TARMERS WITHOUT LAND . . . by Lyman Fraser . . . page 3.

LIEBKNECHT'S LETTER TO ZIMMER-WALD . . . page 4.

Army Planes

LaFollette Hits Adminis-

tration Policy In For-

The May bill to increase the Army

Air Corps to 5,500 serviceable air-

planes, the first part of the Presi-

dent's vast new rearmament pro-

gram, passed the House of Repre-

sentatives last week by a vote of

364 to 15. With other expenditures

authorized in the bill, an outlay of

In order to facilate passage of the

bill, Administration spokesmen con-

centrated their efforts on arousing a

heavy war-scare atmosphere in

which rational discussion was virtu-

Senator LaFollette urged Congress

last week to "reassert its right" to

a voice in the shaping of foreign

Congress thus could prevent the

country from following a course in

'deadly parallel" with that which

led it into war in 1917, he declared

The progressive Wisconsin Sena-

tor is a member of the Senate For-

eign Relations Committee and a

supporter of many Administration

Commenting on conflicting versions of the foreign policy which

President Roosevelt outlined recent-

ly to members of the Senate Military Committee, LaFollette criticized the Administration for "shroud-

ing in secrecy" arrangements for

the French purchase of military

"I'm opposed to our becoming in-

volved either in the situation in

Europe or in the Far East," La

Follette declared. "The fact that the

Administration intervened to shroud

in secrecy the purchase of planes by

the French has led to very unfortu-

nate implications both at home and

"If war should eventuate and we

Washington, D. C.

became involved, altho it may be

The fight to make the proceedings

End to Secrecy Voted

planes in this country.

Washington, D. C.

Bill Passed

In House

eign Affairs

\$376,000,000 is involved.

Hits Administration

ally impossible.

in an interview.

measures.

abroad.

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 Corpora-L tion, 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 with 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 union policy, they: 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 liberties of workers and other indifrom its distortion at the hands and feet of Stalin-than all the most vigorous C.P. outbursts on the platform and outpourings 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, ers anti-union policy causes disorvilification 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, they serve as the midwife of fascism; they prepare the very food on which union organization give unfair comfascism feeds. With my own eyes, I have seen them create fascist at- petitive advantage to those employtitudes 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

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 burocratic secretariat system, are amongst the most frequently cited causes of the present critical conditions in the Soviet

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 to cooperate with people like Wilson. Clemenceau and Lloyd George—all very, very great liberal "democrats." The Vanderveldes, 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 conflictwere prevented from having a wholesome influence on the Russian workers | Knitgoods Workers Union, Local and peasants for centuries steeped in Czarist burocratism.

HEAVENLY DOINGS

IN the religious news columns of one of the metropolitan papers, we I 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-Uniates? 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 manouvering 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 put out very expensive leaflets campaign of the great bulk of the North America and together establish a platform from which demagogic which make no appreciable impresorators will plead for Hitler's program of "liberating" the Ukrainian masses. We have a notion that there is something unholy about this entire

On Labor Spying

Senate Body Calls For Legislation To End Private Police

Washington, D. C.

The Senate Civil Liberties Comrestrict the activies of company nomic situation, in which the con-

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

"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-

"(a) abridge and violate the civil viduals.

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

"The ruthless and brutal activities of armed private guards to prevent ers 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 ty during times of strike.'

By M. S. MAUTNER

FACING a new election, the pro-

155, I.L.G.W.U., is confidently car-

rying on a campaign based its con-

view accorded your correspondent,

Louis Nelson, militant manager of

the union, described the really

amazing achievements of his organ-

ization in an industry which present

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,

Nelson showed me a copy of the

Knitted Outerwear Times, published

gressive administration of the

Plans Election

Of Progressive Achievements

New York City

Manager Nelson Tells Workers Age

but nevertheless have managed to paign, which has become really a

Demand Ban AFL Council **Ends Miami** Sessions

States Industry Must Reabsorb Masses Of The Unemployed

The Executive Council of the A. F, of L. concluded its sessions last nittee last week recommended leg- week with a statement summarizing islation to stop labor spying and to its views on the business and ecoviction was expressed that governmental spending of whatever nature was only a temporary measure and not the permament 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 govern-

No action was taken by the Council on the situation in the teachers union. Its 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 in-"(b) violate the rights of labor | fluence in them. Should there be no limprovement 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 govern-

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 proper-

| by the manufacturers open-shop as-

sociation, which is attempting to

make a great to-do over the forth-

coming elections as a "fight to gain

control of the union." Much space

was given to the accusations of the

"rank-and-file opposition" concern-

ing the "weakness" of the union due

"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 cam-

(Continued on Page 2)

and policies of the union.

CAMPAIGN METHODS

ADMINISTRATION

union membership.

To Clean House

(Special to the Workers Age)

officials of the C.I.O. for improperly A.W." they are not halted."

President Martin's letter was in reply to the statement addressed to the U.A.W. membership issued by Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, C.I.O. vice-presidents, to justify their attempts to break down the

C.I.O. FACES

"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 Lovestoneism vs. Communist Party. Surely it structive record. In a special inter- to the progressive administration is not necessary to advise Mr. Hill- LEWIS AGAINST man and Mr. Murray that the Mari- | U.A.W. AUTONOMY time Union, the Office Workers Union, the Furriers Union, and other same dangers which face the U.A.W. own membership, is fighting to rid itself of this pestilence which, thru encouragement and support of Lewis, that the C.I.O. is made up of auto-

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

Union has been driven out of the C.I.O. David Dubinsky is certainly not a man of 'violent contradictions' members of the United Automobile and yet he has been forced to lead Workers of America, Homer Martin, his union out from under the president, last week denounced top dangers which now threaten the U.

interfering in the internal affairs of Mr. Martin pointed out that the the union and for permitting the C.I.O. leaders had ignored and con- claimed to be a war in support of Stalinists in the C.I.O. to carry on activities that will eventually destroy our own union and others if sections of the trade-union movement. These issues, he emphasized,

> "1. The building of a united, autonomous and democratic labor

union. "2. The national alliance of the elements who are part of or associunion and others if they are not scored a partial victory last week

"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.'

President Martin charged that Mr. Lewis had never been in favor C.I.O. unions are threatened by the of granting autonomous, democratic rights to the U.A.W. "I have searchof being strangled by Stalinist ed in vain thru the constitution of totalitarian burocracies. The mem- the C.I.O. adopted at the November bership of these unions, like our convention for any mention of autonomy," he added.

"Mr. Hillman and Mr. Murray say Hillman and Murray, is increasing nomous national and international organizations," said Mr. Martin. Let them be reminded that the Steel Workers Organizing Committee is Lewis, Hillman and Murray, the 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

Benjamin Stolberg

"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

TRYING TO COVER UP



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

Detroit, Mich.

its hold in the American labor movement. "Thru these policies, pursued by

powerful and progressive International Ladies Garment Workers

TERBER 703- TPEU Martin Urges CIO

In a special communication to all

autonomy of the auto union.

SERIOUS CRISIS

heads of the C.I.O. with adventurist public so that the American people

of the Senate Military Committee may have some knowledge of what ated with the Communist Party, is being done by the Administration which is carrying on activities that to involve them in foreign entanglewill eventually destroy our own ments and another world war, 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 Lewisappointed 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 veek, a tri-state conference cover-(Continued on Page 3)

Lovestone Talks On Labor Unity At a overflow meeting in Man-

hattan 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, altho 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.

C.I.O. Forces "Loyalty Pledge" (We publish below a very significant C.I.O.'s relations with the U.A.W. formidable open-shop fortresses and the injurious to the further growth inational officers, of the C.I.O. to

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.W.A. 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 in the Lewis organization.—Editor.)

February 1, 1939

Allan S. Haywood,

New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Haywood: TROM the outbreak of the controversy in the United Automobile Workers Union, I have regretted any developments tending to accenand weaken the union as a weapon in the struggle for economic better-

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 inetrnal crisis in the C. I. O. may of our organization from its incepbe gauged from the fact that a system tion, I have conceived of it as a of "loyalty pledges" of a kind abso- movement bringing to American lutely unheard of in the American labor unionism a new stage of labor unity, movement before, has been introduced 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. tuate the crisis, divide the workers I loyally supported its policies be- auto workers union, into every local cause it actually represented a uni-

this work is completed or that it is because of a controversy in one of port outside the C.I.O. movement. the International unions of the C.I.O. I oppose unequivocally the extension every regional office and every affiindustrial unions, industrial-union councils and regional directors," Brother Brophy calls upon them to "give full support to acting Pres- a mediator and unifier. ident Thomas and the Executive

Board of the U.A.W." 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 union of the U.A.W. which the fying force in American labor. In C.I.O. can reach. I am of the opinment. I am thoroly convinced that, the few short years of its existence, ion that the decision made by the burgh, for any reference to the right had there been followed in the the C.I.O. has stormed the most two vice-presidents of the C.I.O. will of the "national office," or even the

has fundamentally altered industrial and to the entire future of the C.I.O., suspend an International president and labor relations in this country. because placing the entire organ-However, I do not believe that izational machinery of the C.I.O. in support of one side, you are actually sound unionism to disturb this work driving the other side to seek sup-I shall not here deal with the inner

situation in the United Automobile of the auto workers struggle into Workers of America. I have already discussed these matters with you. I liated International of the C.I.O., as want to point out, however, that the indicated not only in your letter and role of the C.I.O. should have been in our conversations, but which is to mitigate and not to aggravate plainly stated in Director John Bro- the difficulties. The two vice-presphy's letter of January 25. In this lidents of the C.I.O., Brothers Hillletter, addressed to "all national and man and Murray, in throwing full support to one side in this controversy, have thereby destroyed the possibility of the C.I.O.'s acting as

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 always stand ready to give the fullyou previously. I have searched in vain thru the constitution of the C.I.O., recently adopted in Pitts- was organized.

or give support to any side in an inner-union controversy without authorization of the National Executive Board. Their powers are limited to making an investigation of the matter and submitting recommendations to the affiliate involved and finally to submit a report to the convention of the C.I.O. Your letter of January 27 asks

for support of the C.I.O. policies. I want to reiterate that I have given that support in the fullest sense, with the utmost loyalty and consistency and with all the resources at my command. If, however, this support implies my participtaion and approval for carrying the war now on in the auto union into every local and every affiliated union of the C.I.O., then my answer is emphatically: No!

I want to express my appreciation for the cooperation you have given me while working as organizer in your office and I assure you that I est support possible to the objectives and purposes for which the C.I.O.

> BEN LIFSHITZ, Field Representative

Pocketbook Union Ousts Splitters

International Convention Takes Action

By B. L.

THE special convention of the International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union that took place in Jersey City last week, should be of particular interest to the general labor movement for it offers a close parallel to developments in one United Automobile Workers in a situation where the false cry of "Lovestoneism" cannot be raised.

Readers of this paper will remember (see "Trade Union Notes," in the January 28 issue.—Editor.) the background of the convention. Over a year ago, after a period in which they had cooperated with the socialists and other progressive elements, the Stalinists made a desperate bid for power in the pocketbook-workers the union for being a partner in a Stalinists dominating New York Local 1 brought back into the union as a valuable ally in their intrigues. At the regular convention last year, they precipitated a split, which was patched up thru strenuous efforts of the A. F. of L. A "peace" pact was signed and a General Executive Board was elected, which soon began to line up on all questions 11 to 8 under the control of the Stalinist

For a while, the new president. Samuel Reinlib, who had been selected as agreeable to all sides, worked with the Stalinists and even attended their caucus meetings. But that the Board would have let the he soon came to realize that what the Stalinists were after was to fered such severe setbacks among misuse the union for their own narrow partisan purposes, for which he was to serve as an obedient tool, and so he broke with them and called an emergency convention of the union for the beginning of February. The General Executive Board approved the calling of the con-

STALINISTS PREPARE THE SPLIT

President Reinlib came to the convention with the official support of President Green of the A. F. of L. and Max Zaritsky, whom the A. F. of L. had named as its representative in the situation. It was clear INTIMATION seize the union and place it under Ford workers were to be made the membership just as soon as the facts their domination, were determined victims in the Board's campaign are known, was never realized. When to split it and establish a dual organ- against President Martin, came in the facts finally did become known to split it and establish a dual organization of their own. A few days before the convention, it is worth Daily Worker of January 9, the opening day of the emergency Board of numerous witnesses, the solutions of the Internal opening day of the emergency Board of numerous witnesses, the solutions of the Internal opening day of the emergency Board of numerous witnesses, the solutions of the Internal opening day of the emergency Board of numerous witnesses, the solutions of the control of the control opening day of the emergency Board of numerous witnesses, the solutions of the control opening day of the emergency Board of numerous witnesses, the solutions of the control opening day of the emergency Board of the control opening day of the emergency Board of the control opening day of the emergency Board of the control opening day of the emergency Board of the control opening day of the emergency Board opening day of the control opening day of the emergency Board opening day of the eme noting, the offices of the International were broken into and the books, papers and charter stolen, with what purpose may well be

The special convention that met at Jersey City represented about 10,000 of the 12,500 workers in the union. Local 1, New York, the Stalinist stronghold, with 1,800 members, was not there. At the same time that the convention was in session, the Wolinsky-Stalinist caucus' of the old General Executive Board met as the International, claiming to be the General Board, "expelled" Reinlib as president and the two Ladermans as vice-presidents. The split was consummated.

Meanwhile at Jersey City, the bona-fide International convention appointed a committee to investigate the charges made against Lubliner, Gevirtzman, Feldman and Wolinsky, the leaders of the Stalinist clique. These worthies refused to appear before this committee and so they were expelled from the union.

The convention received greetings from President Green of the A. F. of L. and was assured by Mr. Zaritsky, who addressed the delegates, that the A. F. of L. would back the union in its efforts to protect itself against the Stalinist splitters.

Five delegates, who had been sent in by the Stalinists as stooges, created a minor flurry when they walked out of the convention on February 11. Four of them represented a Bridgeport, Conn. local and the other a mirror-workers local in New York. The incident had no effect on the convention.

Samuel Reinlib was reelected president of the International and Samuel Laderman of Chicago secretarytreasurer. A General Executive Board of 23 was chosen. The convention dealt with a number of important industrial and organizational questions facing the union.

The striking resemblance to the United Automobile Workers situation in a field so totally different and so far removed, is obvious. In both cases, the policy of "rule-or-ruin." In both cases, unscrupulous manipulations for factional control, intrigues under cover of a "peace" pact, all leading to an open split and the establishment of a Stalinist dual union. That is the logic of Stalinism in the labor movement.

> **BOUND VOLUME** WORKERS AGE: 1938

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INDIA'S WOMEN SEEK FREEDOM



President Rani Laxmibai Rajawde of the All-India Women's Conference, held at Delhi, meets with other officials. The conference adopted a resolution demanding complete independence and separation from Great

union. They made an alliance with Ossip Wolinsky, a shady character who had once been thrown out of luggage firm while serving as a union officer; this Wolinsky the Stellinists dominating New York

"Ford-Martin Conspiracy" Charges Full of Contradictions

By GEORGE F. MILES

(This is the last of a series of three cy" frame-up.-Editor.)

S we study the newspaper clippings, the certainty grows that the anti-Martin International Board members must have realized clearly that the frame-up had exploded in their faces. In fact, it appears clear whole matter drop had it not sufthe membership at the hands of President Martin and his supporters as to make them grasp at even this broken reed. Factional struggle operates on its own logic. Caught! up in the meshes of their own frameup, the anti-Martin Board members are now forced to go thru to the bitter end, even tho it may damage the possibility of the organization of the Ford workers, even tho it may besmirch the good name of the union. Martin has got to be smeared! All else is of no conse-

THE FIRST

The first intimation that the opening day of the emergency B troit date line as of January 8 (Sunday), said in part:

"The urgent request for a Board neeting grew out of serious charges leveled here aginst Homer Martin, U.A.W. president, that he had privately entered into a companyunion agreement with the Ford to get off its high horse and meekly Motor Company."

With this story the Daily Worker scooped the press of the entire nation. But this raises a question.

or "company-union agreement" was made in this letter. The only conclusion possible is that this informarticles on the "Ford-Martin conspiral ation came from Stalinist sources, after caucus decisions to that effect. The Daily Worker itself seems to

have realized that it pulled a boner

for it was not heard from for an entire week, while other papers were running eight-column streamers. Flushed with contemplated vicory, the anti-Martin group of the International Board now pressed forward for a quick kill. Confidently

the Board stated in a release dated January 10: "This meeting was convened, as stated in the call, to hear a report from President Martin on the nature of his negotiations with Ford. . This Board is prepared to issue a full statement to the membership just as soon as all the facts are known.

The first striking fact is the continued failure to mention anything (even tho this was written two days after the Daily Worker dispatch) relating to a "company-union agree-

The second and most decisive fact to note is that the confident promise "to issue a full statement to the meeting. The story, carrying a De- called "conspiracy" had been blown sky-high.

After a week of frantic attempts at weaving a case out of thin air, the International Board was forced admit defeat by implication.

"Members of the International Executive Board," says its news release of January 18, "have gone over Where did the Daily Worker get its the Ford situation as reported by information? It could not have been | President Martin and are authorizing from the letter calling the Board and instructing him to proceed, with meeting, for, according to Martin the hope that the proper settlement sources, no mention of impeachment | will be brought about which will

Knitgoods Union Plans To Hold Elections

(Continued from Page 1) important problem, answered by

"Each of these bulletins," Nelson meetings of the progressive shop chairmen, numbering well over a hundred. A committee carefully goes over the documents in the case, which incidentally are available to every union member, and, when it is satisfied as to the truth, the bulletin is issued.

"So far we have issued two such bulletins, and a third is in preparation. To the facts we have here set forth, there have been no answers," Nelson emphasized.

PRES. DUBINSKY CONGRATULATES UNIÓN

These statements of fact, outlinng administration policy and its successes, included a letter of David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G. W.U. In this letter, addressed to Louis Nelson, President Dubinsky states: "The per-capita income from your local has increased by 25%. Considering the depressed conditions in the needle trades and the prevailing unemployment during the past year, it is to the credit of your local union that the records show an increase in per-capita."

Another leaflet emphasizes the work done by the union for its sick and needy members. In the two years since the inauguration of this fund, the union has spent a total of \$22,075.05 for 810 members, for doctors fees and for two beds in the Deborah Sanitorium for tubercular workers. All new members undergo a physical examination, on which \$3,853 has been spent. For these its members. It is on the basis of benefits, members of Local 155 pay

only 35c per month. The militant organizing efforts of the union have achieved the signing will reelect it by an overwhelming of contracts with 130 shops. So de- majority.

termined have the union members been in carrying on this work to strengthen their union that there has been an average of three knitexplained to me, "is prepared by the goods workers per week arrested for organizing activities.

"All this," Nelson told me, "has been in the face of the most adverse economic conditions, which only recently have begun to improve slightly. The introduction of new machines has been so rapid that technological unemployment has been difficult to keep up with." (Some machines, recently introduced, displace 21 workers!-and these are being further improved upon.) 'Our union has fought to increase wages, and in certain types of shops, to limit the machines.

Especially important is the question of home-work, for, as against twenty-five thousand factory workers, and ten thousand fabric shop workers, there are approximately 75,000 home-workers, who can perform some operations cheaper than by machine. They get three cents per hour! In many instances, the union has observed, child labor is in-

Nelson offered the following solution to the Wages and Hours Administration, which was stumped by this problem: "Permit the union to enforce the law; stop spending billions on armaments and spend the noney for a sufficient number of investigators and administrators; pass federal and state legislation abolish-

ing home-work and child labor." The progressive administration has been exceptionally vigorous in fighting for relief for its members, an acute problem in the three and a such activities, and plans for expanding them, that the union leadership is confident the membership

Speaking of "Company Unionism"

Detroit, Mich. According to a United Press dispatch of February 16 (published in the New York World Telegram of that date.-Editor), Guy Hack, president of the Reo local of the United Automobile Workers in Lansing, Mich., recently "persuaded" stockholders to make him a member of the board of directors of the concern. When union officials in Detroit objected and pointed out that it was rather odd for a man to be a company director and local-union president at one and the same time, Mr. Hack grew quite indignant. He expressed himself as thinking that it was a "fine idea" and should be followed everywhere in the in-

Who is this Mr. Hack who sees nothing wrong in a union official entering the service of the company? Who is he but the leader in the Lansing area Stalinist-dominated clique of splitters in the U.A. W.! It is this Mr. Hack and his union-wrecking friends who accuse Homer Martin, U.A.W. president. Lester Washburn regional director at Lansing, and other loyal union leaders of "company unionism"! Figure it out for yourself!

restore to hundreds of Ford workers the jobs to which they are entitled."

This statement, coming after a publicity bombardment against President Martin as a "Bennett agent," as the moving spirit in the "conspiracy" with Ford, proved conclusively that the Board had no case whatever and it was so interpreted by the press. "U.A.W. Backs Ford Parleys By

Martin," reads the caption in the its lead paragraphs run as follows: President Homer Martin today by

okaying Martin's negotiations with the Ford Motor Company. "It was the charge that Martin Ford's that brought the Board to continued widespread purges of

to remove him as president." the Detroit News of January 18, Archie W. Robinson, who usually emphasizes the anti-Martin angle, wrote: "A surprise endorsement of Homer Martin's negotiations with the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) executive board, was predicted today. . . .

The same "surprise" was regis tered by the New York Times, the New York Herald-Tribune and other papers which had dipped into the blood-and-thunder conspiracy stories of Martin's opponents.

But this "surprise" was as nothing compared to the "surprise" which followed several days later when the International Board snapped right back to its original slanders without a word of explanation and without providing the promised "facts." In an appeal for an injunction, the courts were asked to restrain Homer Martin from collusion with Harry Bennett in a "conspira-

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Bridges On Way Out, It Is Rumored

By J. S.

(7. S., whose interesting report we publish below, is in close touch with United Progressive Furriers.—Editor.) developments in the C.I.O.—Editor.)

Chicago, Ill. February 11, 1939

EPORTS concerning Communist Party relations with the C.I.O. indicate considerable friction. For instance: A short time ago a C.P. organizer on the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee in Kansas City wrote a letter to Morris Childs (a C.P. official.-Editor) saying that the union organization was doing well and suggesting that the CP. make an attempt to strengthen its position in it. The letter, in a S.W.O.C. envelope, was misaddressed and the post office, seeing the S.W.O.C. return address, delivered the letter to Van Bittner's office Bittner read it and called a meeting of the entire P.H W.O.C. staff, including those in cities other than Chicago. When the meeting began Bittner read it and then asked each organizer individually what he thought of an organizer who would ing fascist methods in time of elec- they were good followers of your write such a letter to an outside organization. Among those embarrassed was Henry Johnson, C.P. Negro vice-chairman of the organizing committee. Following this, Bittner expressed his opinion and concluded by firing the oganizer. He threatened similar action in any like case. This coincides with the reports of "purges" of Stalinists on the S.W.

O.C. staff in the East. Bittner has ordered his assistant, John Riffe, to begin the organization of W.P.A. workers in Illinois. Riffe, incidentally, has expressed the belief that, in the auto union, the Executive Board has the apparatus but one on the staff expressed regret that Martin has the membership. that Bridges was in such a position Not all the Lewis machine looks of authority in the C.I.O. apparatus. with equanimity on the Stalinist doings in the U.A.W

Bridges. In the Indianapolis office of removed in due time.

Report CIO-CP Alliance Strained Fur Progressives Press Fight

Indict Burocratic Leadership of Union

January 27, 1939

WE hereby acknowledge the receipt of your letter with the decision of the Grievance Board. We regret very much that you have rejected our proposal for an impartial committee of the labor movement to examine the charges and counter-charges and to let that committee pass judgment. Instead, you have chosen to appear as both accuser and judge. It is no wonder that we were found guilty before we were even heard. Your committee failed to listen to the serious charges we have repeatedly made against the administration of the union.

ACCUSATIONS AGAINST BUROCRACY

We accused the administration of squandering the union treasury. We ing the strike, you placed the most accused the administration of carry- inexperienced people in the leadering thru a dishonest election, of us- ship of the strike halls just because tions, of making a secret supple- political party line. You, as leaders mentary agreement with the bosses. We further accused them of and cries of "no money" and your strengthening the burocracy by rais- threats that benefits would stop. ing their own wages at a time when a great number of workers are actually starving. For years, we have

the C.I.O. there is a nephew of Philip Murray, Philip Curran by name. The latter is a young man and is being pushed up the ladder. He seems to enjoy the confidence of the C.I.O. leadership and it is that which makes this report of some significance. In the Indianapolis office, some Whereupon, Curran interjected a statement that there was nothing to

Another report concerns Harry worry about Bridges—he would be Chicago Typos Veto

New Agreement

Follows Action of New York Local "Big 6"

By CHARLES McDOWELL | vote of almost three to one. The New York City

defeated the proposed newspaper

cy" to convert the U.A.W. into a company union!

What happened during the intervening few days to cause so sudden reversal? Could it be that new nformation caused the revision of the decisions on the Ford negotiations? If so, what happened to this new information? Why was it not made public? The fact of the matter is that there was no new information. The Board returned to the discarded and discredited "conspiracy' case for want of a better weapon to use against President Martin. The latter had once again beaten the Detroit Times of January 18. And gun by exposing the factional manner in which the Board had pre-"The International Executive pared for the Cleveland convention. Board of the U.A.W. bowed again to Pointing to the refusal to set up committees representative of both sides, to the suspension of 140 pro-Martin locals prior to the convention to the per-capita tax deadline which was fostering a company union at | favored the Board majority, to the the present special session resolved | Martin supporters, to the stripping of his presidential powers, President Howard follower, won out by a small Similarly, in an early edition of Martin countered by suspending 15 Board members and issuing a call around the special assessment of the for a convention of the union on March 4 in Detroit.

It was in reply to this move that the suspended Board members re-Ford Motor Co. representatives by vived the "conspiracy" charge and dum was worded in such a manner not because of any validity of the charge itself. But the renewed synthetic hysteria, in view of the green light given President Martin in the Board's decision of January 18, is not easily explained. In fact, the efforts of George Addes, R. J. Thomas, Phil Murray and Sidney Hillman to explain these events are positively

Take, for example, the statement of George Addes in the New York Times of January 28, 1939. He says: 'It (the Board) recited the supposed facts as stated by Martin to the Board. It then told Martin it was his responsibility, since he had started this, secretly and without authority, (Continued on Page 4)

DINNER

65c

reason for this overwhelming defeat TWO weeks ago, the members of was that the new contract did not New York Local Six (Big 6), inclined a single one of the oblication of the property of the fur workers. While you kept on denouncing everyone who dared to ask a few more cents bencontract with the publishers by a ous unemployment situation. At the present time, members are taxed 1% of their monthly wages (about \$2.40), for a special unemploymentrelief fund. Members who do not work more than five days a month are entitled to unemployment relief of \$25.00 for the month. Now we learn that the Chicago local has similarly defeated its new proposed

> whelming majority. The decisiveness of the vote in both cities shows that the members of the union are determined to obtain a new wage-hour scale that will put some of the burden of providing for the unemployed union members where it belongs, on the newspaper publishers. The situation is complicated some-

contract, and by the same over-

what by an inner-union dispute between President Claude M. Baker and Secretary-Treasurer Woodruff Randolph. Baker defeated the late president, Charles P. Howard, in the last election, while Randolph, a margin. The fight has centered A. F. of L. to fight the C.I.O., which the I.T.U., in a special referendum of its members, refused to pay. Baker maintains that the referen-I that it was foredoomed to defeat and claims that the referendum taken was a true measure of the sentiment of the membership, and thus far has prevented any further action. The situation has not improved any, however, and many minor disputes have arisen, the latest of which may prevent publication of the Typographical Journal, monthly publication

of the union. The general opinion of the mempership in New York is that the two factions should end their dispute and pay more attention to the pressing union problems. This sentiment is reflected in an editorial in the Typo graphical Forum, an independent typographical semi-monthly publication. This editorial sums up the situation as follows: "Our brilliant officials may feel that they are helping their political fortunes by putting each other on the spot, while the union membership takes it on the chin, but we feel otherwise. The greatest part of our membership realizes that most of these technicalities are brought up at its own expense, and its temper, when the next election comes, may be such as to make Messrs. Baker and Randolph regret that they didn't bury the hatchet at the beginning of their administration, and they may have to look for jobs that won't be half so remunerative as the ones given to them in good faith by the member-

(We publish below a communica-| fought burocracy in our union. Certion recently addressed to the New tainly, it was not our aim to over-York Furriers Joint Council by the throw one set of burocrats in order to make room for more reaction and worse burocracy. But this is actually what is taking place in our union today.

Even under capitalist democracy, the accuser cannot act as the judge. But you disregarded all ethics; you felt that you could do as you pleased and, so without any justification, you handed down your decision. You want us to "confess" that we are strike-breakers and enemies of the union. This is your old game of libelling everyone that is against you as a strike-breaker and union-wrecker. You did this right after the last general strike and also during the last election campaign and you are repeating the same thing now.

Nobody takes you seriously any longer. The workers in our trade don't believe you. The people in the labor movement disregard you. Durof the workers, with your speeches made the workers lose faith in the ability of your leadership to win better conditions; if any one was guilty of strike-breaking activity, it was you, the leaders of the last general strike. In order to cover up your deeds, in order to confuse the issue you are now trying your utmost to build up a case against us. But, altho you rehearsed your acts, you don't dare put on the show. You handed down your decision to us in the dark, just as if this would be a matter between us and you only and as the this had nothing to do with the fur workers and the labor movement. Honestly speaking, why shouldn't people in the labor movement judge the crime that you have committed against the fur workers?

WHO DAMAGED

You collected three day's-wage taxes from over 12,000 fur workers, a sum that is far over \$300,000; you even put a special committee in charge of that money. Yet, before the strike was declared, two-thirds of the money was already gone and, when the strike was on, you starved the furriers out in the bargain, you borrowed another \$100,000, adding a still greater burden on the shoulders of the fur workers. While you efit as an enemy of the union paid out to your hand-picked hallcommittee men from \$9 to \$15 a week. To cover up all these squanderings, you are now trying to divert the attention of the fur workers from you to the opposition. You are pretending to be concerned about the constitution, but, if you really were, you would set an example of responsibility and democracy in the way you conduct the affairs of the

Your letter to us expresses "concern" that our group may be degenerating into an unprincipled clique that may become a tool of the bosses. You need shed no tears about that, as the history of our fight against you shows distinctly that it is precisely because of your classcollaboration policies, your burocratic methods and your disregard for the needs of the workers that we are fighting against you. So let there be no misunderstanding about

FIGHT TO CONTINUE

We were not tried and we were not found guilty. It was you who exposed yourselves as the party guilty of disruption and factionalsm. We, therefore, disregard the circus which you call a trial. You may be able to pull the wool over the eyes of your close followers, but you can never do that to the membership at large, nor for that matter wants a new referendum. Randolph | to the workers in the general labor movement. You are a burocratic machine which functions with the blessings of the Communist Party.

You may use your power against us but you will not weaken our morale. We consider the interests of the furriers stand above the petty politics and farcical charges you are carrying on against us. Stop playing around with charges!

Stop playing with the lives and misfortune of the thousands of fur workers, who are sick and tired of your dictatorial regime.

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Medical Progress Not for Masses

Scientific Knowledge Much Too Costly

By MEDICUS

THE American Medical Association, the staunchest supporter of private practise, boasts of the wonderful progress medicine has made in this country in the last forty to fifty years. But how are the masses of workers and poor farmers benefiting by this progress? Look at the record!

PROGRESS FOR WHOM?

With all the wonderful progress is twice as high as that of Sweden. How is it that we still have over ten million people suffering from syphilis in the U.S. A? How is it that 40,-000 people die of tuberculosis every year in America? How about the increased incidence of cancer and other diseases? How many tens of thousands of them would be alive today under a better system? But our hosanna-singers do not consider these facts worthwhile, because those who die from child-birth, tuberculosis and the like are mainly poor devils, wives and children of the poor workers and farmers. The rich have the means of taking care of themselves, so why bother about the

How can the masses benefit from the blessings of medicine under the sits in his office and worries—not present set-up? Consider only a few

There is a new drug, sulfanilannide, which can be used advantageously in a variety of cases, but, in order to get the full effect of it, the doctor must keep examining the blood for the concentration of the drug in the blood and also to prevent anemia which it may cause. But the general practitioner is not equipped to do this, so the patient must go to a laboratory and pay \$5, which he cannot and does not do. So the patient must be deprived of the

benefit of this drug. The same applies to a new drug, potassium thiocyanate, which has been used lately for high bloodpressure, the only drug worth while But again the same difficulty-the doctor must keep on examining the blood for cyanate concentration in order to properly adjust the dosage -and again the patient must be de-

prived of the benefits of this drug. The same applies to diabetic patients. Outside of surgery, the huge mass of American people benefit Minnesota and Wisconsin voted decivery little from medical progress be- sively to attend the Detroit convencause medicine as practised by the tion on March 4 called by President is so expensive that the ordinary worker can't even dream of it!

of socialized medicine could do for 2,139 votes respectively. This gave the great masses by way of curing, the Martin forces a minimum lead and what's more important, by way of nearly 800 votes over the top deof preventing disease!

THE DOCTOR UNDER THE SYSTEM

How will the medical profession benefit by socialized medicine and how will it serve the people? Let us first see the position of the doctor under the present set-up.

A very peculiar situation has been created under the chaotic system of rugged individualism. Between 70 and 80 thousand general practitioners are sitting in their little offices seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year, waiting for patients—but the patients do not come, not because they do not ail but because they have no money. This situation is exactly parallel to what is happening in other industries. Thousands of tailors are idling their days awaybut not because nobody needs clothes. On the contrary millions of workers need clothes badly. There is a market for clothing all right but the workers have no money with which to buy clothes. So thousands of tail-

ors remain idle. What a system! ical profession. One third of the will of the membership by court population gets no medical care at action. The decision of the Circuit all. Another third gets inadequate Court now makes it possible for the medical care. Millions of people all big Plymouth local to take its proper

ing pain and anguish. Millions are letting dangerous maladies such as tuberculosis cancer and heart disease develop from incipient and possibly curable stages to advanced stages where cure is impossible—and going to their graves prematurely. Still they do not come to our offices. Why? Because between them and us stands the almighty dollar! The barrier is the same as that between the idle tailor and the needy worker! So we 80,000 strong sit in our offices with itchy palms-and wait for Santa Claus. Meanwhile, the doctors of ours, our maternal mortality rate get stale and demoralized—because what's the use of studying? Nobody comes in anyway!

The financial condition of 90% of the 80,000 general practitioners is precarious. The Monthly Labor Review for November 1938, gives the average income of general practitioners for 1933 as \$2,615. This is bad enough. But the Wilbur Report (1931) gives the average for 1929, which was a banner year, as less than \$2,500. From this, you will have to deduct at least a 40% drop, which will be \$1,500 as the average income for 1933. When one considers the overhead that a doctor has, he can understand the plight of the doctor. The doctor eats borrowed bread! How conducive such a condition is to scientific work! The doctor about the cause and cure of cancer or any other scientific problem, not even about his auto which is falling apart (it would be preposterous to think of a new automobile), but about how to pay the electric bill. And, in his mind's eye, he sees himself in a system of socialized medicine (and why only medicine?), where the doctor will perform a real useful function and will have time enough to do research work and study. What wonders could really be achieved in medicine under such a

(This is the second of a series of articles by Medicus on socialized medicine and related problems.-Ed.)

Martin Urges CIO To Clean House

(Continued from Page 1) ing locals with a membership of about 40,000 in Northern Illinois,

general practitioner is largely ob- Martin. An important test of solete. Even an honest check-up, strength in Packard Local 190, Dea physical examination, cannot be troit, was won hands down last week made by the general practitioner be- by the supporters of President Marcause this must involve a complete tin. Edwin C. Linder, president of blood examination and sometimes the local union, received 2,499 out even an X-ray examination, and this of 3,839 cast for the three members of the plant bargaining committee His running mates, Carl Spickler Now, imagine what a real system and Larry Jacks, received 2,2000 and feated candidate. The O. & S. Bear-

ing Company division of the West-Side Local, Detroit, after receiving its own charter, voted unanimously in membership meeting to support Homer Martin and send its delegates to the Detroit convention.

Zola Kennedy, National Director of Women's Auxiliaries, reported that at a regular meeting of the District Council of all Detroit Auxiliaries a resolution "applauding President Homer Martin in his endeavors to restore to our union its autonomy and the free exercise of its rights to proceed in its work . . and wholeheartedly endorsing the

program of President Martin" was passed, while a resolution endorsing the dual-union group was defeated. An important victory for the Martin forces came also with decision

of the Circuit Court last week awarding them the property, funds and records of Plymouth Local 51, Detroit. This local voted overwhelmingly some time ago to oust its Stalinist officials and support the Martin administration. Thereupon, The same rules apply to the med- the Stalinists tried to frustrate the over our glorious land are suffer- place in the U.A.W.

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Farmers Without Land Spanish Militant Is

Capitalist Development Drives Millions from Soil

By LYMAN FRASER

THE tragedy of the share-croppers is one of the most acute expressions of the economic crisis of our age. It reveals itself most pitifully in the thousands of men, women and children, deprived of their living on cotton farms, wandering miserably over the highways while the police harry them and refuse them passage over state lines as if they came from a foreign country.

COTTON-FARM EMPLOYMENT PAST AND PRESENT

Employment of all types of labor on cotton farms was practically stationary from 1907 to 1927; increasing efficiency was offset by a corresponding increase in output of 20%. Hence, technological improvements produced no absolute displacement of labor.

After 1927, and especially since 1929, mechanization of cotton farming took an upward spurt. Efficiency and the productivity of labor increased by 20%, but, as output declined, the increase in efficiency was not offset and one out of every five workers was thrown out of work. Since 1936, the situation has become much worse: over 500,000 sharecropper families, upon whom the burden of mechanization falls, have been displaced on cotton farms in

The condition of these share-croppers is almost inconceivably hopeless. Some of them may become day laborers on the cotton farms which they formerly cropped, but their earnings must shrink. Those earnings were small while they were share-croppers—a yearly average of around \$300—but, as day laborers, they earn from 75c to \$1.00 a day up to 120 days a year, which yields earnings below \$120 yearly.

Nor is there any prospect of the downward trend of employment on cotton farms being reversed. On the contrary, the situation will become worse. Within the next five years, productive efficiency in cotton growing will be greatly increased by the introduction of the mechanical cotton-picker, which will cut the costs of picking cotton by nearly 90%, displacing, it is estimated, 500,000

vorkers during the picking season. necessarily deprive cotton-farm of subsistence levels. workers of their jobs, providing output was increasing. But output is EMPLOYMENT SITUATION decreasing because of the contraction of national and international markets for cotton.

National markets for cotton are contracting because of the economic crisis and the smaller purchasing power of the people.

International markets for American cotton are contracting because the world supply of cotton other than American has been increasing for seventy years. Once the United States had a monopoly of cotton; which grow cotton. And world demand for cotton, moreover, is not increasing, due to the world economic crisis. Even if that world demand grows, it will not open foreign markets to American cotton, because of the competition of scores of other cotton-growing countries.

PROSPECT OF ABSOLUTE DISPLACEMENT

Under these conditions of increasng mechanization and efficiency and decreasing demand and output, the prospect is one of absolute displacenent of labor on the cotton farms.

But, while most acute in cotton growing, the displacement of labor affects the whole of American agriculture, an expression of its permanent condition of crisis.

Up to the year 1910, there was a steady increase of employment in American agriculture. All thru the nineteenth century, especially after the Civil War, American agricultural employment increased despite the tremendous increase in mechanization and efficiency. Because of the expansion of national and international markets for American agricultural products, especially cotton and wheat, the increase in output was greater than the increase in the productivity of labor, and employ_ ment grew. By 1910, the number of farmers and farm laborer in American agriculture was five times as

But since 1910, the productivity of labor in American agriculture has grown much more than output, and employment has moved downward. Consider these significant figures:

EMPLOYMENT IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE (Farmers and Laborers)

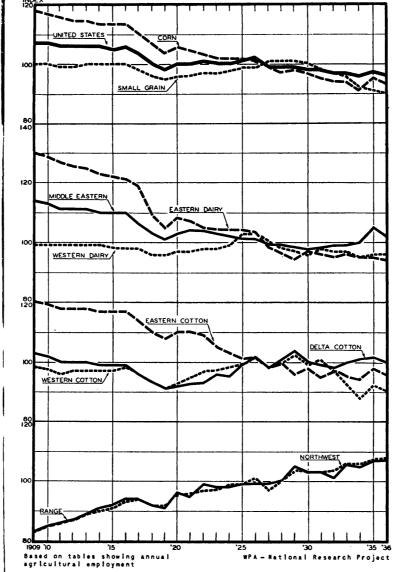
1910		12,200,00
1929		11,290,00
1936		10,995,00
All	thru those years, an	d especial
ly in	the pre-depression	years, th
	t of American agric	
stead	ily rising. But the ri	se was no

enough to offset the rise in the productivity of labor, which was much greater, resulting in a substantial decrease of workers-nearly one out of ten workers being thrown off the farms.

Most significant is the drop in agricultural employment during the depression years. The number of farms in 1936 was 500,000 greater than six years earlier, yet the total number of people engaged in agricultural work moved considerably downward. That increase in the number of farms represents a form of "disguised unemployment," since the farms were started by workers who had lost their jobs in industrial

DECREASE OF EMPLOYMENT IN AGRICULTURE 1909-36

(1924-29=100)



centers and had moved back to the land, settling on abandoned farms or others of poor acreage. They Mechanization in itself would not scarcely make a living on the lowest

IN AGRICULTURE

The employment situation in American agriculture is thus summarized in a study issued by the National Research Project of W.P. A., "Trends in Employment in

today, there are scores of countries third. The rise was especially rapid book. It provides an excellent summethods to the greatest degree . . . Altho changes in amount of agricultural employment have differed between areas, the general trend for the country as a whole has been clearly downward since 1909. This 1914. contraction has been attributable to increased mechanization and changes in methods which enable the farm worker to handle a larger farm ennot reached its end by any means,

> employment.' That emphasis on mechanization and increasing productivity as the causes of the downward trend of agricultural employment is true as far as it goes. But it does not go far enough and it is not the whole creasing along with increasing productivity. Why is that condition put that is the decisive factor. now reversed? Because a new element, expressing the general de-

in the general downward trend of

"State of American Civilization"

Feb. 24. - Benjamin Stolberg Figures and Figureheads of the Labor Movement.

March 3.-Nathaniel M. Minkoff (Leader of the American Labor Party delegation in the 1938 Assembly): American Labor and Politics. March 10.-William Phillips (Editor, Partisan Review); Left Literature in America.

March 17.—Ludwig Lore (Columnist New York Post): American Foreign Policy.

March 24.—Horace Coon ("Mone To Burn"): Influence of Foundations on American Cultural Life. March 31.—Will Herberg (Editor

Governmental Structure. April 7.—Bertram D. Wolfe ("Portrai of America"): Whither America? Fridays at 8:15. Admission 25c

Workers Age): Trends in American

INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE 131 W. 33rd Street

Books of the Age

by Jim Cork

AFRICA AND WORLD PEACE, remember all the notorious examples by George Padmore. Secker and of violence, perfidy, implacable ego-Warburg, Ltd., London. 1937. Warburg, Ltd., London. 1937.

COMPLETE understanding of A., "Trends in Employment in Agriculture, 1909-36," issued last A COMPLETE understanding of to exhaust them, arming the nations must immediately start a treatment between the major imperialist powers | in the name of their independence, 'The size of the enterprise taken lis care of by the average person en- of the place Africa has held in their gaged in agriculture increased by calculations. It is this valuable piece 23% from 1909 to 1929. . . . The of work that Padmore accomplishes output per person increased over a in this short but compact and meaty during the war period, when em- mary of imperialist diplomacy ployment fell off and total produc- around the African "question"—the tion increased. The increase in whole cynical record of intrigue, production per worker was greatest treachery and double-cross, the norn the areas which mechanized their | mal state of diplomatic relations between the imperialist bandits, with Africa as the stakes. It indicates tion in the world which has not been clearly how rivalry for African possessions played its great part in | lence, your greed, your perfidy, your bringing about the World War of

The particularly perfidious role of England occupies the center of the stage in the story. Here, as elsewhere, England proved to be the terprise and to produce more each main buttress of world reaction. I decade than in the decade before. would remember this book for as .. The increase in productivity has scathing an indictment of England as I have ever seen penned (quoted and the figures presented in this by Padmore from a French journal report have not indicated any change ist), yet no exaggeration:

"John Bull-the traditional principle of your policy, the sole motive of your conduct, the doctrine professed at all times by your publicists and orators and practised at all times by your statesmen, is your exclusive interests! It is impossible to

picture. For, in the past, employ- cline of capitalism, has made its ap. ment in agriculture kept on in-pearance—the contraction of agriculture. It is this contraction of out TECHNOLOGY

AND EMPLOYMENT The relation of technology to em-

ployment may be thus briefly stated: If increasing technological efficiency and higher productivity of labor are accompanied by a still greater increase in output, the displacement of labor is only relative ("Story of the C. I. O."): not absolute, and employment rises along with rising productivity.

But, if increasing technological efficiency and higher productivity of labor are accompanied by stationary or declining output (or if the increase in output is smaller than the increase in productivity), then the displacement of labor becomes absolute, and employment moves downward as productivity moves upward Output in agriculture is not in-

reasing or increasing insufficiently to offset the upward movement of mechanization and efficiency; hence the increasingly tragic problem of unemployment. Agriculture is contracting, and improved technology and mechanization within that contraction necessarily mean unemployment But, in that respect, agriculture is not alone. Its condition is typical of industry too. For, in industry, there is contraction or insufficient expansion while technological effi-

ciency and productivity mount higher

and higher. Hence the problem of

permanent disemployment, which is

the most monstrous expression of

the decline of capitalism.

then abandoning them without pity. conquered peoples, you have never regarded them as anything but legitimate manifestations of your rights. You have always in all sincerity understood how to subordinate to the sacred deposit you call British interests. You treat humanity, justice, liberty, peace and war as business affairs. There is not a na-

British honor. . . . !'

A very valuable part of Padmore's vestern powers. Ethiopia has always

the victim of your pride, your vio-

This or any other book reviewed in these columns may be purchased at the Workers Age Bookshop, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

oeen regarded as a pawn in their imperialist ambitions. England, France, Germany and Italy have dickered around with and against each other in every possible combination-and all against Ethiopia. England's moral outburst against Italy's rape of Ethiopia is especially hypocritical in view of the fact that on a number of occasions England and Italy together had a secret agreement between them for the partition of Ethiopia.

Today, with the provocative foreign policy of the fascist countries, the colonial question is coming again to the fore. Africa will again become, indeed it is already, a focal point for the sharpening of imperialist antagonisms. The similarity to 1914 is startling. The camps are beginning to form, the nations are arming to the teeth-for again the problem of "redistribution" of the colonial empire is on the order of the day. There is no possibility of peacefully achieving this "redistribution." The dissatisfied powers can only hope to find satisfaction by plunging

George Kopp Reveals His Experiences (George Kopp, is a militant Belgian | bish. There was an appendix to socialist, one of the first to answer the blacken poor Bob Smillie and justify call and go to Spain to fight in the his fate. Should I refuse to sign this Loyalist militia, where he made a splen- statement and join the Communist did record, Because of his opposition to Party, I was told I should be shot

Of course, I refused. The same

night I managed to get hold of the

official papers relative to Marc Rein

Tortured by GPU

Stalinism, he was arrested and impris- the next day.

Toulouse, France

December 14, 1938

oned. The following paragraphs are

from a letter of his to the British In-

dependent Labor Party. When a loyal,

devoted anti-fascist such as Kopp could

be treated in this way with impunity

by the Stalinist G.P.U. operating in the

name of the Spanish government, is it

any wonder that demoralization and

apathy should have spread among the

masses and the armed forces in Loyal-

freed last Wednesday, December 7,

due to action taken by the Belgian

Embassy in Spain. I understand

that the Embassy was prompted to

Hell it has actually been and I

emerge from it with my spirit intact

but with ruined health. I suffer from

acute scurvy, have been bitten by

rats and have had blood-poisoning.

I was never properly treated by a

doctor because the authorities had

forbidden that medicines be given

me from the prison chemist's or

sent to me from outside; whatever

I got in the parcels the P.O.U.M.

sent me was taken away from me.

To make a long story short, every-

thing was done to have me die,

short of actually killing me. I owe

that to my resistance to Stalinism.

They wanted me to "confirm" a lot

of libels and lies about the P.O.U.M.

and the I.L.P., both being depicted

to me as "fascist organizations,'

Fenner Brockway a "Gestapo agent,"

etc. "Evidence" was produced, but

of course it has not been very diffi-

cult to establish that it was all rub-

history is sullied. Disturbing nations,

act by the Belgian Socialist Party.

ist Spain?-Editor.)

and Bob Smillie from the offices of the Cheka building in which cellar I was held, and I had them all sent out to France before 9 a.m. I let the commissars believe that, should anything happen to me, these papers would immediately be published, but if nothing is done to me, they would wait. It worked and saved my life. I was brought a few days afterwards to another rat-infested cellar where A FTER 17 months and 17 days of imprisonment in various Stalin- my arrival and got erysipelas and my arrival and got erysipelas and ist jails in Spain, I was eventually blood-poisoning. After having made me see a doctor, they left me for twelve days without any food or drink, putting a sign on my door to the effect that entrance in my cell was perilous because of a highly contagious disease. The director of the jail entered my cell every day, kicked me in the ribs and told me that I would surely die in the night. After that, they started on a more refined way of killing me. First, I was put on a diet composed of 4 ounces of bread and 3 ounces of beans a day; and that lasted for 3 months; no parcels were admitted for me. Then they cut out the bread and, at the same time, reduced the beans or peas or lentils to two, and eventually to one ounce a day; and that lasted for five months, during all of which I remained in dark places without ever seeing the sun. Then, they suddenly brought me to a working camp, gave me a lot of work, of sun and air, 10 ounces of bread, 2 ounces of beans and nothing else a day. Of course, I got an attack of acute scurvy; my body was

covered with ulcers and my pulse fell as low as 28 to the minute. They brought me to the infirmary on board the prison ship Uruguay, where they kept air, sun and bread out of the regime, put a lot of humidity and lice in it, my bunk being in a hold several feet below water level. Barcelona's port was heavily air-raided several times a day and the ship hit seven times with more than 20 casualties.

My legs are still very bad, still full of ulcers and swollen, and I can only walk with help of a cane. I saw a doctor as soon as I landed here this morning and he finds I with ultra-violet rays, baths and several other items included. He crushing, expropriating, decimating thinks my lungs have been affected, too, but wants me to see a specialist and have an X-ray photo made to confirm his impression

GEORGE KOPP

the principles of morality and right the world into another blood-bath. In meeting this challenge, Padmore restates for the working class the communist position on war: no support to the bourgeoisie; for a revolutionary struggle against war; for support of the colonial masses against imperialism; mobilization for the overthrow of capitalism. He has a scathing and just indictment exposition related the history of the of the betrayal of the colonial masses relations between Ethiopia and the by the Communist International and its Popular Front line: "There has been a complete betrayal of the fundamental principles of revolutionary internationalism. But how can it be otherwise when the blacks are expected again to defend bourgeois democracy, which brutally exploits them in peace and destroys them in

> The issue today, he maintains, is not one between bourgeois democracy and fascism but socialism and capitalism. "At this decisive moment," he concludes, "when humanity stands at the cross-roads of history, all that we can do is to choose our side and stand firm to our principles: socialism or fascism, for progress or barbarism.'

Full Synopsis - Outline of the course on "DEMOCRACY, FASCISM, SOVIETISM" by Will Herberg 24 pages —— 25 cents INDEPENDENT LABOR

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WILL HERBERG, Editor

Editorial Board: Lyman Fraser, Jay Lovestone, M. S. Mautner, George F. Miles, Bertram D. Wolfe, Charles S. Zimmerman.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1939.

THANK YOU. MRS. ROOSEVELT!

NO one can possibly doubt Mrs. Roosevelt's outspoken sincerity or her loyalty to her convictions. All the more significant, therefore, are the words she uttered recently in an address before the conference on the Cause and Cure of War at Washington. Said Mrs. Roosevelt, discussing problems of foreign policy: "I think we ought to urge upon our own people a strict examination of themselves. . . . I wonder whether we have decided to hide behind neutrality? It is safe, perhaps, but I am not sure that it is always right to be safe."

These words are revealing and we would advise every one concerned with the future of the American people to ponder them carefully. What do they mean?

For years, the apostles of "collective security" and of "revision" of the Neutrality Act so as to give the President greater discretionary power, have insisted that their policy constituted the real road to peace, while it was the attitude of the so-called "isolationists" that was really multiplying the chances of war. And we, on our part, have constantly stressed that this line of argument was thoroly deceptive that what the champions of "collective security" were driving for, whether they knew it or not, was not to save America from war but rather to involve it in another world conflict. And now Mrs. Roosevelt confirms our contention fully and completely. For Mrs. Roosevelt frankly concedes that the neutrality policy may be "safe"—that is, it may, perhaps, help keep us out of war. But for her that is not the decisive consideration at all: she is not sure, she tells us, if "it is always right to be safe." Mrs. Roosevelt is against the present Neutrality Act precisely because it hampers the Administration in launching another January 1919, Karl Liebknecht's hisgreat crusade to "make the world safe for democracy"—by war if | January 1515, Rutt Eleckheeth 5 hisnecessary. She favors the "collective-security" idea precisely be- ference in September 1915.—Editor.) cause it would facilitate such a crusade for the "right," for the sake of which she is ready to sacrifice the peace of America, if need Dear Comrades:

These are plain words and no doubt they express Mrs. Roosevelt's sincere conviction. But those of us who find it hard to believe that a capitalist, imperialist America can bring freedom to the world at the point of a bayonet, those of us who see the with you. mockery of Anglo-French imperialism as an ally in a holy war for "democracy," those of us who are convinced that American participation in a world war would necessarily be aggressive and predatory in character, those of us who cannot overlook the fact that thusiasm, a burning hope. our involvement in war would bring reaction and military dictatorship at home, must naturally see things in an entirely different those who have run away, on the delight. And so must the great masses of the American people who sertors, who have abandoned the don't want war under any pretext, no matter how high-sounding. We are against "collective security" and the "revision" of neutrality for essentially the reason Mrs. Roosevelt favors these other countries. measures. We have never regarded the neutrality policy either as a cure-all or as free from serious defects; but, if it is a "safe" policy, as Mrs. Roosevelt says it is, if it constitutes an obstacle, not given way one inch to imperial- letariat of the whole world, for its however limited, to the war drive of the Administration, then we to fight to the end, hesitating beare for it and against all attempts to undermine or devitalize it. to ngnt to the end, nesitating peare for it and against all attempts to undermine or devitalize it. fore no sacrifice—these can discuss For us and, despite all jingoistic propaganda, for the vast majority of the people of this country, keeping America out of war remains spire each other for new battles. You the paramount consideration.

We should be grateful for Mrs. Roosevelt's frank words. order in the ranks of those who have Quite unintentionally, of course, she has exposed the fraud that decided to fight to the end, who the apostles of "collective security" are trying to put over on the people. They pretend "collective security" means peace; Mrs. Roosevelt, who strongly favors it, makes it clear that it means war. And Mrs. Roosevelt should know.

G.O.P. AND WAR ISSUES

THE traditional anti-war sentiment of the vast majority of the main task is to draw the correspond-American people, expressing itself in "isolationism," is today ing tactical conclusions. And defibeing exploited for war purposes by the Republican party. This is as certain as that Roosevelt is exploiting their anti-fascist sen timents for the same ends.

Especially in the Senate, where a great to-do has been made over the secret war alliance with England and France consummated by the President, do the old-line leaders of the G.O.P. pursue their wily imperialist game. This is not true, of course, of the group around Senator Nye who reflect, with more or less sin- war must be waged. Only in close cerity and consistency, the anti-war character of "isolationism." It is the loyal machine-men of the G.O.P. who seek to utilize the the various countries, only by helping thoroly justified sense of outrage of the masses at this latest example of secret imperialist diplomacy for their own brand of imperialist politics.

In a fundamental sense, what the G.O.P. objects to is not that President Roosevelt is committing the country to a pro-war policy in company with reactionary British imperialism. No loud outcry is being raised by it against the billions proposed for armaments. What the G.O.P. does object to is the particular brand of imperialism and war-mongering that is Roosevelt's. The Republican party is primarily giving voice to those sections of the cap- oil in northern China. Should oil be italists who fear that, in any alliance with England, they are found, a company will be formed likely to be cheated out of their share of the booty, or whose own allowing Chinese to invest as long interests are in such direct conflict with England (in South Amer- as Standard Oil maintains the conica or the Far East) that they must consider an alliance with England merely a diplomatic way of forcing their lamb-like selves to lie down with the lion. They want an "independent" imperialist and similar epithets are hurled at policy for the United States-but an imperialist policy never- the French cabinet in the Chamber

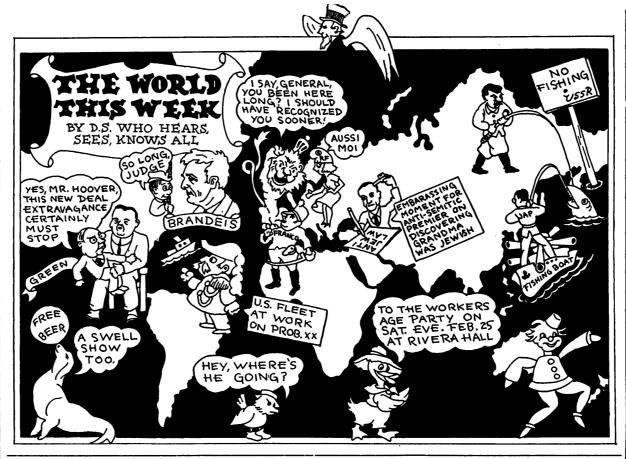
Thus their main contribution in the struggle over expanding the naval defenses of the United States in the Pacific, lies in their of 717,415 men in the French army, suggestion that Hawaii not Guam be the first line of defense in 194,052 were sick in barrack rooms, these waters. Nor would these gentlemen be at all offended if Japan whipped China and upset British interests there.

With this kind of "opposition" to the Administration's war 280 had died. Premier Doumergue policies the labor movement and the vast masses of the American admitted that the baracks were overpeople can have no truck. To effectively defeat the aggressive imperialism of the Democratic party, we need anti-imperialism, not merely a poorly disguised brand of the self-same profit-seeking and war-mongering policy.

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

THE New York Times of February 14 reports that "of the cuted by the police. ■ 150,000 soldiers and civilians checked thru since the refugee invasion [from Catalonia] began, 53,500 soldiers have opted for the territory of Generalissimo Francisco Franco." In other words, the bulk of the Loyalist soldiers on French soil have chosen to go back to Spain and throw in their lot with Franco and his fascist mittee investigating labor troubles. regime. How can this astonishing reversal of loyalties on so vast a scale be explained?

It is the natural and inevitable result of the policies followed Oil reports. About \$10,000,000 is to by the Negrin regime under Stalinist influence and domination. be spent in drilling operations. In The whole policy of this government has been to quench the revolutionary spirit of the masses, to undermine and destroy the great achievements of the early months of the civil war, to persecute and suppress the best and most devoted fighters in the antifascist camp. What else was to be expected but disillusionment, apathy and worse? When the Loyalist government took the fateful step of using its armed force to suppress a mass movement of the Barcelona workers in May 1937, it went a long way in pre-



Liebknecht's Letter To Zimmerwald

"A New International on Ruins of Old!"

NO. 9

Forgive me for writing in haste. am a prisoner in the paws of the you, but with my whole heart, my whole mind, my whole being, I am

Two serious tasks confront you. The first is imposed on you by stern duty. The second, by a sacred en-

Judgment, merciless judgment on standard of the International in Germany, England, France and

But those who have remained with each other, encourage and inwill be able to establish complete

It is necessary to formulate briefly our attitude to the world war as one of the manifestations of capitalism. I say "briefly" because I hope that on this we are all of one mind, and must be all of one mind. The nitely to the end-for all countries.

Not civil peace, but civil war! International proletarian solidarity against pseudo-national, pseudo-patriotic "class harmony"! Internation al class war for peace, for the socialist revolution! It is necessary to dis cuss in detail how precisely this collaboration, only by joint work in

25 YEARS AGO

EB. 13, 1914.—The Standard Oil Corporation has reached an agreement with China to explore for trolling interest.

Feb. 13.-"Assassins of our sons' as Deputy Edouard Louchard reports on his interpellation of the Ministry of War. He states that out 44,190 sick in barrack infirmaries, 21,570 sick in station hopistals, and

Feb. 14.—German socialists refuse to vote on the appropriation for the that the Board might know what Olympics scheduled to be held in was being planned and might inter-Germany in 1916 on the ground that workers sport organizations are ex cluded from representation on the Olympic committee and are perse-

Feb. 14.-Mine owners are con tributing 1c a ton to guard their property against strikes, owners testify before the House sub-com-

Feb. 14.-Oil deposits abound in North China, according to Standard stead of the \$15,000,000 loan re quested by China, Standard Oil offers 371/2 % of the stock in new company and the right to purchase more stock to the extent of 71/2%, Standard Oil always to maintain 55%.

Feb. 15.-It is rumored that Villa

(We publish below, as a commemo- each other to strengthen the fight, rative article on the occasion of the can we develop all our forces and twentieth anniversary of his death in achieve the maximum possible results.

The perspectives and the hopes of our friends in each country depend on our friends in other countries. French socialist comrades and Ger man socialist comrades, your fates are particularly bound together! My militarists. I am not able to come to French socialist friends, I warn you not to succumb not only to the phrase about national unity-you are secure against this-but also the equally dangerous phrase about party unity!

Your whole protest against this "unity," every declaration you make against the semi-official policy, every fearless statement of yours on the class war and on solidarity with us, every affirmation of your will to proletarian peace-all this strengthens our fighting spirit, increases our forces tenfold, helps us to fight here for these same aims, in Germanyfaithful to our standard, who have to fight in the interests of the propolitical liberation, for its liberation from the fetters of capitalism, from the fetters of Czarism, Kaiserism, Junkerism and militarism-for militarism too is international. By these means you help us to fight more successfully in Germany for the political and social liberation of the German people, against the omnipotence and greed of the German without conquest or violence, for a peace which will restore freedom and independence to unhappy Belgium and will return to France people who are French.

My brothers of France! We know September 2, 1915.

All for the Empire!

dark picture of the British Empire was painted for members of the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees by ranking American ambassadors. Some members said privately that they received impression that this country's ambassadors were selling the idea that the United States should use its power to bulwark the Empire of Britain in a time of stress." -United States News, Jan. 16,

the special difficulties of your posi tion and we grieve with you, as with the oppressed and crucified mass of other nations. Your misfortunes are our misfortunes. And we know our affliction is also your affliction. Look on our fight as your own. Help us, and we will promise to help you.

A new International will rise on the ruins of the old. But it can only be raised on a new foundation. Friends, socialists of all countries! It is your destiny to lay the first stone of this foundation. Be implacable when you come to judge the false socialists. Mercilessly chastise the opportunists and waverers of all countries, including Germany. The greatness of your purpose will raise you above all the littleness of the present, above all the ugliness of these days of horror.

Long live the coming peace of the peoples! Long live anti-militarism! Long live international revolumperialists, for an early peace tionary socialism, the liberator of all peoples!

Proletarians of all lands, unite anew!

KARL LIEBKNECHT

Frame-Up Against Martin **Proves Boomerang**

(Continued from Page 2) to go ahead and get an agreement on the terms he reported."

The last phrase in the quotation constitutes an indictment not of President Martin but of the suspended Board members. What does it mean to get an agreement "ON THE TERMS HE REPORTED"? It means that the terms he reported, far from constituting a "companyunion conspiracy," really offered an acceptable basis for a contract, acceptable to the anti-Martin Board majority.

The phrases about "his (Martin's) responsibility, since he started this," are thoroly inconsistent with the decision of January 18 "AUTHORIZ-ING AND INSTRUCTING HIM TO PROCEED." With this decision, responsibility for any ensuing contract

was the Board's and not Martin's. What becomes of the "conspiracy" in the light of the authorization and instruction to proceed "on the terms he (Martin) reported"? Mr. Addes has pushed over his own house of cards.

Nor does Mr. Thomas improve matters with his statement in the New York Times of January 27, 1939. According to him, the Board "had merely advised him (Martin) to continue them (negotiations) so vene if it disapproved.'

A PECULIAR "CONSPIRACY"

That the Board did more than 'merely advise" Martin "to continue" negotiations is clear from Mr. Addes's statement above. But even Mr. Thomas's statement indicates the peculiar "conspiracy" this must have been in which a wide-awake and THE FRAME-UP alert International Board, thoroly aroused against Mr. Martin, nevertheless took the responsibility for chief conspirator to proceed with his

Furthermore, if the Board authorized him to proceed "on the terms ticipation in this repulsive affair. he reported" so that "it might in- | The monstrous character of this tervene if it disapproved," then it frame-up will not be appreciated for is as clear as the English language some time. As the present struggle is on the point of breaking with can possibly make it that the Board recedes into history, the full impli-Caranza. British marines and ma- | did not intervene because it did not | cations of this dastardly affair will to "guard" the British consulate. | Again, the Board's conniving is ex- | its perpetrators and abettors.

posed by the statement of its "acting president."

'The finishing touch to this com edy of errors is provided in the joint statement issued over the signatures of Phil Murray and Sidney Hillman: "He (Martin) requested the right to continue his talks with Ford. That right was granted, circumscribed only by the stipulation that he was not to reach an agreement that betrayed the Ford workers."

January 18 "authorizing and instructing" Martin to proceed with negotiations "ON THE TERMS HE REPORTED," as Addes put it. In addition, it must be noted that the "stipulation" warning against a betrayal of the Ford workers appears only in the statement of Messrs. Murray and Hillman. Is it not strange that Addes and Thomas, directly involved in the leadership of the fight against President Martin, should say nothing at all about it?

Now, there is one more interesting angle to the above quotation, on which Messrs Hillman and Murray might shed some additional light. Is it a matter of ordinary routine in C.I. O. or in S.W.O.C., or in T.W.O.C.,, to instruct negotiators that they must not sign agreements that betray the workers? Obviously not! The Murray-Hillman statement was written with the intention of prejudicing Mr. Martin's case and lending the prestige of Hillman and Murray to the thoroly fraudulent "conspiracy"

LOGIC OF

Such is the logic of the development of the "conspiracy" issue that it has now dragged into the dirt 'authorizing and instructing" the not only the anti-Martin faction but also outstanding leaders of the C.I.O. None of them stand to gain in stature or prestige for their par-

Talking It Over:

Browder in Blunderland

= by Bertram D. Wolfe =

IN Havana Harbor, one of the most beautiful harbors in the world, the most impressive sight is Morro Castle. There the former Spanish rulers incarcerated Cuban revolutionaries struggling for freedom. There the bloody butcher Machado buried in underground dungeons below high-tide level lovers of liberty who saw the sunlight no more. There, fear-ridden natives will tell you, the present despotic dictator of Cuba, Colonel Batista, had working-class leaders lowered from the sub-sea dungeon cells into waters infested by sharks so that not even their bodies were found. But Batista has made a deal with the American ruling class pledging his support in coming war, and has made a trip to Washington, followed by a trip to Mexico to try to line up that country for a military alliance. Hence the Communist Party of Cuba, some of whose best leaders have died at his hands, hails him today as a champion of freedom and democracy. It's enough to make the very sharks laugh and give up

BATISTA IN MEXICO

IN Mexico, the Communist Party and the Confederation of Mexican Workers (C.T.M.) under the leadership of Lombardo Toledano, demonstrated when Dictator Batista visited their country-not against him, not to demand that he be driven out, but for him, as a hero! Two members of Young Cuba, a revolutionary organization fighting for his overthrow, pasted up stickers on Mexico's walls reciting his crimes against the Cuban masses. For this they were jailed by the government of "democratic" Mexico! All honor to Young Cuba for sticking to its guns, and shame, eternal shame, to the Mexican labor leaders and Stalinism for their part in this bloody farce!

"CURIOUSER AND CURIOUSER"

THE parties of the Communist International have abandoned even the pretense of decency as they whoop it up for war. The streamer headline across the top of the first page of the Daily Worker on February 6 read: "UNITY OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE ATTACKED BY WALL STREET-BROWDER."

If there is one thing that Wall Street desires more than anything else in the world, it is the unity of the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of the United States. That is finance capital's daily concern and nightly dream. To win it, Landon is willing to sink his differences with Roosevelt and share with Hull the tasks of a delegation to Lima. For this imperialist dream, the Republican party is ready to sink its rivalries with the Democrats, and the most captious of big business men are willing to boost the Administration. But Browder finds that the enemy of the consolidation of the American Empire is the ruler of the American Empire, Wall Street. Curiouser and curiouser! Words just don't mean the same thing to Alice Browder in Blunderland that they mean to any rational and honest human being.

The Earl of Blunderland made this remarkable discovery when he followed the White Rabbit into the weasel's hole to find where the weasel kept the strange supply of words that have made his verbiage famous thruout Christendom. There he found the famous Red King who was continually shouting "Off with his head" and suiting the action to the words; and many other wonders.

While running faster and faster to keep the working class in the same place, and he picked the most unpleasant place possible to put them in, Browder found time to take a trip to Mexico to tell a convention of the Mexican Stalinists, the wondrous thing which the Daily Worker blazoned in its streamer headline referred to. The speech was more fearsome and senseless than that of the Jabberwocky. We quote only one other wonder from Browder in Blunderland.

Said Browder to the gaping Mexican Stalinites: "They, the reactionaries, try to set the trade unions against all other classes by involving them in many strike struggles which wear out the patience of those who suffer from them without direct participation!"

Honest, reader, that is quoted word for word from the Daily Worker of February 6! Not only is Wall Street opposed to a unified American Empire, but the reactionaries call and lead strikes and carry on the class struggle and are also opposed to class peace and unity at home! In the ultra-left days, to read the Daily Worker thru was like chewing on straw. Today, when it is full of such shameless and meaningless refuse, it is more like chewing on vomit

ABJECT SERVILITY

WHAT the Mexican Stalinists are like today we can gather from an editorial in the conservative Mexican daily, El Universal. In its issue of January 29, it told how the Mexican C.P. sent a delegation to General Avila Camacho, former Secretary of War, large landowner, brother of the Governor of Puebla against whom the C.T.M. has conducted three general strikes, and white hope of the army and reaction as candidate to succeed Cardenas. Only a year ago, the C.P. was calling Avila Camacho a fascist and demanding his removal from the Cabinet and the removal of his brother from the governorship of Puebla. But now it looks as if he will be president and Strong Man and so the Communist Party sent a humble delegation to come to terms with him, or rather, to offer him unconditional support. Here are the editorial musings of El Universal on the

"For the past three years at least, the official communists have been making constant and unconcealed efforts to make people note and appreciate their 100% conversion in politics at the orders of the Kremlin. There does not exist any group or sect that reproves with greater energy anything which would alarm the liberals politically, nor is it possible to find any political police corps that slanders, persecutes, and where it has the means, jails, tortures and kills its die-hard coreligionists. . . .

"The official communists have followed the same line in Mexico: they have made themselves part of the burocracy; they are the most prudent wing of the revolutionary party. The supreme pontiff of the sect, Mr. Again we must point to the fact | Laborde (Mexico's Browder.-B.D.W.) writes criticizing as inacceptable that this statement contradicts that the formula 'for a workers republic' which the P.R.M. (Cardenas party.of George Addes and is completely B.D.W.) adopted without thinking-so reads his criticism-that thereby at variance with the decision of they might alarm the liberal democrats.

"In the anti-war congress, they defended with warmth the imperialist democracies; at every opportunity, they dispatch congratulatory messages to the armies with which these same democracies win and keep their colonies....

"Lamentable fate of these tamed extremists. Like the wolf of the fable, they go from door to door wagging their tails and offering their tongues as they beg for a pat, but all they get is blows, mocks and kicks. The latest drubbing they got from the supporters of General Avila Camacho, a clubbing which, as is the way of this species, may provoke some howls, but not the rebellion which flamed anew in the dignified beast of

WOLL MAKES A MISTAKE

WHILE we are talking of Browdering in Blunderland, we must pay our respects to Matthew Woll. In his report on Latin America to the A. F. of L. Executive Council meeting in Miami on February 11, he succeeded in being, if that is possible, even more screwy that the Earl of

The C.R.O.M. is the dead and discredited Mexican trade-union movement, once subsidized and manipulated by Dictator Calles and headed by the corrupt and sybaritic Morones. Now Matthew Woll has discovered the unburied and still disintegrating corpse and proposes to resuscitate it by fair words in Miami, and pin the hopes of the A. F. of L. to it. "The C.T.M.," says Woll, "is entirely temporary in character and

lives solely because of the favors of the state." This is of course true, but the C.R.O.M. was also "temporary" and died a lingering death when Calles was ousted and it could no longer live by the "favors of the state." And the C.T.M. for all its defects is cleaner and more genuine than the C.R.O.M. in proportion as Cardenas is a more benevolent dictator than Calles and Lombardo a less blatantly corrupt man than Morones. (The former is morally corrupt; the latter was both morally and physically and personally so). The last disintegrating remnants of the C.R.O.M. have just split into further fragments in the effort of some of its leaders to climb on the Cardenas bandwagon. Morones had the effrontery to publish documents in his possession since 1923-5, showing that he knew these leaders were crooked and had robbed the funds of the unions and taken bribes from employers. He knew it since then-so did Lombardo Toledano who used to work with him!-but only publishes it now! Judge then what he knows about the handful who haven't broken with him! And what he knows about himself!

No, Mr. Woll, this will never do! In your zeal to get even with the C.I.O. because it hooked a fair-sized fish, you are tying your line to a paring its own defeat and in driving its own soldiers into the camp chine guns are sent from Vera Cruz disapprove of the negotiations. emerge even more boldly to plague dead and stinking skate. You can tell it to Miami, but you can't tell it to the workers in Mexico.