Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Spanish Labor

Stalinists Demand New Terror Against Workers of POUM, CNT, UGT

A new drive in the reactionary crusade against the revolutionary sections of the Spanish labor movement was forecast in a statement issued last week by the Communist Party of Spein, the main force behind the Negrin-Prieto loyalist government. Masking their intentions behind a "unity" smokescreen the Stalinist leaders issued a frantic demand that the militant sections of the labor movement, who cannot accept the self-defeating policy of the Negrin regime, should be suppressed by governmental

Even from the grossly biased report of Herbert L. Matthews in the New York Times of September 17, it is clear that the revolutionary forces are growing rapidly in power and influence in Spain to the dismay of the Stalinists and their liberal allies. The P.O.U.M. has been outlawed but not suppressed; it functions actively as an underground organization, with a widely circulated press and ever-increasing influence among the workers. In the C.N.T., the great anarchosyndicalist trade union federation, resentment against the reactionary policy of the government has reached the acute point. Most significant, however, are developments in the U.G.T., the socialist trade union center. The Stalinists have made a desperate effort to capture it and, indeed, announced their "victory" to the world-somewhat in advance. As a matter of fact, the left socialists, headed by Largo Caballero, who is also the head of the U.G.T., have emerged triumphant. Recently a unity pact was entered into between the U.G.T. and the C.N.T., promising well for the future of the labor movement in Spain. Then the U.G.T. began to turn its attention to purifying its ranks from the petty bourgeois merchants and industrialists whom the Stalinists had smuggled into U.G.T. wherever they could, especially in Catalonia. This work is still under way.

Feeling its position increasingly insecure, the Stalinist party is now renewing its campaign of repres sion. The fire is being turned on Largo Caballero, Luis Araquistain, Pascual Tomas and other left socialists who head the U.G.T. If the Stalinists are allowed to have their way, it will not be long before these trade union leaders are branded as "spies" and arrested as unsuitable superstructure for the "agents of Franco"!

CIO CHARTERS WEST VIRGINIA COUNCIL

WASHINGTON (UNS) -C.I.O. charter has been issued to the West Virginia Federation of Labor at the request of President John B. Easton, acting under the authority granted him by unanimous decision of the Federation's executive council, John Brophy, C.I.O. director, has announced.

The State body, representing 170,000 organized workers, will be chartered under the name of the West Virginia Industrial Union Council.

The C.I.O. has already chartered industrial union councils in Wisconsin and Montana, and has chartered a joint industrial union council for Arkansas and Oklahoma. dictions resulting because of this

Drive Against | Can Japan's Imperialism Stand the War Strain?

By JIM CORK

(We publish below the first of a series of articles by Jim Cork dealing with aspects of Japanese imperialism.

TAPANESE imperialism has J never been really tested by a prolonged modern war. The wars against China in 1894 and Russia in 1904 were hardly severe tests of either her military prowess or the stability of her economic regime. If her present aggressive venture in China should turn out to be a necessarily prolonged siege, it is highly doubtful if she can come out of it unscathed. For contrary to what is perhaps the general impression, the Japanese economy and social structure are weak and shaky, highly unstable in political control above and concealing potentially plosive material below.

Japanese Development Artificially Forced

For some six or seven decades now, Japan, under the impact of Western civilization, has been in the throes of a rapid capitalist development. This development was artificially forced at a terrific tempo and took place on a social base that still remains primarily agrarian and feudalistic. This has left Japanese economy as a whole definitely out of joint. As one witty Far-Eastern specialist has put it: 'Japan was forced to run before she had time to learn to walk. It is not surprising that today she is so bandy-legged as to be almost a cripple.

Feudal forms, tradition, culture, maintain a powerful influence and. plus the feudal material base, have served to determine the specific nature of the structure of the Japanese state. This has remained primarily a military-feudal coalition, something akin to the Junker system of pre-war Germany, with the army dominant. The fear of Western invasion forced Japan rapidly along the road of militarism long before even the parallel drive of industry developed to the point that it has and so gave strength and power to the military caste formed out of her feudal nobility. The Emperor has been used as an important cog in the

state machine. With a growing class of monopolist financiers and industrialists appearing upon the scene, this governmental system has become an base of economic and social relations. Fundamentally, the big bourgeoisie as a relative late-comer on the scene has not been able to refashion the economic and political fabric completely in its own image. Sixty years of general development of parliamentarism, for instancce, have hardly given Japan a bourgeois democratic political system. The Japanese Diet can neither make laws nor enforce them. The government's life does not depend upon a majority in the Diet. The ministers are responsible to the Emperor. Any "suggestions" for laws made by the Diet must have the approval of the Emperor, who has the veto power. The Emperor also has the power to rule by decrees, which become law. The Emperor, of course, is an instrument in the hands of the militaryfeudal clique. The inherent contra-

political set-up facing the advancing bourgeoisie have led to periodic explosions at the top (fall of ministries, change of ministers, assassinations, compromises, etc.).

This does not mean that there is any basic conflict between the army and the industrialists. The latter do not want to overturn the existing state. It would be too dangerous. It is rather an attempt on their part to "muscle in"—to get a larger share in the spoils. As to foreign policy, the difference between the two concerns means rather than ends, differences in regard to tempo of expansion rather than expansion

The Drive For Expansion

Japan's aggressive drive for expansion is inevitable, it grows out of the very nature of its economy. Backward feudal agriculture resulting in a limited food supply and high prices for food, impoverishment of the masses and therefore a contracting home market, lack of basic raw materials even for heavy industry, population pressure—all force Japanese capitalism to look beyond its own shores. The Manchurian venture,

WHAT ARE THE POUM'S 'CRIMES'

THE world Stalinist press justifies the crusade of repression against the revolutionary socialists of Spain, especially the P.O.U.M., on the ground that they are "spies," "agents of Franco" and the like. It is therefore interesting to note what kind of questions were put to Julian Gorkin and other arrested P.O.U.M. leaders at their examination on July 23.

- 1. What do you think of Stalin?—of Trotsky? Do you believe Trotsky is more or less revolutionary than Stal-
- 2. What do you think of the Soviet government?
- 3. What do you think of the present Spanish govern-
- 4. What was your part in the May events?
- 5. Do you think the previous (Caba'lero) govern-ment preferable to the present (Negrin) government?

These were ALL the questions asked. Are these the kind of questions addressed to "spies," "agents of Fran-co," etc., or to people being persecuted for their political

of the addresses of the invited

guests, supposedly constituting an

endorsement of the "Unity" group

Also the speech of John L. Lewis

is treated in an openly factional

manner. A section of the Lewis

speech is quoted which the Commu-

nist Party members at the con-

vention interpreted as a direct en-

dorsement of the opposition lead-

ers, but the paper fails to print the

statement Lewis made to the con-

vention, thru his representative,

Ora Gasaway, denying that this

particular section had reference to

the policies of any of the opposi-

Even the fight in the credentials

over the

committee and during the last

voting powers of the Fisher One

Administration supporters are

at the convention.

Japan Aided By U.S. Ban

President's Order Against Arms Shipments Blow To Chinese People

A big step towards invoking the Neutrality Act was taken last week when President Roosevelt forbade all government-owned vessels to carry arms or munitions of war to either China or Japan and warned private shippers that they were proceeding "at their own risk." Altho the President's direct ban applied only to vessels owned by the government, it was expected that his order would greatly curtail trade in war materials with the Far East.

A few days later, British insurance men announced that standard rates would no longer be quoted on ships carrying arms to China or Japan. This action, unofficial tho it was, will undoubtedly have the same effect as the Roosevelt embargo.

Chinese spokesmen expressed great dismay at the actions of the United States and Great Britain, following so closely upon each other. It was openly declared that the Roosevelt embargo together with the British insurance ban constituted a direct blow to China and an immense advantage to the Japanese invaders. Not only has Japan the advantage in supplies of war materials as well as in industrial facilities but its greatly superior sea-power enables it to obtain what it lacks in its own ships and thus avoid the brunt of the embargo. China, on the other hand, is largely dependent on what it can import from such countries as the United States and Great Britain so that The news story of the convention is so prepared that the term the Anglo-American action constitutes a serious menace to it in the "unity" is given a factional turn present war. wherever it appears in the course

Naturally, Japanese official circles are jubilant, welcoming the recent steps taken by Washington to curtail arms exports to the East. The newspaper mouthpiece of the Tokyo Foreign Office went so far as to declare that it would "strike a fatal blow at China."

As the Sino-Japanese conflict continues, the thoroly reactionary character of the so-called "neutrality" legislation becomes ever clearer. The American workers, whose sympathy and interest align them on the side of the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese imperialism, must do everything in their power to block the State Department in its tortuous, reactionary policy in the Far East. The workers must demand the removal of all restrictions upon supplyin China with what it needs to fight the Japanese invader. At the same time, organized labor must use its economic and trade union power to prevent Japan from getting any supplies or munitions in this country. Action must be taken immediately—before it is too late!

UNITY CLIQUE WARS ON U.A.W. DECISIONS

By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD

Detroit, Mich. Despite protestations of unity nd pledges to abide by decisions of the Milwaukee convention of the Inited Auto Workers Union, the communist Party members and their so-called socialist allies have reopened and intensified the war against the Martin-Frankensteen administration. This became clear this week upon the appearance of the Flint edition of the United Automobile Worker edited by a supporter of the opposition.

On the first page of this paper appears a cut showing the six of ficers which the "Unity" group had proposed for reelection. The caption "Officers of the United U.A. W." is intended to create the impression, according to supporters of President Martin, that the "Unity" slate had been completed endorsed. Martin supporters point out further that the cut itself is the one used in the faction documents of the Unity" group prior to the convention and the picture of Vice-Presidente Wells is not included in this

NEXT WEEK

A Special Issue of

WORKERS AGE

will contain, in full,

August Thalheimer's lecture on "Realignment in the International Labor Movement," delivered at the I.L.P. Summer School

Andres Nin's last thesis on the "Situation in Spain."

delegation from Flint is taken into the ranks in the form of a full reprint of the minority report on this question, made at the convention

by George Edwards.

ours of the convention

tion leaders.

indignant over this outburst of factionalism by the Stalinists and their socialist apologists. They consider this an attempt to continue the pre-convention differences after the majority of the membership had settled these issues at the convention. These undemocratic and disruptive tactics by an opposition which mouthed the slogan of "unity" and "democracy" will not be tolerated, they said. The opposition tactics are considered especialat the very moment when the energies of the union are directed at securing a new contract with Geneffective drive to organize Ford.

TRANSPORT UNION TO HOLD MEET

NEW YORK(UNS)-The Transport Workers of America, fourmonth-old C.I.O. union, will open its first national convention with a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York City, on October 4. John L. Lewis, C.I.O. ly reprehensible because they come chairman, is scheduled to make the main address.

The union's membership has increased from 14,000 to 87,800 since eral Motors and at developing an it was taken into the C.I.O. on May

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SLAVERY IN GEORGIA

THE New York Times of September 16 carries a dispatch from Atlanta, Georgia, that throws a baleful light, indeed, on the state of the nation in this, the fifth year of the New Deal.

"Cotton farmers, a number of them armed," runs the report, "today stood guard over fields in Warren County, Georgia, to prevent a threatened walkout. Following an alleged attempt by farmers of an adjoining county to entice Negro pickers away by offers of higher wages. Sheriff G. P. Hogan of Warrenton confirmed reports that growers had fired their guns into the air 'just to show that they meant business'." The Negro pickers, it appears, were receiving 40c a hundred pounds but were offered 75c by Glascock County farmers. They were naturally eager to take up the bid but, as the sheriff explained, "'our farmers just put a stop to it.' . . ." The whole story is very aptly headlined: "Armed farmers hold cotton pickers on job; refuse to let Negroes take higher pay offer."

There can be no two interpretations of what happened in Georgia. By armed force, with the connivance and cooperation of the local authorities, the employers of Warren County held their Negro employees in involuntary servitude, paying them a price for their labor but little more than half what they could get elsewhere. It is slavery, outright and

The Georgia constitution—at least this much we have from Reconstruction days-forbids slavery or involuntary servitude within the bounds of the state. But the sheriff of Warrentown County has, by his own boasting admission, helped the planters enslave by main force a group of Georgia citizens—they are citizens, even tho they are black: see Amendment XIV to the Federal Constitution. What will the state authorities do about it? Absolutely nothing!

The Federal Constitution, that sacrosanct document whose sesquicentennial we are celebrating these days, forbids slavery or involuntary servitude within the bounds of the United States. It places the obligation upon Washington to guarantee a republican form of government to every state. What will the administration do about this flagrant case of slavery in the state of Georgia? Nothing; an investigation, perhaps, if the protest becomes loud enough!

For peonage and slavery, as affecting the Negro, still remain part and parcel of our economic system; in many Southern states, in fact, they are recognized institutions, of quite respectable antiquity, enjoying the quasi-official protection of the public authorities. Need we recall Florida, with the murder scandals of a few years ago-or Arkansas, the native soil of that sainted statesman and pillar of the New Deal, the late Senator Robinson-or Alabama, where debtslavery is a matter of official record? The constitution forbids it; the law condemns it—but it exists. It exists because it is a source of power and profit for the Southern planters, with whom the business men, bankers, industrialists, politicians and other elements of the ruling group of that section are so intimately associated. It exists because it has become an organic part of the whole wretched system of capitalist exploitation under which this country is suf-

By all means, let us do our best to force the federal government to do something. But let us remember that, in the long run, it is only organized labor-farmer action that can sweep away the filth and oppression of our decomposing social order. The same power that is breaking the Steel Trust terror in the company towns of Pennsylvania, the same power that is challenging the industrial feudalism of the Ford Empire, will prove equal to the task of wiping out peonage-slavery in the South.

How a POUMist Dies!

FROM Lerida, we have received the following report of the execution of Marcial Mena. P.O.H.M. political commission of execution of Marcial Mena, P.O.U.M. political commissar at

"Mena was arrested and imprisoned together with the new political commissar, a C.N.T. man. They were summarily tried and both condemned to death. The C.N.T. man was pardoned. It was, however, impossible to get the Valencia government to pardon Mena. The appeal for the pardon was signed by all of the political parties and trade unions, without distinction—except the

"Mena had been commissar of the Castillo from the beginning of the fascist outbreak and he remained in this position until the campaign of persecution against his party got under way. He it was who organized the major section of the fighting battalions of Lerida province which, after July 1936, formed part of the Aragon front.

"According to the report of eye-witnesses, Mena died with supreme courage. He himself gave the order to fire and shouted: 'Long live the P.O.U.M.! Long live the socialist revolution'!"

Spanish Socialists Reject Policies of Negrin-Prieto defeats received at the hands of the Chinese. The prestige not only of the military clique but of Jap-

Valencia, Spain.

The recent plenum of the Nationd Committee of the Socialist Party pressive measures of the govern reveals growing differences in its ranks between the membership, which follows Largo Caballero, and the leadership of the committee which is in the hands of the Prieto group. The followers of Largo Capallero were foolish enough to resign from the National Committee as an act of protest, leaving it 'centrists." The old extreme-right wing under Besteiro has also disappeared because the "center" is so far to the right that no com-

petition is possible. While the National Committee was in session, the representative of the Provincial Federation of Valencia withdrew in protest at the anti-revolutionary decisions being made. Other provincial federation delegates, being closer to the rank and file sentiment than are the executive committee members, followed suit. The Federation delegations sent in a communication to the National Committee in the following

"The Provincial Federations in meeting assembled, as the expression today of the most direct (living) representation of the party, demand that you who are meeting by fascists and Stalinists alike. today in the guise of the National | The apostles of: "First win the war Committee, should take up as a, preliminary order of business your own lack of authority and personality to represent the party."

That the state machinery used hitherto against the P.O.U.M. is have definitely weakened the Aranow being used in the internal par- gon front. ty fight in the S.P. is strongly indicated by the governmental seizure of Largo Caballero's paper in Valencia, Adelante, and the SUBSCRIBE NOW headquarters of the Provincial Federation of Valencia.

The C.P. is pressing for a united socialist-communist party on the basis of bourgeois republicanism People's Frontism and no Marxism in the united party. As a weapon against Largo Caballero and a way of cultivating friendliness with the Russians who are such a power in Spanish governmental affairs. Prieto's group adopted an academic resolution in favor of such unity but has deliberately avoided taking any concrete proposals leading toward such unity. They are afraid of the ruthlessness and "capturism" and the too open counterrevolutionary propaganda of the C.P. Such fusion seems therefore very unlikely. The future of the Socialist Party depends very largely on the energy and skill and resoluteness of the left wing which acknowledges Largo Caballero as its outstanding leader, has the majority of the party members behind it and a majority of the many times more powerful U.G.T.,

(Delayed, by Mail, Uncensored) | but has not so far displayed the necessary clarity and ability and determination to capitalize on its majority support against the supment of which Negrin and Prieto of the Socialist Party form part.

> The Lenin Division on the Ara gon front, crack division of Catalan troops recruited and led by the P.O.U.M., has been dissolved. despite the danger to the Aragon front. This has come about as part of the C.P.-government drive against the revolution. The Lenin Division was one of the first divisions formed in the struggle against fascism. It marched to the front together with the Durruti, the Ascaso and the Red and Black divisions of the C.N.T. It took part in the victorious battles of Sietamo Tiers, Monte Aragon, Estrecho Quinto, Huesca Asylum and Loma de los Milagros, and was known for the fact that it never retreated under fire. Some of its best leaders -Pedrola, Castells, Buil, Cahue Nathan and others—have perished in the struggle. (It was the record of this division that recently con pelled the reluctant admiration of the New York Times correspondent Herbert L. Matthews, who visited the Aragon front just after Nathan had died in battle.) It was feared

> -then make the revolution," are perfectly willing to lose the war if they can stop the revolution. In dissolving the Lenin Division they

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By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Tasks of Revolutionary Workers In China and Japan Discussed

London, August 25, 1937.

THERE can no longer be any doubt, of course, I that a real war, a life-and-death struggle between China and Japan, is taking place in the Far East. What was said of the World War may be said of this war also-they just "slid into it." The Japanese militarists wanted a local war in North China in order to make up for the heavy political defeat suffered by them in the recent parliamentary elections. They had in mind a short campaign to tear away a few more Chinese provinces and in this way to restore their political prestige within Japan. The Chinese bourgeoisie visibly hesitated to take up the struggle at this time; it was anxious to delay matters in order to take up the fight later with better military and political preparations—but the Japanese military clique was driven ahead by the initial prestige not only of the military clique but of Japanese imperialism itself was at stake. And in China. there began to appear, behind the back of Chiang Kai-shek, the masses of the people, driving the ruling Kuomintang party forward. There has thus been created a situation where, for both Japanese imperialism and the Chinese bourgeoisie, it is no longer a question of prestige but very existence.

Even more—it is not merely a question of existence as an imperialist power on the Japanese side and of national unity and independence on the Chinese side. In both countries, the fate of the ruling classes is at stake, in Japan even more than in China. For, in the latter country, the forces of agrarian revolution are rapidly maturing. During the last year, there were no fewer than 4,000 local clashes between the peasantry and the authorities. The recent elections disclosed the upsurge of proletarian forces in the cities. Even the bourgeoisie came out into opposition to the ruling military-burocratic clique, largely composed of the old junker caste. A military defeat or even an indecisive outcome of the war would now place revolution on the order of business in Japan.

In China, the war has aroused and set into motion tremendous masses of people, primarily workers, urban petty bourgeois and peasants. Whether and for how long the masses will follow the Kuomintang, will depend on whether and for how long the Kuomintang will show itself able to lead successfully the war for national independence and unity. The situation in China is altogether different from that of Japan. In Japan, the forces of revolution are gathering in resistance to the imperialist war and against the burdens that are being thrown upon the masses of the people.

In Japan, it is the duty of the communists to stand for revolutionary defeatism and to strive to transform the imperialist war into civil war.

In China, it is the duty of the communists to organize the workers and peasants as an independent class force for national war, for war to victory; in the interests of this war, it is necessary to raise and defend the revolutionary demands of the workers and peasants against the Kuomintang. In other words, the task in China consists in transforming the war that has already started under the leadership of the Chinese bourgeoisie into a revolutionary war of

The Communist International is now again issuing the slogan of the concentration of the "democratic" forces for the defense of the Chinese people. Who are the democratic forces in this case? Apparently English, France and American imperialism! What are these powers out for in China? England defends its 200 million pounds capital invested in China as well as the privileges it has acquired in past decades. France and America defend their capital investments, as well as their own imperialistic privileges. An appeal to the democratic imperialist powers in the interests of the Chinese people is obviously completely senseless.

The international working class has no interest in defending the investments of foreign imperialism in China. It has no interest in strengthening the power of Chiang Kai-shek and Kuomintang clique. It has an interest only in the triumph of the Chinese workers and peasants over Japanese imperialism and over the Kuomintang regime itself. As a matter of fact. only the replacement of the Kuomintang government by a revolutionary-democratic government of workers and peasants can bring to full expression the resistance of the Chinese masses against Japanese

UNION INCORPORATION -- WHAT IT MEANS

unions is not something new in the United States. What is new is the fact that never before have employers been so determined to achieve it. In the past the employer destined for the future.

There are several new factors in the present social life of the United States that have brought Wall Street and to the dictators of of union, the industrial union, River Rouges thruout the nation. which is not only more capable of Briefly they are:

ment been as large as it is today. | tally new psychology. There are over six million workers in labor unions, more than a mil- lion industrial unionists have delion and a half over that in the veloped a new strike strategy, the World War period.

The New Unionism

The new trade union membership arose after the most severe and strike technique on the ecodepression in our history, in which nomic field, labor is rapidly bemany myths formerly promoting coming conscious of the fact that it hostility to trade union organiza- must augment its bargaining tion amongst workers, were blasted powers by acquiring political power forever into the graveyard of the thru its own political organization. irrevocable past. There has been It is only in this setting that the born a more profound conviction drive, the import, of the employers that burns in millions or workers attempts to incorporate the trade

THE demand of employers for trade unions are their salvation ance. the incorporation of the trade whether approved of or disapproved of by government, whether encouraged or discouraged by gov-

Unlike the last period of prosperity, the present partial recovery demand for union incorporation has not witnessed a decline of trade was weaker because the trade union union membership but a vast influx movement was weaker, because into the unions and the creation of they merely glimpsed then the giant unions in the mass-producdanger of a powerful trade union tion industries, new unions. That movement which history had in itself reveals that labor is today possessed of new and profound convictions arrived at by itself.

Moreover, more than three million workers are organized in massfear and trembling to the kings of production industries in a new type dealing effectively with the employ-At no time in the history of this ers but which engenders a new nation has the trade union move- solidarity amongst workers, a to-

Lastly, the more than three milmost salient feature of which is the sit-down strike. And, what is most fearful to employers, in addition to new and more powerful unions

Can Japan Imperialism Stand the War Strain?

(Continued from Page 1) the North China mopping up and of the most basic raw materials, now the drive to rip up China some of them essential for war further in order to extend and con- purposes-iron, ore, alloy metals solidate Japanese hegemony on the oil, cotton, to name the most Asiatic continent, open up new important. Some comparative fields for the Japanese big bour- figures will illustrate the point. geoisie. However, these drives are costly, especially when they con- are estimated at about 80 million tinue, as they have, at an unbroken tons, which is only slightly more pace. Today, 60% of the total than the United States mined in budget is swallowed up by current one year (1929). For the corresor immediate military needs. In- ponding year, Japan's figure was 2 evitably, this means increasingly oppressive tax burdens for the has a sizeable reserve, but its iron middle classes and even the big content is very poor, 30%, conbourgeoisie itself. It means further deterioration of the already unbearable living conditions of the workers in the cities and the peasfor social-revolutionary developbourgeoisie are wondering if a slowing down of the tempo of the

order to relieve the strain on the The military clique on their part want to continue to push affairs at the same dizzy pace, with a view their way, and the bourgeoisie is

military drive is not necessary in

Some Weaknesses Of Japan's

Wars to-day are won by material nightmare. If the war lasts for a year. long time (and in a future article I will discuss the factors determining that), the cracks in Japanese eco- from Ford and General Motors. nomy are bound to become wider

Japan is pitifully short in several

Japan's total reserves of iron ore million tons. It is true Manchuria siderably below the iron recovery for other countries.

and America's 56 million.

tugsten, zinc, tin, nickel, mica and lion; 1934-110 million; etc. bauxite. She has abundant supplies trial and social structure, by iron her needs. Of nickel, antimony and airplanes, food, clothing, etc. In she has nothing, and, of the rest, sum of 12 billion yen. view of the essential weakness of supplies range from 10 to 50%. Japan's economic structure, how- Japan has next to nothing of oil. it is obvious that under the strain ance of the status-quo. To many of which, as reported out of commitever, the dreams of the military The United States produces in one of a major war, failure to obtain the delegates present at both con- tee, simply called for reliance on clique may well turn out to be a day what Japan produces in a her basic raw materials or foreign ventions, the arguments offered by security pacts, particularly the

The bulk of the army orders for trucks and autos have to be gotten told. I refer to Japan's peasant and content to the arguments pre- Group that successfully amended Japan, therefore, must import in of Japanese economy. It will be the As a result of the stand taken at on its own strength, unity and varying quantities, iron, steel, coal, subject of the next article.

Employer Campaign

The great employer campaign to stampede public opinion in favor of making unions "responsible" is a very clever and dangerous matter of grave concern to the trade unions and all labor. It is clever because it implies that the employers are already "responsible," because it serves to erase from the tion, corruption and highway robwhile champions of "responsibil-

poisoned to accept vague slogans and to awaken on the morrow t find itself fleeced and tied hand and

The avowed purposes of legisla tion proposed for the regulation of labor unions, as stated by employ ers, are three in number: 1. The elimination of "labor

racketeering." 2. The promotion of democratic

ontrol within unions. 3. The promotion of union re sponsibility.

The entire cry of "racketeering" a monstrous fraud on the part of mployers. Certainly there has been me racketeering in the trade unions, but this racketeering was largely foisted upon the trade mions by the employers and their (Continued on Page 4)

non-ferrous metals, oil, autos, etc In addition, Japan's industrial structure can hardly, from the technological point of view, be called highly developed. It simply cannot be compared with those of the United States, Germany or, for that matter, France or Belgium. The extent of mechanization is very low, feudal handicraft production is very widespread; factory production is predominantly small scale—half of the industrial workers working in shops of less than 5 workers and only 5% of the total establishments does not by any means complete the sore spots in the economic

Japanese Trade

budget, Japan's national debt, ex- the tremendous sentiment for the not even accepted by the convenand steel, arms and ammunition, bauxite (important for airplanes), ternal and internal, has reached the C.I.O. present at the 1936 conven- tion.

credits would lead to a breakdown. the anti-C.I.O. forces this year Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact. Again The worst however has not been sounded strangely similar in form it was a member of the Progressive

Faces C.I.O. Question THE twenty-first convention of the American Federation of the only information many dele-

Teachers' Convention

Teachers was unanimous on most public mind, traditionally of short teacher questions, viz., academic memory, the scandals of specula- freedom, tenure, salaries, organization, etc. However, the convention bery that characterize the erst- was divided on the most important question facing the American labor movement, the question of affili-Responsibility has the virtue of ation to the C.I.O. There was also very dignified connotations, an ex- sharp division on political quescellent catchword for a public tions such as war, peace, fascism, independent political action, etc.

The Controversy On The C.I.O.

Altho most of those who spoke against immediate affiliation or even against a democratic refe rendum on the question of affiliation to the C.I.O., beat their breasts and shouted that they were for industrial unionism and for the C.I.O., yet it became quite evident that their real reason for refusal to vote a referendum was the fear that their "pleasant" personal relationship with the A. F. of L. burocracy, locally and nationally, would be disturbed. A number of these pleaders for the status-quo (which means support for the A. F. of L.) are officers of their local A. F. of for its inclusion on the basis that

However, it is true that a number of small locals would temporarily bé put outside the organized labor movement in their particular locality. Much was made of this sectional viewpoint, tho it was quite evident that nationally the future of the teachers' movement lay with the C.I.O.—and that these local situations would clear up with the continued and inevitable growth and stabilization of the C.I.O. forces. How sharp was the division on the question can be seen from the close vote for the referendum (287-227).

The close vote clearly indicates lative Representative of the A.F.T. employing over 100 workers. This that anti-C.I.O. sentiment has It was a typical "People's Front" grown in the A.F.T. since its last report namely: (1) the A.F.T. must convention. The reason for the go in for the establishment of a growth of skepticism about the "people's culture"; (2) the A.F.T. future of the C.I.O. is due to the must "work for a revival of the Japan produces two staple pro- effect of the persistent and clever Kellogg Peace Pact as an effective ducts, silk and rice. In addition, she press campaign of the A. F. of L. instrument of peace for our counhas attempted to flood the world and the industrialists to discredit try and its neighbor, the world, In pig-iron, Japan produced less with cheap textiles, cotton, woolen the C.I.O., and also to the pernicious because, "in the principles of this than 2 million tons (1934), as and rayon goods. Rice has been hit "unity" position taken by the C.P. pact once can find all that is necesants on the land. Here is fertile soil against 20 million tons for the by competition (China, etc.) and and its trade union tendency in the sary for an adequate peace policy": United States (which was a de- so she has been forced to depend A.F. of L. As very recently as June, (3) the A.F.T. must use its power ments which the bourgeoisie dreads. pression figure, America having almost exclusively on silk (which | 1937, the C.P. "unity" position still of "political reprisal" and take its For these reasons, sections of the produced over 40 million tons in she exports almost 100%) to get expressed itself in urging all proplace in the looming split in the her the raw materials which she gressive international unions to re- Democratic party "with the pro-In steel, Japan produced 4½ mil- needs for her textiles (raw cotton, main inside the A.F. of L., in plead- gressive forces against the reaclion tons in 1935. This is a peak raw wool and wood pulp for rayon). ing for the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. tionaries . . ." "Let us repudiate at figure for Japan, representing a However, the prices of the raw unions to unite for a "stronger and the next election those who have war time demand. It compares but materials which Japan needs have more powerful A.F. of L." The C.P. betrayed us, no matter what their poorly with England's 10 million risen steadily since the crisis year failed to recognize the inevitability former political tinge and support and America's 56 million.

1929, whereas the one raw staple
Japan is somewhat better off in
she possesses, silk, has failed to character. Hence, when the prowith us for measures that would of strengthening their position at coal, producing 40 million tons, participate in the recovery. For C.I.O. forces, of which the Prohome, of tightening their grip on the state power. They feel that, with the European powers now involved in the Spanish events, the volved in the Spanish events, the time is ripe to end the "Chinese affair." They have certainly had which is necessary for iron and get, whereas the prices of raw cotton, wool and wood pulp have alback to the membership on a line that labor must rely on its own She is also very weak in the non- most reached pre-depression levels of action, the C.P. forces defeated independent strength, not on ferrous metals which are so im- The result has been a growing ad- this proposal, attacking all who "good" politicians or diplomatic portant for the carrying on of verse balance of trade, the trend indicated that a split in the labor security pacts, the report was remodern warfare—aluminum, anti- indicated by the following figures: movement was in the offing as ferred back to the Legislative Commony, copper, lead, manganese, 1932—21 million yen; 1933—56 mil- splitters, disrupters, etc. According mittee where it was buried. Thus, to the C.P. (at the 1936 conven- in spite of press reports to the con-The national debt has grown each tin), to speak about a possible trary, this sample of "People's resources and technological capa- of only one of them, copper, and year by leaps and bounds. Ag- split was to help bring about such Frontism" (read class collaboracity, by the strength of the indus- even here she must import 20% of gravated by the swollen war a split. Hence, instead of utilizing tion) was not only not adopted but

last year's convention, no educa-

| tional work for C.I.O. affiliation

gates had about the C.I.O. was that found in the anti-labor press. To many delegates, the fight between the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. appeared mainly as the clash of two equally stubborn personalities, Green and Lewis, and was not a uestion of labor development at Chiefly due to the C.P., the re-

solution for a referendum that was passed was marred by the inclusion of the utopian, hare-brained and anti-C.I.O. proposal for an "allinclusive unity convention" of A. F. of L., C.I.O. and independent unions (the railroad brotherhoods) This is opposed to the realistic position of John Lewis, that unity is possible only in and thru the C.I.O. Tho this unity convention idea had nothing to do with the purpose of the resolution calling for a referendum, and its inclusion was opposed in the Committee or Affiliation by the representative of the Progressive Group, it was voted by the C.P. and S.P. members to include it. A number of non-C.P. members on the committee voted such a plea for a unity convention is a good gesture, will catch votes for the referendum and will never be realized anyway. However, the leader of the C.P. forces earnestly insisted that it was not meant as a gesture but was proposed as a 'realistic proposal to bring unity in

Some Political Questions

A word must be said about the olitical questions which were prought before the convention. The first difference arose on the report distributed and read by the Legis-

tion, the C.P. forces urged no A further difference of opinion With these conditions prevailing, action and fought for the mainten- arose on the resolution on war problem. This is the Achilles heel sented by the C.P. forces last year. the resolution, urging labor to rely

JACOBIN DEFENSE IN THE SPANISH WAR

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from Last Week)

Let us turn nearer home. In the American Civil War, the North was fighting a progressive war, essentially a bourgeois revolutionary struggle against the slaveholding South. But at the helm in Washington was a conservative administration, headed by Lincoln, which did its best to curb, conceal and reduce to a minimum the revolutionary character of the war. The whole struggle, Lincoln maintained, was not really over slavery at all but over the Constitutionjust as the Stalinists today maintain that the Spanish civil war has nothing to do with socialism but is really a battle over the type of regime ("democracy vs. fascism"). The Lincoln conservatives refused to take any radical social measures, such as the emancipation of the slaves and the arming of the Negroes, even tho such measures were obviously necessary to win the war. The slavery question—administration spokesmen declaredcould not possibly be considered before military victory had been achieved. In their letters, Marx and Engels repeatedly pointed out the suicidal character of the Lincoln policy and emphasized that, unless revolutionary measures were taken, the Union cause would be in a very bad way indeed.* In this Marx agreed with a group of Republican radicals and abolitionists who carried their hostility to the Lincoln administration to the point of open break. Fortunately, radical pressure proved effective; the policy of the administration underwent a marked change and the war was

Were Marx and Engels, were the Republican radicals and abolitionists, "agents of the slave-power" because they combined unqualified support of the Union side in the Civil War with implacable political struggle against the Lincoln administration which, mind you, was officially conducting the war against the Confederacy? course not-they represented the best interests of the American people in the crusade against slavery!

Kerensky And The Bolsheviks In Russia

In August-September 1917, republican Russia was ruled by a "People's Front" regime, headed by Kerensky. In true People's Front style, Kerensky had just outlawed the Bolshevik party, suppressed its papers, arrested its leaders, driven Lenin in hiding with a price on his head. But now Kerensky was menaced from the right; a clique of monarchist generals, led by Kornilov, were making ready to oust him and take things over themselves. Early in September, Kornilov struck and the counterrevolutionary insurrection was launched. The parallel to the Spanish situation is so striking that it surely needs no elaboration.

What was the policy of the Bolsheviks in this critical situation? Did they say: Kerensky is now being attacked by Kornilov who is making a bid for powertherefore we must give up our opposition to Kerensky regime and come out in its support? No-the policy of the Bolsheviks was quite different. Of course, we fight against Kornilov to the bitter end -said Lenin-but we do not sup-

port Kerensky. We continue our political opposition to him and point out that his policies opened the way for Kornilov in the first place and today make impossible any effective struggle against the Kornilovist adventure.

"We will fight, we are fighting against Kornilov," wrote Lenin in a letter to the Bolshevik central committee on August 31, 1917, "but we do not support Kerensky. On the contrary, we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is a rather subtle difference but it is highly essential and one must not forget it."

Was Lenin, were the Bolsheviks, "monarchist agents" because they combined a vigorous struggle against Kornilov with implacable political hostility to the Kerensky government which, mind you, was officially conducting the war against the reactionary insurrection? Of course not-the Bolsheviks proved the salvation of the Russian people?

Is it really necessary to multiply examples? Did the most wholehearted support of Ethiopian resistance to Italian imperialism preclude a revolutionary-democratic program in opposition to the feudal regime of the Emperor Haile Selassie? Or does resistance to Japanese imperialism in China today imply political support to the bloody, treacherous and, in the long run, defeatist regime of Chiang Kai-shek? No-in both cases, Jacobin defense is the only kind of defense that is really effective, the only kind of defense in consonance with the immediate and long-range interests of the masses of the people!

Revolution And War In Spain

The application of all this to the Spanish situation is plain on the face of it. Only a determined revolutionary policy can win the war against Franco. The policy of the Negrin-Prieto-Stalinist regime can lead only to defeat and disaster. The best interests of the Spanish people, therefore, demand a double struggle: the most determined prosecution of the war against Franco at the front and, at the same time, an unremitting political effort to bring about a change of regime and policy at home! Everything against Franco-but no political support of Negrin, no confidence in his regime!

To those, then, who protest that we give material and financial aid to the Negrin government whose reactionary character is so notorious, we reply: Did not the Jacobins support the war against the monarchist coalition despite the fact that the Girondist regime was conducting it? Did not the Bolsheviks throw themselves into the str 'ggle against Kornilov despite the fact that Kerensky was at the head of the government, the same Kerensky upon whose orders their party and press had been outlawed and their leaders arrested? Did not all of us do everything in our power to assist Ethiopia to beat back the legions of Mussolini, even tho at its head stood Haile Selassie and his clique of feudal chieftains? The P.O.U.M.ists and other revolutionists in Spain are the very frontine fighters in the war against Franco; for us in this country, support of this war expresses itself in oractical form primarily in material and financial aid to the antifascist forces in Spain.

To those, on the other hand, who reproach the P.O.U.M. for opposing the Negrin government in the face of the fascist insurrection, we reply: The P.O.U.M. is but following in the glorious footsteps of the Jacobins who opposed the Girondin regime in the face of the attack of | movement the tail to a rehabilita-

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ICLL Holds **Labor School** In New York

The week-end Labor Institute of the New York district of the I.C. L.L. was successfully held Sept. 11th and 12th.

A total of eighty workers, comprising members and trade union sympathizers of the organization, spent two full days listening to and discussing lectures on Russia, Spain, Labor Politics, Social Legislation, Government and Trade Unions, and Problems of the C.I.O. The courses, chosen so as to deal with the most vital problems facing the advanced sections of the American labor movement, were commented on enthusiastically by the workers participating.

The excellent attendance and response to this new venture in the educational activities of the I.C.L.L. makes it probable that the Labor Institute may become a permanent feature on a semi-annual basis.

and abolitionists who opposed Lincoln in the face of the "slaveholders insurrection"-of the Bolsheviks who opposed Kerensky in the face of the Kornilov revolt! "Class struggle and resistance to invasion," we may learn from Rosa Luxemburg, "are not opposed to each other, as the official legend would have us believe, but the former is the means and expression tion of the class struggle has always proven the most effective weapon against foreign invasion." Precisely because victory in the war against Franco is the first and prime consideration, is it necessary never to falter in the political struggle against the reactionary and defeatist Negrin regime!

TEACHERS MEET AND THE CIO QUESTION

(Continued from Page 3) solidarity, nationally and internationally, as against sole reliance on so-called "peace" pacts formulated by "peace-loving" nations.

The Socialist Call, in its September 4 issue, falsely states in bold print that, "save for the socialists there was no opposition to the attempt to make the labor monarchist Europe-of the radicals | ted Democratic party, nor to com- | the other.

Union Incorporation

(Continued from Page 3)

agents. To destroy honest unionism, to destroy their effectiveness as bargaining agents of the workers, employers sent their underworld henchmen into the unions. In other cases, certain trade union leaders, facing insurgent movements designed to end their corruption and sell-outs, brought in racketeers to bolster their regime. The overwhelming majority of these instances occurred during the last great prosperity period and not only did big buusiness maintain a deadly silence about the evil but it ever actively aided it because it was cheaper to buy off the alliance of corrupt trade union officials and thugs than it was to meet the legitimate demands of honest trade

There are ample remedies, both of a criminal and of a civil nature for the elimination of racketeering. If such racketeering affects interstate commerce, it may be prosecuted by the federal authorities under an anti-racketeering statute enacted after a Senate investigation in 1933 into racketeering in general, including labor racketeering. It may be prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and under general statutes penalizing coercion, extortion and conspiracy. It may be indirectly prosecuted under the Federal Income Tax Law.

But employers have never invoked these laws against the labor

plete reliance on collective security and sanctions as a preventative against war." I must indicate that it was a leading member of the Progressive Group who raised these points of opposition.

A Progressive Movement Needed

One lesson must be learned from this convention. In order to defeat the class collaboration policy ("People's Frontism") of the C.P. forces and the timid, vacillating and conservative policy of some of the "old-timers," it is most urgent for genuine progressives to unite nationally into a progressive group. It is to be hoped that the S.P., locally and nationally, will cooperate in building such a national progressive tendency in the A.F.T. so that, at the next convention, the teachers will be spared "People's Frontism," on the one side, and the dead-hand of conservatism, on

racketeers; they have, however, invoked some of these laws against honest, legitimate trade unions, in attempts to wipe them out. It was and is the employers who have maintained the institution of labor racketeering. After all, it is the employers and their henchmen who have controlled the political and judicial machinery of the country and they never used it or attempted to use it to end genuine labor racketeering. What blatant hypocrisy is this new employer passion against labor racketeering? Would incorporation end labor racketeering? Nonsense, it is just as easy for the labor racketeers to set up paper corporations and dummy officers as it is for the racketeers of high finance, pardon us, "the captain of industry."

The same holds true in regard to the alleged employer concern over democratic control unions, which they contend incorporation would guarantee. It is more pertinent to inquire whether incorporation has invested the business enterprises with that "demothey would impose on cracy" others. Do the majority of the stockholders of a corporation actually determine the policies of that corporation? The incorporation law entitles them to control. Yes, the law does but the select groups of financial magnates exercise exclusive dictatorship nonetheless. Thru the notorious proxy system, power is shorn from the majority of stockholders and abrogated by tiny minorities. (Concluded next week)

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State

See Marx's letters to Engels, dated August 7, 1862 and August 9, 1862. Marx even suggested that it might have to come to "revolution" in North if the Union cause was to be saved. Just imagine—a revolution against Lincoln, right in the midst of the Civil War. Obviously, Marx was in the service of the then "Fifth Column"!