

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Reaction At A.F.L. Meet

Green Threatens to "Wipe Out" C.I.O.; Labor Board Attacked

Proceedings at the American Federation of Labor convention, which concluded half of its sessions at Denver last week, ran pretty much according to the schedule worked out by the reactionary leaders of the Executive Council. The main issues that arose had already been forecast by the developments at the metal and building trades conferences, concluded immediately before the opening of the A. F. of L. gathering.

In opening the convention, President William Green called for the initiation of a "war" upon the C.I.O. with the aim of "wiping it out." He expressed confidence that the delegates would "order" the council to take final action in expelling the C.I.O. unions from the federation. The rumor persisted that the United Mine Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers would be the first to be thus dealt with.

Speaking the same evening at the convention of the United Transport Workers in New York, John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., mercilessly ridiculed Pres. Green's "threats," stating that the industrial union movement was beyond the reach of the feeble malice of the A. F. of L. president and his colleagues.

As had been expected, the National Labor Relations Board and the Wagner Act administered by it, came in for a great deal of denunciation during the opening days of the convention. The address of Warren Madden, chairman of the N.L.R.B., was given a very cold reception and the speaker himself questioned by James Duffy, of the Potters Union, as to the board's attitude to contract concluded by craft unions prior to the whole plant being chosen as the unit of collective bargaining. The next day, Joseph A. Padway, legal consultant of the A. F. of L., declared that, unless the crafts were made the compulsory collective bargaining unit, the Wagner Act would have to be amended or repealed.

Several "unity" resolutions and one of a labor party were ruled out of order because, having been submitted after the appointed time, they required unanimous consent for reference to committee. Thus, it appeared, a discussion of independent labor political action would be sidetracked on a technicality.

Considerable excitement arose over the case of the Charles P. Howard, president of the International Typographical Union, whose credentials as delegate were challenged because he was secretary of the C.I.O. Despite the bitter protests of the other I.T.U. delegates, President Green refused to allow the matter to come on the floor, evidently aiming to drag things out until Mr. Howard would leave for the Atlantic City C.I.O. conference or the convention itself would come to a close.

TOWARDS HIGHER LABOR UNITY!

an editorial statement

BUT two years ago, John L. Lewis opened fire on archaic, ineffective craft unionism at Atlantic City. Within the months that have passed, the country has witnessed a phenomenon history has seldom been privileged to unfold.

The mighty movement for industrial unionism, conceived at Atlantic City in 1935, giving birth to the C.I.O., is now again in session in the same city. Today, the representatives of this movement meet not only as the champions of an inspiring idea of effective organization—industrial unionism—but also speak and act as the leaders of organized millions of workers. To organize hundreds of thousands of workers in auto, steel, rubber, oil and textile, to storm these and other citadels of the open shop, is truly a miracle—a miracle that only militant labor could achieve.

Of course, mistakes have been made in the course of attaining these great achievements. Of course, there are many shortcom-

ings still to be overcome. There are millions in the mass-production industries still to be organized. But mistakes, difficulties, temporary setbacks and an uneven pace of unionization cannot and will not halt the onward march of American labor—so long as not the slightest concession is made to the enemies of industrial unionism, to those who talk glibly but hypocritically about "peace and harmony in the great family of labor," to those who peddle the phrase "for a powerful united A. F. of L." Many of these self-appointed peace-makers who rave about "unity" in the abstract, only seek to dismember the auto, rubber, steel and other solid, cooperating industrial unions by breaking them up into craft bodies warring against each other, into agencies paralyzing and disrupting labor's fighting forces.

The key to the sweeping success of the C.I.O. is that it has been and is continuing to fight for a higher

unity of labor—for a unity of labor in deed, in effective organization, into ranks including the humblest unskilled as well as the most skilled. It is under this banner of the C.I.O. that American labor has reached its highest peaks of organization, its greatest unity to date—the formally divided and despised fact that the Greens and the Girdlers, the Hutchesons and the Fords, and the strikebreaking arms of the government have been viciously hurled at the army of industrial unionism. Nay, not even the "plague on both your houses" President, not even the fair-weather "friends," not even the advocates of formal but suicidal unity of the C.I.O. with the A. F. of L. at all costs, not even the persistent gibberish of the noisemakers in behalf of a vacuous "general unity of all labor, farmers," etc. (as proposed by the C.P.) could seriously interfere with the mighty

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British Labor Party Meets

Change in Structure Aids Left, But United Front Policy Banned

A very important step in the reorganization of the party structure was taken by the British Labor Party at its annual conference at Bournemouth last week, a step calculated to give greater weight to the local labor parties in the councils of the party as a whole. By a close card-vote of 1,408,000 to 1,134,000, it was decided that hereafter the representatives of the cooperative movement, the local labor parties and the women's section on the executive of the Labor Party should be chosen by the groups of delegates from the respective organizations; the local labor parties were also allowed two more members on the executive. Previously, the executive had consisted of twelve from the trade unions, one from the cooperatives, five from the local parties and five women—but they had all been elected by the conference as a whole, giving the trade unions, with their big block votes, the determining voice in choosing the representatives of other sections of the movement. Now the party has decided to allow each panel to be elected by the appropriate section of the conference, instead of by all voting together.

This change to a more democratic procedure is expected to add to the effectiveness of the progressive forces in the Labor Party, which are especially influential in the local organizations. It was bitterly opposed by Ernest Bevin, head of the Trade Union Congress and by the miners, railwaymen's and textile workers unions.

The next day, the conference rejected, by an overwhelming majority, 2,116,000 to 331,000, the

THE C. P. TIPS OFF WALL STREET

IT is good business for the United States to keep China's vast but undeveloped resources out of Japanese control, despite the shortsighted attitude, from the viewpoint of their own self-interest, of some big business men in this country. Secondly, China remains the greatest potential market and source of capital investment in the world. Our present stake in China is but a tiny fraction of our potential stake in a unified and revived China. Political friendship may be a first-rate business asset. . . .

Where do these words come from? From a Wall Street financial paper advising big business as to its Far-Eastern policy? From an editorial in the reactionary press urging a more aggressive imperialist course? Oh, no! They're from an article by Theodore Draper in the September 14 issue of the "communist" New Masses, as part of his argument urging American intervention in China!

And so the Stalinists have become the advance-agents of American imperialism. But they still call themselves "communists"!

proposal to form a united front with the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the two outstanding champions of the "unity campaign,"

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Detroit Labor Ticket Wins

CIO Carries Primary Vote Against A.F.L. And Boss Nominees

Detroit, Mich. Defying all local political forecasts, the municipal labor slate, headed by Patrick O'Brien, scored a tremendous victory last week in the heaviest turn-out of voters in any primary since 1931. Patrick O'Brien, the labor slate candidate for mayor in a nonpartisan primary, was selected as one of the two to be placed on the ballot in the November elections. He ran second to Richard W. Reading, receiving 99,129 votes as against 137,984 for the old-line local politician. John W. Smith, endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, is out of the running, having trailed O'Brien by more than 30,000 votes. Nearly 327,000 votes were cast in the primary as a whole.

The primary also placed in nomination 18 councilmen from which number, nine will be elected in November. The labor slate of five members came in among the 18. Maurice Sugar and Assistant-President Richard Frankenstein of the United Automobile Workers led the labor ticket, Sugar taking seventh place with 85,931 and Frankenstein the coveted ninth spot with 81,340. The votes of the remaining three, who have all received nomination, follow: Tracey Doll, 56,411; Walter Reuther, 66,390; and R. G. Thomas, 53,165. This, it is conceded, practically guarantees the election of Sugar and Frankenstein to the city council.

There is considerable speculation in labor ranks here as to the attitude of the A. F. of L. leaders. What will they do now that their candidate has been defeated? Will they get behind the labor candi-

U.S. In Move Against Japan

Japanese Drive Threatens American Imperialist Interests In China

Greatly alarmed at the growing threat that the Japanese invasion in China holds out to its own imperialistic interests in the Far East, the United States moved into action last week with a formal declaration of the State Department accusing Japan of having violated the Nine-Power treaty for safeguarding China's integrity and the Kellogg-Briand anti-war pact. On the same day, the League of Nations Assembly at Geneva, with the approval of fifty countries and two (Poland and Siam) abstaining, voted to accept the resolution of its Far-Eastern Advisory Committee, the effect of which is to authorize League members who are parties to the Nine-Power treaty to begin consultations with the aim of ending the Sino-Japanese conflict "by agreement."

The declaration of the State Department, coming after President Roosevelt's significant address at Chicago, is expected to open the way for American participation in the Nine-Power treaty conference to be called in response to the League Assembly decision.

Together, these two moves mean the virtual scrapping of the so-called "neutrality" policy. The condemnation of Japan marks the first time that the United States has declared a nation an "aggressor" or a "violin of treaties." In 1932, Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson was planning some such course at the time of Japan's invasion of Manchuria but he desisted when it became obvious that Great Britain had no enthusiasm for the plan. This time, British interests are more closely and more dangerously affected and it is likely that Great Britain will go along, although even today the British press is "dubious" as to the practical results of the Nine-Power parley and is counselling against "hasty action." The British Foreign Office is still placing at least as much hope upon some sort of agreement or adjustment with Japan—as the expense of China, of course—as upon collective anti-Japanese action.

(Read the editorial on Page 2)

dates, thus almost assuring the election of O'Brien, or will they permit prejudice to swing them behind the candidacy of the old-line anti-labor city clerk, Richard W. Reading? It is pointed out that the combined vote for O'Brien and Smith was 164,107, or about 30,000 more than the vote of Reading. If the same ratio holds in the November elections, and it usually does, then the election of the labor candidate would be assured. But, regardless of what the A. F. of L. leaders may do, thousands of rank-and-file A. F. of L. members who backed Smith out of A. F. of L.

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PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ON WAR

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S Chicago address on war is an important declaration of American foreign policy and deserves careful consideration as such. But it is to be properly understood only if it is regarded as the expression of the outlook of the dominant big-business interests of the country which see absolutely eye to eye with the administration on foreign affairs, no matter how great their differences with it may be on domestic issues.

President Roosevelt went out of his way to emphasize the futility of a policy of isolation in a world that is so closely interdependent. He thereby called attention, though indirectly, to the fatal shortcomings of the so-called Neutrality Act in which the backwardness and provincial-mindedness of middle-class America find such faithful reflection. Big business, like the class-conscious section of the working class, is realistic and not given to isolationist utopias; both look upon the world as a unit, knit together economically and political y, and both base their policies upon that conception. Isolation, and the "neutrality" based on isolation, are a snare and a delusion and the sooner the masses of the American people come to recognize it, the better.

As for the rest, President Roosevelt presented what has become the conventional viewpoint of "democratic" imperialism, in terms a little bolder than the essentially different from those customary at Downing Street or the Quai d'Orsay. The fascist powers are plotting war, some already even waging it, with a total disregard for all international law and agreements. The "great democracies" (the United States, England, France), on the other hand, are peace-loving and law-abiding states, devoted to the principle of "live and let live." Naturally, "peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort to uphold laws and principles on which alone peace can be secure," presumably thru some form of collective-security or League of Nations machinery.

These ideas may sound plausible enough to the politically unsophisticated but they, too, are a snare and a delusion. The present international situation is the outcome not of "lawlessness" or the disregard of "moral principles" but of the inherent contradictions of capitalist imperialism. All of the big powers, the United States included, are "peace-loving" if they can achieve their imperialistic objectives that way and all will go to war if they have to in order to accomplish their ends. War is not something separate and distinct from the peace-time policy of imperialism; it is merely the latter "continued by other means."

Nor is the real alignment in international politics determined by the type of regime to be found in the various countries, with the peace-loving democracies on the one side and the war-making fascist powers on the other. While Captain Anthony Eden and President Roosevelt give expression to their well-turned commonplaces, Great Britain is intriguing with fascist Germany and Italy against anti-fascist Spain, and the United States is operating what is virtually a one-sided embargo against the Valencia government. Real international politics in the world of today cuts clear across lines of ideology or regime for it is determined by the much more fundamental considerations of economic interest and imperialistic advantage.

When the spokesmen of the "peace-loving" democracies raise their hands in horror at the blood-drenched atrocities of the fascist robber-powers, let them think back a little and recall who set the example. Is not the Japanese bombing of Chinese cities and towns from the air of a piece with the notorious aerial "punitive expeditions" of the British power in India, in the course of which dozens of villages were bombed and scores of peasants massacred? Can it be that Tokyo is learning the technique of creating and operating puppet-states from the very instructive experience of Yankee imperialism in Cuba?

In a word, the widespread "democratic" theory of international alignments according to ideology or regime, so persuasively expounded by President Roosevelt at Chicago, is no more than a barefaced fraud, under cover of which the "democratic" diplomats pursue their predatory policies of imperialistic aggrandizement. The fact that the Stalinist press goes into ecstasies over the President's speech is only another indication of what a stranger it has

"I LEARN FROM MY OWN EXPERIENCE"

Statement of E. Kreinin on Rejoining the I.C.L.L.

October 1, 1937

Dear Comrades: Here I find myself again a "renegade"—this time from "Communism" is 20th Century Americanism." I plead guilty, for this "Communism of 20th century Americanism" has very little in common with the communism of Lenin.

The first time, I was expelled in 1929 as a Lovestoneite. I was a Lovestoneite. I was a member of the C.P.O. for about two years and then I went back to the party on the assumption that the "third period" insanity was disappearing and that sanity was returning.

Well, I was wrong. The "third period" sectarianism gave way to a much more serious disease, opportunism. Basic, fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles were discarded and liberal pacifist, social-democratic policies and tactics adopted (on the questions of the state, war, bourgeois democracy, coalition government).

Even these changes took place in an atmosphere of confusion worse confounded. The membership were at a loss as to what was the "line" and what was wanted of them.

The C.P. was opposed to the formation of a labor party until one fine morning the Daily Worker announced that Browder, in a speech in Washington, had stated that we are for a labor party. The day previous to that, I was charged with harboring "Lovestoneite ideas" because I expressed the opinion that a labor party was a necessary instrument for developing the political class consciousness of the American workers. Then the manifesto and articles in the Daily, in which Browder and Stachel wanted only a labor party that would swallow at least the major portion of the communist platform.

The C.P. has surely travelled quite a distance from that. At present, even before a labor party has crystallized, it wants to diffuse the working class forces into a petty bourgeois conglomeration that it calls a People's Front.

The confusion that prevailed when the C.P. leadership decided to abandon dual unionism was no less than what happened around the labor party question.

The 1936 election and the analysis given by the Central Committee after the election, constituted crass opportunism mingled with factual distortions. The membership was dizzy but not "with success" (of Stalin fame)! The membership be hanged—they had as much to say about all these twists and turns as the man in the moon!

In the name of utilizing American revolutionary traditions, a wave of nauseating patriotism is sweeping the C.P. The membership is confronted with a super-nationalism that even a Hearst could envy.

The "third period" mania is replaced with the People's Front insanity, a high-sounding name for the old, discredited coalition government of social-democracy. In Spain, the holiness of the People's Front has developed to such heights that the Spanish C.P. is doing its utmost to halt the revolutionary advance of the masses.

In the U. S., to criticize the People's Front is to invite the accusation of being an agent of Franco. Well, comrades, the betrayal of revolutionary principles has gone too far. When one listens to the numerous speeches by Browder or reads the Daily Worker, one must come to the conclusion that they speak another language. Not the language of working class revolutionaries.

Many members privately admit that they are disgusted with the flag-waving of Browder, but are afraid to say it in public. Amidst the "People's Front," "peace-loving people," "democracy-loving people," class division and the class struggle have been abolished by the C.P.U.S.A. section by the C.L. As far as I am concerned, I have stood all I could. I now apply for membership in the Independent Communist Labor League, the only politically organized group in the U. S. which, thru all these years, has consistently defended the interests of the workers and farmers in the light of the teachings of Lenin.

London, September 22, 1937. IT appears to us quite significant that the Japanese military command publicly boasted of its plan of surrounding a large contingent of Chinese troops in the tradition of the Tannenberg strategy—and then failed. Such big talk is not characteristic of war-lords and throws a curious light on the state of mind of the Japanese military. It further indicates that the Japanese public is getting impatient and has adopted a somewhat hostile attitude towards the military clique. Hence the army leaders are trying to appease the public by issuing false reports of victories.

On the other hand, this incident has demonstrated the ability of the Chinese war command to carry out difficult maneuvers on a far-flung battle field. The determination of the Chinese masses was reflected in the statement of Chiang Kai-shek to the newspaper Paris Soir, in which he pledged his country to continue the war until every single Japanese is driven from Chinese soil. The operations of the Chinese troops at Shanghai also testify to their military ability and the fighting morale. Much will depend upon the extent to which China can secure the necessary war materials. This will require the mobilization of its resources and the sympathetic aid of the international working class in facilitating the shipment of supplies to China and in preventing such shipments to Japan.

The unexpected duration of the war and the tremendous display of forces involved has already affected Japanese industry. The textile industry—largest Japanese export industry—has been forced to curtail production. The position of the Soviet Union has become relatively more secure as the threat of attack by Hitler-Germany diminishes.

(signed) Eugene Kreinin

BRITISH LABOR PARTY MEETS

(Continued from Page 1) Stafford Cripps and Harold J. Laski, were reelected to the executive, largely as a result of the new system of elections decided upon at the outset of the conference.

The new attitude of the Trade Union Congress towards armaments, at least partially supporting the government rearmament program, was endorsed by the Labor Party conference, which also approved unanimously the "short-term program" to be carried out in the first five years of the next Labor government. The program includes nationalization of the coal and power industries and the Bank of England, the establishment of a national transport board and a declaration that the land belongs to the people.

The almost total destruction of the buildings of the two principal employers federations (the General Confederation of French Employers and the Group of the Metallurgical and Allied Industries of the Paris Region), the attempt to carry off a Spanish submarine from the French port of Brest, the raid of Italian sailors on the headquarters of the League of Human Rights in Tunis, are clear indications of the close collaboration between French, German and Italian fascists in the organization of terrorist acts and sabotage. But they also indicate that the police and courts of the People's Front republic are unwilling and unable to take serious measures against these fascist criminals. The apprehension of the secret Cagoulauds ("Hooded Ones") is of small significance. The really important fascist-terrorist organizations remain undisturbed nor has the activity of fascist officers in the army been checked. All of which reminds us of the attitude of the Spanish People's Front government toward fascist and military conspirators before July 1936.

Small wonder that Chautemps and Bonnet, Radical-Socialist People's Front ministers, are daily urging the working class to work harder and to observe "law and order"; that Leon Blum, in his most recent speech, again extolled the social-democracy as the indispensable prop of capitalism and as the bulwark against revolution.

The fund for the support of securities has been exhausted. The franc continues to fall while prices are rising and real wages decreasing. The workers are again demanding wage increases but their trade unions and the People's Front parties are doing all in their power to prevent a labor flare-up in the interest of "increased production." The fascists are basing their agitation primarily on the high cost of living. The peasants are particularly angry over the rise in prices of fertilizers and other industrial products.

The membership of the Communist Party of France is becoming more and more indifferent; old party leaders are leaving the party in large numbers. The official membership figures have no basis in fact; they simply represent the sum total of membership applications received. The active section of the party is no larger today than it was a year ago. New members are quite inactive. All those openly critical of the party line are expelled as "Trotskyites." In the C.G.T., the former trade union officials are gaining ground as the membership loses faith in the communist trade union leaders who have failed to fulfill their election promises.

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By Lambda WORLD TODAY Military Matters In China; The French People's Front Totters

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FASCIST TERROR IN FRANCE

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ONCE AGAIN THE NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

By EDWARD WELSH

PRONOUNCEMENTS are a-broad heralding the second gathering of the National Negro Congress. The first congress was held in Chicago in February 1936 and was arranged in a fashion that has become quite familiar to us all.

With control centered completely in the hands of the Communist Party, the congress was to be one of the newer models of the all-class political monstrosities common referred to as the "People's Front." And in this respect, it did not miss its mark. Delegates representing "practically every institution" from the local tennis club to the biggest church" (Daily Worker), gathered together and Negro "People's Front" was launched.

No trade unions or working-class organizations, except those dominated by the Communist Party, were represented at the congress. Altho A. Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters gave his personal endorsement and permitted the use of his name in connection with the congress, his union did not participate.

Preachers and lawyers, Democratic and Republican ward-healers, notorious labor-haters and company unionists, corrupt middle-class leeches and self-seeking politicians, elements whom the Negro masses had long since discarded, were dragged from their haunts by the Communist Party, dusted off and trotted out before the Negro masses to be hailed as leaders. But the Negro masses would have none of these and the hopeless fiasco died aborning.

Significant Features Of The First Congress

In preparation for the Chicago congress a year and a half ago, the political scoundrels who people the haunted house on Thirteenth Street and who find it expedient these days to draw upon the dead past, decided to solicit the aid of the spooks. They wanted to summon up the ghost of Frederick Douglass, great Negro abolitionist; they felt that, with the spirit of Douglass stalking thru the corridors of the congress, there might be aroused some semblance of militancy and progressivism. But something went wrong. Douglass was not there, or if he was, then certainly nobody recognized him. Instead of Douglass, the congress was darkened by the shadows of Booker T. Washington!

Brushing aside the fanfare attending its opening and examining what the congress actually achieved, we find not militancy but supine submission—not progress but confusion and retrogression. If one is to judge from some of the resolutions it produced, the congress marked a distinct victory for reaction.

Refusing to take its cue from the aims and aspirations of the advancing Negro proletariat, the

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working farmers and the unemployed who constitute about 95% of the Negro population, the congress gave expression to the interests of an ever-diminishing group of middle-class parasites by "wholeheartedly endorsing" Negro business and the Negro church!

A. Phillip Randolph, who did not attend the Chicago congress but sent a message read by the chairman at one of the sessions, made a vigorous appeal for industrial unionism and urged support of a "farmer-labor political organization." This might well have been the keynote of the entire congress. But was it?

Of course the congress adopted resolutions condemning the fascist invasion of Ethiopia, against war and fascism, for the rights of women and youth, etc. Its declarations against lynching, for civil liberties and even the organization of Negroes into trade unions are all "must" resolutions. What gathering would dare meet without passing such statements? But pressure from the politicians caused the defeat of a labor party resolution, the only resolution of a specifically working class nature that might have registered a mark of progress for the congress. At the same time, however, it lost no time in passing two other resolutions which not only added to the general confusion already existing among Negroes but tended to offset whatever good effects the other resolutions might have had. The one on Negro business held that the development of sound and thriving Negro business is most indispensable to the general elevation of the Negro's social and economic security, and resolved "that all Negroes consider it their inescapable duty to support Negro business."

The Negro Church And The People It is well known that the Negro church is one of the mainstays of white supremacy in the South and of capitalist reaction generally among Negroes. Yet the congress felt "that the Negro church is the most potent agency to be used in the further progress and advancement of our people" and recommended "that the Negro shall continue to hold faith and confidence in God and the church. . . . The power of the gospel is supremely needed in a time like this."

So, with this as a program, the congress ended and the spirit that was borrowed made its way back to its celestial abode and carried along with it the spirit of that which was born on the cold, bleak shores of Lake Michigan—and had died there! The delegates returned to their homes, leaving John P. Davis the secretary and the Communist Party to care of what was left of the carcass.

The Ghost Goes East This time the ghost goes East. The second National Negro Congress will convene in Philadelphia, "the cradle of liberty," according to the sponsors. And Thirteenth Street is again up in the air, communicating with spooks, altho probably with far less difficulty. Better relations have been established with the Great Beyond which, of course, would facilitate matters.

The central theme and take-off point of the second congress is—the church. To begin with, the patron saint of the Philadelphia congress is to be the ghost of Bishop Richard Allen, whose only claim to fame lies in the fact that, in 1787 he and a group of Negroes left a white Methodist church in Philadelphia and later founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church, becoming its first bishop! Then, in a leaflet issued in the name of the congress, we are treated to the following:

"Today, the National Negro

Congress hails the Negro church and its great present-day leaders not alone for what the great leaders of the past have contributed but even more because the Negro church, as the largest and most highly organized institution among Negroes, is most adequately equipped to carry on the struggle for freedom and independence than any other institution yet developed by Negroes. . . . In this new day, this remarkable twentieth century era of enlightened economy and social relations, the Negro church becomes increasingly aware of the great role it must continue to play. Hail the great leaders of the Negro church! . . . Let freedom ring! And may the new Liberty Bell sound from every church belfry in our land."

The Church Hailed As Savior If Negroes were to act upon such a conception, they would have to turn their backs to the trade unions, repudiate all working class organizations and embrace the Negro church as the instrument that will "carry on the struggle for freedom and independence!" The Negro church is being endowed with virtues that its itself never claimed. Exposing the true role of the Negro church in the Negro community, tearing the veil of ignorance and religious superstition from the eyes of the Negro masses are some of the things that the Communist Party might be doing instead of clamping down (Continued on Page 6)

American Labor Party Faces the Campaign

By M. PETERS

THERE can be no doubt that the American Labor Party in New York City is today an organized political force of first-rate importance. Its entrance in the present campaign with its own program and with a fairly complete slate of candidates, ranging from La Guardia and his running mates to such trade union leaders as Quill and Nagler, certainly marks a tremendous advance over a year ago, when the A.L.P. could do nothing but endorse Roosevelt and Lehman. The great power which labor has acquired in its new weapon is testified to by the conduct of labor's foes no less than its friends—every variety of politician, today no longer able to ignore the A.L.P. or to minimize its importance, is frantically covering himself with a "labor record" and seeking the favor of the new party.

Some Dangers for the A.L.P.

While this situation results from the great progress already made, it reveals, at the same time, some serious dangers to the further progress of the movement—dangers which, as recent developments show, the American Labor Party has not been sufficiently cognizant or vigilant against. Involved in this is the problem of how a labor party can function on sound principles, plunged as it is in the midst of the corrupt

methods and practices of municipal politics. The experience of the A.L.P. in the campaign so far is worth serious consideration from this angle.

The American Labor Party made an auspicious entrance in the campaign. Given a situation which required the nomination of LaGuardia and a working arrangement with the Fusion and Republican parties for his election, the A.L.P. yet conducted itself in such a way as to show that, in this agreement, it, and not the other parties, was the senior partner. Steering a straight course, maintaining labor's independence while participating for the first time in "practical politics," is by no means an easy task. Yet, for the first months of the campaign, the A.L.P. did this with skill and effectiveness. Furthermore, the nomination of outstanding labor leaders to represent the party in the new city council showed a perspective which, together with other statements looking forward to a time when the party would be strong enough to put forward a complete and independent ticket of its own, was promising for the future.

And more recently, when La Guardia, obviously for reasons of machine politics, endorsed the candidacy of the notorious George U. Harvey in Queens, the A.L.P. again showed that it is its own master (Continued on Page 4)

PROLOGUE TO PROGRESS

By Jay Lovestone

THE results of the first week of the drive are commendable and welcome. ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS have been contributed. This is a good start. This effort, this achievement, is only a prologue to progress. Prologues alone don't make a show and even the best of prologues by themselves can't make a good show.

You must do your part by doing your share now! We must never forget that, only as we move forward together, moving as one, can we achieve victory for our class, for labor united as one. Great tasks and splendid opportunities lie ahead for

speaking your part in assuring collective success for our collective effort and common goal.

WORKERS AGE 131 W. 33rd St., N. Y. C.

I am glad to make a contribution toward your \$10,000 drive. Enclosed please find cash money order for \$ _____ Name _____ Address _____ Now is the time for you to

Browder Rejects Communism!

Massachusetts is now having one of those periodical heresy-hunting junkets investigating "subversive" activities. Two weeks ago, some representatives of the official Communist Party came before the Legislative Commission to testify. We will reserve for the future our comment on that unspeakably degrading document, "A Confession of Faith," which the C.P. got out for the occasion. Here we want merely to present some extracts from the Boston press reports on the hearings, showing what havoc the blight of Stalinism has wrought in the American communist movement.

"Stoutly denying communists are plotting to overthrow the government by violence, he (Early Browder) insisted the revolution, which is inevitable in his opinion, will reach its climax with the communists taking over control of the government thru the process of elections" (Boston Herald, October 1, 1937).

"Browder said the present party believes in the democratic form of government, in the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson. He pooh-poohed the suggestion of commission members that it would even think of gaining its ends by violence. . . . 'We preach today,' said Browder, 'that it is necessary for a united front of the democratic forces to fight the forces of reaction. I have personally spoken against any dash for an overnight utopia. . . .'" (Boston Globe, October 1, 1937).

"He refused to answer the question, 'Would you bear arms for the United States against Soviet Russia?' on the ground that such an international development is preposterous. Russia and the United States, he told the commission, are on too friendly a basis at this time even to consider the prospect of war between them" (Boston Herald, October 1, 1937). "Questioned by commissioners,

he swore his first allegiance was to America and democracy and stood pat on the idea that he was in every way qualified to take an oath of allegiance to the American flag and Constitution" (Boston Globe, October 1, 1937).

"'God forbid there should be bloodshed!,' he (Frankford, Massachusetts State Secretary of the C.P.—The Editor) shouted . . . as an expression to indicate his horror of war or armed force" (Boston Post, October 5, 1937). "Perhaps most embarrassing were the quotations from the writings of William Z. Foster, thrice communist candidate for President and certainly no believer in the mix-and-honey communism outlined yesterday. . . . Foster, in his speeches and writings, went so far as to paint a glowing picture of the revolution. . . . On all these points, Mr. Browder was forced to disagree with his predecessor and (Continued on Page 6)

ANDRES NIN'S LAST THESIS

(Concluded from the issue before last)

The Conquest of Power and the Workers and Farmers Government

6. The imperious duty of the moment then is the conquest of power by the proletariat in alliance with the peasants and the formation of a Workers and Peasants Government, the only government capable of organizing the broken-down economy and establishing a revolutionary order in the country in accordance with the needs of the people and the war.

This government, in order that it may have effective revolutionary power, cannot be chosen from above as a result of combinations more or less diplomatic, nor can it arise from a parliament constituted thru the customary bourgeois-democratic norms. A government formed by delegates from workers organizations chosen by the higher committees of the same, will undoubtedly represent a forward step with respect to the present situation, but it will not be the kind of government that the circumstances demand. Elected under such conditions, it would certainly not go much further than the position of the People's Front.

The Workers and Peasants Government must be the direct expression of the revolutionary will of the worker and peasant masses of the country and, for that very reason, it cannot rise from the Parliament of February 16, completely outlived by events, nor can it come from elections based on universal suffrage. The bourgeois parliament must be dissolved and in its place must be called a congress which will lay down the economic, social and political bases of a Spain freed from capitalist domination, which is being forged on the fields of battle and which will choose a Workers and Peasants Government. Such an assembly cannot be of the bourgeois-democratic type, that is to say, it cannot be based on the right of representation of all classes, but it must reflect the new situation created by the civil war and the revolution, conceding all rights to those who are supporting the revolution with arms in their hands or with productive labor. In a word, the congress must be formed by delegates from the trade unions, from the peasants and from the soldiers.

Those same organs should constitute the basis for the transformation of the whole machinery of power, beginning with the City Halls, with the modifications in detail which circumstances demand. The orientation which the P.O.U.M. advances can be summarized in these two fundamental slogans:

1. Conquest of power by the working class.
2. Institution of a socialist regime.

In the present period of the revolution, the conquest of power by the proletariat does not necessarily imply armed insurrection. The positions which the working class still holds in spite of the retrogression suffered by the revolution; the specific gravity of the proletariat and its organizations, and above all the fact that it continues to hold a great part of the arms in its hands permit the peaceful conquest of power. To accomplish this, all that is needed is that the proletariat regain confidence in its own force and decide resolutely to impose its will. It depends entirely on this whether the correlation of forces of July 19th will be reestablished and whether the working class will know how to utilize that relation of forces for its own benefit, or which amounts to the same thing, for the benefit of the revolution.

The conquest of power by the proletariat signifies the absolute hegemony of the working class for the purpose of implacably suffocating every attempt at counter-revolution, and of suppressing the bourgeoisie. This hegemony of the working class can under no circumstances identify itself with the dictatorship of one party, but presupposes the widest working class democracy; the most absolute right of criticism for every section of the proletariat, participation of everyone in the common task. Only the exploiting classes will be deprived of all political rights. When classes have completely disappeared, organs of compulsion will become superfluous and the state will disappear.

On conquering power, the working class will not limit itself to utilizing the old state machinery—as the democratic bourgeoisie did—but will destroy it to its very roots. With the help of committees of workers, peasants and soldiers, it will transform from top to bottom the whole governmental machine and will institute a cheap government and one that is truly democratic. A cheap government will be possible through the destruction of the old and expensive bureaucratic system, the elimination of high salaries, establishing the principle that no one can receive a higher wage than a skilled worker, and thru the vigilant and active control of the working class.

True democracy will be guaranteed by the effective participation of the immense majority of the country in the administration of public affairs, the filling of all posts by election, and the recall of their incumbents at any time. Finally, the Workers and Peasants Government will be the government of military victory, for only a government of such a character is capable of creating the indispensable morale for victory; only a government of such character can organize a solid war industry, nationalize banks, eliminate speculation, concentrate and mobilize all the economic resources of the country for the war.

The Working Class and the Petty Bourgeoisie

7. One of the arguments to which the reformists resort most frequently to justify their collaborationist and counter-revolutionary politics is the necessity of maintaining the block with the parties of the petty bourgeoisie to thus assure the support of an important section of the population.

The petty bourgeoisie constitutes, in effect, a factor of major importance in every country, and particularly in those countries in which, like our own, they have become a part of the capitalist system only after long delay. But because of its intermediate character, standing midway between the big bourgeoisie and the working class because of its economic dependence, it cannot play an independent role in political life. Vacillating and undecided, it always moves between the two basic classes—carrying out the policies now of one and now of the other.

The parties of the petty bourgeoisie maintain the fiction of independent politics—politics which is neither bourgeois nor proletarian—but in reality they are always an instrument in the hands of big capital and for that reason an instrument against the interests of the petty bourgeoisie itself whose representative they pretend to be. Their politics leads straight to the consolidation of the economic positions of big capital and therefore to the complete asphyxiation of the petty bourgeoisie. The alliance with the petty bourgeois parties does not represent an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie but an alliance against it. The Spanish experience from April 14th to the present moment presents eloquent testimony to this fact. The petty bourgeoisie and, in first place, the peasants, have not seen satisfied a single one of their fundamental demands. Whatever they have secured, they owe to the independent action of the working class.

The petty bourgeoisie, potentially, is neither revolutionary nor reactionary. They want order—any kind of order—but order. And such order only the bourgeoisie or the proletariat can establish. When the working class acts decisively and gives the feeling that it knows what it wants and where it is going, the petty bourgeoisie is neutralized, and a large section will follow the proletariat, or more correctly, will be dragged along by it. But if the working class fails at the decisive moment, the petty bourgeoisie loses faith in it, turns its back upon it and once more fastens its eyes on the big bourgeoisie. If at such a moment, there were to come along a more or less demagogic leader, it would not be difficult for him to take advantage of the disenchantment of the petty bourgeois masses and convert them into a social base for a movement destined to crush the working class and institute a regime of bloody dictatorship of big capital (fascism).

The petty bourgeoisie has gone thru the experience of the democratic republic. To repeat that experience means to prepare new defeats and to create the necessary premises for the incorporation of the petty bourgeois masses in the camp of reaction. On the other hand, if the working class should appear in the eyes of the popular masses as the true leader of the revolution, as the only force capable of setting up a strong regime—a new order—the petty bourgeoisie would follow it just as they followed it after the glorious July days.

The politics of attracting the petty bourgeois does not, then, consist of holding back the rhythm of the revolution, but in speeding it up. The more decided and audacious the proletariat shows itself to be, the more certain it can be of collaboration of the petty bourgeoisie, or at least of neutralizing it.

Fundamental Tasks of the Working Class

8. The division of the working class is undoubtedly one of the greatest obstacles to winning the confidence of the petty bourgeois masses in the invincible force of the proletariat. Trade union unity (the absence of which has unfavorable repercussions upon the socialist organization of production) would constitute a great step forward, but the reformist bureaucracy systematically sabotages such unity for it senses that a unified trade union movement would soon slip from its hands and would pass into the ranks of the revolutionary elements. To push forward and to impose this unity is the bounden duty of the working class.

On the political field, organs of unity should be built to meet these circumstances. At the end of 1933, the Workers Alliances appeared destined to play in our country, the role that the soviets played in the Russian revolution. These Alliances showed their magnificent revolutionary efficacy during the Asturias insurrection in October 1934. Formed by all the parties and by all workers organizations without exception, the Workers Alliance of Asturias showed the world conclusively what prodigious heroism and initiative a united proletariat is capable of. But the policy of the People's Front frustrated those splendid beginnings and once more the working class marches at the tail of the Republican parties. If the Workers' Alliances had not been liquidated by the champions of class collaboration, events would have taken a completely different turn and the proletariat would undoubtedly have seized the hegemony.

To revive the Workers Alliances today would be a mistake because they belong to a stage already left behind. Congresses of delegates from the trade unions, peasants and soldiers, would represent substantially the same thing today as the Workers Alliances did in the previous stage. Upon these congresses should be based the government of the working class; from them must arise the organs of power; they must incarnate the unity of action of the workers above the differences which separate them on the trade union and political fields. Upon them will be based the future Iberian Union of Socialist Republicans.

Neither trade union unity nor these assemblies of workers, peasants and soldiers delegates, exclude the possibility of the formation of alliances among the different sectors of the working class movement which may agree

(Continued on Page 6)

American Labor Party Faces the Campaign

(Continued from Page 3) by a sharp denunciation of the act.

The Program of the A.L.P.

The program adopted by the A.L.P. as the foundation of its campaign has some serious shortcomings but provides, nevertheless, a useful base for the conduct of an aggressive and independent campaign, including, as it does, demands not only for municipal improvements, more parks, schools, etc. but also for government ownership of utilities and other public welfare measures. The weakness of the program lies in its excessive hesitancy in making aggressive demands upon the city administration as far as labor relations are concerned. To call for the government to be free of corruption and to be "non-partisan" certainly does not exhaust labor's demands. Labor needs, both nationally and locally, administrations frankly "partisan" to labor, as John L. Lewis has repeatedly pointed out. Nothing will be gained by sacrificing this most essential demand of labor upon the altar of civic improvement.

By far the most serious fault of the program and perhaps of the campaign as a whole, is the failure to say anything about the sales tax, one of the greatest pieces of injustice perpetrated against the workers and the poor people generally in many years. Reestablishment of the city's credit with the bankers can hardly appeal to the workers if the workers themselves

DETROIT LABOR SLATE CARRIES

(Continued from Page 1)

loyalty will now swing to O'Brien as against Reading.

Trade unionists were overjoyed at the results, which exceeded their most optimistic estimates. Leaders of the United Automobile Workers, who were in the forefront of the labor slate campaign, consider the returns as a sufficient indication that labor wants and demands its own political party. E. L. Oliver, director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, wired his congratulations from Washington. "Heartiest congratulations," reads the statement, "to your candidates and your committee on the great victory. Labor political action thruout the nation will receive tremendous encouragement from Detroit returns. The primary results are, I am sure, only a prelude to a final triumph at the general election."

Let Us Learn From Lewis

What the A.L.P. needs today is a little more of the spirit shown by John L. Lewis in his relations with the administration. Labor need not come hat in hand to the administration or the Democratic party, eager to do favors in the hope of getting some crumbs of appreciation later on. The labor movement, on the political as well as the industrial field, will gain more by demanding its rights and fighting to maintain its positions than by being always ready to yield, concede and "make arrangements."

In spite of all its faults, the A.L.P. is, nevertheless, in a good position for a vigorous, successful campaign. The best guarantee for a correction of all the weaknesses and hesitancy that have hitherto appeared, will be a huge labor vote that will leave no doubt in anybody's mind that a labor party in New York is here to stay, with such a powerful mass labor base that no deals need be made with anyone in the future.

ATTENTION!

ALL I.C.L.L. UNITS

Order your extra bundles of the special Anniversary Issue of WORKERS AGE immediately.

Send in your greetings.

are required to underwrite the debt. Likewise, the program makes no mention of the other measures of economy that strike against labor.

Deals And Manipulations

But, by and large, the most dangerous tendency that has crept into the A.L.P. campaign activities is the inclination of some leaders of the party to participate in all sorts of questionable deals with the top circles of the Democratic party in order to guarantee the election of Democrats to the constitutional convention and the State Assembly. Involved in such deals is the A.L.P.'s abandonment of the best districts, where labor is strongest, to old-line politicians, whose dubious labor record has to be whitewashed for the occasion. Whatever faults of program or policy there are in the campaign, they disappear into insignificance in comparison with this tendency to maneuver and manipulate instead of fighting. It seems that some of the leaders of the A.L.P. have become so carried away by their new-found power and their sudden "popularity" with their political opponents that they have lost their bearings. On occasion, they have tended to forget that, as a labor party, they have something new to introduce into politics. Agreements with other parties and political groups are permissible and sometimes even necessary, especially as long as the party is still in its formative stages. But these agreements must be made openly and on the basis of program. A labor party, operating on a mass base, must strive to uproot the traditional view that politics is the business of politicians, in which the masses are called on to participate once a year. If a labor party is to live up to its mission, it must strive to make politics the every-day business of the masses. From this point of view, the whole question of agreements and deals takes on an appearance quite different from the one that has become traditional in old-line politics. Is it any wonder that, in all of recent manipulations in the game of political "give and take," the A.L.P. has been doing most of the giving and the old-party politicians most of the taking?

To the great mass of trade unionists, unskilled in the art of political manipulation but trained in the methods of class struggle, this whole procedure is entirely foreign. At bottom, it is due to their pressure that the A.L.P. has preserved its essential independence and has made such encouraging progress.

'We Accuse the Stalinists!'

(We publish below an appeal issued by the P.O.U.M. on July 28, 1937, and widely distributed thruout Spain.—THE EDITOR.)

WE accuse the Communist Party of Spain and the P.S.U.C. before the international proletariat:

That their deputy from Malaga, Carpetano Bolivar, political commissar of the city, was responsible for its falling into the hands of the fascists!

That thru systematic sabotage, they have undermined the efforts of the Catalan proletariat on the Aragon front by retaining the weapons intended for this front at Carthagenia in order to render impotent the divisions of the C.N.T., F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M., which form the chief part of the forces fighting on that front!

That, until after the May Days, they, in cooperation with the central government, sabotaged the Catalan munitions industry because it was in the hands of the revolutionary workers of the C.N.T., F.A.I. and P.O.U.M.!

That they helped the Basque bourgeoisie to destroy all revolutionary possibilities in that land, which resulted in virtually handing over to the fascist generals and to Germany the important industrial resources of Bilbao!

That they took from the Aragon front considerable supplies of weapons, particularly twelve tanks, with a view to using them in the counter-revolutionary crusade in Catalonia!

That they withdrew hundreds of people from the same front in the last two weeks of April in order to send them into the carabineros and the storm-troopers to be used against the workers!

That they made every attempt to disrupt and disperse the 29th Division, the Lenin Division organized and led by the P.O.U.M. despite its great services at the front and that they utilized the removal of two battalions of this division in order to disarm them while they were fighting in the trenches against the fascists!

That they contributed to the demoralization of Bilbao by having their two representatives in the Basque government leave their posts while the enemy was at the gate, indeed even before the bourgeois ministers did so!

That they have organized a white terror against the revolutionary proletariat!

That, in their barracks in Barcelona, they tortured and murdered twelve anarchist comrades during the May Days!

That, during the same events, they imprisoned and murdered two P.O.U.M. comrades at the P.S.U.C. headquarters in Barcelona!

That they organized and carried out the murder of Alfredo Martinez, the leader of the Libertarian Youth of Catalonia, of the anarchist philosopher, Camillo Berneri, and of the anarchist leaders of Tarragona!

That they organized a terror in the course of which they murdered the anarchist leaders in various localities in the provinces of Madrid, Almeria, Murcia and Valencia and the P.O.U.M. leaders at the fronts in the South and elsewhere!

That they have undermined the efforts at solidarity of the international proletariat, by applying methods of unheard-of terror in the International Brigade!

That they have betrayed the Spanish revolution by sending Comore, the general secretary of the P.S.U.C., to a conference at Brussels in which there participated politicians in sympathy with the fascist regime at Salamanca, as well as bourgeois republicans who had fled from anti-fascist Spain!

The Civil War in Spain

ROAD TO COUNTER-REVOLUTION

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(Continued from the last issue)

THE WITHERING CURSE OF SECTARIANISM

The overthrow of the monarchy in April 1931 came as a complete surprise to the Communist Party. It was occupied with the splitting of the trade unions, the denunciation of all other working class tendencies as agents of fascism or "social-fascism" and the expulsion of the majority of its members, including its founders and outstanding theoretical leaders, such as Joaquin Maurin, for opposing these suicidal tactics as injurious to communism and the working class. The sections of the working class which were closest to communism were denounced with especial bitterness as "left social-fascists," the most dangerous "fascists" of all. So isolated was the party from the masses and so ignorant of their moods and the realities and possibilities of Spanish politics that it did not even participate in the elections of April 1931, the results of which caused Alfonso to flee.

Manuisky, a Russian leader of the Communist International, declared the events in Spain "of no special significance" and assured the Spanish proletariat, anxious for guidance in the solution of its new problems, that "the smallest strike in Germany is more important than everything that is happening in Spain." Walter Duranty, ever faithful chronicler of Stalinist views, sent a dispatch to the New York Times on April 18, 1931 (four days after the proclamation of the republic) which, in retrospect, assumes a more sinister significance than it seemed to have at the time:

"One would naturally have expected Pravda," wrote Duranty, "to salute the chance of a Spanish proletarian struggle for power with loud and glowing enthusiasm. . . . Instead of that Pravda's first reaction was an editorial as stale as a damp squib."

Clearly, radical-sounding, ultra-leftist sectarianism is as much a desertion of the road to revolution by the "left" fork as opportunism is by the "right."

FIGHTING THE UNITED FRONT "FROM THE LEFT"

The great left swing had begun in the Spanish U.G.T. and Socialist Party but for over two years the C.P. bombarded it with spiteful spitballs labelled "left social-fascism." When in 1933 the gigantic working class united front movement, known as the Alianza Obrera, got under way on the initiative of the P.O.U.M. in Barcelona and spread till it included the socialists, the U.G.T. and important sectors of the C.N.T. and F.A.I., the Communist Party turned its full battery of petty-blowers upon it. It was only at the eleventh hour, or rather a minute before midnight, that the Comintern, beginning its new turn towards the "People's Front" line, ordered the C.P. of Spain to climb on to the band wagon of the Alianza Obrera as it began its general strike and armed revolt to prevent the peaceful entrance of the fascists into power.

FROM ONE EXTREME TO THE OTHER

But the temporary support for the working class united front proved to be only a half way station in the 180° swing that the Comintern was then beginning to make from its old opposition to a workers front on the grounds that no other working class organization is good enough (all but the communists being "social fascists") to its new

1 The Alianza Obrera was started in Barcelona in 1933 to defend the working class in the face of growing reaction. In 1934, when the Lerroux government was being prepared with the fascist leader Gil Robles as its Minister of War, the Alianza Obrera prepared the general strike which, in the first days of October, developed into an armed revolt in Asturias and elsewhere. Only on September 11 and 12, 1934, did the Central Committee of the C.P., meeting in secret session, decide to stop fighting the Alianza, a decision which it announced on September 15, less than three weeks before the uprising. When it began, the party had not yet had time to recall from the newstands its pamphlets denouncing the Workers Alliances as "the focal point of all reactionary forces" and "the holy alliance of counter-revolution." All of which did not prevent the Daily Worker from claiming credit for the formation of the Alianzas and the Asturias insurrection, until the Comintern ordered the scuttling of workers' front organizations in favor of the "People's Front"!

opposition to the workers front on the ground that all bourgeois-liberal organizations and a bourgeois program are good enough and therefore working class programs and the working class front must be scuttled in the name of a "People's Front."

Hence in 1935, when the heroic example of the Asturias revolt had stirred the working class and shaken the power of the Gil Robles-Lerroux government, when the masses had had their "belly full" of the "democratic republic" with its lamb-like timidity in social reform and its lionlike courage in the defense of property and privilege and were in the mood for the creation of a workers and peasants government, and when the left wing of the Socialist Party had just won a majority for the two communist principles of workers front and workers government, the Communist Party of Spain, under orders from the Comintern, suddenly abandoned the communist position on these two questions in favor of "People's Front" and the bourgeois republic!

THE REHABILITATION OF AZANA

It was the Communist Party which dragged Azaña from oblivion, where he deservedly rested because of his retention of the monarchist military apparatus and his guilt in breaking strikes and shedding peasant blood when he crushed with great ferocity the peasant movement of 1933 centering at Casas Viejas. It was the Communist Party that insisted that not a trade unionist like Largo Caballero but this discredited and blood-stained bourgeois republican politician should become the standard bearer and candidate for prime minister of the People's Front. These moves alienated great sections of the peasantry and nearly cost the election. They completely demoralized the movement for workers front and workers government in the Socialist Party. Azaña drove a shrewd bargain for his class, his price for accepting the nomination being that there should be no talk of workers and peasants government nor arming of the workers and peasants and disarming of the reaction and that the People's Front program should expressly reject the revolutionary expropriation of the large landowners, the nationalization of the state bank, socialization of industry and even a state unemployment system.

The demands of the People's Front were made to center upon a mere amnesty law for political prisoners (which the aroused masses enforced by opening the prisons themselves), whereas even a bourgeois republican People's Front government should have had as its minimum demand at least the disarming of the reaction, thereby rendering impossible the military revolt that every one knew of and was talking about. But Azaña made it a condition of his deigning to accept the nomination as standard-bearer that this demand should not be made! And the Communist Party was willing to betray the republic to these Captains-Generals who later rose in the anticipated and long prepared revolt, merely for the sake of People's Front collaboration with such agents of the big bourgeoisie as Azana whose influence over the petty bourgeoisie it should have been their major task to annihilate. The argument of the Comintern was that such class collaboration was necessary to "win an alliance with the petty bourgeoisie." But actually this drove the petty bourgeoisie back into the arms of the big bourgeoisie. In place of the lower middle class following the proletariat, it followed the great bourgeoisie, while the proletariat followed it and on a program such as an Azana could dictate.

(Continued in the next issue)

Write to the P.O.U.M. Prisoners!

Show your solidarity with the revolutionary communists of Spain now in the jai's of the Negrin-Stalinist regime. They are very eager to receive communications from comrades in other part of the world, especially from the United States.

Write today and write often to: JULIAN GORKIN Y DEMAS PRESOS ANTI-FASCISTAS Carcel Modelo, primera galeria Valencia, Espana

Matthews vs. Matthews

IN the New York Times of September 26, Herbert L. Matthews reports his observations on a visit to the Teruel front in Spain, and, among these observations, is the following:

"The front was held by the old-fashioned type of anarchist militiamen, who did at Teruel what their P.O.U.M. associates did in front of Huesca—they just stopped and enjoyed themselves. . . . Rebels and Loyalists played football games together. Militiamen in large numbers went to Valencia for weekends. It was a lovely war—the only kind of war that particular type of militiaman wanted—but it was not what the government wanted."

To defend the courage and devotion the C.N.T.-F.A.I. and P.O.U.M. militia against a Matthews would be an insult to the heroic Spanish revolutionists. We merely want to call attention to the fact that, about three months ago, in the New York Times of June 27, the very same Herbert L. Matthews, reported the death in action of Adriano Nathan, the chief of staff of the P.O.U.M. division, on the same Huesca front, in the following terms:

"The loyalists have had unusually hard luck in that respect (casualties), for their divisional commander, General Cahue, was killed at the beginning of the action. Then General Luaka died when a shell hit his moving car and last night a third commander was killed."

"That knowledge came to my British colleagues and myself in an extraordinary way. We had been told back in Barastro last night to ask for Adriano Nathan, an Italian radical who was chief of staff of the Lenin, or P.O.U.M., Division, which had been holding this line since the war started. So when we reached the village in which the divisional headquarters are located and found the right building, we asked to see the chief of staff. The guard told us simply to go upstairs. There we found a room with the sign 'Jefe de Estado Mayor,' and we walked in."

"Adriano Nathan was waiting for us, lying in his coffin on an improvised catafalque, his body wrapped in a red and white P.O.U.M. flag and his head bandaged where a bullet brought him instantaneous death in the front line trenches last evening. Two P.O.U.M. soldiers stood rigidly at attention."

"So the greeting we gave Adriano Nathan could be only the silent tribute that all the dead merit in this terrible conflict."

Are there words in the English language adequate to describe the degradation of a creature of this sort, of a conscienceless pen-prostitute who could write two such reports a few weeks apart? Truly a worthy disciple of his master in the craft, Walter Duranty!

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"UNITY" CLIQUE FINDS FRIEND IN WILLIAM GREEN!

By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD
Detroit, Mich.

William Green, arch-enemy of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the man who sought to stab the auto workers in the back during the strikes some months back and who is advocating at this moment the expulsion of all C.I.O. affiliates, has publicly announced his endorsement of the policies of the disruptive "unity" caucus operating in the United Automobile Workers Union. This was done in the form of an article in the current (October 16) issue of the magazine Liberty.

To superficial observers, this will come as a severe shock since the so-called "unity" caucus paraded as a very militant outfit seeking to "save" the fighting soul of the U.A.W. from the "corruptive" influence of the Martin-Frankenstein forces. But union men in the know point to a chain of corroborative evidence to prove that Green's article is not an isolated event. The widespread support rendered the Stalinite-"socialist" clique by the boss press, which is exclusively pro-A. F. of L., has been noted on previous occasions. The entire A. F. of L. press has also looked with great favor on the destructive faction war waged by the opposition and especially delighted was it with the "unity" caucus campaign for a loose, undisciplined, irresponsible and decentralized organization, conducted under the misleading catch-word "democracy." Such a set-up would have realized the fondest hopes of the craft bureaucrats and would virtually have assured the disintegration and destruction of the U.A.W. It is, therefore, hardly accidental that the only two automobile manufacturing centers to show recently organized A. F. of L. locals of auto workers are Flint and Toledo—two centers controlled by the "unity" caucus as late as the Milwaukee convention.

A perusal of the A. F. of L. press in Flint will also show a touching personal relationship of positively idyllic nature between the "unity" faction leaders, such as Henry Kraus and Robert Travis, and the editors of the A. F. of L. official organ, The Flint Weekly Review. The current issue of this sheet (October 1), which blazons the tidings that "NEW A.F.L. DRIVE BLANKETS COUNTRY" and gloats over the alleged successes in destroying C.I.O. support, also carries a highly sympathetic story about a send-off party for Robert Travis, bearing the following extremely interesting caption: "Flint Auto Workers to Pay Tribute to Robert C. Travis . . . the Ideal Organizer." John L. Lewis and Homer Martin are the worst enemies of labor in A. F. of L. eyes but "unity" caucus leader Robert C. Travis is "the ideal organizer."

In the same issue, columnist Jimmy Schiavone bewails the ingratitude of human nature, with special reference to the release of Henry Kraus by the U.A.W., as a crass example. For Jimmy Kalemis, a loyal supporter of the U.A.W., who replaced Henry Kraus, Schiavone loses no love because ". . . he was formerly associated with a local American Federation of Labor union, and was discharged, local officers alleged, for attempting to foment discord within the ranks of that union." But against Henry Kraus, no such charge of "fomenting discord" in A. F. of L. ranks can be made. Here lion-hearted Schiavone is ready for mortal combat at the side of his pal, Henry Kraus.

"I was in the office of Henry Kraus when he got his walking papers and turned the office keys over to his successor.

"Mister, I want to tell you, it stirred my blood! I felt an impulse dangerously close to animalism, which commanded me to growl and snarl.

"And yet all this, when virtually it's none of my business.

"But, believe you me, it enrages one who has a sense of fair play to see a combatant, after having been defeated by his opponent (and not because of his own weakness, mind you) being deliberately kicked when he's down and spitted upon!

"The affair aggravates me, like it must thousands of auto workers in Flint, because it smells of vindictiveness, malignity and injustice."

Considering the source of this outburst of rage, the only occasion for aggravation in the ranks of the auto workers need be the lateness in ridding themselves of the conscious or unconscious allies of the strike-breaking A. F. of L.

That these were not isolated and purely local affairs is evident from William Green's article in the current (October 16) issue of Liberty, in the course of which he says:

"Another issue that arose during the automobile workers convention, which is also significant and alarming, was that of control. Should there be autonomy within the union, or should it be controlled from the top? Should the leaders be elected by the members and be responsible to them—or be appointed by John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organization?"

"One group was determined to enter control in the officers, give them the sole power to determine the policies of the union. Another group would vest the power in the rank and file—as obtain in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This latter group believes as I do, that there should

be a vote of the members before any important action is taken. . . .

"The issue, so far as I know, has not yet been settled by the automobile workers. But if it is settled as Lewis desires, the control of the union will be placed in the hands of one man. All other C.I.O. unions are one-man unions and the one man is John L. Lewis."

Here lies the source and inspiration of the "unity" caucus attacks against President Homer Martin as a "dictator" seeking to rule without the membership. One cannot fail to recall also the persistent fight of the "unity" caucus against any but local approval of strike actions while reading Green's remarks on this topic. "If a strike impends," says Green, "those who will participate in the struggle must decide whether it is necessary or not." Then he adds: "In a union controlled from the top, the members have nothing to say as to policy. They strike when they are told to strike."

The consistency with which the two positions coincide in many important respects is much too great to be considered as merely circumstantial. The "unity" caucus, which loves to level the charge of "Black Legionnaires" and "incipient fascists" at supporters of the Martin-Frankenstein administration, had better look sharp in their own ranks to determine the number of Dillon-Green agents sitting on the policy-making bodies. Consciously or unconsciously—the results are the same—they are playing into the hands of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats; they are playing the dirty game of William Green.

The National Negro Congress

(Continued from Page 3)
The shackles more tightly. It would be far more helpful to point out that the salvation of the Negro people in this country lies along the working class road. Instead, we here find the Communist Party grovelling in the dust at the feet of the middle class, begging to be accepted. If this is the path which the Communist Party has chosen to follow, we must do all in our power to see to it that it traverses that path alone.

Prospects Of The Second Congress
The second congress promises to be a gathering of elements of the same stripe that dominated the last one. Encouraged by their previous success, the politicians, ministers and business men will all come flocking again to air their reactionary and anti-labor views and then utilize the congress to give themselves some substance. The fact that a sprinkling of Communist Party members will attend will not alter this situation. A party that

declares itself for the protection of American imperialist interests in China and endorses a Klansman for a post in the judiciary can be expected to follow along these lines at the congress. For the sake of "unity," the Communist Party can be relied upon to agree to anything.

Trade unions are being asked to send delegates. Very few will, because no trade union with any amount of decency or self-respect would participate in such a disgraceful affair. Those that do participate will be the unsuspecting victims of Communist Party machinations, with no knowledge of the real nature of the congress, or else they will be delegates from unions directly under Communist Party control.

Bishops and politicians are not the natural leaders of the Negro masses. Nor can they become so even with the backing of the National Negro Congress and the Communist Party. A new day is dawning for the Negro toilers and,

Andres Nin's Last Thesis

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on the conception of the moment and the attitude of the working class. On the contrary, such alliances are clearly indicated by the present situation.

In the concrete case of our revolution, necessity dictates the formation of a Revolutionary Workers Front formed by the C.N.T., F.A.I. and the P.O.U.M., organizations which agree on the necessity of blocking the advance of reformism and returning to the conditions which existed prior to July 19th and who agree on pushing forward the proletarian revolution to its end. A program of clear and concrete aims—aims perfectly realizable today—should be the basis of the Revolutionary Workers Front—whose formation will indisputably determine a fundamental change in the correlation of forces and will give a powerful impulse to the revolution.

Intervention and International Intervention
9. One of the favorite arguments used by the reformists against the proletarian revolution is that the revolution will inevitably be crushed by the capitalist countries.

The working class would commit a profound blunder if it did not count upon the probability of foreign

CANADIAN C.P. AIDS IN ELECTION OF HEPBURN

By FRED C. ROSS
Toronto, Canada

THE Communist Party of Canada has hit an all-time low. It is almost inconceivable that a one-time communist organization could have so completely departed from its principles and cut itself adrift from its revolutionary moorings; yet the following is an accurate account of an election meeting held in the last week, conducted by a C.P. member running as a "labor" candidate in the Provincial elections.

Any ordinary working man coming to this meeting seeking some enlightenment as to how he should vote, would have discovered that he would be best serving the interests of his class by voting for the Liberal candidate and ensuring the return of the Liberal party to power under Premier Hepburn, notorious for his anti-C.I.O. stand in the Oshawa strike! The C.P. speaker pointed out that the Tory party was the "mainspring of reaction" and therefore, the main danger and that we must not be fooled when we are told that the Tories are better than Hepburn anyway, for, he went on to say "wasn't it the Tory party that put Section 98 on the statute books and wasn't it the Liberals who repealed it?" And he assured us that, when he had been on workers' delegations to the government, he was always received more courteously by the Liberals than by the Tories! The Liberals also, it seems, respect and respond to public opinion, whereas the Tories flout it. For, didn't the Tory government send tanks and machine guns into Strat-

with it, there emerges a new type of leadership, a leadership that has its roots in the trade union movement, in the organizations of the share-croppers and the unemployed. A hundred thousand organized Negro workers are a much more socially significant factor in pushing forward a program for the betterment of Negroes as a whole than all the churches this side of hell!

No real and effective movement can develop out of the congress. It cannot and will not be of any positive value as a factor for Negro advancement. To the extent that it does wield any influence, it can merely serve as an obstacle in the way of organizing a real movement.

The Future Of The Negro Is With Labor!

Under the conditions of modern capitalism, any movement to be really progressive in its direction and really effective in its results

armed intervention against the Spanish revolution. But if the proletariat were not able to launch upon decisive revolutionary struggle except it were certain that no such intervention would take place, it would have to renounce before-hand every hope of emancipation. For it is evident that international capitalism will not be able to look on passively at the victory of the proletariat in any country of the world.

The danger of intervention exists and, if the decisive factor were superior military technique, the defeat of the proletariat could be considered certain. But there is a moral factor infinitely more efficacious, the expansive force of the revolution. Triumphant in Spain, it would have immediate repercussion in the other countries, particularly in Italy, and Germany, to whose regimes it would deal a mortal blow.

The Russian revolution was the immediate cause of the sinking of the Central Powers, it made the capitalist regime tremble in all Europe and provoked a movement of international proletarian solidarity so intense that it contributed powerfully to the failure of intervention. The consequences of the Spanish revolution can be no less transcendental. The victory of the working class of our country will immediately modify, in favor of the proletariat, the correlation of forces in the entire world, giving a decisive push to the international proletarian revolution.

ford against the workers in 1934? And, altho Hepburn raised a private army of 400 special police and called in the Mounties and Provincial police in the Oshawa strike, he was not so "hasty" and did not use them—but, if this had been a Tory regime, the Oshawa affair would have been a "bloody one." So, apparently, Hepburn is not such a bad fellow, and all is forgiven! Funny, their recollection is so vivid of Stratford three years ago and so hazy of Oshawa five months ago! The very next night, in the Toronto Star, in bold type, a government spokesman admitted that the 400 special police were on a retainer and held in readiness for any labor trouble.

The C.P. does not seem to realize it is precisely on the C.I.O. issue that this election is called. Anyway, the Tories must be "kept out of office at all costs" and the best we can hope for is a few labor-progressives elected to "hold Hepburn in check." But, the fact is that, if Hepburn is elected, it will be a mandate to smash the C.I.O. in Ontario! Well, the C.P. is asking for it.

TO HIGHER UNITY OF LABOR MOVEMENT

(Continued from Page 1)
strides of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

We, of the Independent Communist Labor League, at the very outset, saw in the C.I.O. the birth of an effective trade union movement and hence the beginnings of a sound foundation for a militant labor movement. We hailed it as such two years ago. We warmly greet its sessions now going on in Atlantic City as a landmark in the history of American and world labor progress and victory.

must be basically a movement of labor or rooted primarily in the trade unions and mass organizations of the working class, with the support of all other elements who are willing to back up its program. This is as true of a national Negro congress as it is of any other movement that is serious about its intentions. The moment that this basic fact is ignored or misunderstood, such a movement can lead only to sterility or worse.

The future of the Negro working men and women is linked up with the onward march of labor under the banner of the C.I.O. This is the direction in which the Negro must travel. Once organized as an integral part of the labor movement, the Negro will eventually win that genuine equality that only working class progress can secure.

BROWDER REJECTS COMMUNISM

(Continued from Page 3)
present associate. He had erred in one place, been baited too far by a Red-baiter in another, had changed his mind since on a third. In fact, much of the violent literature quoted back at him and Philip Frankfeld, was tossed aside as outmoded communism, doctrine written in the heated infancy of the party (So the period from 1929 to 1934, ten to fifteen years after the foundation of the C.P., is now called the 'infancy of the party'—The Editor.) and since discarded by American communists" (Boston Globe, October 1, 1937).

After this, there is no comment possible. For such creatures as Browder and Frankfeld, communism is indeed outmoded!