A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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C.I.O. Leaders To Meet

Lewis Calls Conference October 11th To Face Tasks Of Growth

Announcement of a conference of executive officers of unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization to be held the week of October 11th at Atlantic City, was made by John L. Lewis this week. The purpose of the conference, according to the announcement, will be "to canvass the work of organization and consider reports upon its administrative affairs and policies."

The date brings the conference together in the second week of the A. F. of L. convention, where it is expected that John Frey will lead the move to finally expel the unions affiliated with the C.I.O.

The October 11 conference will naturally take as its point of departure the fundamental fact that the C.I.O. has now definitely become the main stream of the labor movement in this country. It is not merely that the C.I.O. has already outstripped the A. F. of L. in its less than two years of existence; much more important is the fact that it has already entrenched itself in those great mass-production industries, such as steel, auto, electrical appliance, rubber, etc., where the future of American unionism obviously lies. The setback suffered in "little steel" has been largely compensated for by big headway made in other fields, especially the stabilization of the auto union in its organization and industrial relations. In the present situation, the main problem facing the C.I.O. seems to be the general stabilization and internal coordination of the vast, far-flung and rapidly growing movement. Ways and means will also have to be devised of meeting the new tactics of the A. F. of L., which is increasingly trying to play the role of company union in order to get "recognition" from the employers. Meeting simultaneously with the A. F. of L. convention at Denver, the conference will undoubtedly take steps to define more clearly the position of the C.I.O., with special emphasis on its permanence and established character as the authentic expression of American trade union-

S.T.F.U. TO CONSIDER C.I.O. AFFILIATION

The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union announced the calling of a special convention to be held here in Memphis September 24th, 25th and 26th.

According to the call for the Convention, the delegates will vote on the question of affiliation with The United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America, an affiliate of the C.I.O. which was chartered by John L. Lewis's organization following a Convention in Denver, Colorado, July 9th to 11th. J. R. Butler President of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, was elected by the Denver Convention as Vice-President of the new International Union.

According to H. L. Mitchell, Executive Secretary, if the delegates vote for affiliation with the C.I.O. Union the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union will retain its present identity and be granted complete autonomy.

WE KNOW WHAT WE WANT

By JAY LOVESTONE

ORE than that, we know why. And we know we are going to get it

What's it all about? We need, and want, \$10,000 in the next ten weeks.

To our enemies, this will appear a paltry sum. Nothing to make a fuss over and nothing to get excited about. These exploiters or subsidized puppets will undoubtedly say: "This shows how weak and puny the Independent Communist Labor League is. Why, a real organization can get \$10,000 at a snap of the finger, or by telegram or

To some of our friends, and even to some of our members, this sum might appear too big, beyond our reach and attainment. These wellwishers delving into the history of our organization can say to us without fear of challenge: "By Jove, this is twice as much as you've ever tried to raise. What's getting into you?"

Very well, to the sneers of our foes and to the fears of our friends, we can only say with Lenin:

"And it has frequently happened at critical moments in the life of a nation that even small but advanced detachments of advanced classes have drawn the rest after them, have fired the masses with the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm and have accomplished tremendous

historical feats . . ."

These undying words to the Petrograd workers during the famine days of 1918 are most appropriate on this occasion.

Yes, we are numerically much smaller than some organizations that make much noise in selfadvertising as champions of all the "people" and everybody's "happiness and prosperity." But our constructive work in the labor movement has been telling and has left an indelible imprint on the course of labor's progress.

We have not dropped the class of labor for the nebulous mess of the "people." That is why a friend in Philadelphia writes us:

"As a recent subscriber to your highly stimulating paper, Workers Age, I experienced crushing disappointment when it was contracted to four pages some time in August. Jay Lovestone's hope of an eight-page Age by the new year is heartening. Friends of the paper here in Philadelphia will strive to make that hope realizable. . . ."

That is why a member of the Communist Party in Connecticut, who has come to realize that the C.P. has turned its back on the principles of communism, tells us:

(Continued on Page 3)

IN MEMORIAM: THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Born 1919 - Died 1937

Burial Services Performed by Earl Browder in Funeral Oration Delivered At Symphony Hall, Boston, September 19, 1937

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE A it is not revolutionary. If it gives up as its aim the overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletarian revolution, there is nothing to distinguish it from a social-democratic party, a labor party, a populist party, from bourgeois democrats, liberals and reformists generally. Once it ceases to be revolutionary, it retains the name "communist" only to besmirch it. Once it ceases to be revolutionary, it ceases to exist. Dead men continue to bear the names they bore while living;

they are corpses just the same. By the above tokens, the Communist Party of the United States is no more. On September 9, 1937, after a lingering and painful illness, it died of bourgeois democratic illusions, vulgar reformist hallucinations and constitutional anemia, mplicated by acute diarrhea of thoughts. The last rites were fittingly pronounced by the combination doctor, coroner, preacher, and undertaker, Earl Browder, who killed it by his treatments, dressed it for the cemetery and pronounced its funeral oration at Symphony Hall, Boston. It is a sad and fitting fact that the cradle of the American bourgeois revolution of the past should be the final resting place of the party that once was dedicated to the making of the American proletarian revolution of the future!

Rooseveltian In Practise

"American democracy, as established by the Constitution and the victory of Jefferson in 1800, is in danger of being destroyed," said Browder, acting as preacher. Then, as coroner, certifying the deadness of the deceased, he added: "But it is not threatened by the commu- life."

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE nists nor by any vague proletar-communist party is nothing if an dictatorship." Vague indeed, attenuated to the thinness of an astral body haunting the folds of "Old Glory" and prevented only by the tortured thought of a yet unburied hammer and sickle from leaving this earthly region altogether, for the limbo of the lost souls and eternal rest and forgetfulness. "Peace, peace, thou tortured spirit," said the melancholy Earl as he cast the hammer and sickle into the flames and released the ghost forever.

"I have no hesitation in declaring, for the Communist Party and its followers, that with the central thoughts and the direction of President Roosevelt's speech, we are in practical agreement and that, on such questions with which we disagree, these are not questions for immediate and practical solution." The Communist Party died of agreements with the ruling class words and chronic constipation of | party in power. It had reservations in theory but they do not make any practical, nor immediate difference. All differences with the New Deal practice have disappeared. "When the corpse was buried," reads the police blotter, "certain of its theoretical effluvia and other possessions were left unclaimed and unburied in the ice house at the morgue." "These are not questions for immediate practical solu-

"Bourgeois Communism"

"In our generation," President Roosevelt had said two days earlier, "a new idea has come to dominate thought about governmentthe idea that the resources of the nation can be made to produce a far higher standard of living for the masses if only government is intelligent and energetic in giving the right direction to economic

We used to think that Marx had proved that the condition of the masses could not get better and better under capitalism, that there was an inevitable tho zigzagging tendency towards concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands and ever bigger wars and depressions and increasing misery and tyranny for the masses, so long as capitalism should endure. That and that alone made necessary a revolutionary party, socialism and the revolution itself. Therefore the Communist Manifesto, an ancient document which cannot keep up with "Twentieth Century (People's Front) Americanism" declared as early as 1847, when the communist movement had just been founded: "The immediate aims of the communists are the destruction of bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat."

But Browder believes with Roose-(the one just quoted above -B.D.W.) we declare our heartiest agreement. With every group or person which makes this thought the guide in formulating policy, we of the Communist Party can find an ever-growing basis for common action.'

"What prevents this policy from being expressed in government action?" asks Browder. Will he answer: Capitalism—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie thinly disguised in democratic forms—the inevitable tendencies of capitalist economy? Not Browder! No, Browder continues, "President Roosevelt answered this question correctly as

"We have those who really fear the majority rule of democracy, who want old forms of economic

(Continued on Page 5)

A.L.P., Fusion **Bar Harvey**

Deal Of LaGuardia With Labor Hater Rejected By Labor Party

Faced with outright old-line machine politics in the form of La Guardia's endorsement of the reactionary Harvey of Queens, the American Labor Party, thru its executive secretary, Alex Rose, issued a sharp denunciation of the Mayor's action and categorically separated itself from this move.

"To make our position clear," Alex Rose stated to the press, "let me say very emphatically that the American Labor Party will not indorse George U. Harvey for the presidency of the Boro of Queens."

"To us he is nothing more than a bombastic calamity-howler, hysterical in his hatred of labor and progressive ideas.

We are determined to oppose his re-election."

The reply of the American Labor Party was in immediate response to LaGuardia's action. Forewarning of the deal between LaGuardia and

Harvey came when the latter praised the Mayor's rule as regards transit, at a Republican dinner a few weeks ago. The weakness of Fusion in Queens as compared with the regular Republican machine apparently made La Guardia feel that it was a case of "either-or." Nevertheless, despite the political mechanics involved, the fact remains that LaGuardia's endorsement of Harvey was a direct slap in the face of his major political support, the A.L.P.

So offensive was this typical machine deal, that the City Fusion party itself, the Mayor's own political organization, refused to go along with him and announced that it will continue to urge the candidacy of Ambrose Bracker for Boro President.

Meeting last week, the state executive committee of the American Labor Party endorsed a number of Mayor LaGuardia's running mates on the Republican-Fusion tickets, including Thomas E. Dewey, Joseph D. McGoldrick and Newbold Morris. In addition to Harvey, the A.L.P. also refused to support the Republican nominee for boro president of Richmond, Joseph A. Palma. As to delegates for the state constitutional convention, it decided to put up its own slate, which would include some "acceptable" Democrats and Republicans as well as independent candidates. The A.L.P. also intends to nominate its own slate for velt. "With this central thought the Assembly, Robert F. Wagner, of President Roosevelt's speech Jr. being the only old-party nominee to receive its support. In seven districts, however, it will run no candidates against the incumbent Democrats.

UAW DEMANDS WAGE RISE OF CHRYSLER

Having already made considerable headway in reaching a basis for the renewal of its agreement with General Motors, the United Automobile Workers Union last week addressed a demand to the Chrysler Corporation for wage increases for all the more than 50,000 Chrysler hourly rate workers as well as for a change in production rate.

Richard T. Frankensteen, acting president of the U.A.W. during the illness of Homer Martin, president, has not yet made public the exact nature of the union's demands.

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AT THE END OF THEIR ROPE

THERE are sometimes occasions when a certain event, trivial enough in itself, acquires exceptional significance as an indication of underlying trends of development reaching their long foreseen yet shocking culmination. The address delivered the other day by Earl Browder at the Massachusetts state convention of the Communist Party is by no means a world-shaking event-not even in the world of Stalinist hero-worship. Yet his words on that occasion cannot be denied real historical importance for, as Bertram D. Wolfe so well shows in another part of this paper, they register the death of the American Communist Party as a communist organization. In them may be detected—if one has but the stomach for the task—what a foul, evil-smelling, decomposing mass the dead body of Stalinist "communism" has become in its quick decay!

Surely there is something awful, tho revolting, in the very degradation of the spectacle. A revolutionary, anti-capitalist party proclaiming its "heartiest agreement" with "the central thoughts and direction" of President Roosevelt's political approach, the approach of one whose chief aim is to stabilize and perpetuate the capitalist system! A communist party guaranteeing to the President that "his fear of impatient ones who want utopia overnight, who want some vague form of proletarian dictatorship ... is not valid"! An oppositional party—for surely Browder will concede that his party is oppositional at least-assuring the administration "quietly and calmly" that it "has nothing to fear from us . . . "! Could abject political servility sink lower? Can anyone imagine Labor's Non-Partisan League or the American Labor Party, which do not pretend to be either revolutionary or communist, crawling thus indecently before the powers-that-be? Can Browder learn nothing at all from John L. Lewis's speeches -or his silences?

To Browder, his differences with the New Deal are not "immediate" issues, just a little dispute over a "jump to utopia overnight" (socialism). But don't think that Browder limits himself to the immediate in everything. Oh, no-in certain matters, he looks far ahead. He envisages the possibility that when, at some time in the future, the United States is engaged in "repulsing a fascist (read: Japanese.— The Editor.) invasion," certain "extremists," i.e., revolutionists, may attempt to "stab it in the back," apparently by refusing to conclude civil peace and continuing the class struggle in war time. Against such abandoned wretches Browder is ready to take immediate action; against the danger from the left. he is up in arms, in stark contrast to his fawning servility towards the Roosevelt administration. Right here and now, he promises, in the name of his party, that it will "be in the forefront of the struggle to suppress such 'extremists' . . . and render them harmless." Socialism, revolution—these are "vague utopias"; but counter-revolution is something else again. In just so many words, he pledges in advance that his party can be thoroly relied upon to carry out any piece of counter-revolutionary dirty work that the American ruling class may desire to be done. In just so many words, Browder and his friends are now offering themselves to big business as the American Noskes and Scheidemanns of the

So be it! Browder has written the epitaph of his party as a communist organization. But Browder should know, if he still remembers anything at all of his old reading, that communism is not the creation of a few wicked agitators or "extremists" but emerges out of the very conditions of capitalism itself, even New Deal capitalism. Other hands -we may assure him-are being raised to hold aloft the red banner of revolutionary socialism which he and the officialdom of his party have so dragged in the mud!

|JAPAN'S PEASANTRY AND| THE WAR CRISIS

By JIM CORK

THE whole of Japanese economy rests upon an agrarian base. is the excessive weakness and backwardness of Japanese agriculure that weakens Japanese econmy thruout. It is the Achilles heel

of Japanese imperialism. Over half of the population of apan still lives on the farm. Most of them live in a perpetual state of semi-starvation. Farming methds are exceedingly primitive; the social relations of production on the land are in the main feudal. The feudal nature of Japanese agriculture accounts for the widespread survival of handicraft proluction. This, in turn, accounts for the stunted growth of industry, which has remained to this day exeedingly backward in technological development and, in the main, on the basis of small-scale production. The poverty of the farming nasses accounts for the backward. sweated nature of the textile inlustry, Japan's main "challenge" to the world, which draws upon the village women for its chief source agriculture is further subject to of labor power. It accounts for the governmental taxation. When Japan low total value of Japan's national started her rapid industrialization wealth and income, for the limits about 70 years ago, the main to accumulation of capital, for the source of revenue to finance the narrowness of the home market, thus driving Japanese capitalists land; and, accordingly, the latter abroad in the feverish search for was taxed to the maximum. The markets and capital plunder. The same situation prevails today. All primitive methods of culture pre- available state resources still go sent the powers-that-be with the for armaments and for subsidies to problem of a limited food supply and high prices for food.

Japanese Farms And Farming

Japan is a small country. Owing o its mountainous nature, only about 15% of it is arable. Yet, on this limited amount of land. about 35 million people must exist. It is not surprising, therefore, that the size of the Japanese farms is so minute. About 35% of the farming population cultivate farms of about 1.1/5 acres, another 35% between $1 \frac{1}{5}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Thus about 70% of the total farming population work plots not above 21/2 acres. Another 22% work an area between that and 5 acres. Ten acres are considered a large size farm in Japan. Only 1½% of the farmers have more than 121/2 acre

Agricultural methods are very primitive, the majority of the peasants tilling the ground with practically the same implements as their feudal ancestors used. Modern farm machinery or tools are extreme rarities in Japan. Farm animals are scarce. The place of the horse and the cow in ploughing, etc., is, in many cases, taken by the human body. Under such breaking toil is necessary to eke property. This, in most cases, out even the barest minimum to means confiscation of crops, since keep body and soul together. This the peasants have practically no would be so even if this were the property. hole story. That is hardly the peasant is subject to the added the tenant to meet his rent by evicthe necessity of buying fertilizer, the tenant farmer has no legal not to mention the dead weight of

I the ubiquitious money-lender.

The Extent Of Tenancy Nearly 70% of the farmers of Japan are tenants for all or part of their land, paying rent on a share-crop basis, usually from 50 o 60% of the total crop. This, let it be understood, is not 50% or 60%of whatever the crop might be, i.e. a good yield or a poor one. It is a

fixed number of bushels per acre estimated on the basis of a top yield for a good harvest. If a poor yield is the result, so much the worse for the peasant. The landlord gets his, come what may. Of the remainder left for the peasant part goes for fertilizer which is absolutely necessary for such smal plots so intensively cultivated. Cost of fertilizer is very high be cause it is subject to monopoly prices. And, finally, the necessity of borrowing money, practically

continuous process for the peasant

at rates running as high as 40%. Unbelievable as it might seem in the face of these conditions newly created industries was the big capitalist industries. Even today, the incidence of taxation is highest for agriculture. The scales range from about 2% to 20% for industry, 12% to 18% for commerce, and 25% to 60% for agriculture. Incomes as low as 300 income. Incomes as low as 300 ven vearly (about \$75) are subject to taxation. With most of the crop therefore, subdivided amongst the landlord, money-lender and government, it is no wonder that the Japanese peasant is perpetually in

a state of acute want and, in many ases, actual starvation. Rural debt has, of course, riser year by year. In 1920, it was 2 oillion yen; in 1929, 4 billion; in 932, 6 billion; and today, it must e somewhere around 8 billion.

The Burden Of Taxation

Since 1929, arrears in taxation have inevitably piled up. The farmers simply cannot pay. As illustration of the tendency, I give the ollowing figures for a large district, Yamanashi:

1931—168.000 ven 1932-292.000 yen. 1933—568,000 yen.

1934—1,000,000 yen In 1934, the authorities started a campaign for compulsory colleconditions, it is obvious what back- tion of taxes thru confiscation of

case, however. In addition, the punishes inability on the part of rushing burdens of rent, taxation, tion. This is easy for, in Japan, (Continued on Page 4)

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WORLD TODAY

Reaction In Spain Causes Ferment In Ranks Of Left Socialists

London, September 5, 1937.

FROM the report of the Anglo-French socialist delegation, headed by James Maxton of the I.L.P., it is plain that the Valencia government finds itself in the grip of a struggle which is naturally making impossible the effective conduct of the war. It has now become the chief concern of this government to launch an offensive against the anarchosyndicalists and the Caballero wing of Spanish so-

The report of the delegation shows that the whole government is anxious to deceive international public opinion as to the murder of Nin and to create the impression that Nin is still alive. The information seems to point to the Soviet general staff commander, "Orlov," as the ringleader in the murder. The report indicates, further, that the danger of the summary murder of the other leaders of the P.O.U.M. has not only not been removed but is even growing more serious. The Soviet and Comintern agents in Spain, against whom the Negrin government is putting up practically no resistance at all, are now attempting to accuse the P.O.U.M. leaders of connections with "Gestapo agents." (By "Gestapo agents" they mean the German revolutionists who have been fighting at the front side by side with the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M.!) International pressure must not be let up for a moment if the murderers of Andres Nin are to be called to account and the arrested members of the P.O.U.M., C.N.T.-F.A.I. and U.G.T., as well as the foreign revolutionists, are

Especially significant is the information contained in the report of a statement made by Caballero and others "that the possibility is not excluded of a popular rising similar to that which took place in Barcelona in the early days of May, only on a much bigger scale and with much more serious consequences." This forecast is evidently based upon observation of the effects of the provocations that the C.P. of Spain and the P.S.U.C. have, in recent weeks, been carrying on against the revolutionary working class of Catalonia and the rest of Spain.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The Japanese attack on Shanghai met with the determined and effective resistance of the Chinese. The time is evidently gone by when the Japanese are able to engage in military promenades thru China at will. The successful Chinese resistance before Shanghai is in itself a heavy blow at the military prestige of Japan. Thru these setbacks, Japanese imperialism will be driven constantly to extend the field of its operations, to throw ever new forces into the struggle and thereby to increase the military, economic and financial costs of the war as well as to multiply the possibilities of conflict with Japan's imperialist competitors in China, especially England and America. The Japanese occupation of the island Lin-ting, to the southwest of Hong-Kong. enables Tokyo to threaten the English lines of communication between Hong-Kong and Singapore on to carry thru a blockade of the Chinese coast.

We repeat: the task of the working classes of England and America does not consist in spurring on their imperialist governments to take part in the war in the Far East in the name of "democracy." The task consists rather in straining all their powers to prevent such a thing, to compel their governments to give up all imperialistic privileges in China and, thru their own action, to block the sending of supplies of munitions and raw materials to

"CLEANUP" ALSO IN THE C.P. OF FRANCE

The leadership of the C.P. of France is directing to the membership these days a questionnaire of no less than 78 questions, on the basis of which a "cleansing", Russian model, will be undertaken. Incidentally the questions were in the possession of the bourgeois newspaper, Republic, before they reached the C.P. members. The questionnaire is a typical police document. It extends to the political stand taken by party members on the occasion of previous party discussions, on their relations with the opposition, etc. In this way it is hoped to cleanse the party finally of the last remnants of real communist cadres—as it is there are not many left.

|COMPARE THE RECORD, Onward March of C.1.O. Maddens Heads of A.F.L.

Worker, organ of the U.A.W., issue of September 18—Editor.)

THE last few weeks have been marked by a sharpening of relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization. The responsibility for this does not lie with the C.I.O. for it says now as it said a year or more ago -the war will be over just as soon as the A. F. of L. guarantees the mass production industries will be given the right to organize along industrial lines and to retain their membership working in the given industry. This the A. F. of L. has consistently refused to agree to.

"Malicious" tongues say that William Green's intensified offensive against the C.I.O. is due primarily to the rumblings of dissatisfaction coming from the direction of Wharton, Frey and Hutche-L. There has even been some talk believable," he states, "that any of firing Green who, since the suspension of the United Mine Workers, has no organization to fall back on for support. The recent therefore in the nature of the tablishment of a dual, rival move laborer making himself worthy of

Green's recent effusions revolve around a few main issues: (1) The A. F. of L. has persistently attempted to re-establish the unity of the trade union movement; (2) The C.I.O. is disruptionist, dual unionist and destructive of the best interests of labor; (3) The leaders of the C.I.O. seek to be come political dictators.

The first and third arguments are not of basic importance. Only those will believe that the A. F of L. has "sought to compose th differences and to reestablish la bor upon a united basis" whose bias in favor of the discredited craft form of organization blinds them to the truth. Green is absolutely correct when he says: "If there had been no Committee for Industrial Organization set up there would be no division in the ranks of labor." But neither would there be the tremendous extension of trade unionism in the country and the organization of the mass production industries.

Split Inevitable

It is unfortunate that the progress of American trade unionism should have made necessary a division in the A. F. of L. bu that split was primarily determined by the American Federation of Labor when it set itself upon the road intent on blocking the further progress of unionism. To say that division could have been avoided is the C.I.O. had not come to be to close one's eyes to the historical forces operating in the midst of American labor. Had the A. F. L. lived up to the requirements of its position as the dominant labor movement in this country there would be no C.I.O. today. To berate the C.I.O. as a source of division is to echo the past cries of the Tories that there would have been no war were it not for the traitor George Washington or that of the would have been no civil war save makes haste to inform us: for the meddling abolitionists. All forget or deny the basic causes which brought these movements to

The argument of political dictatorship is equally unfounded. It is trotted out now only in order to place the A. F. of L. in line with the cry of the employer organiza- the wind. tions, hoping to increase the commovement to a political machine" in order to:

(Reprinted from the United Auto does not hit at John L. Lewis or here and there between the two at the C.I.O. but at a growing and labor bodies, he stated that the fundamentally healthy revolt in the main field of the C.I.O. is the mass sued last week by Jay Lovestone, terly obnoxious to all decent workbody of labor against the very policy of "rewarding friends and had achieved remarkable successes. munist Labor League, in answer to der was ordered to put thru a sudpunishing enemies" from which He flatly denied that the C.I.O. was an "open letter" addressed by Earl den right-about-face in the policy Green refuses to budge and which a movement dual to the A. F. of L. Browder, secretary of the Commu- of his party, he suddenly anhe holds out as labor's salvation. It is this very policy which brought forth a crop of so-called friends of abor, who, with very few excep-

tions, betrayed labor and took their also of President Green. place on the side of the employers in all recent bloody battles fought in the basic industries of the land. Labor is revolting against being continuously sold out by the 'friends of labor." Threats of political dictatorship will not halt the growing movement for independent olitical action.

But much more important is Green's insistence that labor has been irreparably harmed by the birth of the C.I.O. He aims his sharpest shafts at the C.I.O. on this count. "It seems almost unbor would deliberately create split and division in the organized labor movement through the esment."

"No well financed organization of hostile employers," he continues "nor any combination of labor hating corporations could have succeeded so well in the substitution of weakness through division for strength through unity. The Committee for Industrial Organization must be classified on the pages of the history of labor as a perversion and contradiction of all ethical standards which organized labor had created and observed.'

> Some A.F.L. Leaders Refute Charges

Indeed these are serious charges if true. But are they true? A few weeks ago Mr. Matthew Woll, representing Mr. William Green and the A. F. of L., appeared as a

L. and therefore must be considered as representing the opinion On Sept. 8, Mr. Birthright, delegate from the A. F. of L., ap-

he said

wage-earners. "And may I add that the basis of the mass production indus-

Here also it is fair to assume Green is fervently wooing.

Facts Speak Truth When it comes to a discussion of ternational Federation of Trade ment caused by the division of the and both together show a member-Unions in Warsaw, Poland, and C.I.O., Mr. Green's tears are de-ship greater than during the war asked for admission. The question cidedly of the crocodile variety. boom of 1920 by at least 3,000,of the C.I.O. was raised and the Mr. Green can convince no one 000. In fact, far from having relation between it and the A. F. that the trade union movement is harmed the growth of labor or of L. was discussed. Mr. Woll weaker today than it was in 1929 ganization, the C.I.O. drive in the rendered high praise to the organ- or even in 1933. The A. F. of L. basic industries was to a large exizing efforts of the C.I.O. Admit- today claims a membership of tent responsible for the very

We Know What We Want!

(Continued from Page 1) situation, the League of Na- strike-breaking democracy. Inited States (C.I.O. vs. A.F. member of the C.P., resigning the illegal trade unions.

That is why a spokesman for a "I have discussed your organ-

and we would like to know if it ize ourselves under your banner. Please let us know what to do and how to do it. . . . ' These are more than straws in

We need and want \$10,000petitive power of the A. F. of L. 1,000 new subscribers to the Work- Age, every friend of our organiza- whole front. Let's go! Green's attack against "indepen- ers Age-and 500 new members in dent political action (which) means | the Independent Communist Labor | union to which our members have | orders payable to Workers Age or the subordination of an economic League in the coming ten weeks

1. Win more rubber workers, "I would appreciate a list of auto workers, coal miners, steel literature explaining your posi- workers, marine workers, gar- the drive—a really substantial contion on war, the People's Front, ment workers, etc., for the milithe Farmer-Labor party, the tant class struggle against the civil war in Spain, the Chinese boss class and its fraudulent and

tions, the labor situation in the 2. Help our comrades and col- S.O.S. with a generous and prompt L.), etc. . . I am a former -especially the prolets building

because I did not agree with the 3. Aid the revolutionary fighters C.P. position on war or the C.P. against the Spanish fascist hordes position in elections of 1936. I particularly, the heroic fighters heartily disagree with many of who are now being imprisoned and the present policies of the are facing lynch-law at the hands of Stalin's hooligans in Spain. 4. Promote international labor

Southern slave holders that there group of workers in New Orleans solidarity and revolutionary unity at a time when it is most sorely needed and when realignments of ization with some of my friends profoundest significance are taking place in the ranks of the American would not be possible to organ- and international labor movement. Are these good enough reasons? Obviously! Of course!

Now, how are we (you and we, all of us) going to put across this program? Here's how.

1. Every reader of the Workers tion, every member of every labor mediately make a contribution to W. 33 St., N. Y. C.

IS REPLY TO BROWDER Statement of Jay Lovestone On The "Open Letter"

The following statement was is- | Unity League that became so utproduction industries where they secretary of the Independent Com- ers. Then, when in 1935 Mr. Brow-Mr. Woll was there in the ca- nist Party, to Mr. Homer Martin, nounced his full 'loyalty' to the pacity as delegate of the A. F. of president of the United Automo- trade union movement. Soon, howbile Workers of America, in regard | ever, it became apparent that, beto the disruptive activities of the hind these professions, adherence

Communist Party in that union:

Browder to President Homer Mar- ruption continued. From what ocpeared at the congress of the tin of the United Automobile curred at the U.A.W.A. conven-British trade unions and spoke at Workers of America is a trans- tion at Milwaukee recently, it length on A. F. of L.-C.I.O. rela- parent attempt on Mr. Browder's would appear that the auto worktions. In the course of this talk part to evade responsibility for the ers have come to recognize Mr. destructive activities of his follow- Browder and his party for what "I believe that with a short | ers in that organization. Mr. Browperiod of time we can bring into der seems greatly concerned lest some relation these two groups the officers of the U.A.W.A. conthat are sincerely devoted to suse his followers with the memthe organization of American bers of our organization. Let him rest easy. There is no possibility of such confusion; our records are so unions and breaking strikes, we of such an accommodation ought | different and the workers under- | were conducting an uphill fight to to be fair recognition on the stand the difference very well. As strengthen the trade union movepart of the leaders of the Fed- far as the auto workers union is ment thru a spirit of progressivism eration that the viewpoint as concerned, I am confident that the and militancy at a time when stag-

nection with the organization Browder the answer he deserves. "I will therefore concern myself | we aligned ourselves with the C.I.O. tries has merit and deserves re- only with the slanderous remarks | and the new labor movement ariscognition in any basic settle- made against the Independent Com- ing under its banner, sparing no

munist Labor League. hat Mr. Birthright represents the secretary of his party in 1929. pinion of the A. F. of L. and its Since then, what has been the rec-President William Green. How, ord of his party in the trade union hen, explain the apparent dif- movement? Up to 1934, deliberate the I.L.G.W.U., in the rubber, texerence in estimate of the C.I.O.? | splitting of legitimate labor or- | tile, coal, steel and other trade The fact of the matter is that ganizations — particularly the union organizations. Our members William Green is unable to sell United Mine Workers of America have earned for themselves the rehis attitude on the C.I.O. to the and in the International Ladies spect and esteem of their fellowlabor leaders and to the labor Garment Workers Union—founding movement in other countries. Even paper unions under Communist at home Green's sword-rattling and Party domination for the purpose fire-eating is intended not for of hampering and obstructing the of any union in which our people workers' consumption but for the activities of organized labor, which are to be found for a certificate of edification of the employers' as- it branded as 'social-fascist' and constructive activity! Can Mr. sociations whose favor William | 'company union.' We have not for- | Browder do the same?' gotten the notorious Trade Union

to factional ends and the practise "The 'open letter' of. Mr. Earl of reckless and irresponsible disthey really are. Naturally, Mr. Browder is irritated, but the auto

workers are to be congratulated.

"Our record is an open book, well When Mr. Browder was splitting set forth by the C.I.O. in con- officers of that union will give Mr. | nation and apathy prevailed everywhere. From the very beginning, effort at constructive activity in "Mr. Browder was ordered made every field of labor struggle. We have every right to be proud of the splendid work our members have done in the auto workers union, in workers everywhere. Our record speaks for itself and we confidently refer to the members and officers

Jay Lovestone

3,718,000. Each is larger by a mil- | conditions have become worse. The delegate at the Congress of the In- the weakness of the labor move- lion than the A. F. of L. of 1933 very opposite has resulted because ting that there was some friction 3,600,000 while the C.I.O. claims growth of the A. F. of L. itself Thus Green's cry of "weakness through division" is given the lie by a few simple membership figures. Nor will Mr. Green find i easy to claim that because of the split, wages have gone down and

2. Every labor organizationtrade union, fraternal, cultural educational—should answer our emittance.

3. Every subscriber of the Workers Age should get another to join | Decause of Several decause of F. of L. impotence and frustration. nim on the honor list—to celebrate It has already achieved miracles in the occasion of the approaching eighth anniversary of our weekly which has been a trail-blazer in enlightenment and guidance re- It has already outstripped the A. garding the problems and tasks of F. of L. in membership despite the the class war at home and abroad.

4. Every factory worker, every trade unionist who wants to fight of L. by the employers. It will effectively in behalf of his class continue to supplant the A. F. of should join our fold. There is room | L. because it follows the needs and for him or her by the thousands the requirements of the working in the Independent Communist Labor League.

With the why and how out o the way, let's go from words to deeds, from deeds to results, and from results to progress on the SUBSCRIBE NOW

Please make checks and money been giving their best, should im- to Jay Lovestone and mail to 131

of the organization of the C.I.O. Under the headline, "1937 Labor Income Set for a Record." the New ork Times says in part:

"The country's workers received \$41,250,000,000, or 65.5 per cent, of last year's \$62,-056,000,000 income. This was a new percentage high since the Commerce Department first started keeping tab on income distribution in 1929.

"Officials said employes' compensation will undoubtedly increase further this year because of fattened pay envelopes given to workers in the steel, automobile and other industries." C.I.O., Worker's Need

That last sentence, whether Green likes it or not, spells C.I.O. ith capital letters. So let Green wail and curse. The C.I.O. arose because of several decades of A. the way of organizing the mass production industries and improving conditions in these industries. open support rendered the A. F. class in modern industry.

TO WORKERS AGE

ON THE CIVIL WAR AND THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN

— The Last Thesis of Andres Nin =

What Are the "Crimes" of the POUM

We publish below the official Act of Accusation drawn against the P.O.U.M. leaders now awaitbe noticed that there are no direct charges of "espionage," "treason" or "relations with Franco," as the Stalinist press has trumpeted thruout the world. Evi dently it is much easier to make slanderous charges in your own papers than to insert them into an official indictment that will have to be examined by a public court. The Act of Accusation follows:

"(The accused) carried on in thus helping the rebels; and to the cause of the working class. the buildings of the P.O.U.M. a revolutionary standard he held high. collection of photographs of air ports, without any authorization for their possession, not any conthat the said party carried on illi-Spain for suspicious ends.

Without doubt, the P.O.U.M. leaders will give an adequate answer to these "charges" and turn their trial into a public accusation of the Stalinists and their liberal accomplices for their crimes against the Spanish revolution. Here we merely make some comment based on common knowledge of the real facts of the Spanish

ing" in Barcelona than the other democratic institutions. sections of the Catalonian working class who were defending the rev-

spite of what was happening at had virtually disappeared from the political scene.

(Continued on Page 5)

The following is a draft prepared by Andres Nin for the purpose of discussion and adoption by the P.O.U.M. at its second congress scheduled to take place this summer. It was published on April 5, 1937 in an "International Discussion Bulletin" with a request for comment, amendment or proposals for a "counter-thesis"—which may sound strange to Communist Party members who have forgotten what a convention discussion should be

The preparations for the convention were interrupted by the suppression of the P.O.U.M., the arrest of all its leaders and most capable and devoted members, the ing trial at Valencia. It will framing-up of Andres Nin as "an agent of Franco" and his subsequent murder in jail without trial. The thesis, even without the corrections and improvements in detail which would doubtless have resulted from the preconvention discussion, is one of the great documents of nternational Marxism. Few political papers, since the days when Lenin was at the head of the Communist International, have the revolutionary boldness, the insight, the luminous thought and vivid language that characterize this last important writing from the hands of Nin.

Let the reader compare it with the stale, sausagemachine theses of the ultra-left period and the fuzzy, unscrupulous and treacherous language of Comintern Barcelona during the month of documents today, and he will understand why these May, acts of a secret and private preachers of confusion and outworn bourgeois catchnature, hostile to the government, words, could not tolerate the existence of a clear revoluin order to impair its working; tionary voice which reminded them of their own past and also an uprising of a military and of the true meaning of the ideals and doctrines in character, bringing to the said cap- the name of which they profess to speak. That is the ital the P.O.U.M. militias of the reason why Nin lies dead, why his body, like those of Lenin Battalion, abandoning the Liebknecht and Luxemburg under similar circumstances Huesca front, with their arms and was secretly buried in the dead of night in some ditch even with their artillery, to weaken or sewer on the outskirts of Madrid, why his great voice the defense of the republic and is stilled and his clear brain has ceased to function in

bring about the disorganization of But such voices cannot be stilled: his thesis is being the rear; which acts, besides being | discussed in secret in the great cities and villages of Spain approved by the committee, were and among the troops that are holding their lines desencouraged by 'La Batalla,' organ perately against fascism, in the face of the sabotage of of that party; and have caused their own government. It continues to guide and ingreat damage and many victims. spire the P.O.U.M. which he led, and the Spanish work-Moreover, that they possessed in ing class which is rallying in increasing numbers to the

Our readers should study this document, read it and reread it, for it is full of lessons to revolutionists, to conscious workers everywhere. It permits us to judge nection with military organiza- the shabby forgeries perpetrated against Nin, to judge tions; and documents which show between his party of proletarian revolution and the official Communist Party of Spain, agent and executioner cit traffic in arms for their own use | for the counter-revolution; it throws a great light upon in the uprising here referred to. the problems of present day Spain, upon the People's Also, that they exported money Front, upon the Comintern. It calls aloud to us to give and valuables to France. Moreover, full support to the P.O.U.M. which is struggling for the finding of substitution codes these things without Nin or Maurin to lead it any longand a telegraphic code, showed that er and with all the rest of its experienced leaders crowdthey were used by the said party ed in the jails of Republican Spain in danger of sharing for secret aims and for the trans- his fate. We must enable the P.O.U.M., by our support, mission of news and orders; and to reconstitute itself underground, to spread this thesis that they maintained secret rela- in hundreds of thousands and millions of copies so that tions with foreign elements; and the voice of Andres Nin, which they tried to still, may that they held meetings outside be heard by every worker thruout the Spanish land.

The Nature of the Spanish Revolution

-THE EDITOR.

1. Developments in Spain since the Constituent Congress of the P.O.U.M., held in Barcelona on September 29, 1935, have confirmed the fundamental position of our party. We had affirmed that the struggle was not between bourgeois democracy and fascism but between fascism and socialism, and we were absolutely correct

in calling our revolution a democratic-socialist one. The experiences of 1931-1935 amply demonstrated that the bourgeoisie was impotent to solve the funda-1. During the fighting in Bar- mental problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, celona, the P.O.U.M. stood with the and showed the necessity of the working class to place Barcelona workers against the itself decidedly at the front of the movement for eman-Civil Guard and the Assault Guard cipation for the realization of the democratic revoluwho began the fighting by an act and for the initiation of the socialist revolution. The of provocation in attacking the tel- persistence of democratic illusions and the organic alephone building which had been liance with the Republican parties were to lead inevitheld by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. since the ably to the strengthening of reactionary positions, and outbreak of the civil war. There- in the near future, to the triumph of fascism as the fore the P.O.U.M. was no more re- only way out of a capitalist regime incapable of solving its sponsible for the so-called "upris- internal contradictions within the frame of bourgeois

The lessons of Asturias, where the proletariat by decisively seizing leadership of the movement of October 1934, dealt a mortal blow against reaction, and the les-2. No part of the P.O.U.M. mil- son of Catalonia, where during these same days we could itia or any of its fighting forces once more see clearly the incapacity and inconsistency was ever withdrawn from Huesca of the petty-bourgoois parties, were not taken advantage or from any section of the front. of sufficiently, due to the absence of a great revolution The Huesca front was held by the ary party. The socialist and communist parties, instead P.O.U.M. and C.N.T. militia and, of taking advantage of the lesson of October by pushhad they ever left the front, the ing forward the Workers Alliance which had produced fascists would be in possession of it such splendid results in Asturias, and instead of canalnow. As a matter of fact, both the ziing all the forces towards assuring the hegemony of P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is- the working class, once more shackled the proletariat, sued special instructions to their thru the People's Front, to the bourgeois Republican parmilitiamen to stay at the front in ties which had failed so miserably in October and which

> The period immediately preceding the elections of February 16th is characterized by the bringing back to life

of the Republican parties, thanks to the socialist and official communist parties, and also to a certain rebirth Jap Peasantry of democratic illusions among the masses, which seem to have been created more by the strong desire to secure the release of the political prisoners condemned for action in the October days than by confidence in the Republican parties. This desire was so unanimous and the movement so all-powerful that our party was forced to join it, but it completely preserved its personality and independence and exercised strong and pitiless criticism of Republican politics. This tactic, which saved us from right to the soil. If the landowner complete isolation, permitted us to approach closely to feels he can get a higher rent from large masses who until that time were inaccessible to us, somebody else, he can evict him at

The action of the left Republicans in power after Feb- compensation for any of the imruary 16, was an absolute confirmation of our predic- provements he may have found tions. From the very first moment, a complete divorce necessary (irrigation, fertilizer, took place between the government and the powerful etc.) to aid him in ekeing out his impulse of the masses who forced the government to miserable pittance. adopt the amnesty decree and initiated a vast and profound strike movement.

From below there was clamor for rapid and energetic on a Japanese farm, why do not the action for a policy of revolutionary achievement and peasants desert the land for the for rigorous measures against the reaction which each city? The answer is there is no day was becoming more and more insolent.

From above was carried on a policy of passivity, of native means of livelihood for him. contemplation; a policy whose slogan seemed to be- Such industrialization as has taken change nothing, frighten no one, do not hurt the inter- place, has not kept pace with the ests of the exploiting classes. The result of this policy growth of population, and has been was the fascist military rising of July 19, 1936. The roar of the cannon and the rattle of the machine guns fers employment mostly to peasant awakened the proletariat, still clinging to democratic girls but not to grown men. The illusions, from its deep slumber. The electoral victory Japanese peasant sends his daughof February 16th had not touched the basic problems of our land. The fascist reaction applied more forceful into prostitution, which is extremearguments than the paper ballot. Taking advantage of ly widespread in Japan) to help ne privileged position which the Republican government him pay off his debts. But he himtself had extended to them by maintaining them in the self has to remain on the land. most important strategic posts, the great majority of the officers of the army, in the service of reaction, unleashed

The Fascist Uprising and the Workers Revolution 2. The military-fascist rising provokes formidable re action in the working class which throws itself resolutely into the combat and, despite passivity in some cases and betraval in others, despite the Republican parties whose official representatives refused to arm the workers, de- ed with in any fundamental fashion feats the insurrection in the most important industrial centers of the country.

This determined intervention by the workers has great political consequences. The organs of bourgeois power are in reality destroyed. Everywhere revolutionary committees are created. The permanent army is overthrown and replaced by militiamen. The workers take possession of the factories. The peasant seize the lands. and monopoly capitalists who, to-Churches and convents are destroyed by the purifying gether, get the total produuct of fire of revolution. In a few hours, or at most in a few the land. Obviously this cannot be days, the workers and peasants, thru direct revolutionary action, solve the problems which the Republican bourgeoisie has been unable to solve in five years—that is to say, the problems of the democratic revolution, and the working class initiates the socialist revolution by expropriating the bourgeoisie.

For some time, the organs of bourgeois power are nothing but a shadow. The real power is in the hands of rigid and cruel oppression, the the revolutionary committees which form a close net- spirit of unrest and revolt has work in every region of the land not in the hands of the grown year by year. Tenant farm-

Nevertheless, in this first period, revolutionary impulse war days and have since grown much more vigorous in Catalonia than in the rest of stronger. Disputes and peasant Spain. There is no doubt but that Catalonia marches demonstrations either against the the head of the revolution thanks to the influence landlords or governmental authorof the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., which did ities have grown in frequency and not form part of the People's Front and where therefore size. The following figures denote democratic-Republican opportunism penetrated less deep- | the tendency: ly into the ranks of the working masses.

The fascist-military insurrection then, destined principally to strangle the revolutionary working-class movement, accelerates it at a dizzving speed and clearly plant the question of power: either fascism or socialism. What was planned as a counter-revolution turns into a proletarian revolution with all of its distinguishing characteristics: weakening of the bourgeois state machinery, decomposition of the army, of the forces of compulsion of ants were involved. They demonthe state, of the judicial institutions, arming of the strated and fought against excesworking class which attacks and weakens the right of prisive rents, excessive taxation, for vate property, direct intervention by peasants who are a moratorium on debts, against expropriating the landowners, and finally the conviction | eviction for default, etc. For fifteen on the part of the exploiting classes that their rule has years the tenant unions have

During the early weeks that followed July 19th, the to the soil which they till but withconviction that the past cannot return, that the demo- out success. cratic republic has been outlived, is general. And the revolution is so powerful that the petty-bourgeois parties antry is the sorest spot of Japathemselves proclaim the demise of the capitalist regime | nese imperialism. The powers-thatand the necessity of undertaking the socialist transforma- be have plenty to worry about. It tion of Spanish society.

The only immediate way out of the situation was to main source of revenue; it supplies coordinate the push of the masses and to institute a even the army itself (70% of it is strong government based upon the organizations born in peasant). It is strained to the the fire of revolution as a direct expression of the will breaking point. It could hardly of those who were playing a predominant role in the stand more. A long war with the struggle against fascism. Such a strong government could added strain might set the torch only have been a Workers and Peasants Government. to the potentially explosive ma-(Continued on Page 5)

and the War Crisis

(Continued from page 2) and among whom we were now able to spread our views. any time. The tenant cannot claim

It might be asked, at this point, if such be the unbearable situation other place for him to go, no altermostly in light industry, which ofters to the factories (or sells them

Japanese agriculture presents a vicious circle from which there is no escape. So long as it remains feudal in character, the situation must remain as it is. And the military-feudal-capitalist clique would most certainly not disturb its gold en goose, its chief source of plunder at home. It couldn't be tamperwithout destroying the "equilibrium" between agriculture and industry, which would mean the collapse of Japanese economy as a whole. Nothing can regenerate agriculture but the sweeping away of the landlords, money-lenders done without sweeping away the system of capitalism itself

The Development Of Peasant

Revolt The Japanese peasant has not, of course, taken his unenviable lot lying down. In spite of the most ers unions sprang up in the post-

No. of Disputes 1925 2206 1932 3414 5512 (first 9 months) 1935

Hundreds of thousands of peasfought to establish their legal right

The tragic condition of the peassupplies the food; it supplies the terial it constitutes!

IN MEMORIAM: THE COMMUNIST PARTY This position maintained by the P.O.U.M. since the very

(Continued from Page 1) and social control to remain in a few hands."

And, continues Browder to Roosevelt, "We communists declare our full agreement with this identifi- any utopia (how easily he falls in cation of the main enemy and the to the language of the enemies of form of its threat against the peo- socialism!—B.D.W.) upon the ma-

Your reporter stirred uneasily as, thru the recesses of the great similar to the situation in Spain, hall, came the shadowy voice of the where the democratic republic. so long "obsolete" Communist while repulsing the fascist invasion, Manifesto declaring: "There are was stabbed in the back by the certain bourgeois who want to redress social grievances-in order to safeguard bourgeois society." And these, the Manifesto calls apostles of "conservative or bourgeois so

Dead Parties Make No Revolutions Browder continues to reassure

the President that his party will not trouble the bourgeoisie any more. We quote:

"The President then goes on to express a fear which we believe to be without ground, with which we minds of progressive Americans.

too much of a hurry, who are imutopia overnight and are not sure siders its offer as an instrument of hat some vague form of proletaran dictatorship is not the quickest road to it. Both types are equally dangerous."

Have no fear, says Browder, ac cepting the President's characterization of the revolutionists:

"The impatient ones among the masses, those who want to jump to utopia overnight, can have no power except the power of large numbers, and numbers they can get only if the majority of the people should come to feel that they have been betrayed by their progressive and democratic leaders, or if those leaders should prove themselves in- graphs, documents, telegraph codes, capable (nothing to do with the na- etc., in the P.O.U.M. offices is not ture of capitalism, just a matter and never was a criminal offense of personal incapacity—B.D.W.) to Every political party has such maproduce a far higher standard of terial. Like all of the other workliving for the masses. Only produce constantly that higher standuce constantly that higher standard of living, even show only a armed them to the best of its abilconsistent and effective fight for it, ity for the struggle against fasand all fear of the impatient mass- cism. Being a military as well as es can be laid aside as unreal." Browder is counting, it seems, on sarily had such material in its the belief that, with the C.P. out archives. the capitalist system, such a fight France and elsewhere.

days of their life. Perhaps you think that this re-Marxism or of Leninism—which workers organizations. aid, by being ever more explicit:

promise of a higher standard of Federal Constitution. help to win that higher standard of 'tarian revolution.

| living for the masses.

"The Communist Party repudiates, now as in the past, all theories of proposals looking toward a forcible imposition of socialism or jority of the people. . . . If there should arise in America anything 'uncontrollable extremists'—a minority of the anarchists and the Trotskyist P.O.U.M. - Then we. like our brothers of the Spanist Communist Party, would be in the forefront of the struggle to suppress such extremists, who are really agents of fascism, and render them harmless.'

Now the secret is out! Even with bluff and bombast and padded figures, the Communist Party of the for a proletarian dictatorship in tarian dictatorship is not on the counter-revolution to fight against the proletarian dictatorship; and against the proletarian revolution. as a practical matter to be pledged (Continued on Page 6)

The "Crimes" of P.O.U.M.

(Continued from Page 4)

3. The possession of photo a political organization, it neces-

4. Nor were its efforts to ob-

organizations in Europe and America. And the same is true of the porter is stretching it, that Brow- "meetings outside Spain," they der is not really so ignorant of were conferences of revolutionary

6. The very decree under which

THE LAST THESIS OF ANDRES NIN

oment when the character of the struggle became clear, tumbled against the opposition of all the parties in the People's Front, and in first place, against that of the Communist Party, and the indecision of the C.N.T. whose anarchist ideology prevented it from realizing the fundamental and decisive importance of the problem of

In the meantime, with the aid of a tenacious and systematic campaign of propaganda, two views of tragic consequence for working class victory, were developed. The first of these views was expressed in the term: "First win the war, then make the revolution." According to the second view, which is a direct consequence of the first, in the present civil war, the workers and peasants are fighting for the maintenance of the parliamentary democratic republic and therefore one cannot speak of the proletarian revolution. Later, this conception acquired an unexpected corollary-namely, that this democratic struggle which bleeds and ruins the country is a war for national independence and for the defense of the fatherland. Our party adopted, from the very first moment, an at-

titude of decided opposition to these counter-revolution-

War and Revolution Are Inseparable

3. The formula: "First win the war, then make the revolution" is fundamentally false. In the struggle now United States claims only 50,000 going on in Spain, war and revolution are not only two members, but it is already offering inseparable terms, but synonymous. The civil war, a itself to the ruling class as the par- state of more or less prolonged, violent conflict between disagree, and which we think is ty of counter-revolution, as the two or more classes of society, is one of the manifestaalready disappearing from the murderers of the future Nins and tions—the sharpest—of the struggle between the prolethe crushers of the future struggles | tariat on the one hand and the big bourgeoisie and landowners on the other, who, frightened by the revolutionary "'And we have those who are in the United States! In Spain it has advance of the proletariat, attempt to establish a bloody dictatorship which would consolidate their class privileges. The struggle on the field of battle is only a protutional democracies, who want order of the day at present, it con- longation of the struggle in the rear. War is a form of politics. It is politics which directs the war in any case. Armies always defend the interests of a given class. It is a question as to whether the workers and peasants on the battle field are fighting for the bourgeois order or for a socialist society. War and revolution are insepin advance! A pledge against the arable at the actual moment in Spain as they were in France in the 18th century and in Russia in 1917-1920. How can we senarate the war from the revolution when the war is only the violent culmination of the revolutionary process which has been developing in our country from 1930 up to the present moment? In reality, the formula: "First win the war . .

hides the purpose of frustrating the revolution. Revolutions must be made when favorable circumstances exist and history does not offer them to order. If no advantage is taken of moments of greatest revolutionary tension, the enemy class reconquers lost positions and ends by strangling the revolution. The history of the 19th entury and the more recent post-war period (Germany. Austria, Italy, China, etc.) presents us with abundant proofs of this. To postpone the revolution until after he war has been won means to give free reign to the oourgeoisie who, taking advantage of the diminishing evolutionary tension, reestablishes its machinery of repression in preparation for the systematic and progressive estoration of the capitalist regime.

War, as we have already said, is a form of politics. The political regime always serves a definite class of which it is the expression and the instrument. While the war is on, some kind of politics must be followed: In the service of whom? In the interest of what class? ganization will engage in the task tain arms in any way illicit. And The whole question lies here. And the guarantee of a of proving to the masses that the only way it could obtain such rapid and certain victory at the front lies in a firm revogiven the nature of capitalist par- arms was by purchasing them lutionary policy in the rear—capable of inspiring the ties, such a fight cannot be "consi- abroad, necessarily involving the fighters with the fire and confidence indispensable for stent"; that, given the nature of sending of money and valuables to the struggle; of arousing the revolutionary solidarity of the international proletariat, the only solidarity upon cannot be "effective" and that only socialism can give the masses a "socialism can give the masses "constantly higher standard of living" and solve the problems of war, tionaries fighting in the anti-fascist of the cause of the proletariat, which is the cause of depression, unemployment, and ex- forces in Spain as well as the rev- civilized humanity. The instrument of such revolutionploitation, which beset them all the olutionary socialist and communist ary politics can be only a Workers and Peasants Govern-

The Reformist Menace in Spain

4. As in Russia in 1917 and in all of Europe after the imperialist war, the greatest obstacle to the victorious advance of the proletarian revolution was reformism, agent nor so vile in his misrepresentation the P.O.U.M. leaders are now be- of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the workers. But here of it. But Browder comes to our ing accused was issued on June 22, in our own country, we have the paradoxical case that 1937—that is, after the arrest of the most characteristic exponent of castrating reform-"The progressive program is not the accused (week of June 19) and ism is precisely the Communist Party of Spain and its revolutionary nor communistic. . . . | certainly after the alleged commis- affiliate the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (P.S. sion of the "crimes" charged against U.C.), member of an international, the Communist Intalism—if the progressives rally to the people for a real battle to post-facto law, a gross act of judi- of the Soviet burocracy which has turned its back upon Watchdog of Counter-Revolution
"Proletarian dictatorship," con
Watchdog of Counter-Revolution

Watchdog of Counter-Revolution

Watchdog of Counter-Revolution

Cial tyranny by those very standards of liberal democracy which the Stalinists pretend to hold so of Nations; official communism has definitely abandards. tinues Browder, "can become a sacred, something expressly forbid- oned revolutionary class politics and has turned towards practical order of the day in Amer- den in that sacrosanct document so the alliance with bourgeois-democratic parties (Popular ica only if President Roosevelt's precious to the Daily Worker, the Front) and is psychologically preparing the masses for the next war. From this comes the watchword: "Fight living under the present system is | 7. Even from the indictment, it | for the parliamentary democratic republic", complementdefeated or betrayed. We of the is clear that the only real "crime" ed by: "Fight for national independence" which, trans-Communist Party are prepared to charged against the P.O.U.M. is cooperate with everybody who will that it is the party of the prole-Anglo-French block, of which the Soviet Union is it-

self a part. The fatal consequences of such policy have not been long in making themselves felt: Reformism, speculating on the difficulties of the war and the possibilities of international complications and aided effectively by the representatives of the Stalinist burocracy, who, in turn, have speculated on the help lent by the U.S.S.R., has succeeded in undermining systematically the revolutionary conquests, and is preparing the ground for the counter-revolution. Our elimination from the government of the Generalidad, the attempts to form a "neutral, democratic" Popular Army, the suppression of the militias in the rear and the reconstitution of public order on the basis of reestablishing the old machinery and press censorship, are the most important steps of this counter-revolutionary process, which will continue inexorably until the revolutionary movement is completely crushed if the Spanish working class does not react rapidy and vigorously, reconquering positions won in the July days and pushing the socialist revolution forward.

In the present situation, unmistakably revolutionary, the watchword-"Fight for the parliamentary democratic Republic" can only serve the interests of the counter-revoutionary bourgeoisie. Today more than ever, "the word democracy is nothing more than a cover with which they wish to prevent the revolutionary people from rising and undertaking freely and fearlessly, on its own account, the building of a new society." (Lenin). As revolutionary Marxism has taught us, the democratic republic is only a masked form of the bourgeois dictatorship. In the period of the height of capitalism, when the latter still represented a progressive factor, the bourgeoisie could permit itself the luxury of conceding to the working class a series of "democratic" liberties considerably restricted to be sure, and limited by the fact of bourgeois economic and political domination. Today, in the epoch of imperialism, the "final stage of capitalism," the bourgeoisie, in order to overcome its internal contradictions, finds it necessary to resort to the setting up of brutal dictatorships (fascism) which destroy even these miserable democratic liberties. Under these circumstances, the world finds itself facing a fatal dilemma: socialism or fascism. The "democratic" regimes are of necessity fleeting, inconsistent and, to make matters worse, the lulling and disarming of the workers with "democratic" illusions effectively prepares the ground for fascist reaction.

The Stalinists, in order to justify their monstrous betrayal of revolutionary Marxism, argue that the democratic republic they have in mind will be a democratic republic different from the others. It will be a "popular' republic from which will have disappeared the material base of fascism. That is to say, they scandalously toss aside the Marxist theory of the state as an instrument of domination of one class and fall into the utopia of the democratic state "above classes", in the service of the people—with the object of mystifying the masses and preparing the consolidation, pure and simple, of the bourgeois regime. A republic from which the material basis of fascism has disappeared can only be a socialist republic, since the material basis for fascism is capi-

The Attitude of the Working Class Tendencies

5. "Anti-fascism" in the abstract—shrewdly managed y the reformists who are preparing politically and psychologically for intervention in the next imperialist world war, presented as a struggle between the fascist and democratic countries—is the antidote to the proletarian revolution, the expression of the policy of "national unity" against which Marxism has always placed the class strug-

If the dilemma before which history has placed the Spanish proletariat is "fascism or socialism", the fundamental problem of the hour is the problem of power. All the others—the question of military organization, of war industry, of supplies, of economic reconstruction, of internal safety, etc., are subordinate to this fundamental problem whose solution depends upon the class in whose hands power lies.

What is the attitude of the different sectors of the working class movement toward this problem?

The Communist Party, the Spanish Socialist Party and the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia advocate the policy of the People's Front, which presupposes the ise of power by the "anti-fascist" coalition with the bourgeoisie and with a bourgeois-demo-

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. resolutely declare themselves partisans of the socialist revolution and therefore bitter enemies of the restoration of the democratic republic; but their anti-state tradition and systematic propaganda in favor of libertarian communism, carried on during many years, makes difficult their evolution towards the concept of proletarian power.

Our attitude towards these different sectors is determined by the role they play or can play in the course of the development of actual events.

The Communist Party of Spain and the Unified So cialist Party of Catalonia, by their present political position, directly inspired by the Communist International -instrument, in turn, of Soviet burocracy-must be considered as ultra-opportunist and ultra-reformist organizations. For their policy of class-collaboration, for their complete renunciation of the fundamental principles and tactics of revolutionary Marxism, for their declared and active aid in the plans for strangling the Spanish revolution, plotted by national and international capitalism, the C.P. and the P.S.U.C. play the role of agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement; they are more dangerous for the revolution than the hour-(Continued on Page 6)

MENACE OF UNION **INCORPORATION**

By SAUL HELD

(Continued from last week)

the employers, would make the union liable for breach of contract and for unlawful acts occurring in the course of industrial disputes and otherwise. This is what the employers apparently mean by "responsibility."

First, unions are already legally responsible. Not only are work ers in a trade union liable individually but they are individually liable for the entire union. In actual fact, members of labor unions are liable far more extensively than are the members of a corporation or the corporation itself.

Indeed, in two prominent cases which have become precedent in law, the Danbury Hatters Case in 1915, and the U.M.W. vs. Coronado Coal Co., in 1922, the highest courts held that unions, tho unincorporated, are financially responsible. In the former case not only the officers of the union but also the union members were held responsible and the court considered attachment of the homes and the estates of the defendants, of the union members, to collect the fine, about \$240,000. And, in the Danbury Hatters Case, the verdict was given against the union on the basis of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, whose author and the Congress that enacted it had declared that trade unions must be exempt from the act's provisions!

Incorporation And Responsibility

What are the real reasons for this employer passion for incorporation and other legislation. It is not yet clear whether employers will attempt to include their entire program for oppression of the unions in a special type of incorporation legislation or whether they will at tempt to get at it gradually by the passage of a series of legislative acts. The essence of the program is the same, however.

Commenting on the incorporation proposals. The Advance, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has summarized labor's viewpoint excellently:

"Incorporation would give the courts, corporation-minded as they 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 unions, would make it particularly easy for anti-union employers to have union funds tied up interminably and thus to cripple union

law-suits for damages caused by strikes or less conspicuous breaches Incorporation, further contend of contracts initiated by their undercover agents, disguised as union members and acting contrary to union advice and interest. The extent to which anti-union employers will go in such practices has been brought to light by 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 function."

Menace Of Government Unionism

If it should become the law of the nation that labor unions must incorporate, then exclusive power for the granting of charters of incorporation would reside in the government. That would mean that the government, which by and large is still in the hands of the business corporations, could revoke the charters of unions whenever it pleased on the flimsiest pretexts and the union could not function as a legal entity and therefore could not exist at all.

To the charge that the sit-down strike is illegal, labor contends that it has a property right in the job and that it is but picketing within the plant instead of the old picketing without. Moreover, a cessation of production thru the sit-down is no more illegal than economic crises involving almost a national cessation of production caused by industrialists and financiers because they refuse to expand the national market by consistently raising the standard of life of the workers.

Sympathy strikes are not any more illegal than is the financial, moral and other aid forthcoming to employer groups in any particular industry from employers in other industries, thru trade associations, chambers of commerce, etc. 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. Actually, there are not in the economics of modern society such things as industries which are isolated, which are wholly self-sufcient—and certainly not from the viewpoint of financial control. If labor unions must encounter in collective bargaining conflicts the real rulers of its industry, it must have the right of tackling all of them involved, for certainly the financial rulers have the same privilege in their struggle against the unions. As to jurisdictional disputes; since this is an internal affair of the trade unions, the solution of these conflicts must be left entirely within the trade unions Disputes over control in corporations are not waged in the courts activity. This they would do thru nor won solely by recourse to law

LENIN SPEAKS ON PEOPLE'S FRONT

■HE petty-bourgeois democrats prattle of a united democracy, of the dictatorship of democracy, of a single democratic front and similar nonsense. . . . Those who have not learned this much even . . . must be given up as hopeless.

V. I. LENIN, March 1918

they are invariably settled by the stronger party conquering weaker, no matter how long the conflict.

It is easily to be discerned that the business rulers of America would saddle trade unions with restrictions they would not think of proposing for themselves. Clearly, too, the employers are out to destroy every weapon which labor has ever devised that is effective.

The campaign of brazen and hypocritical distortion waged by the employer press in order to promote its crusade for killing the trade union movement, is loud in its appeals to the trade unions to have "concern for the public," "responsibility," "internal democracy," etc.

1. Concern for public: It was primarily the trade unions which fought for and established the free educational system, the franchise for all citizens—against the opposition of business. It is the trade unions who today are fighting against the physical deterioration of the wage earners by the sale of denatured, poisoned foods, upon which our holy corporations make millions in profits. It is labor that fights political corruption bred by the corporations.

2. Concern for democracy: The overwhelming majority of the members of trade unions elect their own officers directly. Can one say as much for the stockholders of any widely held corporation?

3. Robbing the public: What about Insull, what about Peruvian bonds, what about rents, electricitygas rates, high prices of essential commodities—who robs the public? The fraud is exposed in the fact that, when a union gets a wage increase of 1%, the corporations raise prices 10% deliberately to garner the U.A.W.-Editor)

IN MEMORIAM: THE **COMMUNIST PARTY**

(Continued from Page 5) revolution is already "upon the order of the day."

Where Is the Class Struggle? What more can we say? The interminable funeral oration leaves us speechless and miserable. Not a word about the role of classes and class struggle and class society. "The people" and the "progressives" and "Thomas Jefferson," sives" and not a word of Marxism in the entire speech, a speech made to a communist convention of the State of Massachusetts! Even Jefferson and Madison knew enough to think in terms of classes, and not merely in terms of good capitalists and bad "economic royalists." Even they knew that the fight with the "royalists" was over, but this twentieth century American peanut politician does not.

To many a new party member today, the voice of revolutionary socialism comes as an alien voice. "Among all classes that confront the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is really revolutionary. The lower middle class, one and all, fight the bourgeoisie in the hope of safeguarding their existence. . . They therefore are not revolutionary but conservative, nay more, they are reactionary. . . . If they ever become revolutionary, it is only because . . . they are forsak-

more profit and to infuriate the public against unionism. Every wage increase for workers increases purchasing power.

ing their own standpoint to adopt

Labor must reply to the attempts of the employers to destroy its freedom and power thru incorporation and other laws by making every American cognizant of the highway robbery which is fundamental to American business today, by exposing the fraud of employer propaganda, by exposing the conspiracy to destroy free labor unionism, by building a more powerful C.I.O.

(Reprinted from a recent issue of The United Automobile Worker, organ of

that of the proletariat."

If we were to say that, we would be denounced as "extremists," "POUMists," "Trotskyist-Bukharinist-German - Japanese-wrecker. spies," or perhaps—oh fearful fate
—"Lovestoneites." The quotation just cited is the first page of the Communist Manifesta. And, on the last page, we read: "Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their pur pose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling class tremble at the prospect of a communist revolution ("We communists quietly and calmly tell the president that he has nothing to fear from us."—Earl Browder) Proletarians having nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians (the very word has been lost in the People's Front shuffle!—B.D.W.). Proletarians of all lands unite!"

From the party of workers united front, to the party of People's Front; from the party of class struggle to the party of class collaboration; from the party of the proletarian revolution to the party of the counter-revolution. The Communist Party of the United States is dead. In Boston, in Symphony Hall, with Earl Browder pronouncing the funeral oration, it was indecently buried. It is only pity for the years we spent in trying to build it and for the misguided proletarians who still follow it and try in vain to give revolutionary interpretations in their own fashion to these counter-revolutionary, anti-Marxist, anti-communist speeches, it is only pity for the wasted years and effort and sacrifice and loving devotion, that prevents our rejoicing that it has so openly certified its death as a revolutionary party and left us a little freer to carry on the work for which the Communist Party of the United States was founded. Browder has pledged himself to counter-revolution. We take this occasion to pledge ourselves anew to the proletarian revolution as the only real road to "a peaceful, happy, prosperous and free America.'

Andres Nin's Thesis

(Continued from Page 5)

geoisie itself, since the Marxist label with which they adorn themselves facilitates their penetration into the ranks of the proletariat. The supreme interests of the revolution demand constant and implacable criticism of the political positions of these parties, criticism which will contribute effectively in accentuating the differentiation within them, thereby drawing the proletarian elements towards a revolutionary position.

The actual events have clearly shown the ideologic inconsistency of the so-called "left" of the Spanish Socialist Party, whose revolutionary phraseology had given birth to so many hopes among a goodly number of the vanguard of the working class. Virtually nothing remains of the "left" tendencies which existed on the eve

of July 19th. There is no fundamental difference dencies of the "right," "left" or "center"; all of them are dominated by a common denominator—the policy of the People's Front-which leads them to renounce the revolutionary positions of the proletariat and to play the game of the democratic bourgeoisie. But at the base of the party it is easy to discern profound uneasiness, produced principally by the attempts of Stalinism to absorb the party-as it has already absorbed the youth-and to subject it to the policy of the Third International. Many of the old militants look with grief and with a dumb feeling of despair and protest upon this work of destruction, systematically carried out against the organization which they built with so much effort, and upon the introduction of methods which are repugnant to their socialist conscience and the traditions of their party. On the other hand, the scandalously opportunist policy of the C. P., characterized by a monstrous deforming of Marxism, arouses a lively and justified fear among the thousands of workers sincerely revolutionary who have joined the Spanish Socialist Party and who realize with alarm the penetration of the Stalinists into their ranks.

The mission of our party should be to help those elements to see the situation clearly, trying to guide them along the correct path in a friendly way, that is to say, to make them understand the necessity of a clear policy of proletarian intransigeance served by a strong revolutionary party. Temporary agreements are desirable with those elements who, without fully accepting our revolutionary positions, are ready to fight against the Stalinist burocracy and its method of corruption.

The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have agreed with us from the very first moment, in recognizing that the war and the revolution are inseparable; they have also agreed with us in the estimate of some fundamental problems-such as the question of the army, public order, etc. But the vacillations of these organizations on the question of power, and their strictly syndicalist position which tends to eliminate parties (which does not hinder their establishing actual collaboration with socialists and official communists thru the U.G.T.)—these things have tended to prevent our agreement from having the fruitful results that we have desired.

Anarcho-syndicalism has notably corrected its previous positions, but the weight of tradition has prevented it rom carrying these corrections to their quences. Thus, for example, it has renounced its inveterate apoliticalism by entering the government of the republic of Catalonia—that is to say, entering the government of collaboration with bourgeois Republican parties-without daring to adopt an affirmative attitude towards the question of the formation of a Workers and Peasants Government, which would be more easily understandable to the workers of the C.N.T. If the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. would adopt this attitude, the victorious destiny of our revolution would be guaranteed. Only the conquest of power would permit the rapid and effective solution of all the problems which the war and the revolution have posed.

Without giving up tenacious and patient work towards leading the masses of the C.N.T. to this position. so urgently demanded by the actual situation, we should orientate all our force towards bringing about closer relations between our party and the organizations of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., our natural allies under the present circumstances. The very important agreements already manifested and the necessity of defending the revolution in danger, demand an effective alliance which does not presuppose by any means the giving up of mu tual criticism nor the renunciation of the defense of our respective positions.

(Concluded Next Week)

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