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5 Cents a Copy

MURDERED BY STALINISM



Andres Nin, Leader of the POUM

TERROR AGAINST POUM REVEALED IN LETTER

letter from a leading member of the P.O.U.M. This letter was written, as can be seen, before word of Nin's murder had been received, and, in referring to his transfer from Madrid to Valencia and a fair trial, based on false information then being circulated. It is nevertheless a letter of profound importance in revealing, directly from the arena of the struggle, the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and all revolutionary working-class elements in Spain—Editor.

Dear Comrades.

I am going to inform you, briefly, of what has happened against the P.O.U.M. In short, it is a matter of a base and low manouver against the revolution and the proletariat, of which our Party is the symbol. Naturally, it is only the culmination of a process of defamation against us, which in a short time passed over into the realm of action and which, because of its rapidity, made all precautions that we had taken completely in-

During the first days of June, our Comrade Gorkin, as Editor of La Batalla, went to visit a minister of the government, in order to intervene on behalf of the reappearance of our daily, La Batalla, and to take up the case of Comrade Bob Smilley of the I.L.P. who was dying in jail of appendicitis without any medical attention. The Minister, an old comrade of Gorkin during their youth and fighting days in the S.P., told him as a friend, and in all frankness:

The C.P. has presented an intransigeant proposal in the Council of Ministers—La Batalla must ing held incommunicado.

(We publish below excerpts from a | not be published; no other P.O.U. M. paper must be substituted for it during its suppression; all P.O.U. M. publications must be suppressed thruout Spain; the P.O.U.M. must be crushed completely and at all costs; all its headquarters must be closed; all its militant cadres and responsible committees must be arrested and a trial is being plotted (Moscow style) against the Executive Committee (broadened, if necessary), accusing them of being spies and saboteurs and of being in the service of Franco, of Mussolini, of Hitler!!!! If the Government would not consent to this the C.P. would resign from the Government with all ensuing consequences-be what may the military situation of Spain! A base, low and vile proposal that clearly shows the morally political bank ruptcy of the Stalinist communists For this would be no more than criminal coercion, since the C.P. in this, is no more than the mouthpiece of the ex-Communist Inter national.

> A few days after this interview the "fun" began with the arrest of Andres Nin. That same night all the remaining members of the Executive Committee (except two) some with their wives and families, were also arrested; in no time at all (a matter of hours) they jailed the majority of the Local committee, hundreds of our leaders; they confiscated all our headquarters institutes, sanatoria, medical and clinical institutions, Red Aid, Marxist Editorial, etc. In a word, they tried to behead our movement in fact, right now a thousand of our leaders are in government jails, the most important ones be-

MURDER OF NIN BLOW AT **ANTI-FASCIST SPAIN**

Statement of I.C.L.L.

HE murder of Andres Nin, leader of the Spanish Revolution, and its party, the P.O.U.M., is a vicious blow struck at the Spanish and international working class, in the campaign of bourgeois-democratic reaction against the adherents of socialism, the working-class fighters against fascism. It is a blow intended to weaken the socialist struggle, to demoralize the revolutionary workers aspiring to overthrow. once and for all, the capitalist system, breeder of bloody fascism—a vile, counter-revolutionary act perpetrated by those who wish to suppress the workers in the name of capitalist democracy, the Stalinists.

The Independent Communist Labor League protests sharply the lynching of its brother party in Spain. It calls upon all working-class organizations and liberals to add their voice, crying out against this murder.

But above all it warns the international labor movement that the murder of Andres Nin is a tragic omen of a new degenerate stage in rela-

tionships among the various tendencies in the labor movement. It warns the international proletariat to be vigilant against the new road being taken by Stalinism, a path on which the

murder of Nin is but the first step! Just as previously the Comintern denounced workers who differed with its policies as "social-fascists," so now it denounces all who oppose its class-collaboration policies as "agents of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco." Stalinism is proceeding from the method of abominable slanders and lies against other working-class groups, to the method of physical extermination, internationally as well as in Soviet Rus-

The murder of Andres Nin, the suppression of the P.O.U.M., the wholesale arrest of its

leaders, the growing attacks on the C.N.T.-F.A.I., the new persecutions of the Left Socialists headed by Largo Caballero, these are the very essence of the policy of the People's Front, which seeks to maintain the tottering capitalist system by the suppression of the revolutionary working-class. The bourgeois elements in Spain, the right-wing socialists, and the Stalinists, prate about "democracy" while they erect a reactionary military dictatorship, exclude the voice of the trade unions from the councils of the war against fascism, delay the necessary offensives against Franco, while they devote their energies to assuring Anglo-French imperialism that capitalism will not die in Spain.

The official communists have chosen the road of the front with the bourgeoisie, with the international imperialists, against the front of the working-class, against the real anti-fascist front. They are the spearhead of the drive against the working-class in Spain, just as the German Social-Democracy was in the Revolution of 1918. To prevent the socialist proletariat from coming into power, no blood-letting, no methods of capitalist-police dictatorship, were too excessive for the Scheidemanns and Noskes. They murdered Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht! To preserve unity with the bourgeoisie in the form of the People's Front, to supplement certain false and suicidal aspects of Soviet foreign policy, no method is too severe for the Stalinists. They murdered Andres Nin!

In People's Front Spain "all opinion is permissable," says Azana. The fascists are not excluded according to this latest definition of the People's Front. But the opinion of the

(Continued on Page 4)

ICLL SENDS NEW PROTEST CABLE

The following cable of protest was sent to the Negrin Government by the I.C.L.L.: Premier Negrin Valencia (Spain)

August 13, 1937. We supporters Spanish struggle against fascism protest vigorously murder Nin violation government pledge guarantee regular procedure. Demand release imprisoned POUM and other working class leaders fighters against fascism. Demand united workers front.

> Independent Communist Labor League Jay Lovestone, Secretary

Andres Nin was transferred im mediately to Valencia and from there to Madrid-the entire Executive Committee to Valencia also. There were rumors (the Stalinists certainly had every intention of doing so) that our comrades would be summarily tried, without charges being preferred against them, and 'ipso facto." The National shot ' Committee of the C.N.T. intervened, asking that the Government safeguard the lives of Nin and the members of the Executive Committee to prevent a probable political assassination, which was being "mouthed" in an atmosphere of rejoicing by the Stalinists. Until to-

day, the most depressing rumors | tioned, our movement was paralyzhave been circulating concerning the fate of our leaders; today we hard work we succeeded in reorare more reassured. The Executive Committee is in the Valencia jail committees started to function. All and Comrade Nin, because of the our old active comrades were cominternational pressure which has been exerted upon the Government, has been rescued by the Minister of the Interior personally from the private jail of the C.P. in Madrid. and transferred to Valencia by the Government.

respect to the affairs of the P.O. you that in spite of everything, our U.M. (the great concern of Spain party is on the job, that those of today-what can be the cause of it? our revolutionary position!!!!) by the C.P. and the police, which is now under their control, and by the Government on the other hand. I received news today that the Minister of Justice, Senor Trujo has sent an official letter, in the name of the Government, to the lawver who is handling our affairs, telling and assuring us that the leaders of the P.O.U.M. will be tried in a normal and legal manner with all democratic privileges and the right of defense for the accused. This is what we want! From accused we will transform ourselves into accusers!! In this respect, who does not remember the trials of the true bolsheviks by the Czarist judges and jurists, which they utilized as means of revolutionary agitation!

Right after these actions on the part of the police that I have men-

ed for a while. With a few days of ganizing ourselves and the new pelled to live away from their homes, because the police tried to track them in their homes. All this created more difficulties in our work. Immediately the first manifestos were issued and last week appeared the first underground is-A duality of political behavior is being attributed to him, with respect to the efficience of the control of th our comrades who are not in jail are acting bravely and that our organization is going forward once more. I'm sure that our underground work will show our revolutionary integrity and will be a stimulus to the international revolutionary proletariat.

The anarchists have started to pay dearly for their policy of adaptation. The more advanced sections of the F.A.I. and the Libertarian Youth are feeling the shortage in the ranks of their cadres, due to the fact that their comrades are being jailed daily.

Now we have a problem of a different character here. Comrades who used to work in our offices and in our International sections, wish to proceed to Paris-those are the comrades deported by the Government (others are put in jail) and they come without means. Up till now, I did all I could but now all

(Continued on Page 4)

WORKERS AGE

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THE AUTO WORKERS CONVENTION

CELDOM has a convention of a single international union assumed such significance as does thanks to the conjunction of forces the forthcoming Milwaukee Convention of the United of the most right wing elements Automobile Workers of America.

Many factors enter into lending the sessions of the auto workers paramount import. None can deny the phenomenal organizational work of the union. The union has won a firm foothold in the automobile industry which is the axis of mechanized heavy in- have brought us to the present dustry in the United States. Vital significance is lamentable and dangerous situalso to be attached to this gathering because the ation. . . . United Automobile Workers of America is by far the most consolidated of the newer big C.I.O. unions. To-day, it is a stable, solid organization with immense prestige throughout the country. In many ways, the union has been a sort of laboratory in which there has been going on some very successful a Special Tribunal with ominous experiments involving complicated questions, meeting new issues, settling pressing problems, etc.

Altogether too much noise has been made about the issue of Communism and Communists in recent weeks. It is to be regretted that very much of this noise comes from the official C.P. itself. Here we must underscore very heavily the fact that one must, and other sections of Catalonia. In especially to-day, differentiate between the prin- a word: it unloosed a completely ciples and policies of the C.P. and Communism, and repressive machinery, without any between the Communist Party as such, and Commu- regard for the state of the war, or nists as such. Undoubtedly, there are many members in the C.P. who are, who want to be, who would like to be, or who think that they are genuine Communists. Without question, this is so despite the fact that to-day the principles and activities of the official C.P. in this country and in a number of other countries are not only far away from Marxism and it with the conditions as they were Leninism, but are even detrimental to the tenets of these founders and teachers of revolutionary set up, to see that they have not socialism. In every union there should be room for substituted anything to take the workers of every shade of political opinion. The place of what they have destroyed. trade union is the broadest working class organization. Once it begins to stifle freedom of political people? thought it resorts to self-choking.

When we stress the above we do not in the least mean to say that, because the union should and must allow freedom of political opinion to its membership, therefore union members who happen to have certain yielded to party politics, practicalpolitical opinions are immune from union responsibility and are not subject to union discipline. Let which is not the same as the us say, for instance, somebody happens to accept Communist ideas or thinks that he is a Communist, cerned with "eliminating the opthen, in his capacity as a member of the union he resorts to flagrant malpractice, to union disruption, to violation of the most elementary discipline of the union. When he is cal'ed to account, he yells "Red-drawn up a program for the war. baiting" and hypocritically cries he is being per- They threw out capable men from secuted because of his ideas and not because of of their positions of responsibility his disruptive conduct. Such crocodile tears must | solely because they disagreed polinever serve to soften or deter the course of action | tically with the groups who hapthe union should follow in treating the case of dis- pened to be in power. . . . And they

Under no circumstances should the slightest con- whose narrow sectarian work has cessions be made to any political organization or received a decisive set-back from party that seeks overtly or covertly to make the the genuinely proletarian organof the trade union which as an organization must be the anti-union excesses of "Passio- complices! Out with the traitors broadest in character. In fact, even after the prole- nara" and Jesus Hernandez, a and the cowards! tarian revolution we must learn to avoid tragic minister in the present Governerrors in this direction recently made by Stalin & Co. in their devitalizing of the Russian trade unions.

The C.P. would do itself a lot of good and render some aid to organized labor as a whole, if it would all for the struggle, of whom every honestly come forward and admit the irresponsibility tely certain that their conquests, of many of its members in the U.A.W.A. Here we had cases of costly irresponsibility in sitdown strikes, "wildcat" affairs, etc. not in the sense of has been squeezed out in recent months at a feverish tempo. individual workers making mistakes of this sort.

|CNT Charges Negrin, CP Break Anti-Fascist Front

(We publish below on article from he C.N.T. Bulletin showing the still further development of the C.N.T. in its opposition to the criminal policies the Negrin Government.—EDITOR.

The last crisis in the Government of the Republic in order to eliminate the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. marked a reactionary stage in the development of the Revolution and the war. It was made possible of the Republican parties, the "moderates" of Socialism following the bourgeois Prieto and Negrin, and the Communist Party, the real promoter of this anti-revolutionary coalition, whose plans of hegemony What, then, has this new Gov-

ernment done? Imprisoned hundreds of militant revolutionists; carried out the bolshevik order to eliminate "Trotskyism"; closed down the papers of the C.N.T.; created functions controlled exclusively by the Ministries of Justice and De fense; permitted attacks against workers and peasants collectives, going all the way to cowardly assassinations of peaceful workers, such as took place at Puigcerda the requirements of keeping up the morale of the war.

Can this Government offer anything positive to compensate for such actions? It is only necessary to examine the situation on the fronts and in the rear, to compare before the present Government was

Party Politics And War Morale

The error, the greatest guilt of this Government, is that of having ly breaking the anti-fascist front, "Popular Front." They were conposition," even though this opposition, as in the case of the C.N.T. was expressing its desire to collaborate for the war, and had substituted intriguing individuals, ment.

The men who have given their

MURDERED BY FASCISM



JOAQUIN MAURIN LEADER OF THE POUM

Removes The CNT From The Generality

With exactly the same objective, to eliminate the C.N.T. from the not be able to survive. Government of the Republic, they

and a sell-out to foreign interests, either.

The F.A.I. has no political interests to defend, except its end: to crush fascism!

pose and denounce those politicians as collaborators of the enemy who poison the rear, demoralize the anti-fascist front

Enough of persecutions against

Long live the revolutionary action of the proletariat! Long live the C.N.T.-U.G.T. Al-

> (Signed) The Peninsular Committee

of the F.A.I.

The C.I.O. can very well be proud of the achievement of the auto of this development they must carry on the class Here we deal with errors attributable to a source of union. Undoubtedly the auto union has made mistakes. No one in the struggle against the Kuomintang regime in order common inspiration and direction. The sooner the recent tremendous dramatic drives for unionization has been free of to eliminate it and replace it by the revolutionary C.P. stops yielling "red-bating" whenever such just- error. With all that, the contribution made by the U.A.W.A. towards democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants ifiable criticism is given it, the sooner will all danger the enhancement of the prestige and strength of the C.I.O. can not be on the basis of Soviets. Therefore no civil peace and of "red-baiting," disappear in the ranks of organized exaggerated. It is in such forces as the U.M.W. of A., the U.A.W.A., no alliance with the Kuomintang, but a struggle labor. Incidentally, it is not out of place, at this the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Rubber and Steel against it as an independent force, in the interest point, to say that insofar as the C.P. to-day is con- Workers, that the hope of all labor lies. We are certain that the Con- of the victory over Japanese imperialism and the cerned, it is pretty difficult to charge "red-baiting" vention of the U.A.W.A. will further demonstrate and strengthen the restoration and strengthening of China's national against it because the red in its program and policy role of this organization as a trail-blazer for all American labor.

By Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Chinese Communists Must Struggle Independently Against Japan

London, July 21, 1937.

HILE the diplomatic manuevers continue, war is already under way in North China There is already under way in North China. There vas no declaration of war anymore than in the Manchurian war. Japan has invented the name punitive expedition" as a substitute for war. What extension in area and time it will take on depends upon the amount of resistance the Nanking regime will offer, The will of Japanese imperialism to 'clean up" North China now, all the way to the Yellow River, that is, to conquer it completely, is learly and openly expressed. England affords Japan free road; it doesn't even offer diplomatic resistnce. France likewise is favorable to the new attack of Japanese imperialism. The United States will not intervene openly without England. Acording to all appearances the Soviet Union will also old back. On the other hand, it is to be assumed that the Nanking government will secretly receive rms, military instructors and money from various

Inside Japan, inner tensions have grown recently. organizations, and their It has lead repeatedly to conflicts between the milirights will be scrupulously respect- tary regime and parliament. In the working class and among the peasants resistance against the regime is growing. Among the peasants, local clashes Political Maneuvers In Catalonia with the bureaucracy mount into the thousands in recent years and the number is growing. The opening of the war gives, for the present, the upper hand to the militarists inside the country, but in and similar methods as those used case serious defeats should come the regime would

As to the Nanking government, we are dealing proceeded to do the same thing in the Generality of Catalonia. As to the Nanking government, we are dealing the Generality of Catalonia. Actually they have been conspiring | shek which bases itself politically on the Kuominmost against the Libertarian Move- tang. Chiang Kai-shek has undoubtedly considerably ment in this region where the so- strengthened the military capacity of China in recent cial conquests have gone furthest. years. Today he controls several hundred thousand . . . The conjunction of "Psuqu- modern, trained regular troops, a modern airfleet ism" with miopic Catalan nation- and inexhaustable human reserves. The financial How, then, can this Government justify its actions before the gresent the defense of Catalonia, or can the standard and inexhaustable human reserves. The financial power of the Nanking government isn't negligible

as well as the other very suspicious But the Kuomintang regime faces a fundamental influences, succeeded in re-contradiction. It rests on the defeat of the revolumoving the C.N.T. from the Gov-tionary movement of the workers and peasants. It ernment of the Generality by un-bases itself on the closely interwoven classes of the worthy methods that come easily Chinese industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and semi-feudal landowners. If the war should develop its full power it must be carried on as a popular supreme interest in the Revolution national revolutionary war. That requires, as its and the anti-fascist war. We want first prerequisite the carrying out of an agrarian all, absolutely all of the strength revolution. This would be the only guarantee of the of the people to be devoted to one readiness of the countless millions of Chinese peasants to carry on a war for national freedom. As always, we are ready to take But the Kuomintang government cannot carry on our places in the front lines against the war as a popular national revolutionary war the fascist enemy. But we must ex- without undermining the roots of its own rule. This basic contradiction can be resolved in various ways. One possibility is that the Kuomintang government fighters, and deliberately break the does not carry on any serious was at all but only a shadow war, and after a series of simulated struggles, enters into a new compromise with Japanese imperialism, handing over North China and deliverling a heavy blow to China's national existence. Th U.A.W.A. or any other trade union an auxiliary of, izations, such as the determined anti-fascist organizations; Enough would increase the internal resistance against it. a subsidiary of, or an adjunct to any political party action taken by the Executive Com- of unjust exclusions! War to the Another possibility is that the Government tries to or organization. To do this would narrow the base mittee of the U.G.T. in the face of death against Fascism and its accurry on the war seriously but at the same time tries to hinder all concessions to the revolutionary strivings of the toiling masses. That would considerably lessen the chances of a military success. A third possibility is that it will make partial concessions to the revolutionary demands in the interest of the carrying on of the war. In this case the possibility exists that the masses, once they are in motion, may go further and go beyond the present regime.

The task of the Chinese communists is clear. They must work along the line of the development of the national revolutionary popular war. In the interests

TRADE UNION NOTES by George F. Miles

Stalinists Continue Campaign Of Disruption In Auto Union George F. Miles has been con-

DETROIT, MICH.—Two events during the current week high-lighted developments in the United Automobile Workers Union. The first was the transfer of activities by the General Executive Board of the U.A.W. to Milwaukee, Wisconsin where it began its convention preparations. The second is the excellent response which some 50,000 Ford workers gave to a delegation of 2,000 union workers distributing a special Ford issue of The United Automobile Worker. The recent hearings on the activity

of Ford's servicemen having apparently cooled their ardor, the "Auto Workers Attack U.A.W.A. distribution of forty thousand and the article itself is an attack copies of the union paper went off upon the leadership of the U.A.W without a hitch and without a blow for alleged failure to give recognibeing struck on either side. It was tion to the Negroes in the industry. a demonstration of power which Thus, the factional aims of the will tremendously stimulate the campaign to organize Ford's em-

red by the disruptive activities of the Stalinist faction in the union and its allies. No sooner did the General Executive Board get under way than Walter Reuther, Wyndof the Executive Board warned the such open violations of Board discipline but they left for Detroit of that release: nevertheless, returning only when the General Executive Board flaunted and flagrantly disregard-He reprimanded them sharply for time.

Ford workers. This statement was smearers. of course denied by President Marapologize.

Raising The Race Issue

The factional activity of the A conference held here a few days in Plymouth by comparing it to the unsound; ago for the purpose of assisting irresponsible activities of Travis, the U.A.W. in organizing the Negro Mortimer and Hall, is severely Negro auto worker be placed upon says in part:

Stalinists in the attempt to utilize the Race issue against the national administration works right into the represented by the N.A.A.C.P.

ing paragraphs represent the heart

"A more subtle angle in the threatened suspension. Despite the company plot is suggested by some such." rather flimsy excuses given by the three on the cause of their departure for Detroit it became member Frankensteen, a leader known that the real reason was with President Martin, of the their desire to put in some last- group in the union that has opminute licks in perfecting their posed and crippled militant organcaucus apparatus. In a statement | îzers in Flint. The Flint group has | gram. More than that, Haessler on this matter issued by President replied to GM provocations by claims that it was the "unauthor-Martin he says that they "openly vigorous action and some rank and ized strikes that brought GM to filers there embarked on unauthor- time. ed" the General Executive Board. ized strikes that brought GM to

their "insolent and disruptive at- "The subtlety of the Chrysler attack is regarded proved in the fact The Ford distribution was mar- that the very union group that red because the return of Walter helped to discredit their fellow or-Reuther to the General Executive ganizers—doubtless to the great Board sessions was utilized for satisfaction of the employers, the factional purposes by Reuther's analysts say-is now being involvlieutenants in Detroit. Organizer ed in a similar discrediting drive George Edwards working for by the employers themselves. The Reuther's local openly declared companies probably figure that the Housing Bill reads as follows: that Reuther had been withdrawn their task is well advanced when because Richard T. Frankensteen one union group smears the other feared his popularity among the and the companies then smear the "That this view is not shared by tin who characterized it as "an U.A.W. leaders of the group op-|summary of the thought and ex-| obvious attempt to mislead the posed by Martin and Frankensteen perience of Housing experts in all workers for political reasons." is shown by an editorial in the parts of the country and is much sons who know little about cor-

President Martin further declared | West Side Conveyor (of which the that Walter Reuther was not need-same Carl Haessler is the actual Housing Legislation now in effect ed in Detroit for this distribution editor-GFM) organ of the West in conservative countries in Euand pointed to the excellent job | Side Local 174 of Detroit which | rope. In spite of this, the U. S. done by Frank Blake, assistant in says in part: 'This attempt (of Senate found it necessary to amend facts are: charge of the Ford Organizing Chrysler) to get organization it so as to make its possible effects Committee. The General Executive director Frankensteen in bad is undoubtful and its efficient operation Board has called Organizer Ed- fair. Everybody knows that Fran- problematical. We have in mind wards to responsibility for his kensteen and his associates are no particularly three amendments: malicious rumors, forcing him to more responsible for the situation hie accoriates Flint . . .'."

The Auto Convention

will be reported and analysed in the coming issues of the Workers Age by GEORGE F. MILES, beginning next week. The importance of this convention, signified by the series tributing weekly to Workers Age, cannot be overemphasized. Don't Fail To Follow the

Auto Convention

In Succeeding Issues of the Workers Age!

Haessler's article under the name of news is a revealing instance of how an alleged labor press can so prostitute itself that it will not esitate to injure a union of thousands of workers in its efforts to tear down one or two individuals. "This unprincipled piece of pen-

nanship strikes a new low in abor-press reporting. Its author is fellow who has been writing editorially in the West Side Conveyor, the organ of Local 174 of Both events, however, were mar- hands of such anti-C.I.O. forces as The brazen hypocrisy in bleating the U.A.W., in the name of 'unity.' about unity on the one hand and in An even more open attack against the national leadership was launch the other is an extreme example of to both sides. To matter how bearing the national leadership was launch to both sides. To matter how bearing the national leadership was launch to both sides. ed in a Federal Press story writ- vicious and unscrupulous journal- ly the scales may be loaded against way than Walter Reuther, Wyndham Mortimer and Ed Hall left the sessions for Detroit. A delegation sessions for Detroit. A delegation Reuther's local, discusses the Plynamic Poord wormed the sessions for Detroit. A delegation Reuther's local, discusses the Plynamic Poord wormed the sessions for Detroit. A delegation Reuther's local, discusses the Plynamic Poord wormed the sessions for Detroit. A delegation Reuther's local, discusses the Plynamic Poord wormed the sessions for Detroit. mouth strike and attempts to make which the article is replete are not why shouldn't labor likewise estabthree departing members against faction capital from it. The follow- attacks upon Martin or Frankensteen or on those who support them, but attacks on organized labor itself and must be treated as

Another angle, not considered in he above letter, is the complete whitewash which Haessler gives to the unauthorized sit-down strikes which the Stalinists condemn so vociferously in their Toledo pro-

With these unguarded words the Stalinists expose their real position on the unauthorized sit-downs.

A.L.P. Backs

The statement of the A.L.P. on "The original version of the Wagner Housing Bill introduced in the House by Representative Steagall was the result of long and thorough research. It represented a more conservative than most of the

than were organization director a thousand dollars and the cost of a corporation may be doing cor- The number of unauthorized per family unit to four thousand dolairs, compelling the U. S. Hous- lars but his responsibility for all has been constantly decreasing. This outrageous attempt to make ing Authority, particularly in the the mischief that he may cause to None were heard of lately. This Stalinists can be seen in several faction capital out of a deliberate | Eastern cities to erect jerry build- | the business, to the stockholders, | union of several hundred thousand, other developments here in Detroit. provocation by the company union ings, financially and structurally or to the public, is limited to the practically formed overnight, is

field, for the supervision of which tion, which usually is small in comauto workers was utilized by them scored in the current issue of The U. S. Congress provided indepen- parison with the business volume. in a factional and anti-union man- United Auto Worker. Managing dent bodies, like Transportation, ner. Instead of concerning itself Editor, William L. Munger, sent a Communications and Interstate if they don't wish to. They can with the problems of organizing the letter to the Federated Press, copy Commerce. The amendment putting operate as individuals or as part-Negro auto workers it was turned of which is reprinted in The United the new Housing body under the into a faction instrument for war- Auto Worker, in which he sharply supervision of the Department of fare against the national adminis- scored the Federated Press itself the Interior, will result in higher the business trade boards and astration of the union. A resolution for printing such faction propa- costs, in inevitable delays and in a sociations, and they are most vociwas even carried asking that a ganda as labor news. Mr. Munger gentral slowing up of operations.

the General Executive Board. The | "However, when a press agency building cooperatives and other selves incorporated: they generally tion alone, if tried, no longer real significance of the decisions of such as the Federated Press, which public agencies to be entitled to operate as voluntary associations. works: the union has matured and this conference attended by such professes, publicly at least, to be loans from the U. S. Housing organizations as the Independent concerned with gathering and pub- Authority. It was stricken out in coming to court with neither clean their responsibilities. Workers Order and the National lishing labor news in the interest the Senate. Limited Dividend Cor- hands nor with straight faces. The national officers of the Negro Congress, can be seen from of the worker, makes itself a tool porations and Building Coopera- Why would unions be obliged to United Automobile Workers Union the reactions of the local Negro of a discredited faction in the tives could play a great role in the incorporate when for business com- have announced their readiness to press. The Michigan Chronicle ap- union, we are somewhat surprized. revival of building activities and panies and business organizations assume complete responsibility for pears with the 8 column streamer To ladle out the slop contained in in promotion of sanitary housing. incorporation is optional and a

ABOUT MAKING LABOR **UNIONS RESPONSIBLE**

By J. B. S. HARDMAN

article on unions and incorporation, standard in law. which appeared in the Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Work- ration because of the dangers to ers, issue of August, 1937. The discus- which, they are sure, it would excion of this problem appearing in the pose their freedom of legitimate publication of so important a union action. Incorporation would give should be of great interest to our the courts, corporation-minded as readers.—Editor.)

A NTI-UNION employers, starved ed Republicans, disappointed Democratic politicians, and their handy men in the papers and on the platforms, have lately been engaging with particular abandon in a new indoor sport. It is to howl about labor's "lack of responsibility

in industrial relations." They have been joined in this vailing cry about that "labor responsibility" by some liberal friends of labor who feel more keenly about neat words than the real crudities of life and are particularto both sides, no matter how heavione side. Say these friends: labor their contractual obligations, so lish its own resonsibility? The method suggested by these friends is that labor unions should incorporate so that they become "legally responsible" for offenses committed by their officers or mem-

At bottom, the outcry about the rresponsibility of the unions is but new twist in the old line-of opposition to unionism. But while in the good olden days an employer, if he but had the gold and the brass, could come out plainly with | Would not incorporation of unions cannot be done so bluntly or so they are not willing to run counter simply. These days, anti-unionism to the mood of their least ruly must be served with appropriate members? dressing and fixin's. But no matter under what sauce it is being serv- cases already considered, the issue

It is the old anti-unionism under ı new disguise.

Unions Refuse to Submit to Double Standard Of Law Unions demand equality of treatnent by employers; why don't they

incorporate even as business com-This argument is heard on many sides. It comes not only from perporate law, but also from those who know all about it. When the argument is not based on ignorance it is very much insincere. The

The device of incorporation was invented by business men not to increase or to extend their responsibility in business, but in order following facts in the rapidly 1) Limiting the cost per room to to limit personal liability. A head changing situation: actual size of his personal invest- consolidating its organization, and 2) Housing is as important a ment in the stock of the corpora-Business men need not incorporate nerships.

The chambers of commerce and ferous in this incorporation de- ous outbursts of the workers' pent-3) The original Bill provides for mand on labor unions, aren't them- up displeasures. Of late, provoca-The responsibility-howlers are the members know their rights and

matter of their free choice? Labor (We publish below excerpts from an does not relish the idea of a double

Unions are opposed to incorpothey are in most cases, a free entry for meddling in all and every legitimate union activity each time unions contemplate strike action or anything else that may not suit a powerful and juridically well-connected labor employer. Labor has had ample experience with injunction judges to justify lack of confidence in the impartiality of the dispensers of justice in the thousand and one jurisdictions of the

Furthermore, incorporation of mions would make it particularly easy for anti-union employers to have union funds tied up interminably and thus to cripple union activity. This they would do through lawsuits for damages caused by strikes or less conspicuous breaches of contracts initiated by their undercover agents, disguised as union members and acting contrary to union advice and interest. The extent to which antiunion employers will go in such practices has been brought to light y recent senatorial investigations. Such double-crossing, provocative and deliberate labor union-wrecking activities of employers are not quite so easy to achieve under the present manner in which unions unction

The "Wildcat" Strikes

But "wildcat" strikes occur. "no union tolerated here," or a force the hand of union officials to nothing to arbitrate," now this take action whereas at present In this case, like in the other

Housing Bill ed, it is the old thing and it smells of incorporation is artificial, irrelevant and immaterial. "Wildcat" workers. of adjustment now taking place in the greatly stirred American labor scene. Unions are being formed daily, indeed hourly. Some time must elapse before order will evolve out of the hurriedly done job of building the movement. Legislative regimentation won't help matters. It is rather surprising that "wildcat" strikes have been so few in the initial stages of this period. There is nothing "wildcattish" about the Republic Steel in so far as labor is concerned. But in the case of the automobile workers there have been unauthorized strikes. There have been in other cases. Matters are taking shape. So it is well to bear in mind the

> responsibility comes with organized growth rather than under the pressure of a police club.

The automobile management, perhaps because it was forced into collective bargaining against its will, and probably because it didn't believe the union would survive its sudden extraordinary expansion, did much to provoke the spontane-

Mexican Group Supports ICO Line, POUM Struggle

The positive forces for international | pendence, with a lively internal revolutionary reconstruction are growing slowly but surely. The consistent fight for revolutionary principles and methods of organization carried on by the International Communist Opposition for nearly a decade and above all the stirring revolutionary example of the P.O.U.M. in Spain are beginning to bear fruit in widely separated lands. We reprint below the translation of an editorial from the third number of La Batalla of Mexico dated July 1, 1937. La Batalla is the official organ of the newly formed Marxist Workers Bloc of Mexico and its editorial presents evidence that the Mexican working class is at last giving birth to the cadres that will one day give it the leadership of a truly revolutionary Marxist party.

The editorial is entitled, "We Are Revolutionary Marxists," and reads as

THE Marxist Workers Bloc of Mexico has not yet completed six months of life and our paper has reached only its third number. Nevertheless our tendency has already made itself felt. The Marxist Workers Bloc of Mexico arose out of the need of starting in our country a movement which would lead to the creation of a Marxist Workers Party, free of the degeneration, the sectarianism, the opportunism, and the anti-sovietism to which, each in its own way, Stalinism and Trotskyism have become subject.

Frequently we are called Trotskyites. Others think we want to form a fifth international. There are many who cannot conceive of the existence of a revolutionary Marxist organization that is neither Trotskyist or Stalinist. The Stalinites call us Trotskyites and the Trotskyites say we are "a species of Stalinites." But we do not want to form a fifth international nor are we Trotskyites nor

The international working-class at present is suffering the consequences of the opportunism of the reformist parties of the Second International, the new opportunism of the parties of the Third International, and the disorientation and false position of the groups of the Fourth International. The reformists have been hardened in their opportunism by their many years of faithful and traditional service to the bourgeoisie. The Stalinites, with their new People's Front policy, have placed themselves in the same position as the reformists. The Trotskyites, like the Stalinites are a reflection of the faction struggle going on in the Soviet Union and their acts obey in the first place the exigencies of Trotsy's struggle against Stalin. Stalinism and Trotskyism are the opposite poles of one and the same thing. When the former swing to government has control of the the right the Trotskyites swing to the left and when they have been leftists the Trotskvites to the right. Neither of these tendencies bases its acts on a Marxist analysis of the needs of the work ing-class in each country. They are both incapable of working out a revolutionary line which will meet the varying conditions and needs of struggle of the proletariat.

The defeats to which these three tendencies in the international working-class have brought it, lead to the development of an entire series of groups and parties of a Marxist character independent of these internationals and grouped in the International Communist Opposition (with headquarters in Paris) and in the London Committee for Revolutionary Socialist Unity. Free from all opportunist illusions of the Peoples Front variety, from all anti-sovietism, from all governmental dependence, resting on foundations forged by them, with a complete class inde- or another-editor's note.

democracy, without sectarianism of any species and with a great theoretical consistency, all these parties constitute at present the strongest focal points of revolutionary Marxism. The P.O.U.M. in Spain in the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat there; the Brandler party in Germany (the only party which has been able to survive and work actively in complete illegality under the Hitler regime and undermine the bases of the Fascist power), and the party of Lovestone in the United States with its considerable influence on the masses of the C.I.O., are the best demonstration of the correctness of the Marxist position which they

All these parties truly internationalist as they are, do not, how ever, form an artificial international a la Trotsky or an international of automatons a la Stalin. Their internationalism is not mechanical; it is based on mutual assistance, fraternal criticism and firm, consistent and timely solidarity. They help each other because they really understand each other without the necessity of bureaucratic pressurue or pressure of any other kind. They form, in fact, the basis of a genuine international party of the proletariat.

The Marxist Workers Bloc of Mexico adheres to their tendency. Its birth came out of the necessity of beginning at last the task for the construction of a proletarian party of Marxist and Leninist orientation, free of all sectarianism, opportunism, and peoples front illusion, of all subsidyism* and of all traces of anti-sovietism; the need of an independent, revolutionary party with a life of its own, doing its own thinking, elaborating a revolutionary political line based on analysis of the real conditions and needs of the Mexican proletariat, with a clear conception of true proletarian inter nationalism in deeds of mutual aid and constructive criticism and not merely in phrases.

We do not hide our position. We do not reject criticism. We accept all the consequences that our con victions may bring us. We know how to accept responsibility for our actions. We have no confidence in the policy of the Peoples Front. We know perfectly well that the government of Cardenas is not a government of the workers and peasants but a bourgeois-democratic government; that elections in our country have not yet ceased to be a farce; and that the National Revolutionary Party really not a party at all, but a personal instrument of the President of the Republic. Nor do we fail to recognize the fact that the peasant movement and to a large extent of the labor movement.

It is for all these reasons that we direct our struggle towards the organization of the peasantry independently of the government, and towards the development of the complete class independence of the trade unions and the complete liberation of the toiling masses from governmental control.

It is necessary to give support to the government of Cardenas against more reactionary elements but without hiding from the masses its true nature, without ceasing to criticise it and its political apparatus and without ceasing struggle for the freeing of the masses from governmental control and illusions concerning the gov

STATEMENT OF I.C.L.L.

(Continued from Page 1)

working-class, the opinion of revolutionary socialism, which alone can defeat Franco, this opinion is not allowed to be heard in Spain. So far capitalist "democracy" does not extend. Great Britain, the "mother of democracy" and the enslaver of millions in her colonial empire, has been reassured—the People's Front is a zealous advocate of capitalism; the People's Front is an extremely effective weapon in protecting imperialist British investments.

The cabinet of the People's Front government has been able to play its many-sided game with considerable skill. To international imperialism, it can show its work well done: ruthless suppression of the revolutionary proletariat. To international labor, seething with resentment against the Negrin-Stalinist reaction, against the fierce and brutal drive against the non-Comintern sectors of labor, it had the temerity to avow its complete ignorance of any persecutions, and to "pledge" a fair and open trial for Andres Nin, when he was already dead! Such is the despicable role of the bourgecisie made bold by the political support of the Stalinist clique in the Soviet Union, which support initiated and "guaranteed" the suppression of the Spanish workers.

A mighty international protest of labor and liberals must force the people's front and its supporters to cease its persecution of those sectors of the anti-fascist front which were among the first to take up arms against the fascists, which have poured out their blood in courageous struggle against the fascist gangs.

The murders must be stopped!

The persecutions must cease!

The revolutionary workers of the P.O.U.M. C.N.T., and the Left Socialists, imprisoned in the jails of the People's Front must be freed immediately!

The People's Front has run its full course. It has fought against the socialization of industry; it has opposed the freeing of the Moors, which would have smashed Franco at the start;

opposed the nationalization of the land, which would have destroyed the social roots of fascism; opposed the development of a genuine workers' army-steps which would have mobilized the workers and peasants on a vast scale to smash the hordes of fascism. Having posed as the unifying instrument of anti-fascist forces, and the groundbreaker for the social revolution, it has now revealed itself as the open agent of capitalism, as the loyal servant of international imperialism, which demands the suppression of the revolutionary proletariat at all costs.

At all costs! Since the expulsion of the workers' organizations from the bodies directing the war against the fascist beasts, the rumours have gathered in volume that the People's Front government is preparing a compromise with the fascists, a compromise dictated by Anglo-French imperialism, and to which the Stalinist clique in the Soviet Union offers no opposition, thus endangering not merely the Spanish, but the Russian and international proletariat as well!

There are only two roads! Either the road of social revolution and winning the war against Franco, or the road of the People's Front, the road of compromise with Franco, the road of losing the war.

There are only two roads! Either the road towards rule of the working class, or the road back to rule of the capitalist class.

We hail the struggle of the P.O.U.M. and the revolutionary proletariat of Spain for the social revolution to win the war. We call upon the international proletariat to support this struggle, to protest the abrogation of the rights of the revolutionary workers to agitate for their viewpoint, to free those revolutionists still imprisoned.

Long Live the Spanish Revolution! Long Live the P.O.U.M., its leader! Long Live International Proletarian Solid-

> Independent Communist Labor League Jay Lovestone, Secretary

ABOUT MAKING LABOR UNIONS RESPONSIBLE

(Continued from Page 3) unauthorized strikes, and said they

would impose severe punishment upn the members violating the union agreement if the companies on their part will cease and desist from provoking the workers and will set up sufficient machinery for adjustment of grievances and adjudication of disputes. Incorporation would not have helped earlier. It is not needed now.

In the case of the steel industry. over 400,000 workers were brought under union contracts for the first time in the lives of most of them. These contracts were, in most in stances, secured peacefully, following a long organizing and and educational campaign. There has not been a single report of violation of agreement provisions or wildcat strikes on the part of these steel men. The companies took their obligations seriously and so did the workers. What function would union incorporation perform in this case?

Attack On Sympathy Strikes Unions should be incorporated and otherwise regulated so that they may not engage in illegal

rnment.

The proletariat of Mexico needs a new revolutionary party free from the defects of reformism, Stalinism and Trotskyism and capable of giving it sound guidance in all its struggles. It needs also a class united front, a front of the workers and peasants, capable of checking the advance of reactionary forces and becoming the vanguard of the national struggle against imperialism. The Marxist Workers Bloc of Mexico is at the service of these objectives. We are not, we repeat once more, neither Trotskyist nor Stalinist: we are a revolutionary Marxist group.

strikes, sympathy strikes or jurisdictional strikes.

Incorporation has got nothing to do with all that.

Illegal strikes, whatever that means, are illegal, and incorporated or not, unions are answerable before the law.

If by sympathy strikes are meant strikes of workers in an industry whose functioning is vital to another industry where a strike or a unionization campaign is in progress, why, that is the stuff of which effective unionism is made. Incorporation of unions, unless devised to be especially oppressive to unions, would not prevent sympathy strikes any more than incorporation of business companies forbids them to cooperate with one another in any form that appears advantageous to all concerned.

The trade union movement, if it nieans business, cannot forswear the one means that holds out the biggest prospect of success: the support of all labor to the unionization movement in a related industry. The limits to which the union movement can go in resorare in reality industry-wide strikes, must be determined solely by judgment of the prospects of success and by the borderlines of assured public sympathy. The responsibility for determining these limits must rest solely with the respective union. Any imposition of regulated limitation by law would tend to cripple the union movement. It would amount to an attack upor the right to strike.

But what of jurisdictional strikes?

Surely these are the result of ar anomolous situation, the battle for supremacy now waged by the C.I.O and the A. F. of L. That such has to

be the case is deplorable, but for the present it is a fact. And it stands to reason that a healthier solution of the involved situation will be worked out by the contending sides themselves, under the strongly felt, unsympathetic reaction of the public at large, whose attitude labor feels keenly, than by the relatively simple but not necessarily effective device of prohibitive legislation. Americans dislike prohibitions, but left to their own judgment they invariably arrive at a practical way out.

Terror Against The P.O.U.M.

(Continued from Page 1)

the possibilities are exhausted. Our Party, in its political aspect, is getting on its feet little by little, but this is not the case when it comes to its financial aspect, though we leave this aspect last for consideration. But the comrades I am referring to must proceed to Paris, where other committees will take care of them. What could be done on behalf of these revolutionary comrades who have risked their lives a thousand and one times for the revolution? We ting to "sympathy strikes," which have to go further and intensify our international financial solidarity. At this moment, we need the cooperation of our sympathizers. We want to show these comrades that the Party takes care of them; that is why I'm pleading with you, in order that you should present this appeal to your Party and the Unions. I'm doing it as official representative of the P.O.U.M. We have to make this effort. I'm sure that your comrades will respond immediately to this appeal. The memory of the meeting we had on the eve of our departure from New York, to me unforgettable, makes me believe this.

With revolutionary greetings.

^{*} In Mexico all political movements including the official Communist Party are accustomed to depend on government subsidies in one form