

# Letter To The New Republic

By Jay Lovestone

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

August 12, 1938

Editor  
New Republic  
Dear Sir:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Finally, I assume that author White had been given special reasons for saying "President Mar-

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# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 35.

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## Martin Hits UAW Slander

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

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

The statement read as follows:

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

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

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

\* \* \*

### MARTIN BLASTS FREY

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

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

## Knitgoods Union Renews Contract

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

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



HOMER MARTIN

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

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

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

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

### Maxton, Brockway, McNair Ask Labor Action

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

\* \* \*

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

six thousand workers at special ratification meetings.

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

Simultaneously with stoppage for the ratification meetings the union will launch a drive against the open shops in an attempt to unionize the entire industry.

## Auto Locals Rally To Union Drives

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

By GEORGE F. MILES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## CP Leaders Are Guilty Of Theft

### Maxton, Brockway, McNair Ask Labor Action

Detroit Police authorities are now working closely with the New York City Police Department checking on the various items—personal property as well as documents—stolen from the apartment of Jay Lovestone by paid agents of the Communist Party and the G.P.U.

The prosecuting attorney of Detroit is co-operating with District Attorney Dewey's office and with Davidson & Mann, attorneys for Mr. Lovestone in the case. It is significant that Mr. Sugar, who at first claimed possession of "originals" and photostats, now vigorously disclaims in his own be-

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### Persecution Of Revolutionaries

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

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

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# Our Program of Action

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

## FASCISM AND FASCIST AGGRESSION ABROAD

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

Resistance to fascism and fascist aggression abroad requires:

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

## CP Leaders Guilty of Robbery

(Continued from Page 1) effect that the original plan of the Secretariat of the C.P. and of the G.P.U. agent in charge was not merely to steal the documents but also to assault Lovestone fatally. A notorious detective agency—anathema to every trade union in the country—was engaged for months by the Communist Party-G.P.U. combination to prepare shadowing, securing of "information," hiring of apartments, and all the other necessary "stuff" in preparation for the robbery. Directly responsible for the burglary are outstanding leaders of the Communist Party working under the instructions of the G.P.U., which has been building a "special" squad for "special" purposes in the C.P.

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

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

## UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

**T**HIRTEEN million workers are jobless in this country today as a result of the "recession" that has already become a serious depression. In the face of the grave and permanent character of the unemployment problem, the inadequacy of the present relief system and its standards becomes especially striking. In spite of this, reactionary big-business interests are backing a campaign, conducted under various guises, to drive even the existing standards down below starvation levels. During this depression, for the first time, the trade-union movement, especially the industrial unions in the C.I.O., has made an active effort to defend the interests of jobless members in an organized and systematic manner. A number of unions have already established unemployed departments or committees to help members obtain relief, to bring about an increase in relief allotments and standards, etc. Such activities have had a powerful effect in preventing a breach from arising between the employed and the unemployed and in maintaining at a high point, despite tremendous obstacles, the loyalty of the jobless workers to the unions.

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

1. Expansion of the W.P.A. program in order to provide jobs immediately for at least five million unemployed. No one must starve in this country; all jobless are entitled to government relief.
2. Operation of the work-relief system (W.P.A.) along humane and effective lines:
  - a. Workers should be employed on work suited to their needs and skills.
  - b. Work-relief projects should be socially-necessary and productive.
  - c. Work-relief jobs should be given according to need without requiring any degrading "pauper's oath." Direct certification by the W.P.A. Supplementary work for part-time workers.
  - d. Minimum work-relief rates should be raised all along the line.
  - e. Abolition of geographical differentials in work-relief payments.
3. Increase of standards in direct relief. Payment of direct relief in cash. Allocation of sufficient federal funds for direct relief.
4. Extension of the activities of the trade unions to organize the jobless workers in their fields under their own auspices and to obtain adequate relief for them.

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

## French Labor Leader Greet American Labor

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



MARCEAU PIVERT

Paris, July 25, 1938. **F**RATERNAL Greetings to the American Labor Movement! The workers of every capitalist country today face the same problems and will sooner or later find the same solution to them provided they remain faithful to the lessons learned from bitter experience. First, the working class must reject all collaboration with imperialist forces preparing war for a revision of the world.

Second, the working class must engage in offensive struggles for the purpose of maintaining and advancing the standard of living of the great masses and of exposing the internal contradictions of capitalism. The working class must establish elementary independent working class organs containing the germ of future revolutionary power: factory councils and farmers' committees. And finally, the working class must work towards the seizure of power, towards expropriation of the capitalists and towards the establishment of socialism. All direct class action undertaken along these lines, any effective resistance to the preparation of war and the rise of fascism must be led in every country by the

workers against its own employing-class. Such a struggle would have tremendous consequences in this period of profound crisis. It was in this spirit that the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party was founded in France. It is in this spirit that we extend fraternal greetings to the workers of the world and particularly to the powerful American trade union movement whose role will be decisive in the world labor movement.

MARCEAU PIVERT

## Locals Back UAW Drive

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Chrysler local 7 are listed as being represented by full delegations. A check up proves that none of these locals elected delegates or authorized the sending of delegates. In the case of Chrysler the matter is even worse for a well attended membership meeting of the local was held a few days before the Toledo conference but the matter was never raised on the floor by anyone. A full list of the locals has not been made public but it is certain that numerous Communist Party members and their sympathizers came to the conference as individuals but were seated as delegates. The entire conference was proof of union contentions that the Stalinist splitters were determined to serve the bosses by attempting to split the organization, precisely when, because of the pick-up in employment, the union could march forward to new achievements. The extreme weakness of their showing proves that the membership is not to be fooled by fake cries of loyalty to the C.I.O. and claims that John L. Lewis is behind them in this mad venture into union-busting.

## Spanish Union Leader Arrives

The leader of the fighting Asturian miners' union and Minister of Justice in the Negrin Cabinet, Gonzalez Pena, arrives in America this week to attend the conference of the Mexican trade unions as a fraternal delegate. Mr. Pena will find great sympathy for his cause—but he will also find that the repressive policy of Loyalist Spain in respect to the revolutionary anti-fascist workers of the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T., etc., have greatly shocked American trade unionists.

## Stalinism Against a Labor Party

By GEORGE F. MILES

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

The implications of the statement are clear. Mr. Martin, and with him the powerful U.A.W. for which he speaks, does not identify the President and the Governor with the party under whose label they operate. This represents an advanced and independent position in the field of labor politics unique in American trade unionism even during these days of Labor Non-Partisan League activity. But this very position is itself one of the vital issues around which revolves the intensely fought faction struggle in the U.A.W. initiated by American Stalinism.

### A Labor Party Too Conservative

For many years the very idea of a labor party for the United States was enough to send shudders down the sensitive spines of "loyal communists." Those were the days when nothing was too radical for Stalin and his wooden soldiers. The whole world, inclusive of the United States, was simultaneously aflame with proletarian revolt. Every "impediment" had to be ruthlessly swept from the path of the onrushing revolution. The existing trade unions were little more than steel shackles to retard labor's forward drive—they had to be destroyed. Laboriously Lovozovskiy climbed to the very houseposts and shouted it to the entire world. A labor party? Nothing doing! It was a vicious trap of the Lovestoneites to lead the revolutionary masses back into the camp of the bosses.

Began a period of disastrous union busting everywhere, advised, ordered and commanded from Moscow. Not a single significant working class organization in any country, failed to go under the knife, some to emerge stronger for having lost what had become a destructive force, others to hover between life and death for years to come because of severe blood-letting. Those were the days when official Communism saw red, and all who did not quickly enough adjust their sights and tints were forever damned as little brothers of the fascists, social fascists, or just plain fascists. Caught in the vicious cross fire of the enervating and weak-kneed policies of the Socialists and the swashbuckling, reckless adventurism of official Communism, the labor movement stood confused, impotent, unable to lift a finger in its own defense when the mad dogs of fascism were unleashed against them. Labor in Germany went down without striking a blow, in Austria it died a valiant death fighting on the barricades and in the socialist-built cooperative homes—an ironic commentary on "constructive socialism."

### Policy Of The Army Chiefs

The "conservative" army leaders never believed that Great Britain would remain neutral if Germany fought France or seriously threatened it. On the contrary, they were afraid that such a war would result in greater isolation for German militarism than in 1914, thereby making success impossible. In order to avoid such isolation, they opposed an aggressive policy against Soviet Russia and would have preferred the more cautious policy of "wait and see." The creator of the Reichswehr included in his last book, his last will and testament, the warning that German diplomacy must secure a last analysis, there is no conflict between the "conservative" generals or diplomats, on the one hand, and the Nazi party leaders, on the other, as to the aims of the German foreign policy—to make German militarism the master of Europe and eventually of the whole world. However, there do exist serious differences as to the methods of achieving that goal.

### Hitler's Failure

This is a great disappointment for the Nazis. Hitler has been exposed before his followers as incapable of a more effective policy than the Kaiser or the "conservative" diplomats advocated. In the last analysis, there is no conflict between the "conservative" generals or diplomats, on the one hand, and the Nazi party leaders, on the other, as to the aims of the German foreign policy—to make German militarism the master of Europe and eventually of the whole world. However, there do exist serious differences as to the methods of achieving that goal. The "conservative" generals never believed in the success of Hitler's aggressive strategy and therefore opposed it. The Austrian venture seemed to contradict their views, the Reich's experiences with Czechoslovakia justified them. Even the march into Austria turned out to be a proof of the necessity of

## Is Germany Ready To Fight?

By J. Braun

**T**HE strategic ideas of Hitler's foreign policy as outlined in "My Struggle" consist mainly of three points: German imperialist expansion on new soil can only be achieved in eastern Europe (Russia); French militarism as a rival power must be eliminated; this must be accomplished by establishing friendly relations with Great Britain and preventing another Franco-British alliance.

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

**C**OMPLETE tabulation of the elections in the National Maritime Union indicate the following sweep against the Stalinists: For N. Y. patrolmen: deck division, rank and file, 6, others, 3; cooks and stewards, rank and file 10, others 1; engine division, rank and file, 9; others none. In other Gulf and Atlantic ports, the rank and file won thirty-five patrolmen and port agents out of fifty-two. The new national council is reported to stand 5 to 4 for the new administration.

has been found to be unrealistic by the oracles. Present day Stalinist policies call for individual infiltration by its membership into the Democratic and Republican Party and where local or state labor parties or Labor Non-Partisan Leagues exist, their conversion into a wing of the Democratic Party itself which now appears to receive major consideration in the eyes of the Stalinists as the instrument for the people's front struggle against fascism. If it could be the Radical Socialist Party in France, which is neither radical nor socialist and stands far to the right of President Roosevelt's New Deal, then why not the Democratic Party here?

Such are the instructions under which the Stalinists are operating now. They are using the labor party movement and the Labor Non-Partisan Leagues as vehicles to

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## New Deal Turns Its Eyes South

By M. S. MAUTNER

**T**HE National Emergency Council, appointed by the President to review social conditions, recently submitted to him a report on the economic status of the South. The report claims to be limited to factual material, and is not supposed to suggest solutions. Yet its method of discussion reveals the limitations of its outlook, which is essentially the dead-end which capitalism has reached in respect to the South. Of deep interest to the labor movement are the facts contained in the report, the reasons for the preparation and release of the material at the present time, and what prospects there are for doing anything about it.

### The Facts Of The Situation

The South is in a particularly deep crisis because it has for long been the economic backwater of the nation. This derives from policies begun as far back as the Civil War and the triumph of the conservative wing of the northern capitalists. It has been sustained and systematically entrenched by the ravages of the one-crop system, the limitation of industrial development, and the perpetuation of social backwardness by the ruling powers.

The South is a region extremely rich in natural resources, yet these are not matched by advanced economic and social conditions. Thus, although 28% of the people live in the southern area, only 16% of the tangible industrial assets (factories,

maachinery, etc.) is its share. A tremendous agricultural region containing one-half of the nation's farm population, the South has only one-fifth of the farm implements. What a primitive picture those figures reveal!

### The Tenant-Cropper Problem

These all work upon the outstanding social problem of the South—the tenant and cropper systems. The land was never broken up into free homesteads after the Civil War; the Radical Republican slogan of "forty acres and a mule" for the freed Negroes and the poor whites went by the boards. As a result large-scale landlords rented out parcels of land which could be paid for, not in cash, but in the form of crops. With no real stake in the land, the croppers and tenants worked the one-crop cash system to death, and with it the fertility of the soil. Croppers and tenants

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gaining foreign credits—have been blated.

As a result of Hitler's policy, the Third Reich is not prepared for war against a big power but it is still less prepared for peace!

Quite recently, Hjalmar Schacht won an important domestic victory, as a result of an improvement in Nazi Germany's financial situation but, on the contrary, of the impossibility of financing the armaments program in the old way any longer. A short time ago, Schacht notified the government that a continuation of the Reich's financial policy would inevitably lead to a collapse of the credit system in the immediate future, unless the government stopped financing armaments by the issuance of state bills.

New Treasury certificates will no longer be discounted at the Reichsbank, so that only a strictly limited amount of such credits can be obtained by the Nazi government in the future.

In anticipation of the consequences of this reform, the Nazi government recently warned German industrialists that they would not be able to rely in the future, to the same extent as in the past, on state orders or subsidies. They would have to develop more "private initiative" in order to maintain production and survive.

This constitutes essentially a quiet funeral for the illusions of those who hoped for an elimination of private capitalism, for an establishment of a nationally planned economy. The gigantic state program of the construction of new industries for the production of ersatz materials and for making Germany self-sufficient according to the Four-Year Plan, has shrunk to state subsidies for works which are quite important in special branches of production but which do not alter the general economic situation.

Southern economy has been progressively undermined by the effects of industrial and finance capital upon its primarily agrarian system, a feature of capitalism the world over. The need for a fast-selling crop which would bring in cash, without which the southern rural and urban population could not exist in this commodity world, imposed "King Cotton" upon the South. As a result, the southern farmers in general suffer from: 1) conflict on the world market with other cotton-producing areas in which American cotton is at a disadvantage because of trade treaties drawn up primarily in the interests of American industry; 2) the general domestic crisis which has severely limited the American textile market; 3) soil exhaustion thru decades of one-crop planting.

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## About Ferdinand Smith

By Jack Soderberg

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

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August 15, 1938

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

The cold fact remains that this

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

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

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

## Stalinist Policy Against Labor Party Movement

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

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

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

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

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

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

But what prevents this market from being tapped, what keeps the purchasing power of the Southern masses so low? The answer, according to the report, lies in three major factors: 1) freight differentials operating to the disadvantage of the South making it more profitable to finish goods in the North; 2) absentee ownership, preventing the growth of a powerful Southern class of finance-capitalists and local absorption of dividends and interest; and, 3) the high cost of credit, limiting the possibilities of capital expansion.

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

against the activities of President Homer Martin who has been staunch in his opposition to the surrender of labor's independent political role.

### Destroying The Labor Party Movement

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

That President Roosevelt himself has been equally concerned with the workings of this law under which labor's strength has had a chance to function, was indicated earlier this year when he sent a commission abroad to "study" the workings of British labor law. So obvious a move was this towards undermining the Wagner Act and introducing some sort of union-smashing legislation, that the C.I.O., thru John L. Lewis, immediately declared it would have nothing to do with such a "study."

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

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

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

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

## New Deal Faces South

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

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

"In certain sections there has been a tendency to revert to large plantations worked by machinery on an industrial basis." That is what is actually happening, unmindful of all Jeffersonian daydreams, for that is the nature of capitalist development in agriculture. But altho this may permit a more efficient method of farming, the benefits accrue to the employers and plantation owners. This tendency means the gradual elimination of tenants and croppers and the creation of a real agricultural working-class. As the report beams: "No longer owners, tenants or croppers, the workers in these agricultural factories are more nearly day laborers—unskilled workers who can be hired one day and fired the next."

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

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

### Incredibly Low Standards

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

Wages for industrial workers fall in line with these low standards. The average annual wage in industry in general, according to the report, was \$1,219, while in the south is averaged only \$865. Examples of the notorious wage differential abound in the report. More than half the mill workers in the South earn under 37.5 cents per hour, altho less than 10% of the workers in the rest of the country are employed at such rates. Whereas 25% of the cotton goods workers in the nation earn more than 52.5 cents per hour, only 10% in the South fall in that category. The average differential in twenty important industries in 1937 amounted to 16 cents per hour. Furthermore, altho average working hours are longer in the South than elsewhere, the average annual wage is lower.

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

What the social standards of life for the Southern masses is like can be gleaned from some of the figures in the report. We are informed, for example, that: "By the most conservative estimates, 4,000,000