# Laboi Needs Unity

An Editorial

TT is not without significance that, in recent months, a renewed note of concern over the division in labor's ranks and a renewed urge to unity have been

noticeable in the labor press of this country and in labor circles generally. There is a deep feeling widespread that the time to do something about the situation is right now, before it is too late, before irreparable damage is done

to the labor movement.

It would be utterly pointless to attempt here to apportion blame for the present state of affairs. Those who understand the tendencies at work beneath the surface of events realize that the rupture was made inevitable by the blind and obstinate resistance of the old-line craft-union chieftains of the A.F. of L. to the expanding forces of industrial unionism. The split was the price labor had to pay to make possible its rise to new and higher levels of working-class organization. But the by-products of the split have been none the less disastrous for all that, nor is the necessity for unity any the less urgent today.

It is hardly necessary for us to recite what these by-products have been. Internal conflict, to the point of inter-union strikes and mutual "raiding," has become increasingly common, seriously impairing la bor's economic power and threaten ing to alienate even friendly public opinion. On the political field, the forces of labor are badly divided and far more bitterly hostile to each other than to the common enemy, so that the general political influence of labor has been measurably reduced. Perhaps worst of all, the rancorous spirit of dual unionism is again beginning to raise its head in the American trade-union movement: in the A. F. of L., dualism and an anti-C.I.O. phobia are official policy; in the C.I.O., there have so far been only a few sporadic outcroppings here and there, but the danger is great nevertheless. The split is widening, the dissension is growing more furious—and the forces of big-business reaction are preparing to utilize a situation so favorable to them to its full advantage.

Labor needs unity more than anything else at the present time. It is the demand of the hour! This is not the place to go into a detailed discussion of the terms and conditions of such unity, for these terms and conditions themselves constantly change with the agreement arrived at was that changing situation. One thing is obviously requires the recognition of industrial unionism for the mass-production industries and a guarantee that the advances of the C.I.O. in organizing the unorganized will be preserved; everything else is secondary. Unity on such a basis is quite possible if the general interests of the labor movement as a whole are allowed to prevail over the narrower interests of any particular section of the movement.

The reunification of the labor movement is urgent and possible; yet it is obviously a process that will take time. But the bitter civil war in labor's ranks with all the devastation it has caused must not be permitted to continue for another day. If complete unity requires some time for its achievement, a truce in the civil war and a united labor front are possible the question at this moment.

# Workers Ago

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 38,

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1937.

5c a Copy

## UAW Studies 'Peace' Plan

**Board Confers With C.I.O.** Committee; Members **Back Martin** 

> Detroit, Mich. September 12, 1938

International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union has now been in session several days, conferring with Philip Murray and Sidney Hillman, a committee sent by John L. Lewis to discuss and secure the adoption of his proposed "peace" plan, which had aroused the leadership and membership of the U. A.W. to vigorous opposition. Whether any progress in the negotiations has been made is not known at this time, all parties being exceptionally close-mouthed. In view of the sweeping reaction of the membership against the Lewis proposal, it is extremely unlikely that the International Board will take kindly to it. At the opening of the Board sessions, union spokesmen declared that the meeting was being held in a spirit of conciliation and in an earnest desire to preserve the unity of the organization.

The improvement in employment conditions in the industry, bringing with it the return to work of many thousands of workers, is making it possible for the union to strengthen its positions in the industry. Steps to improve dues payments and organizational functioning have already been taken.

Over the week-end, two large meetings took place offering some indication of the way the membership feels and also exposing the fraudulent character of the claims of support made by the Stalinists in the union. A meeting of the Packard local held last Sunday was attended by over 3,000 workers and voted about 5 to 1 against the Lewis proposal. Packard Local 190 is on the list as "supporting" the Stalinists altho no action had been taken by that local previously to warrant such opinion. The fact that the Packard workers voted against the Lewis proposal so overwhelmingly while the International Board was in session with Hillman and Murray makes this action even more significant.

A meeting of the Dodge Local, called by the International Board and attended by some 3,000 workers, was called off upon the request of C.I.O. representatives. none of the officers involved in the sound and lasting unity present conflict should even appear at the meeting. This pledge was broken by Richard Frankensteen, who did appear at the meeting and tried to give the impression to the press that the meeting had endorsed the Stalinist opposition.

Another indication of the temper (Continued on Page 6)

immediately. Despite the deeper differences on organizational strategy and structure, there are many fields of economic and political rificing soldiers of labor, known struggle where some sort of agreement for united action can be reached between the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. and the independent Harlan County. railroad unions. Certainly a cessation of the demoralizing and Harlan County Coal Operators Asdestructive inner-union conflict can be arranged. What is needed is the will to unity and a realization of \$5.60 a day. It also provides for the overwhelming importance of the union check-off in every mine Harlan County coal fields. It was

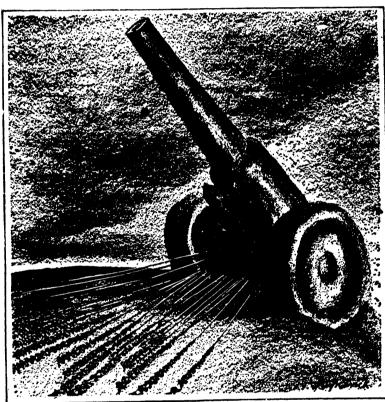
# **POUM In Danger!**

THE following cable has just been received from Paris:

"The trial of the Barcelona group of the P.O.U.M. will begin on September 14. Among those accused is Schwartz, German revolutionist, adherent of the International Communist Opposition. The trial of this Barcelona group is believed to be the forerunner of the trial of the members of the P.O.U.M. executive, now in jail."

All signs seem to indicate that the Stalinist conspiracy to railroad the P.O.U.M. leaders to death on framed-up charges along the lines of the "Moscow trials," is now approaching its culmination. Success in this conspiracy would be a deadly blow to the anti-fascist cause in Spain. for the arrested P.O.U.ists, together with the Left socialists, anarchists and trade-unionists who are in jail with them and would share their fate sooner or later, are among the most militant and devoted anti-fascist fighters in the country. For the sake of a united and effective struggle against Franco, every one (Continued on Page 2)

## THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

## U.M. W. Harlan Victory Ends Long Union Fight

Pact Provides For Closed Shop, 7-Hour Day

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

August 30, 1938

Jenkins, Kentucky N historical agreement, ending A one of the most dramatic struggles in labor annals, has been signed. After twenty years of warfare, Harlan County coal operators have entered into a contract with the United Mine Workers of America—an agreement that is a fitting memorial to the "Battle of Evarts" and to that vast army of valiant and self-sacand unknown, who gave their best

The contract signed with the sociation calls for a closed shop, a seven-hour day and a base pay of and sets up machinery for arbitra-

energies, their blood and even

their lives to bring unionism to

tion of disputes. In connection with this agreement, a request has been L.R.B. for dismis sal of civil action against Harlan County operators charged with conspiring to violate the Wagner

Harlan County's long resistance to unionism resulted from the fact that it occupies the dominant position in the captive-mines group, whose anti-labor policies were mechanically transferred from the steel industry to the steel-controlled sections of the coal industry. The great gains made by the S.W.O.C. in the steel industry gave a clear indication that this policy was crumbling. The signing of the S.W.O.C.-U.S. Steel contract, besides changing the tide of unionism in the steel industry, also set the pace for unionism in the captive-coal section, dominated by the

(Continued on Page 5)

## British Aid Nazi Scheme

London Times Calls For **Cession Of The Sudeten** Area To Germany

The European crisis grew more tense last week as Hitler drove harder in his campaign against Czechoslovakia and Great Britain showed its hand more openly in support of the Nazi aims in Central Europe.

In Czechoslovakia, the Henlein party practically rejected the government's new offer on the "Sudeten question" and then broke off negotiations altogether on some flimsy pretext. From Nuremberg, where the Nazi party congress was in session, German leaders directed the moves of their agents across the border, ordering them to insist on "more and more" with the assurance that they would get it in the end. In an address at the congress, Hitler made clear that what he was really striving for was to annex the Sudeten region outright and to establish a virtual dictatorship over what remain of Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, in British govern-ment circles, the policy of helping Hitler get his grip over Czechoslovakia provided he does so in a "peaceful" manner was advanced quite openly. The Times of London, everywhere recognized as the semiofficial voice of the Tory govern-ment, created an international sensation last week by urging editorially that the Sudeten areas should be handed over lock, stock and barrel to Germany should the present negotiations in Prague break down. Altho "repudiated" for form's sake by Whitehall, this editorial statement was widely taken as reflecting the general direction of British policy in the situation.

The Daladier cabinet in France, hewing close to the line of British foreign policy, is continuing its intensive efforts to put the country on a war footing and to prepare the framework of a military dictatorship. One by one, the chief gains of the June 1936 strike movement have been destroyed, the latest to go being the forty-hour week. Troops were used last week to break a big dockers strike in Marseilles and Daladier even to militarize the dock threatened workers by calling them into military service should the strike continue.

#### Mr. Roosevelt's "Peace Policy"

66R UMORS indicate that our State Department may have played a subtle role in helping the British force the Czechs to knuckle under to Hitler, by granting concessions in the Sudeten area which virtually mean its severance, both political and cultural from Czechoslovakia."-The New York Post, September 8, 1938.

# 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.)

#### **NEGRO RIGHTS**

THE racial oppression of the Negro, ranging all all the way from disfranchisement and discrimination sanctioned by law or custom to the savagery of lynching, is one of the most shameful aspects of American civilization and "democracy." Even in some sections of the labor movement, the disgraceful color-line is to be found, with Negro workers either barred from the unions or else organized along jim-crow lines with inferior status and limited rights. Yet the white workers of this country suffer directly from the mistreatement and unrestrained exploitation of the Negro masses, since such conditions enable the employing class to play off one section of the workers against the other to its own sole advantage. On the other hand, firm solidarity and cooperation among the workers, cutting across racial and color lines, are the best guarantee of victory in the struggle against the employing class.

Certain trade-unions, such as the United Automobile Workers, the United Mine Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, have established an enviable record for the freedom from racial bias that prevails in their ranks and for their vigorous championship of equality for the Negro. Thru the C.I.O., which in its very form of organization favors the industrial solidarity of all workers regardless of their race or color, the same progressive spirit is spreading thruout the labor movement. Forces are already at work opening the way for the Negro to take his righful place in the labor movement.

The defense of Negro rights requires:

- 1. Full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people. Enforcement of the Constitutional amendments and laws guaranteeing the Negroes full citizenship rights, including the franchise.
- 2. Against any variety of segregation or discrimination, whether in the form of jimcrowism or of an attempt to set apart the Negroes as a separate "nation" distinct from the white people of this country (as advocated by the Stalinist doctrine of "selfdetermination").
- 3. Support of federal anti-lynching legislation. Support of all equal-rights legislation for
- 4. Complete abolition of the color line in the labor movement and in the right to employment. Complete equality for the Negro workers in the ranks of organized labor.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND LABOR **PRISONERS**

THE struggle between labor and capital is generally accompanied by vicious persecution of the workers under legal forms. This is still largely true today, even under the New Deal. The denial of civil rights, judicial interference, police terror, strikebreaking by military forces, even the frame-up, are notorious in the history of the American labor movement. At this very moment, there are dozens of men in this country languishing in prison on framed-up charges because of their labor activities or because of their political beliefs, color or race.

- A labor program for the protection of civil rights requires:
- 1. Defense of the democratic rights of the masses, such as free speech, free press, free assembly, etc.

- 2. Prohibition of the use of the militia in strikes or labor struggles.
- 3. Freedom for Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, the Harlan miners and other labor
- 4. Freedom for the Scottsboro boys still

#### TOWARDS SOCIALISM

THE nine years of decline, interrupted by a brief period of incomplete recovery followed bor (G. G.T.); and Edo Fimmen by a new depression, make it clear that we are of Holland, general secretary of faced with a permanent breakdown of our the International Transport Work- of the pious phrases about "unity" economic system based on private property and ers Union, will address the meetprivate profit. Any upturn that the future may ing. In addition to the above mouthed by the Stalinites in the bring will very likely be fitful and brief, to be half million organized workers in authority of the organization quickly succeeded by another deep depression. A Europe, David Dubinsky, president permanent army of many millions of disemployed of the International Ladies Garworkers has grown up, workers who will never ment Workers Union, and B. Charget regular jobs again even should we reach the new Vladeck, A.L.P. leaders in the prosperity" levels of 1929. The economic system has broken down: it can no longer work efficiently either to produce goods for the people or to provide jobs for the workers; instead, it breeds crises, unemployment, misery and war. It generates monstrous evils afflicting the masses and hampers or frustrates all our attempts at reform. While we strive to wrest concessions from the employing class and force reforms upon the government, it is well to remember that the great enemy is capitalism itself. Capitalism, the system of private property in the means of production, has already completely outlived its usefulness; i has become a crushing burden upon mankind, a deadly threat to future progress and well-being.

As the economic system begins to crack up, the capitalist interests grow more and more concerned to preserve their sources of power and profit. They look to the government to protect them in their privileges. From the government, which is as concerned as they are with preserving the capitalist system, they receive billions in subsidies and loans, paid for by taxes levied on the population as a whole. In some cases, such as the railroads and public utilities, it has even come to the point where they would like the government to take their broken-down concerns and industries thru nationalization--at an exorbitant price, of

And, all along the line, there is mounting pressure for wage cuts, for the reduction of social expenditures, for the depression of living standards. There is a rising demand on the part of the capitalist class for a "strong" government, an authoritarian government, capable of maintaining profits and crushing popular opposition. To sustain the reactionary economic set-up of a declining system, the employing class turns more and more

Fascism is the political logic of capitalism at the dead-end of permanent crisis. To escape fascism and the horrors of economic decay, it is necessary to sweep away the wreckage of capitalism and to erect in its place a new social order based on the collective ownership and democratic operation of the means of production, a new economic system producing for the use of the people and not for the profit of the few. The great historical choice before the American people, as before the people of the world as a whole, is: to be driven towards fascism or to work planfully towards socialism!

Socialism is our only hope for the future. But to remove the decaying structure of capitalism and replace it with a new social order—that only a workers government—a really democratic government, of, by and for the working masses—can accomplish. To organize themselves as a class striving to win political power: this is the great task confronting the workers of this country today. Taking the first steps along this road today, the American working class will not falter in its long uphill fight for a better life until a societey without classes or class oppression, until a new social order making for peace, progress and wellbeing, is achieved!

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

## Jouhaux. Pena. At N. Y. Meeting

Organized labor in New York contemporary affairs from three eading European trade unionists on Wednesday evening, September 21, at the Royal Windsor Palace, 69 West 66 Street, it was announced by Charles S. Zimmerman, chairman of Trade Union Relief for Spain. Ramon Gonzales Pena, secretary of the General Confederation of Workers in Spain speakers, representing seven and a

The meeting to greet the European labor leaders will be held under the auspices of the Trade Union Relief for Spain, of which Mr. Dubinsky is treasurer. The Trade Union Relief for Spain has been operating since July, 1936, and was organized on appeal from the International Federation of Trade Unions for relief in Spain.

#### MOONLIGHT BOAT RIDE

German and Austrian Victims of Nazism

Saturday, Sept. 17 "CITY OF NEW YORK" leaving Pier 1, the Battery at 7:30 P. M.

Entertainment Dancing Refreshments

Auspices: International Relief Association, 20 Vesey St., N.Y.C. Subsciption \$1.00.

### SHOWING THEIR HAND AT LAST

will hear first-hand accounts of European labor's attitude toward FROM an article by Max Stein-berg, organization secretary of the New York State Communist Party, in The Communist of September 1938:

"Our comrades seem to have too long a perspective on Lovestoneism, especially among the dressmakers, figuring that some time in the future the union will be rid of them. Meanwhile, the comrades go about their daily work, leaving the (U.G.T.); Leon Jouhaux, secretary workers in the main to the 'education' of the Lovestoneites in the union...

Here we see the real meaning and "collaboration" constantly dressmakers union. On the official secretary of the C.P., these phrases underhand political manouver to fight the union and its progressive administration. We are sure that the membership of the dressmakers union will know how to answer this challenge to the integrity and unity of their organization.

## **POUM In Danger**

(Continued from Page 1) interested in the victory of the Loyalist cause in Spain should protest against the reactionary repressions directed against the revolutionary sections of the Spanish labor movement. Send letters and telegrams of protest to the Spanish Embassy in Washington for transmission to Spain.

The Independent Labor League of America has sent the following cable to Premier Negrin at Barce-

"As devoted supporters of the struggle against Franco, we again appeal to you against the reactionary persecution of the P.O.U.M.ists and other revolutionary anti-fascist elements in Spain. Such persecutions weaken the anti-fascist struggle, alienate pro-Loyalist sentiment abroad, and assist Franco and his fascist allies. We urge that full guarantees of a fair trial be extended to the Barcelona P.O.U.M.ists whose trial is to begin on September 14. We urge an International Labor Commission to be present at the trial."

## "THREE CITIES"

by SHOLEM ASCH Produced by the Yiddish Art Theatre Special performance for the benefit of

THE WORKERS AGE

Friday Evening, October 28, 1938.

Tickets now available at Room 707, 131 West 33rd Street Telephone: LAckawanna 4-5282

#### "LABOR'S FRONT LINES IN EUROPE"

ALL AID TO SPAIN—MASS MEETING

LEON JOUHAUX, France EDO FIMMEN, Holland GONZALES PENA, Spain

other prominent speakers including

B. Charney Vladeck David Dubinsky

#### WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 21, 8 P. M.

#### Royal Windsor Hall

69 West 66 St., New York Auspices: TRADE UNION RELIEF FOR SPAIN Tickets: 40c, 25c-General admission free

# The British T.U. Act SINCE WAR WAS How Cardenas Built Menace to Labor

By ROBERT WALTERS

TT is significant to note that, at Lthe very time that the report of the President's Commission on Industrial Relations in Great Britain is being popularized in this country with the purpose of providing Wagner Act along the lines of British labor legislation, the Brit ish labor movement is determined to make the repeal of the British Trades Disputes and Trades Union Act one of the major demands in its election campaign. The British law, it should be remembered was enacted in 1927 by a Tory government as part of the general reac tion following the great general strike of 1926.

#### Provisions Of The Act No wonder that British labor is

arrayed solidly against it. This act made a general or even a sympathetic strike illegal in most circumstances. It generally reduced the power and rights of labor. The act declared illegal a strike which tuted to "coerce" the government flicting hardships on the community." This means that, if the miners are on strike, the railway men may thy with them or to prevent rail transportation of coal mined during the strike. It would also prevent the machinists unions from calling a strike because they do not Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's Spanish policy.

Lockouts are subject to the same restrictions as are strikes.

Any person who declares, instigates or incites others to participate in an "illegal" strike or lockout is liable, on summary conviction, to a fine of not more than \$50 or imprisonment for not more than three months, or on conviction or indictment, to imprisonment for not more than two years.

It is provided, however, that no person shall be deemed to have committed an offense either under the act or at common law, by reason only of his ceasing to work or ganized into the U.A.W., and the swervingly opposed to wildcat clubs for the children of the refusing to continue to work or accept employment.

The law empowers the Attorney-General to apply for an injunction to restrain the use of trade-union in the history of the organized funds for any purpose which would labor movement. No union in the be in violation of the act. A pri- history of the organized labor vate person who has any material movement of this country has made interest in a trade dispute may also a record equal to that of the U.A. apply for an injunction. This is the only provision of the law which deals with the right and power of injunction to restrain trade-union contracts. In this connection, individual vention, we faced the tremendous as has the establishment of the U. job.

trade unionists and trade unions tasks of solidifying our forces, A. W. as a responsible organic as entities are immune from suit consolidating our gains and extend- tion. We have not hesitated to take for damages they may have caused ing the organization into the our position and we are certain by strike action.

On the other hand, the law pro- courage and determination with the members of the U.A.W. failure to take any action which have, since the convention, underwould be "illegal." If a union mem- taken to solve these major prober is expelled because of refusal blems. to go on an "illegal" strike, the Let us review briefly some of the reinstatement to union member- year ago today.

The act next deals with picketing. It prohibits the picketing of premises in such numbers or in such a tion, the U.A.W.A. had been cursed tional director and a national or- United States as well as members

proaches thereto is forbidden. A stoppages of work. However, person violating this provision is encouraged by certain irresponsible of the strikes but have invaded new fields for (Continued on Page 6)

liable on summary conviction to a fine of not more than \$100 or to thruout the world since the signimprisonment for not more than three months.

#### Political Funds

Then comes the question of the political funds of the trade unions. Before the act of 1927 was passed every union member paid, together with his membership dues, a sum for political campaign and propaganda purpose. Of these political dues collected, the union would pay the Labor Party an affiliation fee of 8 cents a year a member. These contributions totaled nearly \$200. 000 a year before 1927—a very big part of the Labor Party's funds. But the act of 1927 provides that no union can collect political dues from a member unless he has filled out a special printed form expressing his desire to make such pay-

The law also requires that all of the members contributions to the political fund of a union must be levied and made separately from any other payments to the union, has any other object than the fur- that no assets other than the therance of a trade dispute within amount so raised may be credited with any organization of trade the trade or industry in which the to the political fund, and that no unions which is not restricted in political purpose!

The unions are required to amend their constitutions, if necessary, to not call a strike to express sympa- make them conform with these pro-

of the British civil service from ship a conditions of employment. belonging to any trade union except Public authorities are also forbidone in which the membership is den, by the act, to include a conas in fact they do not—approve limited to civil servants; nor may dition of union membership in any his political role is not very difsuch civil service unions affiliate

second annual constitutional con-

vention. These delegates repre-

sented some 375,000 workers or-

demonstrations of real progress in

organization and establishment of

the rights of collective bargaining

W. for the number of members

secured and the character of those

Eliminating Wildcat Strikes

During 1937, prior to the conven-

convention was one of the greatest strikes, strikes in violation of

unorganized fields. With the same that an overwhelming majority of

# "OUTLAWED"

TIWO and a half million persons A have been killed in warfare ing of the Kellogg-Briand Anti-War Pact in Paris ten years ago, according to military experts cited in an Associated Press dispatch recently. At least ten billion dollars has been spent or lost in warfare since then, and the world now spending well over that amount annually on its armies, navies and

There have been four major, alho undeclared, wars since 1928. The three-year Chaco war be-

100,000 lives. Fifty thousand ing in 1936.

strikers are engaged, or one insti- assets of a trade union other than membership to those in the civil leader than Morones. He is much with a self-constituted leadership, those in the political fund may be service. This prevents civil-service more articulate, less cynical and either directly or indirectly by "in- directly or indirectly used for any unions from affiliating with the even his enemies will readily admit despite all these handicaps, Lom-Trade Union Congress. Finally, the act regulates the re-

> organized labor. They are prohib-Next, the act prohibits members ited from making union member-(Continued on Page 5)

One Year Of U.A.W. Progress

by Homer Martin =

ONE year ago today, delegates and vicious elements, the uniproving the lot of the underrepresenting the United Autonitiated and untrained membership privileged. They fought valiantly

mobile Workers of America met in was led into one unauthorized against the high living costs in

the City of Milwaukee in their strike after another. Immediately Flint, Muskegon, Bay City and

the policy of the union as un-

Our immovable stand on these

eliminated the disastrous unau-

thorized strikes and stoppages of

organized, the number of contracts established itself as a strong, for a national health program that

Immediately following the con- much to the welfare of the union protection for the worker on the

The Women's Auxiliary

following the convention, we made | Saginaw, thus resisting the greed

agreements and unyieldingly de- | "Auto Kids Union." The purpose of

termined to carry out the pro- these clubs is to provide the

matters has almost completely their activity, particularly during

work and the U.A.W.A. has at last leading the way in the campaign

responsible organization. Perhaps will provide medical care for those

no other single thing has meant so in need and health insurance as

vacation time

visions of contracts written with youngsters with legitimate amuse-

this a major issue and established of profiteers and trusts.

# Up His Regime

By ELLEN WARD

(This is the third article in Ellen

THE C.R.O.M. was an instrument of Calles and could not survive his fall. Today, it is reduced to a mere shadow of its former self. Cardenas set about encouraging a new combination of labor forces under a leadership that would be 100% loyal to him. Lombardo Toledano was chosen for this post and he organized the C.T. tween Bolivia and Paraguay, ter- M. (Confederacion de Trabajadores minating in 1935, cost at least Mexicanos). The C.T.M. was constructed from fragments of the old Ethiopians and more than 5,000 C.R.O.M. plus the independent Italians lost their lives in the unions. Toledano, himself an Italian conquest of Ethiopia end- intellectual, writer, philosopher, ex-director of the National Pre-Between 1,000,000 and 1,500,000 paratory School, ex-Cromista, did ersons have been killed in Spain a good job of organization, and, in the last two years, and the since the federation was born in owest estimates are that more the Cardenas-Calles left-right than 1,000,000 were killed in the struggle, it is unquestionably to first year of the Chinese-Japanese the left of what the C.R.O.M. was during its declining period.

#### **Toledano And Morones**

Toledano is a much cleverer man. He is not motivated by greed much more closely-knit organizalationship between municipal or or love of display or a yen for tion than Morones had before him. other government authorities and great wealth, as his predecessor The consolidation of the majority desire for leadership and power. He is unquestionably a better influence on the growing labor novement than Morones, and yet ferent from that of his predecessor

The Auxiliary is now forming

members of the U.A.W., called the

ment, keep them off the streets and

The Women's Auxiliary is also

alleys, and generally help to direct

Toledano bears the same relation to Cardenas as Morones did to Calles. When Cardenas broke a railroad strike in 1936, it was Toledano who had to curb the wave of indignation and protest and who had to direct it into harmless channels Toledano is still forced to work

with a part of the corrupt machi-

nery inherited from the old days

and it is a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican Chamber of Commerce issues a list to trustworthy members to let them know how much it costs to "settle" a labor dispute. The list carries the name of each of Lombardo's lieutenants with a price after each name. Lombardo is, of course, aware of all this and he finds it exceedingly distasteful and uncomfortable but such is the material he has to work with; and it will be many years before the Mexican burocratic labor machinery will be cleansed of this evil. Such cleansing can come only if democratic control from below and initiative from the rank and file develops in the unions. So far, this has never existed in the government-controlled labor movement installed from above. However that personally he is an honest bardo has succeeded in welding a was; he is moved solely by the of workers into the C.T.M. left very little effective labor opposition against Cardenas. Since his regime coincides more or less with the People's Front policy of the Stalinists, the Mexican Communist Party has also rallied to the Cardenas panner and has given uncondiional, enthusiastic and uncritical support. It is even less critical than he supine C.T.M., which, at least from time to time, attempts a critical analysis in its theoretica

As soon as Cardenas felt that the workers and peasant masses nad been consolidated behind him ne consolidated the personal lictatorship which is the characteristic form of rule in Latin Amercan lands.

#### The Cardenas Dictatorship

Cardenas, directly or thru his agents, names all governors, senators, deputies, decides on who shall be the leader of each component section of his new political party which he has just created in preparation for the naming of his successor in the elections of 1940. And basically he is running his government in the interest of native capital. His dictatorship is thickly covered with pretty phrases of democracy and constitutionalism and it maintains itself without great difficulty because, up to the present moment, it still has the support of the army, the peasant-labor masses and

despite friction, the American gov-

Shortly after our last convention, the most precipitous decline in employment in the history of xiliaries, it has grown to 75, with and work-relief for our members. approximately 100 organizations We brought the full story of actually in existence. The Interna- unemployment, as nearly as postional Union has furnished a na-sible, before the President of the manner as to intimidate those with unauthorized or wildcat ganizer, who have directed the of Congress, and asked for imworking there, the obstruction of strikes. As president of the U.A. work of the auxiliary in a most mediate aid. Aid was secured, and he could, and as fast as a semithe entrance and exit, or conduct W., backed by a majority of the efficient and effective fashion. hundreds of thousands of autolikely to lead to a breach of the International Executive Board and Under their leadership, the auxi- mobile workers in the city of gram of economic expansion. In a majority of the membership of liary has demonstrated its im- Detroit and elsewhere were placed 1937, for example, 150,000,000 In addition, picketing the place the union, I had striven constantly portance in the life and work of on relief during the unemployment pesos were spent for railroad where a person lives or the ap- to eliminate these unauthorized the movement. They have not only period. In this, as in many other- construction; 19,000,000 pesos for

Aid For The Unemployed

ernment. As soon as Cardenas was certain of his support, he began to rule vides that no worker may be penalized in any way by his union for ganization of 375,000 members, we have put into effect. ers were either out of work posts and left them only where completely or on such short time they could do no harm. He recon-Since our convention in Milwau- that they were eligible for relief. structed his cabinet, ranging from kee. the Women's Auxiliary of the Faced with this unemployment the former leftist, General Mujica, courts may award him damages major accomplishments of the U.A. U.A.W. has made remarkable proout of the union's funds in lieu of W.A. since the convention, one gress. From 33 chartered au- task of securing proper welfare eral, Cedillo-openly the representative of large landowners and the Church-controlling a private army of some 10,000 men. Then Cardenas established free-

dom of speech and the press and began to push forward, as fast as colonial land will permit, the pro-

Thus, two-thirds (66%) of

that was just about one-third

"upper third") appropriated for

themselves two-thirds of the entire

A closer examination of the

figure shows even more startling

inequalities. Ten percent of the

consumer units, with incomes over

\$2,250 a year, received over 60%

of the total national income. Less

than 5% of the consumer units,

with incomes over \$3,000 a year,

received more than a quarter

(26%) of the total income of the

nation. Even the two and a half

percent with incomes of \$4.500 or

national income! And this is sup-

posed to be the "land of equality

the inequality of income along

"median" annual income per family

lat least as far as the working

The shameful discrimination

from which the Negro suffers. es-

pecially in the South, is clearly

illustrated by the figures for the

average incomes of white and

Negro families (non-relief) in

southern rural communities and

cities and in north-central areas.

The following table gives the

The disparity is very great in

he South, where the figure for

Negro family-income levels is

about a third that of white

families. But even in the cities of

the north-central states, the white-

family income is over a third

higher than the income of Negro

All of these figures, it should

\$1,100

'median" income per family:

people are concerned!

REGION

North-central cities of 100,000 and over

South rural

families.

over, received 20% of the total

Equally interesting, perhaps, is

## **WORKERS AGE**

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September 17, 1938

## WHAT KIND OF "ALLIANCE"?

TN his Labor Day address, President Roosevelt I made an eloquent plea for what commentators everywhere interpreted as a "farmer-labor alliance against reaction." It is important for us to grasp clearly what sort of alliance Mr. Roosevelt has in mind, an alliance on what basis and to what end. For there is every reason to believe that Mr. Roosevelt's idea is far from the kind of farmer-labor unity that the more advanced section of the working class has been urging for many years.

What Mr. Roosevelt wants is hardly more than what every old-line political leader has always striven for-the support of the working and farming masses for his party and his ticket. When Mr. Roosevelt speaks of a "farmer-labor alliance," he means primarily united support on the part of farmers and workers of the Democratic party in general and of the New Deal wing of the Democratic party in particular. Naturally, he vehemently objects to his opponents sowing "dissension" among his supporters, just as every administration in office has always done. It is certainly true that he appeals to workers and farmers, especially to the former, in more direct and realistic terms than has been the custom hitherto, but here too we should not forget Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt, not to speak of William Jennings Bryan. The main point is that what Mr. Roosevelt is aiming at under the guise "farmer-labor unity" is to have the workers and farmers continue to go along supporting the Democratic party, tho this organization still remains the old-line employing-class party it has always been.

That the President's brand of "farmer-labor unity" has little in common with the aspirations and interests of the masses of workers and farmers, is indicated clearly enough by the character of the Roosevelt "purge" itself. On what basis is this "purge"—which has been heralded as a real crusade to separate the "liberal" sheep from the "conservative" and "reactionary" goats-proceeding? Who are the shining "liberals" behind whom the New Deal has thrown the full weight of its support? Senator Pepper of Florida, who led the Southern block against the wage-hour bill; Senator Carraway, who has never lifted a finger or said a word against the exploitation and oppression of the sharecropper in her part of the country; Senator McAdoo of California, a conservative and standpatter, if there ever was one; Olin S. Johnston of South Carolina, whom the New York Post itself describes as a man with a reactionary background; Lawrence Camp of Georgia, who has pledged himself in advance to oppose any anti-lynching bill in Congress! On whatever grounds the "purge" may be conducted, it is certainly not on the basis of attitude to issues of the most direct and vital concern to the masses of workers and farmers of this country.

The labor-farmer unity that the working people in the factories and on the land really need is unity in an independent movement on behalf of their own independent aims and aspirations. It is a unity rooted in a militant class consciousness, against which the President so vehemently warns. It is a unity based on a clear realization of their common interest against big-business exploitation and of the necessity for independent political organization outside of and against the old-line parties, Democratic and Republican alike, that at bottom stand for the system of big-business exploitation. It is a unity fundamentally as little welcome to New Deal liberalism as to Old Deal reaction.

#### Fate of Russian Unions

THE decisions on the role of labor unions in the Soviet Union, made at the recent session of the Council of Trade Unions in Moscow and reported by Harold Denny in the New York Times of September 6, are of more than ordinary significance, for they mark the culmination of a long process that has brought the Russia of Stalin a vast way from what is was in the days of Lenin. The net effect of these decisions is to bring about the complete extinction every sign of independence of the Russian unions as bargaining and protective organizations and to transform them completely into direct agencies of the state. Indeed, the very conception of the independent role of the unions is now

# A Dangerous Slogan WORLD TODAY

"Don't Buy A.F.L." Aggravates Labor Discord

taken from an editorial article in is one thing you must do: 'Don't the September 1938 of Advance, of Buy A. F. L.'" cial paper of the Amalgamated

THE Independent Observer, a L labor paper which claims a vide distribution among the West Virginia miners, runs an editorial Don't Buy A.F. of L.," which leserves comment. Says The Inlependent Observer:

"William Green, whom you expelled from your union, is working hand in hand in an unholy alliance with anti-union operators to bring dual union into these coal fields. Smiling tacit approval is the State nouse crowd in Charleston. Togeinto these fields to spread discontent and disruption in the

ranks of the United Mine Workers. this campaign comes from every ers were involved. worker who pays dues into the

"In the light of these facts, how ing power, your security?

Buy A.F. of L. Buying in scab all its members will continue to in the West. stores is bad enough. You never demand the union label on every see the money again. But the product for which it is in the money isn't going into a fund to market, provided that it is a label fight vour union.

quickly. So, you miners, if you gamated label in recent months.

rade unionism" and its exponents

It is not necessary to idealize

the Russia of Lenin, it is not

necessary to overlook the encroach-

ing restrictions on genuine workers

Seventeen or eighteen years ago,

in 1920 and 1921, a broad discus-

sion on the "trade-union guestion"

lost some of their most essential

proposed that the unions be incor-

porated openly into the govern-

mental machinery as part of the

Isn't this a workers state and

therefore aren't the workers their

own employers? Lenin was of a

different opinion. He proposed to

restore and foster the independence

of the trade unions to the greatest

possible degree. Independent trade

sized, in order to enable "the work-

ers to defend themselves against

their state," that is, "against the

state burocracy"-for "our state,"

he pointed out, "is not simply a

with grave burocratic distortions.'

In trade unions retaining their

independence from the state as

workers organizations Lenin saw

one of the main bulwarks of Soviet

Unfortunately, for reasons we

cannot examine here, the Soviet

trade unions never really acquired

in practise the measure of inde-

pendence that Lenin urged for

them. But officially, at any rate,

they still retained their functions

democracy.

workers state' but a workers state

unions are necessary, he empha-

ist agents of fascism."

contemptuously referred to as the as protective and bargaining orgacounter-revolutionary ideology of nizations until the Stalin regime got well under way. Then every oranded as "Trotskyist-Bukhari- thing began to go by the board lusion we see before our eyes

democracy even in those days, to realize what a tremendous change Stalinism has brought about. took place in Russia. During the preceding years, under the hard onditions of War Communism, the unions had gradually decayed and economic and social foundations functions. Russian trade unionism than is fascism but a totalitariar was, in fact, in a blind-alley. There state in all essentials nevertheless were some, such as Trotsky, who apparatus of economic administration. Why not?—they argued, as do socialist democracy in the Soviet the Stalinist apologists today--

## WHERE WE STAND

PROGRAM AND **POLICIES** of the

131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

(The following paragraphs are | would preserve your union, there

It is perhaps understandable Clothing Workers of America. that the West Virginia miners are bitter against the A.F. of L., which has chartered a rival miners union in that state. But the means of combat suggested by The Independent Observer represents no solution to the problem. A refusal to patronize A.F. of L. union labels members of the bakers, carpenters, printers and many other unions. These workers are not responsible for the actions of the A.F. of L. leadership. They are, as workers, entitled to the support of the labor movement in their efforts to make their living under union conditions. ther, they are sending agitators It has been a great gratification to Illinois—agitators with the Amalgamated to observe that bloody hands, wet from bombings, the present unfortunate split in bed-rock of loyalty to the labor movement, as has been shown on numerous occasions where the "The money they are using in actual membership, not high lead-

Instances of cooperation between our organization, for example, and divisions of A.F. of L. affiliates can you patronize establishments are numerous. The labor movement which are furnishing funds to cannot afford to let a division over break up your union, you bargain- policies destroy that spirit of cooperation which is labor's major of a real union not of a fraud. In 'The fate of organized labor in turn, we depend upon the loyalty this state depends upon the success of the thousands of union members of the United Mine Workers. both C.I.O. and A.F. of L.. who Should this great union be have contributed so greatly to the destroyed, all others will follow increased demand for the Amal-

> very rapidly As the state became more and more burocratic, the protective organizations of the vorking masses were systematicaldestroyed. The ultimate con-

What has happened to the Russian unions is only one aspect of what has been happening to the Soviet state in the last fifteen vears and more. No one with his Stalin has been building is a totalitarian state, a totalitarian state based on fundamentally different The Soviet people are now faced with the great historical task of settling accounts with the Stalin regime and thereby making pos-

I.L.L.A.

Single copies: 5c. Five or more: 4c.

WORKERS AGE BOOKSHOP

=By Lambda =

London, England, August 17, 1938

THE war scare in the Far East has faded. On August 11. an understanding was reached between Japan and the Soviet Union and hostilities ceased. There was a sigh of relief in both Japan and the Soviet Union. The end of the conflict also eased the general tension in Europe.

The solution of the crisis was brought about by the unyielding attitude of the Soviet Union. Events had made it clear that Japan was not strong enough would inflict needless suffering on to fight simultaneously against China and the Soviet Union, and that it could not depend on its European allies. Japanese troops were withdrawn to the right bank of the river Tumen. By this move, the danger of a new clash has been diminished but not completely removed. Hostilities may begin again because of disagreements concerning the demarcation of the boundary line.

#### GERMAN MOBILIZATION

murder, violence and sabotage— labor has not touched the deep THE tension in Europe, however, was intensified ■ by the colossal scale of the German manouvers. The huge number of men engaged in these exercises -said to be nearly one and a half million soldiers and reservists-gives the impression that a considerable part of the German army is being mobilized for war. This impression is further strengthened by the fact that a special government decree empowers the army to requisition foodstuffs and raw material from the civilian population. Even workers who are not employed in the armament industry have received orders to help build the "There is only one answer. Don't strength. The Amalgamated and fortifications along the German frontiers, especially

It is generally contended here that the German exercises are for the purpose of intimidating Great Britain and France and of inducing them to bring ncreased pressure on the Prague government. Whether or not Hitler-Germany will go to war against Czechoslovakia may come to depend on the British and French reactions to the German war games. The weaker their reaction, the more we must reckon with the possibility of a German coup.

That the fear of war has gripped not only the laboring masses but also the wealthier classes of Germany is reflected in the increased tendency to withdraw money from the country and to exchange it for gold or foreign money at London, Paris, Zurich and Amsterdam. Another sign of panic is the decline of prices in the stock market. This decline, however, was also brought about by the increasingly difficult financial situation of Germany.

### TENSION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE officers corps of the Czechoslovakian army I recently published a manifesto warning the Prague government against making too many concessions to the Sudeten Germans. Most of these eyes open can fail to see that what officers support the Benes party. The manifesto also reveals that recent events have strengthened the trend of development which favors the establishment of a military dictatorship.

The Prague government has made public its hopes for settling the national question. Its plan provides for a larger representation of the national minorities in the government of the various provinces of the republic. The demand for territorial autonomy, raised by the Sudeten Germans and other national sible the realization of genuine groups, was rejected. Tension inside of the country has increased. A Sudeten-German legion is being organized in Germany after the model of the former Austrian legion. We also learn that a large number of S.A. and S.S. men in civilian clothes have been sent to the Sudeten region. It seems that Nazi Germany is acting very carefully in preparing the way for close cooperation between Nazi forces in the Sudeten region and the German troops.

### SPANISH CABINET SHIFT

A CCORDING to official reports the resignation of the Negrin government was due to differences between the Catalonian minister. Ayguade, and the Basque minister, Irujo, on the one side, and the rest of the cabinet on the other, over the organization of the war industry and the administration of justice. The official communique also refers to the necessity for establishing better relations with the government of Catalonia.

We wonder whether this is an indication of the growing resistance against the Stalinist terror. The fact that the Stalinist press keeps silent seems to support this contention. There are, moreover, rumors that Companys, Prieto, Caballero will join the new

#### British Trade Union Act BOOKS Grave Menace to Labor

THE STATE AND THE SO-CIALIST REVOLUTION, by J. Martov. Translated by Integer. International Review, New York, 1938.

THIS work, consisting of a num-L ber of related essays written nature of the soviet system; nor labor contends, is serfdom. is it a serious polemical reply to Lenin's "State and Revolution." It is a somewhat loose criticism of a number of things-of the undeby causing a severe cut in its war mocratic character of the Soviet regime in Russia, of the vagaries and excesses of the ultra-left communists in those early days, of the soviet system as the state party's financial position has steadform of the proletarian dictator- ily improved, both on that account and because the Labor Party and ship, of the doctrine of "minority dictatorship," of Marx's views on trade-union leaders have been carthe Paris Commune, and so on. rying on an active campaign of Many of the points Martov makes education among union members are of great significance and even about the payment of the political of contemporary interest, but the levy. general vagueness of approach and incoherence of underlying concep- from the financial loss inflicted on tion as well as the failure to reach their political funds, the principle any definite conclusions of a of that provision of the law is un- and strengthening of the Wagner another group, representing less the Pacific states, but only \$906 in theoretical or practical nature just and that labor alone is singled Act. The C.I.O. acted wisely in than 1% of the population, had the South. The South is certainly make it obviously out of the out for such treatment. They point refusing to appoint a representa- family incomes ranging from America's No. 1 economic problem, question to compare this work with out that, in no other voluntary or tive to the President's committee. \$10,000 up to the millions! Lenin's classic on the state.

It is impossible to make out

on the authority of Marx and by its governing body. Also, they needs of the New Deal. Engels, the historically determined the negative but not very clearly and without any real attempt to present arguments. In fact, he always manages to shift the already increasingly undemocratic Liberties Committee was able to much truth, but the main question is left unanswered: Is the commune-state (under modern condi- limited himself to stressing the tions: the soviet state) inherently necessity of destroying the cenincapable of serving the working tralized burocratic-military apthem in the slightest.

Martov's whole argument is greatly impaired by a tendency, never fully expressed but almost always present, to regard "sovietfighting organizations created by and arguments. the revolutionary masses during it is an historical product.

in earlier years, Marx had generally

I claim the right to spend their own money as they see fit. The picketing restrictions, tho

The sections of the 1927 act resented by the unions, are not so States in 1935-1936 is presented which are considered most offensive onerous in actual practise. The in the report of the National (34%) of the entire national to labor are those limiting the right to strike and permitting a act's provisions practically exclude trade unionist to refuse to pay the mass picketing but, with the pos- President Roosevelt last week. The unions political levy. Limitation of sible exception of the mining in- estimates in the report were made by J. Martov at various times the right to strike is considered dustry, such tactics were seldom directly on data on family incomes national income! between 1918 and 1921, is a great by labor to be a gross violation of employed by British labor before gathered by the Study of Condisappointment. It is by no means, a man's common-law privilege of the 1927 law was passed. Picketing sumer Purchases, a W.P.A. project as we have been led to believe, a withholding his labor if he so de- of the homes of strike-breakers or profound theoretical study of the sires. Anything less than that right, non-union workers was fairly common in the mining areas but such action was usually taken by the The act's regulation of the wives of the striking miners and union's political levy has been a not by the men themselves. real handicap to the Labor Party

> Employers Satisfied—Labor Must Resist

Employers generally thruout the country are satisfied with the 1927 act. They feel that it gives them all the protection needed. Their groups. The estimated national satisfaction with the act is the best possible indication of whom it fav- lion dollars so that, if this income ors and the best possible hint to had been evenly distributed, it American labor that it must resist would have averaged \$1,622 for geographical and color lines. The to the utmost any attempt on the each family. But the actual part of the Administration to mod- distribution of income was, of ify the Wagner Act along the lines | course, quite different. The average | level, with an equal number of of the British law. On the contrary, family income of one-third of families above and below- was labor must demand the maintenance nation was only \$471. while \$1,230 in New England, \$1,335 in ganization in the country, such as No good can come to labor from chambers of commerce, etc., is such an investigation. Labor must units" (families and isolated exactly what Martov's fundamental there any rule permitting members make clear in unmistakable terms individuals) are grouped into exact line of criticism is; everything is to refuse to pay any dues or that it will defend its rights even thirds, we find that the 13 million so fuzzy and undefined. Is the charges which have been fixed by against Roosevelt's wishes. Labor's families of the lower third received commune-state, advocated by Lenin a majority of the organization or rights stand above the political incomes less than \$780 during

In 1930-1931, in the midst of the

# and practically adequate stateform of the proletarian dictatorline Marton scame to answer in UMW Harlan Pact Victory | Company to answer in the proletarian dictator| Company to

(Continued from Page 1) not until this position had been discussion to a criticism of the weakened that the LaFollette Civil features of the Russian soviet conduct any investigation of antiregime. In this criticism there is labor activities in this section of the industry.

(Continued from Page 3)

thest. Since the beginning of 1934.

however, with the gradual increase

of trade-union membership, the

The unions maintain that, aside

contract for work to be done.

class as a democratic expression paratus of the bourgeois state, of its political rule or is it some- after the experience of the Comthing more or less specific to the mune he laid strong emphasis on thing more or less specific to the Russian situation that has led to the destruction of the bourgeois Workers met in Middlesboro, Ky., the distortion and degeneration of state as such and on its replacethe ideals of the commune-state in ment by an altogether new type of Russia? All the experience we state, the commune-state, a state have, all that we have been able no longer either burocratic or have, all that we have been able no longer either burocratic or to learn from Marx and Engels, go parliamentary but thoroly and Harlan County. Wm. Turnblazer, as expressed in "State and Revolu- character and peculiarly adapted to president of District 19, U.M.W.A. as expressed in "State and Revolution" and nothing that Martov is
able to bring forward weakens this shift does not represent, as
them in the slightest.

Character and peculiarly adapted to
the needs of the proletariat. But
this shift does not represent, as
the needs of the campaign. Harlan County's reaction to
this came in the form of a huge Martov seems to suggest, an "war chest" and a gang of gunmen ism" as an artificial scheme did Marx give sanction to these County Coal Operators Association. concocted by some "extreme left- new views on the state simply This year the Department of Jusists" in order to gain power. But because he did not want to engage tice also intervened. A ten-count this is manifestly false. Who was in any public criticism of the Comindictment was obtained from a responsible for the establishment mune at the moment of the bloody of soviets (councils) in Germany triumph of reaction. This "exin 1918-1919? Certainly not the planation" offered by Martov is The trial lasted twelve weeks. On "extreme leftists!" The German refuted by the obvious fact that soviets were set up by the masses some years later, in a letter to deadlocked. Government attorneys in revolt, masses still under the Bebel (March 28, 1875), Engels immediately asked a retrial. The domination of the right-wing so- specifically referred to the Paris cial-democratic leaders. The sig- Commune, which he identified with nificance of this point is almost the dictatorship of the proletariat, completely missed by Martov. The as "no longer really a state in the proletarian state is not something proper sense of the term." And, contrived by theoreticians on the in his introduction to the "Civil basis of preconceived "principles;" War in France," he reinforced it is a direct outgrowth of the Marx's analysis with new examples The future will reveal the signifi-This work of Martov is well

the new revelation that certain American labor. Martov examines with some enthusiasts hail it as being. And acuteness the development of there can hardly be any doubt that Marx's views on the state and the theoretical structure at least, SUBSCRIBE NOW shows that there was a con- erected by Lenin on the question siderable shift in these views after of the state and revolution remains the Paris Commune. For, whereas substantially intact under its blows.

depression, the United Mine Workers began a big organization drive. It was at that time that there took place the bloodiest chapter in Harlan's labor history. On May 5, 1931 occurred the ambush fight that has come to be known as the "Battle of Evarts." Five men were killed, two union men and three deputy sheriffs sent to rush scabs to work in a struck mine. After the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in 1935, all southern bituminturned into a mass meeting and out of this grew plans for another irreducible contradiction; it is who went into action immediately. merely an extension and modifica- At this point, the LaFollette Civil tion of political theory made in Liberties stepped in to reveal the response to new experience. Nor murderous record of the Harlan special grand jury. Sixty-nine companies and officers were accused. break came after the trial, when former Judge Charles I. Dawson, chief counsel for the operators, advised them to sign an agreement with the United Mine Workers.

Thus closes a very important chapter in American labor history. cant role played by the Harlan County struggle in the development the course of the revolution itself. worth reading. But it is hardly of a new energetic movement of

TO WORKERS AGE

# "The Land of Equality"

= by B. M. ====

startling picture of income A distribution in the United the families had a total income Resources Committee, submitted to income, while one-third (the conducted by the Buro of Labor Statistics and Buro of Home Economics in cooperation with the National Resources Committee and the Central Statistical Board. The findings of this survey should prove of immense interest to all those concerned with the economic situation in this country.

Over 116,000,000 consumers lived in family groups in 1935-1936 and about 10,000,000 outside family income at that period was 59 bil-

In fact, when all "consumer 1935-1936, the average income being \$471. According to occupation, these families were almost earners and farmers, with only one-fifth in other occupational groups. The share of the aggregate income received by this "lower third of the nation" was just over

10% of the total. The "middle third of the nation." embracing families receiving from \$780 to \$1,450 during the year, and with many more in clerical, business and professional occupations, got a total income amounting to 24% of the aggregate. The average

The "top third of the nation," those with incomes from \$1,450 up to over a million, received about 66% of the aggregate income of the nation. Their average income be remembered, are for 1935-1936, was just under \$3,000 a consumer the third year of the New Deal,

Inited States:

when recovery was already well The following table shows on the way. They show how little graphically the gross inequality the economic structure of capitalincome distribution in the ism has been altered by the "Roosevelt Revolution.' IOIN SUBSCRIBE! to the

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# Stalinist Intrigues Exposed

## Farmers Union Head Makes Public Startling Document

Southern Tenant Farmers Unon, has just made public a very interesting document, that came accidentally into his possession recently, showing the inner workings of Stalinist intrigue in the labor movement. This document, a report of a meeting of the Communist Party "fraction" in Commonwealth College, we publish below in slightly abridged form.

We want to call the reader's attention to three significant aspects of this document:

1. Commonwealth College completely and entirely under Stalinist control; it is, in fact, a mere agency of the Communist Party, utilized by the latter as a cover organization thru which to advance its secret schemes. This information should prove of value to the labor movement in its relations with Commonwealth.

2. The so-called "Arkansas Conference for Economic and Social Justice," so widely paraded in the C.P. and "liberal" press for its "genuinely non-partisan, progressive character," turns out to have been set up under the immediate direction of the C.P. district organizer at St. Louis, who used Commonwealth College and its "financial assistance" for that purpose. Here we get a glimpse of how the hidden wires are manipulated by the Stalinist intriguers, information that should prove useful in dealing with some of the other "innocents" organizations of the C.P., such as the American League for Peace and Democracy. for example.

3. The C.P. has been plotting to "capture" the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and to "establish a real party base" in it thru the instrumentality of a number of undercover men, Stalinist agents posing as "non-partisan progres-(Claude Williams, etc.) Fortunately, the leadership of the S.T.F.U. is now well aware of this conspiracy and is taking measures to put an end to it.

The most important sections of this Stalinist document follow:

#### THE DOCUMENT

meeting was held last night at Commonwealth College of 20 faculty, maintenance and Administration workers who are party members. The total number of faculty, maintenance and administriation workers at the college is

A committee was appointed to draw up a report to party headquarters on the present situation at Commonwealth. This report

1. The situation from a party standpoint at Commonwealth is known to the district organizer at St. Louis, with whom the college has been working closely. But we wish to draw the attention of national headquarters to the very great national importance of the college for our party at the present time.

2. Since the reorganization of the school in August 1937, when a party member became director of the school (Claude Williams), there has been on the campus complete political unity, an absence of such outside or disturbing elements as previously existed and a conscientious adherence to the party program in all the educational and field work. The figures quoted in Par. 1 above show the numerical situation in faculty and administration, and it may correctly be said that students who are not members when they arrive almost invariably become members either here or immediately after they leave.

3. Since the reorganization, the school, in addition to unifying and

relationship with the Southern labor and democratic movements.

a. Claude Williams is a member of the National Executive Council of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, has played a decisive part in insisting upon progressive union policies, and has carried the need for a militantly progressive program to thousands of rank-and file members who have the greatest confidence in him. . . .

c. The school has full support of Arkansas state office of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union. Two students have been commissioned as organizers and the school has conducted an extensive educational and organizational campaign on behalf of, and financed by, the union.

d. For several months, the school supported two persons to work full time in the labor movement at Fort Smith, the industrial center of this area. . .

#### Taking The Conference

f. Under direction of the district organizer, the school played a leading part in organizing the Arkansas Conference for Economic and Social Justice, held in Little Rock, July 23rd. Party members who took responsibility for setting up this conference, the most important step to-date in building the Democratic front in Arkansas, were trained at Commonwealth, used it as their headquarters, and received financial assistance from the school.

4. In Commonwealth College the party has a unique institution of national value and importance. Commonwealth owns the bestmaintained labor library in the country, and a 320-acre tract in a location enabling it to serve both industrial and agricultural work-

6. A situation has now arisen which offers us an extraordinary opportunity to move into the most important organization in the agricultural South—the S.T.F.U. H. L. Mitchell, secretary of the S.T.F.U., who has been consistently opposed to the International with which that union is affiliated, to is on a leave of absence from his portunity is hardly likely to occur.

his colleagues, including Leon

ped and killed by Stalinist G.P.U.

The murder of Klement is one

of a long series of brutal crimes

committed by Stalinists all over

the world against their political

opponents. In Spain, where a G.P.

U. murder gang is operating,

Andres Nin, well-known P.O.U.M.

leader; Carlo Berneri, an outstand-

ing anarchist; Mark Rein, son of

Rapahel 'Abramovich, and many

others, have been assassinated. In

Switzerland, Ignaz Reiss, a veteran

Russo-Polish communist who had

broken with Stalin, was waylaid

That such atrocities form part

of the present "political" practise

of Stalinism has been openly

avowed by the Stalinists them-

As far back as April 25, 1938,

the Freiheit, official Jewish paper

and killed just one year ago.

selves.

that he had

R. BUTLER, president of the has greatly developed its working office. The president of the union (J. R. Butler) and other members of the Executive Council, who are friendly to us, have invited us to conduct an intensive program of mass meetings thruout Arkansas and Missouri, begining August 21st. At these meetings, Claude Williams would be the principal speaker and a play which our school has in readiness for the purpose of dramatizing the union's needs could be presented. If this program could be carried out, we believe it would place us in a position to capture the union for our line at the next convention. This is an opportunity for establishing a real party base in the S.T.F.U.

#### Plot Against The S.T.F.U.

7. The situation is that we cannot undertake this program in the S.T.F.U. without immediate financial assistance. We would not make an appeal to the party if we were not assured of the paramount importance and urgency of carrying out such a program. As the Center knows, Claude Williams traveled from east to west coasts soliciting contributions to Commonwealth. Last year he went to the Center for the first time and asked only for an entree to the Hollywood group, which was given and of which he was most appreciative. It was estimated at the Center that he could raise \$3,000 in Hollywood but the net amount collected on the whole Pacific Coast was \$1,300. The reason for this is simply that most Hollywood progressives who are sympathetic to Commonwealth's present program are party members and are committed to give all they can spare direct to the party.

8. Commonwealth is possibly the party's most strategic position from which to work at this time in the South. . . .

At the present time, however, we wish to draw special attention to the immediate problem of firm. ing the S.T.F.U. program above described, which cannot be undertaken unless funds can be raised before the end of next week. The program could be undertaken for \$500 and we ask the Center to give most careful study to our request the party, and to Commonwealth, for that sum. Another like op-

Klement's Body Found in Paris

A headless body found in the | threatening the life of Charles Rap-

Seine near Moulan, outside Paris paport, distinguished French Marx-

was tentatively identified last ist scholar and other anti-Stali-week as that of Rudolf Klement, nists. "The power of the Cheka

secretary of the Trotskyist Fourth (G.P.U.—Editor.) is beyond imagination," this article proclaimed.

kidnan

Klement disappeared July 13 and "Perhaps even in Paris it will

## Progress of Auto Union

(Continued from Page 3)

led the entire labor movement.

Of particular interest has been our recognition of the need of W P.A. workers for an organization of their own, thru which to voice their grievances and be protected against unnecessary evils surrounding their employment. It is our belief also that W.P.A. or some form of public work-relief is a national industry and will perhaps remain, in some form or other, even tho we have a return of prosperity. Therefore, it is necessary that the workers in this industry be organized and arti-culate. The U.A.W., thru its W.P.A. Department, is carrying on this work of organization.

Particularly important has been the renewal and signing of new contracts with employers. This week we added four more closed shops to our list. At the present time. I can announce that we have secured 550 contracts, including 77 closed-shop contracts, involving more than 400,000 workers.

Despite the unprecedented unemployment, the United Automobile Workers of America has been able to stabilize its finances and carry on an active organizing campaign during this entire period and, during the past six weeks, we have seen a remarkable increase in percapita payments coming into the International Union. We have had a large increase for July over June's and August shows an improvement even over July. At the present moment, with the return to work of thousands of automobile workers, the situation seems more favorable than ever for the complete organization of the workers in the automobile, aircraft and farm-implement industries under the U.A.W. and the consolidation of our organization into one of the most powerful, and at the same time cleanest and most responsible, labor unions in the history of America.

#### The Twenty-Point Program

At its May meeting, the Internatioinal Executive Board adopted a twenty-point program around which we hoped to mobilize the entire force and resources of the U.A.W. It was a program designed to complete the organization of the unorganized workers under the jurisdiction of the U.A.W. and to consolidate the gains which we have thus far made, as well as to indicate the general policy of the International Union on certain major issues. A resolution adopting the twenty-point program designated that regional conferences should be called for the purpose of informing the membership and rallying their support around this

venient instrument for carrying various sections of the country. It had to be reconstructed to fit more closely the program of Cardenas

#### prove capable of giving its enemies Trotsky, immediately expressed a special 'dose'." **Cardenas Rule**

nists. "The power of the Cheka

(Continued from Page 3) distributed lands; 50 Yucatan townships were provided with sanitary water supplies; 1,020 new rural schools were founded, 75% of these in Indian districts; over 2,000 new plans were passed for buildings in the capital; 54,000 dwellings were provided with sanitary conveniences; and over 500.000 acres were distributed to the peasants of the Laguna district.

Simultaneously with these activities, Cardenas began to lay plans for the reconstruction of the political organization, the National Revolutionary Party, which he had inherited from Calles. This party, whose very name was a joke on the lips of the entire country, was of the Communist Party of the neither a party, nor national, nor strengthening its resident program, United States, published an article revolutionary—only a very con- tion, with a membership of 12,000.

#### to rehabilitate it somewhat in the eyes of the masses and it had to be reorganized in preparation for the naming of the candidate for the next presidency.

## U.A.W. BOARD SCANS C.I.O. "PEACE" PLAN

(Continued from Page 1)

of the membership came from the Western Michigan organization under Regional Director Lester Washburn. During the course of the previous week, almost all locals in that region voted on the Lewis proposal and all rejected it without any exception. These were membership meetings not local executive boards. Included among

the locals is the Lansing organiza-

#### Mr. Curran Rides The Tide

TN an interview published in the New York Mirror of August 27, Joe Curran, head of the National Maritime Union, is quoted as saying: "The communists? We bar nobody from the union for political reasons, but they're thru running the union.'

Now, if they're "thru running the union" today, they must have run it yesterday—something which Mr. Curran vehemently denied at the time; and they must have run it with Mr. Curran's assistance and cooperation!

Yes, the Stalinites are "thru running the union." But not thanks to you, Joe Curran! You did your best to keep them in positions of power where they could intrigue against the welfare of the union. They are 'thru running the union" because the membership rose in revolt and drove them out. And the member ship will know how much faith to put in your last-minute "conversion." Let's see some deeds before we believe your words!

program of objectives. Altho this twenty-point program has been unanimously adopted and signed by all members of the International Executive Board and officers of the International Union, the execution of its provisions has been deliberately delayed and sabotaged by certain Board members who pledged themselves solemnly to uphold its provisions.

Now, however, we are going forward on the basis of this program. The New Deal in the U.A.W. is being definitely inaugurated thru the series of state-wide conferences called for in the twentypoint program. The first of these conferences was held last Saturday in the city of Detroit, with the executive officers of 111 local unions, a total of 510 official delegates, in attendance. The high spot in the Michigan conference occurred when the officers of the new Ford Local No. 600 were introduced to the conference. The delegates, realizing the importance of the chartering of the Ford Local and being given the information concerning the progress that has been made in the past few weeks in the organization of Ford workers, most enthusiastically pledged their support and cooperation in completing the organization of Ford workers into the U.A.W.

In the Ohio conference, which was held in Cleveland last Sunday, with 196 official delegates present, representing 36 local unions, there was a spirited discussion of the question of organization of W.P.A workers. It was finally voted almost unanimously to adopt the Michigan plan, whereby dues for W.P.A. workers are set at 50 cents per month.

These two very important and successful conferences unanimously adopted the twenty-point program and approved the action of the International Executive Board in promoting a program for the consolidation of gains made in the past and in forming realistic plans for future organizational efforts. The delegates left the conferences to return to their local unions with renewed enthusiasm and loyalty for the U.A.W.A.

These conferences left no doubt as to where the overwhelming majority of the membership of the U.A.W. stands, both in loyalty to their International Union and to the present administration. These conferences were most gratifying to those of us who are attempting to maintain and extend the Inter national Union as a clean, powerful and responsible organization.

(The above paragraphs are taken from a radio address by Homer Martin, president of the U. A.W., delivered on April 23.