

# Labor Needs Unity

An Editorial

It is not without significance that, in recent months, a renewed note of concern over the division in labor's ranks and a renewed urge to unity have been noticeable in the labor press of this country and in labor circles generally. There is a deep feeling widespread that the time to do something about the situation is right now, before it is too late, before irreparable damage is done to the labor movement.

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

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

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

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

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## UAW Studies 'Peace' Plan

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

Detroit, Mich.  
September 12, 1938

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

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

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

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

Another indication of the temper

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immediately. Despite the deeper differences on organizational strategy and structure, there are many fields of economic and political struggle where some sort of agreement for united action can be reached between the A.F. of L., the C.I.O. and the independent railroad unions. Certainly a cessation of the demoralizing and destructive inner-union conflict can be arranged. What is needed is the will to unity and a realization of the overwhelming importance of the question at this moment.

## POUM In Danger!

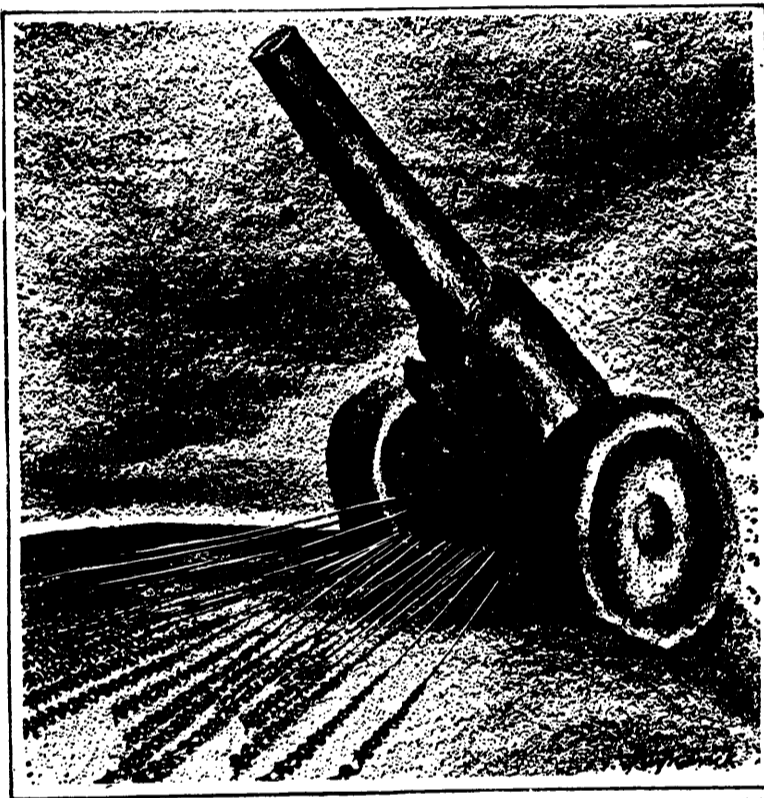
THE following cable has just been received from Paris:

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

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

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## THE MARCH OF CIVILIZATION



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

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

### Pact Provides For Closed Shop, 7-Hour Day

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

August 30, 1938  
Jenkins, Kentucky

AN historical agreement, ending one of the most dramatic struggles in labor annals, has been signed. After twenty years of warfare, Harlan County coal operators have entered into a contract with the United Mine Workers of America—an agreement that is a fitting memorial to the "Battle of Evarts" and to that vast army of valiant and self-sacrificing soldiers of labor, known and unknown, who gave their best energies, their blood and even their lives to bring unionism to Harlan County.

The contract signed with the Harlan County Coal Operators Association calls for a closed shop, a seven-hour day and a base pay of \$5.60 a day. It also provides for the union check-off in every mine and sets up machinery for arbitra-

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

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

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## British Aid Nazi Scheme

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

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

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

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

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

## Mr. Roosevelt's "Peace Policy"

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





# Stalinist Intrigues Exposed

## Farmers Union Head Makes Public Startling Document

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

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

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

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

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

The most important sections of this Stalinist document follow:

### THE DOCUMENT

A meeting was held last night at Commonwealth College of 20 faculty, maintenance and Administration workers who are party members. The total number of faculty, maintenance and administration workers at the college is 25. . . .

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

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

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

3. Since the reorganization, the school, in addition to unifying and strengthening its resident program,

has greatly developed its working relationship with the Southern labor and democratic movements.

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

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

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

### Taking The Conference

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Klement's Body Found in Paris

A headless body found in the Seine near Moulon, outside Paris was tentatively identified last week as that of Rudolf Klement, secretary of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

Klement disappeared July 13 and his colleagues, including Leon Trotsky, immediately expressed the fear that he had been kidnaped and killed by Stalinist G.P.U. agents.

The murder of Klement is one of a long series of brutal crimes committed by Stalinists all over the world against their political opponents. In Spain, where a G.P.U. murder gang is operating, Andres Nin, well-known P.O.U.M. leader; Carlo Berneri, an outstanding anarchist; Mark Rein, son of Raphael Abramovich, and many others, have been assassinated. In Switzerland, Ignaz Reiss, a veteran Russo-Polish communist who had broken with Stalin, was waylaid and killed just one year ago.

That such atrocities form part of the present "political" practise of Stalinism has been openly avowed by the Stalinists themselves.

As far back as April 25, 1938, the Freiheit, official Jewish paper of the Communist Party of the United States, published an article

threatening the life of Charles Rappaport, distinguished French Marxist scholar and other anti-Stalinists. "The power of the Cheka (G.P.U.—Editor.) is beyond imagination," this article proclaimed. "Perhaps even in Paris it will prove capable of giving its enemies a special 'dose'."

## Cardenas Rule

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distributed lands; 50 Yucatan townships were provided with sanitary water supplies; 1,020 new rural schools were founded, 75% of these in Indian districts; over 2,000 new plans were passed for buildings in the capital; 54,000 dwellings were provided with sanitary conveniences; and over 500,000 acres were distributed to the peasants of the Laguna district.

Simultaneously with these activities, Cardenas began to lay plans for the reconstruction of the political organization, the National Revolutionary Party, which he had inherited from Calles. This party, whose very name was a joke on the lips of the entire country, was neither a party, nor national, nor revolutionary—only a very con-

## Progress of Auto Union

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led the entire labor movement.

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

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

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

### The Twenty-Point Program

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

venient instrument for carrying out the wishes of Cardenas in the various sections of the country. It had to be reconstructed to fit more closely the program of Cardenas to rehabilitate it somewhat in the eyes of the masses and it had to be reorganized in preparation for the naming of the candidate for the next presidency.

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

(Continued from Page 1)

of the membership came from the Western Michigan organization under Regional Director Lester Washburn. During the course of the previous week, almost all locals in that region voted on the Lewis proposal and all rejected it without any exception. These were membership meetings not local executive boards. Included among the locals is the Lansing organization, with a membership of 12,000.

## Mr. Curran Rides The Tide

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Editor.)