palestine Workers Party has been doing its utmost to develop unity by welcoming Arab workers into trade-union organizations, publishing socialist literature in the Arab language and encouraging the Arab workers to join as equals in the movement. They

The Arab workers who have been seeking unity with Jewish severer persecution from their own

have been denounced for doing this

many Arab workers. There were Arab speakers on the platforms and large numbers of Arab workers in the audience; but the difficulty is illustrated by an occurrence at Haiffa, where an Arab worker who organized an Arab

Those who are striving for unity and against Arab feudalism and

They do not want British troops tent to be the tools of British imcontrol. They want to build up to develop cooperation with the workers and peasants of the neighthem, a federation of socialist

NOTICE!

Our new telephone number is LAckawanna 4-5282. Our address remains the same.

London, July 25, 1938

ACCLAIMING THEIR MAJESTIES

TOBODY who knows how ignominiously the Socialist and Communist partners in the Peoples onsidered in turn: British im- wretched conditions and exploited Front Government of France yielded to British presscandalously by feudal lords and sure will be astonished that the reformist and Stalinte press joined in the chorus of those who welcomed the King and Queen of Great Britain to Paris. naturally resented the coming of It is to the demoralizing influence of their press that we must ascribe the huge popular turn-out to acclaim the crowned representatives of British imperialism. Leon Blum had the audacity to write: "I always claimed that the policy of the Peoples Front Government has improved not only economic conditions, but also the morale of the nation. What we saw today furnished ample proof for this" (Le Populaire, July 22). He was referring to the enthusiasm with which the crowds hailed their ma-

THE P.S.O.P. CONFERENCE

TWO hundred and seventy-two delegates representing 12,900 members and 56 federations attended the first national congress P.S.O.P. (Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants) which convened in Paris on July 16th and 17th. Altho the membership in the rest of the country is steadily increasing, the Paris district still holds its major place.

The congress didn't work out a full program, but succeeded in attaining clarity of principle and setbeen stimulated by them to demand | tled some important practical and organizational better conditions. At the same time, problems. The majority of the delegates spoke for many of the Arab peasants have the united front of labor against the Peoples Front; come under a similar influence by against collaboration with the French Communist contact with the Jewish agricul- Party; for the establishment of the dictatorship of the workers and toilers; and for workers control of production. They also adopted the anti-war platform of the 1907 Stuttgart Congress of the Socialist (Second) International and demanded strict adherence to the rules of inner party democracy and the right of referendum for the membership.

The new party rejects the policy of both the Second and Third Internationals, and decided to cooperate with the London Buro of Revolutionary Sovialists. Direct affiliation with that Buro was not vet considered.

The congress did excellent work. Incomplete as is the program adopted, it opens the road to revolutionary socialism for the French proletariat and must be regarded as one of the hopeful signs of the new regeneration of the Marxist labor movement.

NEGRIN PREPARES TO 'COMPROMISE'

workers have had to face even severer persecution from their own extreme nationalists. At the last one of their correspondents, from which we reprint May Day demonstrations, the the following: "I don't suggest that there is no Palestine Workers Party succeeded | solution for the wrongly named Spanish problem. in securing the cooperation of The solution is conditional on the elimination of foreign intervention. . . . If that could be brought about the difference between Spaniards would be rapidly solved. The Government of National Unity feels itself endowed with sufficient strength-once foreign intervention is eliminated—to promote and bring about the solution of the international probtrade-union meeting was seized and lem in Spain. The major instrument for this purpose held a prisoner for two weeks and is its tolerance. No protest was raised on the Reonly released with a warning that, publican side when a few weeks ago I ordered the Jewish nationalists would steadily if he continued his activities towards the union of the Arab and According to the Paris-Midi, Alvares del Vayo

expressed himself in a similar way: "Just as gladly as we cooperated with Irujo who is a Basque Cathamong the Jews are the Revision- realize that their struggle is olic and a Nationalist, we would cooperate with other against the racial terrorists on catholics and nationalists." The correspondent asked: "Even if they bore arms against you?" "Well yes," have recently engaged in methods alism, against Jewish capitalism, replied Alvares del Vayo. "Everybody who shares our belief in independence will be received with open arms." He and Negrin couldn't possibly express more plainly their readiness to compromise with Franco

According to latest news the Spanish Republican Government bowed to Great Britain's ruling that volunteers be withdrawn from Spain. This will destroy the hopes of those who were under the illusion that the Soviet Government would, in spite of its official endorsement of the British policy in the nonintervention committee, secretly further the aims of Republican Spain and prompt her to reject the British plan. It becomes evermore clear that Stalin and his satellites have sacrificed the interests of the Spanish working class and practice the "international solidarity" with the "western powers" Litvinoff prattles about.

===By Lambda =

(Continued from Page 1) cists in Catalonia and many other parts of Spain; on July 19, 1938, many of these same workers are in prison in Barcelona-and an act of accusation has been produced against the members of the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. which will form the basis of the prosecution in the forthcoming trial

at the Central Tribunal of Espion-

age and High Treason. It will be remembered that the a basis for an accusation, and its members of the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M. were imprisoned on June 17 last year. The political secretary of the Party, Andres | Secretary), Irujo (Minister of Justice in the first united anti- of Propaganda). Golfin himself was fascist government of Catalonia, was taken to Madrid on July 16. He was transferred to a secret prison in the Calle de Alcala de Honares and was taken out of this prison on the execution of the P.O.U.M. July 22 by a group of armed men. prisoners.

After his disappearance we were informed by Senor Irujo, Minister prisoners are held responsible for for Justice, and Senor Zugazago- the street fighting in Barcelona in itia, Home Secretary, that the May, 1937. It is said they fired Spanish Government was not re- upon the Assault Guards from the sponsible for his arrest and was Central Telephone Building in Barundertaking researches in order to celona. This is a deliberate lie. discover his whereabouts. Andres everyone knows that the Telephone Nin was taken from the secret Building had been controlled by prison by agents of the G.P.U. the syndicates of the C.N.T. and and, in common with many others the U.G.T. since July 19, 1936, that of the best working-class revolu- it was attacked on Monday, May 3, tionaries, has disappeared, probably at 3 p.m. by the Assault Guards

There remain in prison in Barcelona the following members of the Executive Committee of the P.O.U. member of the P.O.U.M. was M.: Gorkin, Andrade Arquez, Pascual, Rovira, David Rey, Bonel and Escudere (Editor of "La Batalla").

It is the duty of the international working-class to prevent the recurrence in Barcelona of such gravely disturbing episodes in the working-class movement as the Moscow Trials. An examination of the act of accusation shows clearly that this document has been framed with the deliberate object of enforcing the death penalty, and of destroying a workers' party whose only crime has been to give its best blood in the anti-fascist

In the first place the prisoners are to be tried by a Special Tribunal of Espionage and High Treason which was set up at the end of June last year, several days arms, they took the offensive and after the arrest of the prisoners, and which has retroactive powers.

This Tribunal is the same type as those in Italy and Germany U.M. divisions had left the front against which the whole working- the Fascists would have walked class movement has protested. The through. trial of prisoners by a tribunal set up after their arrest recalls the cratic, to say nothing of a genuine the declaration states:

vigorous protest against "the em-ployment by republican Spain of 'Red Legion' formed for internal, the methods of the totalitarian i.e., political duties. A delegation Tribunal.

Framed-Up Charges

it contains charges which were tween Barcelona and the front in abandoned last year as absolutely order that 6,000 to 8,000 P.O.U.M. without foundation.

plicity in espionage because of the their defence. We repeat not a discovery in the house of a Fascist single soldier left the front." in Madrid, by name Fernandez Gol- | It is a terrible thing that work- | nouncing any attempt to extermiof which was written in invisible died on the battle field fighting and considered this summons the ink the words "Your order to filter against Fascism should be accused beginning of such a drive. into the ranks of the extremists has of having left the front. been carried out with success. I The remainder of the act of ac- as loyal union members they conhave been to Barcelona myself to cusation deals with matters which sidered it their duty to respond to

tered in July of last year it was the view that the best way to save investigated by the two delegations Spain was by forming a genuine

from Golfin. The document was produced by the Communist-controlled police as

Companys, Prieto (then War executed a month ago after a secret trial, and now this proven forgery is made into a monstrous accusation in an attempt to justify

In the accusation the P.O.U.M. and that the resistance came from the C.N.T. and U.G.T. workers in the building. Not a single

The subsequent general strike and workers' resistance in Barcelona were the inevitable responses to the police provocation, and were taken part in by all the workers of Barcelona. To hold the P.O.U.M responsible is simply an attempt to find a scapegoat, and is a deliberate falsification of history.

It is said that during the dis turbances at Barcelona the P.O U.M. Division left the front at Huesca, spreading terror among the peasantry. We have unimpeachable evidence that this is an infamous calumny.

The front was occupied by C.N. T. and P.O.U.M. troops and during all this period they were not only holding the front, but in early June, despite their insufficiency of many hundreds of P.O.U.M. soldiers were killed. It is only neces sary to point out that if the P.O.

We print the following declara tion from the international memworst features of militarism and bers of the P.O.U.M. shock batfascist dictatorships, and is abso- talion. After denouncing as a lie lutely indefensible from a demo- the allegation referred to above,

rear in the afternoon of the same itself, we are astounded to find that task was to maintain supplies besoldiers would receive the food The principal charge is com- and ammunitions necessary for

headed respectively by Fenner workers' and peasants' government Brockway and James Maxton. It and by the adoption of a large The following is reprinted from the August 13 issue of New was proved to their satisfaction measure of collectivization. They Commonwealth, organ of the Cabeyond a shadow of doubt that this believed that the real rampart nadian Commonwealth Federation,

was purely and simply a forgery. against Fascism was a workers' the party of Canadian labor: These words were written on the and peasants' revolutionary bloc document after it had been taken fighting for workers' control and auto union for the past few months attitude of the Republican Govern- to the conclusion that the 'Unity' ment; but the P.O.U.M. advocated Group is as much a menace to the it in a straightforward and honest falsity was denounced by President way while it was a legal party, and United States. In fact we believe we refuse to believe that repub-Minister), Zugazagoitia (Home lican Spain will adopt the methods fails to take drastic steps to curb of totalitarian states by the physic-

> ponents. Indeed we know that members abundantly disproved, but which whole rank and file. now are included in the act of aconly because the Communist minority threatened to resign that it was U.A.W.A. ecided to keep them in prison.

In view of the foregoing, therefore, we urge upon you to join us can doubt this and, to say the least, this study that the proportion of in our protest to the Negrin Gov-the course taken by the local ernment and to arouse the forces 'Unity' Group, its unqualified supof all working-class opinion, par- port of officers clearly guilty of ticularly the International Federa- conspiring to sell out the union for tion of Trades Unions and the La- personal gain, lays it open to susbor and Socialist International, to picion of the same charge. energetic action.

eign anti-Fascists who have been whole-hearted support of all loyal liberated since last July, and it is union men. We don't believe that he now our bounden duty to act on is by any means a superman and behalf of the P.O.U.M. prisoners. Something more is in peril than criticism.' the lives of our comrades whom we know personally and for whom we ing:

can swear as genuine anti-Fascist basic principles of all socialist advance, namely, proletarian democracy, and in its name we appeal monstrous crime. For and on behalf of

endent Labor Party. JAMES MAXTON.

FENNER BROCKWAY, JOHN McNAIR.

ILP Appeals For Aid To POUM Back Martin In Canada

"We have followed events in the socialism. This was not the official with great interest and have come U.A.W.A. in Canada as it is in the that if the Canadian leadership the machinations of this political Justice) and Miravitles (Minister | al suppression of its political op- | sectarian group they will eventually face the same tactics as those used in the attempt to oust Homer of the government have repeatedly Martin, International President, stated that they do not believe but possibly with greater success. the charges made against the This would be a tragedy, not only P.O.U.M.; charges which have been to the present leaders, but to the

"To us it seems there can be no cusation. In January last the Gov- doubt but that the 'Unity' Group rnment decided by 5 votes to 2 to was organized and is controlled by iberate the prisoners, and it was the Communist Party of the U.S.A. in an attempt to dominate the

"No one who has followed the recent events in the auto union

"In our opinion Martin has It is this action which has saved taken the only possible step to save the age of 16 was 3½ years and the lives of many hundreds of for- the union and should receive the that his policies are beyond

The editorial concludes by say-

"With mass lay-offs brought on workers. There is in peril the very by the 'recession,' a concerted attack by employers led by the manufacturers associations to reduce wages and repudiate agreeto you to join us in preventing this ments the union needs all its strength to protect its membership. The attempt of the 'Unity' Group to take advantage of the strain the union is undergoing to gain control by a 'coup d'etat,' brands it as the greatest enemy the auto Secretary. workers have at the present time, and makes drastic action im-Representative in Spain. | perative."

Progressive Furriers Ask Labor Group Hear Case

gressive Furriers were "called in" truth but to frame-up and take majority must contribute to the by the Stalinist-dominated Joint punitive measures against those support their families. Council of the New York Furriers' who dare to criticize and expose On July 14, referring to this events arrived at the front, we to stifle all opposition criticism, of the present administration."

"When the news of the Barcelona | Union, in an attempt by that body to the fur workers the treachery events arrived at the front, we to stifle all opposition criticism, of the present administration." Tribunal, the French Socialist heard at the same time that the and thereby smother the discontent organ, "Le Populaire," uttered a route between Barcelona and the of the furriers with the administra-

states." We demand, therefore, taken from the rear composed of United Progressive Furriers would be willing to the sive Furriers would be willing to The second best way of raising them. that the prisoners be tried by the representatives of the C.N.T. and United Progressive Furriers, critionly Court of Justice which existed at the time of their so-called crimes, namely, the Popular Tribunal representatives of the U.N.T. and the P.O.U.M. divisions left at night, arrived at Binefar in the morning, entered into negotiations with the Commander of the 'Red tiate only one point concerning fi-Legion' and arrived back at the Legion' and arrived back at the Joint Council had planned to call Turning to the act of accusation day having completed its task. This in the three leading candidates but this decision was changed "in obedience to an order received from elsewhere, and a mass trial was organized," according to the statement of the opposition

The United Progressive Furriers' candidates issued a statement defin, of a plan of Madrid on the back ing-class revolutionaries who have nate critical opinion in the union,

They further declared that altho meet a leading member of the may be described as political. On the call of the union, the Joint P.O.U.M.—'N'—." When this charge was first ut- points of view. The P.O.U.M. took proofs we have to offer because

Candidates of the United Pro-lits motive is not to arrive at the

that a trial committee be chosen believed that wage-rates were too by the New York labor movement, low and governmental action was Altho numerous points had been before which the United Progres- the best means of raising them.

WHERE WE STAND

PROGRAM AND POLICIES of the I.L.L.A.

> Single copies: 5c. Five or more: 4c. WORKERS AGE

BOOKSHOP

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BOOKS

YOUTH TELL THEIR STORY, by Howard M. Bell. American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1938.

THIS study, prepared by the ▲ American Council on Education, gives a graphic picture of what young people are doing and thinking, based on personal interviews with more than 13,000 of hem between the ages of 16 and 24 in the state of Maryland.

The young people represented in

nis study, a sample of America's

20,000,000 youth between the ages f 16 and 24, were found on farms, in coal mines, in textile mills, in cities, in country clubs, in schools and in pool rooms-wherever young people spend their time. The story they tell is, therefore, a story with significance for the whole country. One of the paramount problems which this study reveals is the necessity of finding employment for young people as they emerge from school. At the present moment, according to government estimates, there are between 4 and 5 million youth who are out of school and disemployed. It is established in out-of-school and employable youth who had not obtained any full-time employment at the expiration of a year after leaving chool, is between 40% and 46%. The average period of waiting for the youth who quit school before the average duration of unemployment for all young people was al-

most two years. In addition, 26% of them had never been employed. The second big need stressed by this study is the necessity of equalizing educational opportunities. The outstanding reason given by the young people themselves for eaving school was the financial inability of their parents to keep them there. In fact, almost 4 out of every 10 of the out-of-school youth ndicated that they would have preferred to remain in school but hat lack of family funds prevented heir continuing. Another significant fact brought out by this study is that almost "a constant inverse ratio exists between the birth-rate for any given group and its economic status; the social classes who

the highest per-capita wealth." As the youth themselves see it, the "youth problem" is largely a matter of economic security. For millions of young people in America, this means getting a job. But even employed youth face serious difficulties. Rates of pay tend to be low; hours tend to be long; and a

have the fewest children posses

The last chapter of the study A demand was therefore made our time. On wages, the majority wage-rate was thru trade-union organization. It is important to note that, in spite of the desire of young people for increased govrnmental activity, there was but little faith in the ability of our democratic institutions to achieve the ends they desire-economic se-

Mr. Bell concludes this study by calling for greater economic and educational equality, without realizing that these demands can be obtained only thru an organized effort on the part of labor. It is important to recognize that these alleviatory measures, such as extension of relief and greater educational opportunities, cannot solve the basic problem—the inability to find a place for youth under the present economic system. For that capitalism must be made to give way to a socialist society.

JOE ELWOOD

About Ferdinand Smith

= By Jack Soderberg =

article below, is under charges of having scabbed in the 1934 West Coast maritime strike. He has held the post of vice-president of the National Maritime Union, where the Stalinists recently were crushingly defeated.—Editor)

August 15, 1938 THIS matter of Ferdinand . Smith, vice-president of the National Maritime Union and Browder's face in the Stewards Division, is most interesting. The statement of "Whacky" Myers that Smith was unable to get off the ship because she did not dock in any of the nine strike-bound ports she called falls absolutely flat to anyone who has a mere nodding acquaintance with ships and seafaring. In any seamen's strike the ship is never docked but is held at anchor in the bay or stream where she can be loaded or unloaded by scabs from lighters and scows without being interfered with by pickets. At the time of that strike each and every ship that arrived in Frisco or any other port anchored in the bay, but the crews nevertheless got off the ship. There are such things as boatmen-and also the union uses boats-for the purpose of taking sailors off the ship. In addition to this, the law of these United States makes it mandatory upon the skipper of the

landing any of the crew so desir-The cold fact remains that this vice-president in the N.M.U.

ship to supply the wherewithal for

(Ferdinand Smith, subject of the man stayed on the ship, called at nine strike-bound ports from Pedro to Portland, and then returned back east, in the middle of a strike which meant the very life or death of the maritime unions on the west coast. And this man was then, is now, and probably will continue to be, a member of the Stalinist Party.

And of all the floating work houses he could pick, he picked a Luckenbach ship. These ships at the time paid as little as thirty dollars per month—even less than the infamous Shepard Line—and they were the toughest ships to pull. An example: in Seattle's shipyard there lay something like six of these ships fully manned with strikebreakers. The gates to the vard were closed and a line of cops drawn up in front. You couldn't get near them. Harry Lundeberg solved the problem by borrowing a five ton Mack truck, loading it full of sailors and ran the truck through the gates, cops and all. In this manner these ships were cleared of the rodents and stayed tied up until the successful termination of the

Yes, the Stalinists must have come to a sorry pass when not only their members are allowed to scab in a strike, but in addition are defended by the party members in the union after they are found out. However, if I know the men who cleaned out most of these people in the recent election—and I think I know them-there will soon be another election held for a new

New Deal Faces South

(Continued from Page 3) ants cannot get enough to live out of the soil; "too much production" of cotton (under the standards of the profit system) is plowed under!

This fundamental evil was "recognized" before this report, and the Farm Resettlement Administration made some attempts to create "real" homestead husbandry. Pressure from the planters and others, plus the inherent economic fantasies put an end to this. For the actual trend of "solution" is already indicated in the report itself:

"In certain sections there has been a tendency to revert to large plantations worked by machinery on an industrial basis." That is what is actually happening, unmindful of all Jeffersonian daydreams, for that is the nature of capitalist development in agriculture. But altho this may permit a more efficient method of farming, the benefits accrue to the employtendency means the gradual elimination of tenants and croppers and are employed at such rates. Wherethe creation of a real agricultural as 25% of the cotton goods workmoans: "No longer owners, tenants or croppers, the workers in these agricultural factories are more nearly day laborers—unskilled workers who can be hired one day and fired the next."

This is the dilemma of the reformers: sincerely repelled by the present agricultural system, they look backward to an unrealizable economic dream and are equally shocked by the one sign of progress in southern agriculture-largescale farming. The "unskilled workcan and are being organized, which, at the very least, places difficulties in the way of hiring and firing them on a daily basis. Secondly, it is thru such economic organization that the advantages of machinery can be utilized, to a far greater extent than at present. Finally it places Southern agriculture in a position which directly the pressing problem of "efficiency" | servative

versus living conditions; for only under socialism can the gains offered by scientific large-scale farming accrue to labor itself.

Incredibly Low Standards

What are the living standards of these victims of our profit-system? In general, per capita income in the South was \$314, it was \$604 in the rest of the country. But among the farmers, 53% of them, the tenant and cropper group, have an average income of \$74 per tenant for a year's work, while croppers earnings ranged from \$38 to \$87from ten to twenty cents per day!

Wages for industrial workers fall in line with these low standards. The average annual wage in industry in general, according to the report, was \$1,219, while in the south is averaged only \$865. Examples of the notorious wage differential abound in the report. More than half the mill workers in the South earn under 37.5 cents per ers and plantation owners. This hour, altho less than 10% of the workers in the rest of the country working-class. As the report be- ers in the nation earn more than 52.5 cents per hour, only 10% in the South fall in that category. The average differential in twenty important industries in 1937 amounted to 16 cents per hour. Furthermore, altho average working hours are longer in the South than elsewhere. the average annual wage is lower.

One of the permanent apologies for the differential is the claim that living costs are cheaper. Actually what this means is that living standards are kept on a lower level. A study quoted by the report indicates that the difference in living costs (urban) between the South and elsewhere amount to only 5%. Yet industrial earnings for workers are often 30 to 50%below national average!

What the social standards of life for the Southern masses is like can be gleaned from some of the figures in the report. We are informed, for cries out for socialization to solve example, that: "By the most conestimates, 4.000.000 ticle.

Stalinist Policy Against Labor Party Movement

(Continued from page 3) further their own schemes of "col- | Homer Martin who has been lective security" as the form of struggle against fascism. So firmly have they built their strategy with the Democratic Party as the keystone that even the attempt by the New Deal and Roosevelt to purge itself of certain anti-New Deal legislators is looked upon with great misgivings by the Stalinists, so solicitous for the welfare and unity of the Democratic Party have they become. The citation from an article by Geoffrey Parsons, in last week's issue of Workers Age proves one thing at least-and that is that the Stalinists value the unity of the Democratic Party far more than the unity of the labor movement.

The declaration of President Martin proclaiming the political independence of the U.A.W. from the Democratic Party, even while pledging wholehearted aid to Governor Murphy and President Roosevelt, has been met with a gnashing of teeth on the part of the Stalinists. It most decidedly does not fit into their scheme of things.

But their general attitude to the Democratic Party does serve as a key to their strategy in Labor's Non-Partisan League which is one of relentlessly driving for full control to realize their plans, and explains their hatred and bitterness

Southern families should be rehoused. This is one half of all the families in the South." Child labor finds its stronghold in the South. Social and labor legislation on a state scale is practically non-existent. Industrial hygiene practically began in 1936, while malaria pellagra, etc. run unchecked. So obvious is the connection between disease and poverty that the report makes no attempt to hide it. 'Even in Southern cities," it is stated, "from 60 to 88% of the families of low incomes are spending for food less than enough to purchase an adequate diet."

This gives an impressive sketch of the wretched economic plight of the masses of Southern workers and farmers. But was this strange-"radical" depiction the real motivation for the report of the National Economic Council? The concluding section of the report reveals that its aims exceed the "narrow" circle of humanitarianism and are based upon hopes for expansion of the profit system in the South.

"The South," we are told, "is the nation's greatest untapped market and the market in which American business can expand most easily." And further, "Northern producers and distributors are losing profits and Northern workers are losing work because the South cannot afford to buy their goods."

from being tapped, what keeps the purchasing power of the Southern masses so low? The answer, according to the report, lies in three major factors: 1) freight differentials operating to the disadvantage of the South making it more profitable to finish goods in the North; absent∈e ownership, preventing the growth of a powerful Southern class of finance-capitalists and local absorption of dividends and interest; and, 3) the high cost of credit, limiting the possibilities of capital expansion.

That these questions are raised at this time hints at a very important aspect of New Deal policy, intimately bound up with both its general economic program and the inner Democratic Party struggle. The political significance of the report and economic possibilities of 'solving" the problems raised, I will deal with in a subsequent ar-

against the activities of President staunch in his opposition to the surrender of labor's independent political role.

Destroying The Labor Party Movement

In the last campaign in the city of Detroit the Campaign Committee had constantly to battle against Stalinist endeavors to drown out abor's voice by making it a straight reform and "good-government" contest.

In the recently held conference that organized the Wayne County Labor Non-Partisan League the Stalinists were better organized and succeeded in taking the organization into camp almost completely. So crude a job did they do that Richard Frankensteen, now their leader in the fight against Martin outside the union, told whomever he could buttonhole in the corridors of the union, that he had spoken to B. K. Gebert of the Communist Party, and had threatened to take the issue of Stalinist domination of Wayne County's L.N.-P.L. to the locals unless five Stalinists resign from the leading body.

For continuing the same fight and objecting to the nomination of wo well known Communist Party members on the L.N.-P.L. ticket President Martin is now being slandered and condemned by the Stalinists and their stooges as an enemy of the L.N.-P.L. An example of this Stalin-made drive is contained in the columns of the New York Herald Tribune of August 10, under the name of Geoffrey Parsons, Jr.

We are told that President Martin "contemplated setting up a rival political organization working with U.A.W. locals and unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor."

Apparently realizing that the charge of "contemplating" an organization dual to the L.N.-P.L. is a little too thin and the attempt to involve A. F. of L. locals in L.N.-P.L. hardly an indictable offense, Mr. Parsons proceeds to develop the real plot.

"Martin's followers already have taken this step in Illinois, where they have organized the Illinois Labor Party to compete with the Non-Partisan League. Followers of Jay Lovestone, ex-Communist leader of a bitterly anti-Communist sect, cooperated with the Illinois auto workers in organizing the Illinois Labor Party, lending added color to the charge made by anti-Martin leaders in the union that Lovestone is Martin's closest adviser.'

The only thing that this quotation really adds color to is the charge that Geoffrey Parsons, Jr. has been and continues to be a stooge for the "unity" boys who were doing such a nice splitting But what prevents this market job until the U.A.W. membership decided to reward them adequately for the efforts. Mr. Parsons' proclivities for the Stalinists date back even before the Milwaukee convention of the U.A.W. in August 1937, as a perusal of the Herald Tribune will prove.

Now what are the facts? If Mr. Parsons were interested in serving truth as much as he has served Mr. Wyndham Mortimer, he would know, or knowing would not hesitate to say, that President Martin could not have organized the Illinois Labor Party to compete with Non-Partisan League for the simple reason that the Labor Party was organized before the Non-Partisan League was set up! What now becomes of Jr.'s conspiracy between Martin and Lovestone to wreck Labor's Non-Partisan League?

Furthermore, relations between the two organizations even after the Non-Partisan League was set shops.

F.D.R. Backs N.L.R.B. Curb

A conference between William Green, president of the A. F. of L., and President Roosevelt concerning the Wagner Act resulted "in accord on the necessity of making some changes," according to Green's statement after the conference.

This marks the beginning of official collaboration between the forces of the Administration and of the A. F. of L. on the reaction ary program to "curb" the activities of the National Labor Relations Board and spike whatever gains labor has been able to make under the operations of this law.

The A. F. of L. has for some time been in sharp opposition to the N.L.R.B. since under many of the Board's elections to determine collective bargaining agencies the craft unions had been repudiated by the workers in favor of the C.I.O. From this the A. F. of L. has concluded, together with the employers and now the New Deal, that the N.L.R.B. must have its teeth withdrawn, since it was "a C.I.O. supporter."

That President Roosevelt himself has been equally concerned with the workings of this law under which labor's strength has had a chance to function, was indicated earlier this year when he sent a commission abroad to "study" the workings of British labor law. So obvious a move was this towards undermining the Wagner Act and introducing some sort of unionsmashing legislation, that the C.I.O., thru John L. Lewis, imme-

diately declared it would have

nothing to do with such a "study."

up were of the best, a number of local unions of the A.C.W. and even of the U.M.W. retaining their connections with the Labor Party. President Martin addressed a meeting of the Labor Party in Chicago, which the Stalinist press later did its best to twist into an act of hostility to the Non-Partisan League. That it failed is witnessed by the fact that Ray Edmundson, heading the Illinois Non-Partisan League, arranged special meetings for President Martin to address despite Stalinist pressure.

But there was indeed a sharp difference (in which President Martin does not figure at all) between the Illinois Labor Party and the Non-Partisan League over the endorsement, in the last municipal elections, of candidates of the infamous Kelly-Nash machine—the machine under whose administration the massacre at Republic Steel in South Chicago took place.

Labor's Non-Partisan League endorsed the candidates in question primarily because of the Stalinist pressure. The Illinois Labor Party opposed that move as did many sections of the Non-Partisan League itself, and in our opinion rightly so. But while on this question, who has initiated and where was adopted the law that any section of the labor movement is to be prejudged as disloyal if it ever differs with the Labor Non-Partisan League or for that matter with the C.I.O. on a matter of policy? This may be the system under Stalin's totalitarian regime in Russia-fortunately for the entire labor movement it is not so here.

The sharp differences in the U.A.W. on the Labor Non-Partisan League, and the slanderous attacks against President Martin are therefor based upon the whole strategy of the Communist Party to capture the L.N.-P.L. and lead it into the Democratic Party which they hope to use for the purpose of executing their schemes for "collective security." Between them and the realization of their anti-labor schemes stands a powerful union and a leadership loyal and devoted to the interests of the men in the