

NEXT WEEK:
"AFTER LIMA CONGRESS"
 By Ellen Ward

Workers Age

Weekly Paper of the Independent Labor League of America

FARMERS WITHOUT LAND . . . by
 Lyman Fraser . . . page 3.
LIEBKNECHT'S LETTER TO ZIMMER-
WALD . . . page 4.

Vol. 8, No. 8. NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1939. 5 CENTS

AT FIRST GLANCE

by Jay Lovestone

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

TOM GIRDLER, chairman of the anti-union Republic Steel Corporation, has just joined Earl Browder in emphasizing "America's immediate need of industrial preparedness as a measure of national defense." Birds of a feather sooner or later do flock together.

But we do not say that Browder is a fascist simply because his agency has joined the Girdlers in whooping it for "national defense" and for plunging this country into a war to "make the world safe for democracy." For us to do just that would be to copy the methods of Stalinism now plaguing the international labor movement. However, this should not blind anyone to the fact that, by giving itself over to war-mongering, the Communist Party of this country is preparing the soil for and helping to precipitate fascism in the United States. This would be true even if we were to credit to its leadership and paymasters the best intentions in the world.

DR. COUNTS ON STALINISM

AND in the very forces impelling the C.P. to become a war agency are also to be found a number of other factors that, speaking objectively without unstinted charity, lead Browder and his deluded brethren to pave the road for reaction. In this light, we urge our readers to pay serious attention to the controversy that has, for some months, been raging in Teachers College, Columbia University. Very likely, there is not another person in this country who has been as effective a popularizer of the Soviet Union as Dr. George S. Counts. The latter's writings have brought more understanding of and prestige to the Soviet idea—as distinct from its distortion at the hands and feet of Stalin—than all the most vigorous C.P. outbursts on the platform and in the press. We hope Dr. Counts will forgive us for this very odious comparison. We make it merely as a concession to certain "fair-minded liberals" now boring within the Nation and the New Republic.

Yet, this same Dr. Counts, in estimating "the broader significance and implications" of Stalinist intrigue and attempts at domination amongst the unionized college teachers, is compelled to say:

"It must be emphasized that those who resort to the tactics and strategy reflected in that story should know that they are playing with fire. They profess to be fighting the growth of fascism in America and the world. Yet they indulge lightheartedly in irresponsible provocation, vilification of character, and distortion of history. THEY APPEAR TO OPERATE ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT THEY WILL DESTROY BY ANY MEANS AT HAND WHATEVER THEY CANNOT RULE" (Dr. Counts's emphasis—J. L.). Thus, by a strange dialectical process, which serve as the midwife of fascism; they prepare the very food on which fascism feeds. With my own eyes, I have seen them create fascist attitudes at Teachers College. They profess to be defending democracy against reaction and preach the united front of all popular forces. Yet they proceed to violate the most elementary democratic virtues of fairness and integrity, and, by their methods, bring inevitable discord into the ranks of the popular cause. They meet fundamental criticism with the cry of "Red-baiting," and then reserve to themselves all the other colors of the rainbow. . . ."

There is much to ponder here. We are indebted to Dr. Counts for the penetrating analysis and calm evaluation of a menace to the progress of American labor infinitely more sinister than most of us have realized to-date.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

NO single force or factor can explain the rise and terror of Stalinism in the U.S.S.R. Historical background, immediate conditions surrounding the Bolshevik revolution, failure of the proletarian revolution to spread westward, errors of the Bolsheviks even in their best days, the role of Stalin and his bureaucratic secretariat system, are amongst the most frequently cited causes of the present critical conditions in the Soviet Union.

It appears to the writer that, in explaining the plight of the Soviet masses today, far too insufficient weight has been attached to the attitude of West-European social-democracy towards the Soviet revolution in its first days of trial and tribulation. Then, the social-democrats chose to rely on and cooperate with people like Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George—all very, very great liberal "democrats." The Vanderfeldes, Eberts, Scheidemanns and MacDonalds worked overtime propagating the false and fatal notion that the masses "had better have nothing to do with what was happening in Russia." In this way, the West-European working people with decades of experience in exercising democratic rights—rights which they won only thru bitter class conflict—were prevented from having a wholesome influence on the Russian workers and peasants for centuries steeped in Czarist bureaucracy.

HEAVENLY DOINGS

IN the religious news columns of one of the metropolitan papers, we find the following innocent but significant caption: "Carpatho-Russians Secede and Secure Episcopate." This involves a concern with about 50,000 Carpatho-Russian clients living between here and Chicago.

What natural force or supernatural hand has suddenly caused this group to secede from Roman Catholicism as Orthodox-Unionists? What's the sudden inspiration for their establishing an American church of their own under the wing of the Greek Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople?

Well, we have a hunch that there are some Nazi manipulations here. We smell the hand of "Lord" Hitler here. We would be extremely surprised if this maneuvering in the heavenly field were not tied up with some of the infernal plottings of the Nazi regime for an assault on Soviet Ukraine. Perhaps these churches will soon merge with the Ukrainian diocese in North America and together establish a platform from which demagogic orators will plead for Hitler's program of "liberating" the Ukrainian masses. We have a notion that there is something unholy about this entire racket in the realm of the holies.

C.I.O. Forces "Loyalty Pledge"

(We publish below a very significant letter sent by Ben Lifshitz, until recently on the staff of the New York regional office of the C.I.O., to Allan Haywood, regional director. The letter speaks for itself. When Lifshitz refused to sign the "loyalty pledge" binding him to "recognize" the Stalinist splitters as the bona-fide leadership of the U.A.W. and directing him to go into U.A.W. locals in order to disrupt and disorganize them for the benefit of the splitters, he was removed as field organizer. The seriousness and depth of the internal crisis in the C. I. O. may be gauged from the fact that a system of "loyalty pledges" of a kind absolutely unheard of in the American labor movement before, has been introduced in the Lewis organization.—Editor.)

C.I.O.'s relations with the U.A.W. normal trade-union procedure governing the relationship between a labor federation and a member union, the C.I.O. would have been a force for reuniting the ranks of the auto union and, at the same time, would have preserved its autonomy.

HISTORICAL ROLE OF THE C.I.O.

As a field representative of the C.I.O. and a member and supporter of our organization from its inception, I have conceived of it as a movement bringing to American unionism a new stage of labor unity, binding the workers of various crafts, together with the semi-skilled and unskilled in the mass-production industries, into a single, militant, united movement, thus making unionism possible for millions of workers. It was because I recognized that the C.I.O. would—and actually did—break down the chains of craft unionism that I believed it constituted the most dynamic force for labor organization in many decades. I loyally supported its policies because it actually represented a unifying force in American labor. In the few short years of its existence, the C.I.O. has stormed the best

Demand Ban On Labor Spying

Senate Body Calls For Legislation To End Private Police

Washington, D. C. The Senate Civil Liberties Committee last week recommended legislation to stop labor spying and to restrict the activities of company police.

The committee, headed by Senator LaFollette, condemned with special emphasis the activities of the Republic Steel Corporation and the Harlan County, Ky., Coal Operators Association.

"The experiences in Harlan County, Ky., and in the industrial communities where Republic Steel Corporation operates," the committee said, "indicate clearly that where private police systems are used as instruments of anti-union policy, they:

- "(a) abridge and violate the civil liberties of workers and other individuals.
- "(b) violate the rights of labor guaranteed by federal statutes.
- "(c) result in riots and bloodshed, causing loss of life and injury to persons and property.
- "(d) endanger the public safety."

"On the economic front," the committee declared, "the use of private police systems as agents in employer anti-union policy causes disorganization of markets and interruptions in the free flow of commerce.

"The ruthless and brutal activities of armed private guards to prevent union organization give unfair competitive advantage to those employers who oppress labor, create bitterness between labor and management, lead to strikes and cause interruptions in the flow of commerce.

"The use of private deputies in an anti-union campaign is inimical to the maintenance of orderly representative government. It leads to private usurpation of public authority, corruption of public officials, oppression of large groups of citizens under the authority of the state and

AFL Council Ends Miami Sessions

States Industry Must Reabsorb Masses Of The Unemployed

Miami, Fla. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. concluded its sessions last week with a statement summarizing its views on the business and economic situation, in which the conviction was expressed that governmental spending of whatever nature was only a temporary measure and not the permanent solution of the problem of unemployment. Responsibility for absorbing the unemployed in industry, the statement emphasized, "should be placed squarely on the owners and management of private industry and the government."

No action was taken by the Council on the situation in the teachers union. It is understood that the leadership of the American Federation of Teachers has been requested to take immediate measures to put the New York locals on a sounder basis and to eliminate Stalinist influence in them. Should there be no improvement within three months, the Council will consider the matter again when it meets at its next quarterly session.

In addition to supporting certain amendments to the Wagner Act, the Council decided to demand a new set-up in place of the present National Labor Relations Board, involving reorganization from top to bottom and the creation of a board with five members.

perversion of representative government."

The committee said the use of private police as an agency of labor policy is an attempt "to impose upon labor a selfish private interest by means of private armies."

Discussing possible legislation, the committee said it wanted to prohibit "labor espionage and the shadowing, coercion and intimidation of workers in ordinary times and to restrict company police to company property during times of strike."

Knitgoods Union Plans Election

Manager Nelson Tells Workers Age Of Progressive Achievements

By M. S. MAUTNER

FACING a new election, the progressive administration of the Knitgoods Workers Union, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., is confidently carrying on a campaign based its constructive record. In a special interview accorded your correspondent, Louis Nelson, militant manager of the union, described the really amazing achievements of his organization in an industry which presents the most complicated industrial problems. The only opposition to the progressive administration comes from a handful of former adherents of the Stalinist dual union, who have been unable as yet to find a bona-fide program for their opposition, but nevertheless have managed to put out very expensive leaflets which make no appreciable impression.

Nelson showed me a copy of the Knitted Outerwear Times, published

by the manufacturers open-shop association, which is attempting to make a great to-do over the forthcoming elections as a "fight to gain control of the union." Much space was given to the accusations of the "rank-and-file opposition" concerning the "weakness" of the union due to the progressive administration and policies of the union.

ADMINISTRATION CAMPAIGN METHODS

"This irresponsible nonsense, despite the way it endangers our union, is being answered by us in a calm manner—because we have the facts with us," Nelson stated. He went on to explain the methods used by the administration in its campaign, which has become really a campaign of the great bulk of the union membership.

A series of bulletins are being issued, each of which deals with one

(Continued on Page 2)

TRYING TO COVER UP



Martin Urges CIO To Clean House

Denounces Stalinist-Lewis Tieup; UAW Scores New Gains Against Splitters

(Special to the Workers Age)

Detroit, Mich.

In a special communication to all members of the United Automobile Workers of America, Homer Martin, president, last week denounced top officials of the C.I.O. for improperly interfering in the internal affairs of the union and for permitting the Stalinists in the C.I.O. to carry on "activities that will eventually destroy our own union and others if they are not halted."

C.I.O. FACES SERIOUS CRISIS

"We believe," wrote Mr. Martin in his communication, "that, whether the leaders of the C.I.O. are willing to face the facts or not, the C.I.O. itself is in a crisis which will not be driven out of existence by putting up a scarecrow of Lovestonism vs. Communist Party. Surely it is not necessary to advise Mr. Hillman and Mr. Murray that the Maritime Union, the Office Workers Union, the Furriers Union, and other C.I.O. unions are threatened by the same dangers which face the U.A.W.—of being strangled by Stalinist totalitarian bureaucracies. The membership of these unions, like our own membership, is fighting to rid itself of this pestilence which, thru encouragement and support of Lewis, Hillman and Murray, is increasing its hold in the American labor movement.

"Thru these policies, pursued by Lewis, Hillman and Murray, the powerful and progressive International Ladies Garment Workers

union has been driven out of the C.I.O. David Dubinsky is certainly not a man of 'violent contradictions' and yet he has been forced to lead his union out from under the dangers which now threaten the U. A.W."

Mr. Martin pointed out that the C.I.O. leaders had ignored and continued to ignore the real issues confronting the U.A.W. as well as other sections of the trade-union movement. These issues, he emphasized, were:

- "1. The building of a united, autonomous and democratic labor union.
- "2. The national alliance of the heads of the C.I.O. with adventurist elements who are part of or associated with the Communist Party, which is carrying on activities that will eventually destroy our own union and others if they are not halted.
- "3. The responsibility of officers of our union to abide by the basic principles of unionism, to uphold the constitution and laws of their own union and contracts with employers."

LEWIS AGAINST U.A.W. AUTONOMY

President Martin charged that Mr. Lewis had never been in favor of granting autonomous, democratic rights to the U.A.W. "I have searched in vain thru the constitution of the C.I.O. adopted at the November convention for any mention of autonomy," he added.

"Mr. Hillman and Mr. Murray say that the C.I.O. is made up of autonomous national and international organizations," said Mr. Martin. "Let them be reminded that the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is still an organizing committee and not an autonomous union.

"Even in a so-called convention the steel workers were denied the right to choose their own officers. The Textile Workers Organizing Committee is merely a department of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers under Sidney Hillman. It has never had a convention and has never had the right of electing its own officers. There is nothing to indicate that it ever will. In the United Mine Workers, a large share

Army Planes Bill Passed In House

LaFollette Hits Administration Policy In Foreign Affairs

The May bill to increase the Army Air Corps to 5,500 serviceable airplanes, the first part of the President's vast new rearmament program, passed the House of Representatives last week by a vote of 364 to 15. With other expenditures authorized in the bill, an outlay of \$376,000,000 is involved.

In order to facilitate passage of the bill, Administration spokesmen concentrated their efforts on arousing a heavy war-scare atmosphere in which rational discussion was virtually impossible.

Hits Administration

Washington, D. C. Senator LaFollette urged Congress last week to "reassert its right" to a voice in the shaping of foreign policy.

Congress thus could prevent the country from following a course in "deadly parallel" with that which led it into war in 1917, he declared in an interview.

The progressive Wisconsin Senator is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and a supporter of many Administration measures.

Commenting on conflicting versions of the foreign policy which President Roosevelt outlined recently to members of the Senate Military Committee, LaFollette criticized the Administration for "shrouding in secrecy" arrangements for the French purchase of military planes in this country.

"I'm opposed to our becoming involved either in the situation in Europe or in the Far East," LaFollette declared. "The fact that the Administration intervened to shroud in secrecy the purchase of planes by the French has led to very unfortunate implications both at home and abroad.

"If war should eventuate and we became involved, although it may be claimed to be a war in support of democracy, the first thing that would be destroyed would be democracy in America."

End to Secrecy Voted

Washington, D. C.

The fight to make the proceedings of the Senate Military Committee public so that the American people may have some knowledge of what is being done by the Administration to involve them in foreign entanglements and another world war, scored a partial victory last week when the Senate committee, under pressure of Senators Nye and Clark, voted to publish its full records in the future, except material involving military secrets. A few days later, however, the Senate committee defeated, by a vote of 10 to 6, a motion by Senator Clark to make public its records concerning the aid given by the United States government to the French air mission in this country. Rule of publicity, the majority of the committee insisted, could not be made to apply to any past transactions.

of the districts are under Lewis-appointed henchmen. The workers cannot elect their own district officers because Lewis and Murray won't let them."

Meanwhile, President Martin and his supporters continue to gain strength among the membership of the U.A.W., where their majority is already very considerable. Last week, a tri-state conference cover-

(Continued on Page 3)

Lovestone Talks On Labor Unity

At an overflow meeting in Manhattan Center, New York, Jay Lovestone, speaking last week for the Independent Labor League, declared trade-union unity to be the great need of the hour.

"Outside of guaranteeing the maintenance of industrial unionism in the mass-production industries, any concession is justified to achieve trade-union unity. Division in the labor movement provides the possibility of victories for reaction."

Special emphasis was placed by Lovestone on the dangerous and disruptive role of Stalinism in the American labor movement. Their temporary alliance with Lewis, he declared, was a most potent factor working against unity. The Stalinists fear that trade union unity, although so necessary for labor as a whole, would react against their special faction interests, since its achievement would loosen their grip on certain sections of the labor movement. Secondly, they are a poisonous feeder for the totalitarian tendencies now rampant in the C.I.O.

It was a combination of these factors, Lovestone explained, that was driving the I.L.G.W.U. back to the A. F. of L., and had created two unions in the auto industry.

Benjamin Stolberg

Author:
"STORY OF THE C.I.O."
 speaks
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24
 8:15 P. M.

"Figures and Figureheads of Labor"

Admission 25c
THE INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE
 131 West 33rd Street
 New York City

February 1, 1939
 Allan S. Haywood,
 New York, N. Y.
 Dear Brother Haywood:
FROM the outbreak of the controversy in the United Automobile Workers Union, I have regretted any developments tending to accentuate the crisis, divide the workers and weaken the union as a weapon in the struggle for economic betterment. I am thoroughly convinced that, had there been followed in the

POWERS OF THE C.I.O. CENTER

You asked me, in your letter of January 27, whether I desire to support the position "taken by the national office of the Congress of Industrial Organizations." As I told you previously, I have searched in vain thru the constitution of the C.I.O., recently adopted in Pittsburgh, for any reference to the right of the "national office," or even the

HILLMAN-MURRAY DECISION INJURIOUS

You have made it clear to me that C.I.O. organizers will be expected to carry the fight now raging in the auto workers union, into every local union of the U.A.W. which the C.I.O. can reach. I am of the opinion that the decision made by the two vice-presidents of the C.I.O. will

