

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Union Wins BMT Vote

Transport Workers Union Gets 70% In Labor Board Poll

Following up the big victory won at the polls when 6,268 employees of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Co., more than 70 per cent of those voting, cast their ballots for the Transport Workers, C.I.O. affiliate, a contract granting wage increases and improved working conditions is being pressed by the union.

The Traction Workers Union, an independent group backed by the company, received 2,132 votes, and 477 ballots were held void. Approximately 10,000 employees were eligible to vote.

Motormen, signalmen and tower-men were excluded from voting by a ruling of the City Industrial Relations Board, acting for the State Labor Relations Board under whose supervision the election was held.

The board set up 12 classifications for the purposes of voting. With the exception of one unit, ticket agents of the N. Y. Rapid Transit Co., the C.I.O. won out in all classifications. The vote in this unit was 568 to 526 in favor of the independent union.

The day before the election the company ran a full-page advertisement in all the metropolitan daily papers in an attempt to influence public opinion and the employees against the C.I.O. union.

Michael Quill, union president, in announcing the results of the another smashing victory which election said: "The C.I.O. has won, abrogates all agreements between the B.M.T. and its employees under the presentation plan of 1920, on the ground that they were signed by company unions.

"We will demand collective bargaining on wages, hours and working conditions comparable to those existing on the I.R.T. lines."

The Transport Workers have a closed shop agreement with the Interborough Rapid Transit Co., which won wage increases of \$60,000 a week for the 15,000 employees. It went into effect July 16.

CIO Laundry Union Pact

The United Laundry Workers, a recent C.I.O. affiliate, has signed a contract for 8,000 inside laundry workers and drivers in the linen towel, coat and apron division of the industry, which is expected to correct many of the abuses so long prevalent in this sweated trade.

Under the new agreement, drivers and inside workers obtained a 10 per cent wage increase, reduction of hours, improvement of sanitary and working conditions and recognition of the union.

The contract brings to the laundry workers for the first time a guarantee of vacations and sick leave; adds a million dollars to payrolls, according to the union's estimate; and opens the question of the five-day week. A commission to study the question of hours of work and report on the possibility of a 40-hour week was set up by the agreement. The report is to be made within three months.

The United Laundry Workers' Union, chartered by the C.I.O. a

ANDRES NIN, POUM LEADER, MURDERED WITHOUT TRIAL

Permit Church Rites In Spain

Said To Be Part Of Plan Leading To Compromise With Fascists

The Negrin Cabinet of the People's Front government of Spain took a further, and less cautious, step in its rightward journey, by permitting the revival of religious services. The new bolstering of the Catholic Church comes after the return of many privileges and much property to the clergy, immediately after the Negrin government was formed.

When the masses of workers and peasants took arms in their hands to repel the fascist uprising on July 1st of last year they went forward with revolutionary energy to wipe out all vestiges of the old hateful regime. Especially was their ire vented upon the Church, the centuries-old oppressor, the buttress of reactionary decadence in Spain, and at the moment, as even the government dare not yet deny, "fascist fortresses."

The restoration of ecclesiastical privileges is at the same time an attempt to play for Catholic support in a counter-move against the Pope, who a few days before had recognized the Franco regime as the government of Spain. This typically people's front "strategy" only further underscores the bankruptcy of this policy which "fights" fascism by yielding to it in its less overt forms—at present.

That these moves are not unconnected with secret plans afoot to come an agreement with the fascists is revealed by a recent speech of Azana, quoted by Fernsworth in the N. Y. Times of August 9th, in which the president of Spain "deplored" the war, and said that twenty-four millions Spaniards united by history must go on living together.

N. Y. Ship Strike Aided by C.I.O.

The eight-week-old strike of 15,000 shipyard workers, conducted by the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, is receiving strong support from the C.I.O. regional office.

Allan S. Haywood, C.I.O. regional director in this area, went to the aid of the shipbuilding workers by calling together all C.I.O. affiliates to discuss ways of supporting the strike.

Conferences of the affiliated groups resulted in a pledge of \$100,000 for the strike, the holding of mass picket demonstrations and the formation of a board of strategy for the duration of the strike.

month and one-half ago, has enrolled 10,000 new members and brought real hope of a better life to the city's 50,000 laundry employees.

Story of "Escape" Circulated To Cover Month-Old Murder; Hand of CP Seen

Hundreds of P.O.U.M. Members and Leaders Arrested In Stalinist-Fostered Drive Against Revolutionary Workers; Life of Gorkin, Andrade And Others Feared For After "Trial-Pledge" Is Broken

ANDRES NIN, leader of the Spanish Workers party of Marxist Unity (P.O.U.M.) was found slain on the outskirts of Madrid, according to a special dispatch to the New York Times of August 8th. Nin, who had been arrested in June and taken from Barcelona to Madrid, where he was imprisoned, was kidnapped from the Madrid jail "by a band of armed men," and murdered. The revelations of Stalinist policy in Spain by Fenner Brockway, published in last week's Workers Age, make clear the likely composition of the "band of armed men." This act is the culmination of the persecution of the P.O.U.M. because of its revolutionary policies in Spain, its clear call to the proletariat that it must not be deceived by the counter-revolutionary policy of the people's front, that it must fight for a Workers' and Peasants' government, for a overthrow of capitalism in order to defeat Franco.

HOUSE TO PASS SENATE VERSION OF WAGE BILL

Committee Drops Fight For Thirty-Five Hours Minimum and Seventy Cents Per Hour Maximum; A.F.L. Amendments Used

The Wages and Hours Bill awaits final action by the House this week, while the House Labor Committee has already foreshadowed the type of bill to be passed. The House Committee has completely dropped its rumored planks for a 35 hour week minimum and a 70 cents per hour maximum, yielding to the pressure of the

Southern representatives, whose sweat-shop masters demand that the southern industry remain the low-wage center of the nation. With this demand, of course, the northern capitalists are in complete agreement, for southern wages can remain as a damocletian sword over the heads of workers in other regions, and can be used to depress their wage levels. However, these gentlemen reckon solely on legislative action, and forget the C.I.O., which the workers do not.

At the same time, the American Federation of Labor had incorporated in the bill a provision forbidding the board set up thereby from declaring wage scales less than those set by collective bargaining in any particular industry under consideration. While superficially this is a very noble "class-conscious" amendment, its actual effect will probably serve to nullify labor's purpose in supporting this bill. Labor needs government aid, physical and legislative, to organize the mass production industries, especially in the south. This amendment completely overlooks the fact that a union might be only so strong as to temporarily gain a wage below even the bill's levels. Presumably, the pure, class unionists of the Frey-Green stripe would object if a union were aided in its struggle against the employers by a law compelling the enforcement of a higher wage.

The Senate, suddenly under the control of the erstwhile vacationist, vice-president Garner, rushed thru a "court reform" bill affecting the lower courts of the federal judiciary, in the record time of 59 minutes. It begins to appear now that real reform of the Supreme Court is dead.

Union Wins In Plymouth

Eleven Thousand Return To Work; Fair Trial Promised For Four

The stoppage of eleven thousand workers at the Plymouth plant of the Chrysler Corporation was ended by a settlement satisfactory to the United Automobile Workers, Monday August 9th.

The stoppage was a protest against the firing of four union men who had defended themselves against the attack of members of the Independent Association of Chrysler Employees. A fight broke out between union men and the officer of this "independent" outfit last Wednesday.

Mr. Chrysler's extreme concern over the fate of the "independent" union makes one wonder as to the degree of his disconnectedness with this outfit—in reality just another example of the new type of company union being sponsored after the validation of the Wagner Act made possible open connections between employers and company unions.

The agreement provides for a "fair trial" on Tuesday of the four men fired, Leo LaMotte, president of the U.A.W.A. Local, stated.

The Detroit Chamber of Commerce, raving at this militant action against company unions, demanded an investigation.

With the assassination of Nin the counter-revolutionary course of the Spanish Communist Party must become clear to ever wider circles of workers who fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system, the breeder of fascism. With the assassination of Andres Nin, the nature of the People's Front as nothing but the old social-democratic coalition policy of betrayal of the interests of the working-class, of suppression and oppression of the working-class to foster the rule of the "democratic" bourgeoisie (which even now plot for a compromise with Franco) becomes even more marked. The assassination of Nin completes the cycle of reformist betrayal as it occurred in Germany—for as the Noskes and Scheidemanns shot down the revolutionary leaders of the German proletariat, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, so now have the Hernandez' and Diaz' of Spain shot the revolutionary leader of the Spanish proletariat, Andres Nin.

Other leaders of the P.O.U.M., Julio Gorkin, Andrade, Rebull and others are in jail—we are told. Most likely the Spanish agents and emulators of Stalin and his regime have already brutally murdered them—for do they not represent what is most to be feared; the interests of the revolutionary proletariat?

It should be noted that the time of the death of Nin, approximately a month ago corresponds with the time of Fenner Brockway's arrival in Spain. Here he was assured that Nin and the other leaders were alive, and that they would be given an open fair trial, that indeed, they were not even being charged with being fascist agents but merely that such agents had wormed their way into the P.O.U.M. (as in every organization). It is most likely that Nin was already dead when these "promises" were being given!

A few days ago stories were circulated that Nin had escaped from a Madrid sanitarium "to confer with Franco," and that the Ministry of Justice was on the watch for him. This, as now can be seen, was merely to cover up his cold-blooded murder and the consequent fact that he could no longer be brought to trial! For the international labor movement, while large sections perhaps disagreed

(Continued on Page 3)

A Discussion of the City Club Report UNIONS THEMSELVES CAN "CLEAN HOUSE"

By ROBERT WALTERS

THE proposals of the City Club of New York for legislative action to eliminate the evils to be found in trade union organizations today, as described in summary form in last week's Workers Age, are obviously advanced with the best intentions in the world; the tone and general conclusions of the City Club report show this. Yet the fact remains that, in nearly every case, these suggestions prove quite as ineffectual and sometimes almost as dangerous as those rejected by the City Club committee itself. Obviously, the "positive" sections of the committee report are the weakest and most open to serious objection.

Remedies For Racketeering
It is urged that failure to "report the existence of a racket or to inform the prosecution of facts concerning a racket" be made a penal offense. This suggestion has no particular relevance to the labor movement and it is hardly necessary to discuss it here. Yet it may be questioned whether this provision will be any more effective than similar ones already in existence which do not seem able to prevent the intimidation of complainants or witnesses in cases of racketeering.

The idea that the establishment of a racket bureau of the Police Department would be of any use, is naive to a degree, but surely not nearly as naive as the injunction that it should not be "associated with any political organization."

The evils of trade union bureaucracy—which, of course, implies the ruthless restriction or even elimination of democratic institutions—are obviously serious ones and there can be little doubt of the inherent value of the remedial measures suggested in the report. Many of them, indeed, are already matters of established routine in some of the strongest and most effective trade unions of this country. The difficulty arises, however, when it is proposed to enact them into law, to inaugurate them by legal compulsion.

Annual elections by secret ballot are a good thing, of course. But many of the worst racketeer-ridden organizations have such elections—and the racketeers seem to thrive nevertheless. Annual elections are no panacea; for one thing, a lot depends upon who runs the elections and counts the ballots. Legislation compelling annual elections may not seem to do any harm at the outset but, since it is not likely to do any certain and definite good, it is a thoroughly undesirable tendency of legislative regulation of unions is, as such, very bad. As the City Club itself warns, in all cases of labor legislation, "there should be reasonable certainty that a specific abuse will be eliminated and a concrete gain achieved that cannot otherwise be achieved."

Far worse is the case with the other half of the proposal—that no officer be considered elected unless he receives a majority of the ballots of those voting, who must themselves constitute a majority of the membership. This is sheer nonsense, and obvious nonsense at that. If there are three or four candidates running for the same office, how can any one of them be expected to receive a clear majority for his election? Such a requirement is not placed upon can-

didates for the presidency of the United States—and, had it been placed, Lincoln would never have been elected! Furthermore, it shows little knowledge of the degree of "civic" activity of the membership of even the most wide-awake and progressive union to demand that a majority of the members actually cast their votes to render an election valid. In some of the best unions, 25% participation in elections is regarded as very good and 50% positively phenomenal. Perhaps this points to a serious defect in trade union functioning but it is certainly not a defect that can be cured by legislation! What, finally, would the City Club committee propose to do in case less than a majority of the members vote in an election and the leading candidate for an office receive only 45% of the vote?

Positively dangerous, however, is the proposal to give the federal or state labor boards the power, "if called upon to do so" (by whom?), to supervise inner-union elections and to "certify whether or not an officer actually represents his union by virtue of an election." To give any outside agency the power of certification means to give it final power over union elections and therefore over the whole administrative life of the organization. It is no reflection upon the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board to say that the board as such should not possess such power. In another part of its report, the City Club committee evidently realized this itself for it found it necessary to warn:

"The vesting in one particular group of the right to investigate irregularities would confer upon that group unlimited discretion to determine how union affairs should be conducted, a matter which properly falls within the sphere of self-government."

Legislating For Responsibility
The measures advocated by the City Club committee under the head of union responsibility, are hardly any better. The requirement that collective agreements must be ratified by the membership in some form, prevails in most unions and, of course, a very proper one. Unfortunately, however, it does not seem to be enough in itself to guarantee freedom from racketeering or from the crudest of sell-outs, any more than secret annual elections can in themselves guarantee democracy.

To make employers "responsible" to see "that the union representative negotiating an agreement is authorized to do so," as is suggested in the report, would be nothing short of disastrous, for it would vest in the hands of the employers power of indirect intervention in union affairs. If you make an employer "responsible" in this sense, you give him the right to decide for himself whether or not he should recognize a union representative as "authorized"; in

CIO Council For Western Mass.

Delegates from 26 local unions in the C.I.O., representing about 12,000 organized workers, gathered together on receipt of letters from the A. F. of L. suspending all C.I.O. unions and preventing them from attending the coming convention of the State Federation of Labor.

Joe Massucci, C.I.O. organizer from Boston, stated the three purposes of this Council: Consolidation and cooperation between C.I.O. locals; Extension of union organization under the C.I.O. of all the industries and shops in the district; And, thirdly, to strengthen the political influence of labor by a definite campaign against incorporation of unions and legislation declaring sit-downs illegal. Demands for an anti-injunction act and state collective bargaining and minimum wage laws were also drawn up.

The Textile Workers Organizing Committee and the United Radio and Electrical Workers are in the leadership of this Council. The T.W.O.C. has 4 locals of 4,000 newly organized workers. The U.E. & R.W. has about 6 locals covering 8,000 workers. Delegates also came from the Newspaper Guild, a United Auto Workers local, the United Rubber Workers, the A.C.W. and the I.L.G.W.U. Headquarters are in Springfield. The Council has jurisdiction over the whole of Western Massachusetts, and is planning to start organization drives at once in all local industries.

other words, at his own discretion, he may refuse to deal with a union official on the ground that the latter has not been properly and democratically elected! To give employers such scope for interference in union affairs, means to subject the unions to their tender mercies and thus to make an end to genuine collective bargaining.

Only Labor Can Clean Its Own House
What, then, is the conclusion? The question is well answered by the City Club committee in its own report: "Experience has shown that eradication of racketeering from a union can come only from an aroused and determined membership." And that applies equally well to restrictions upon democratic procedure and to bureaucratic practices on the part of union officials. Formal rules mean hardly anything. The most democratic union in this country, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has biennial elections and triennial conventions; the most racketeer-infested outfit, which shall here be nameless, has elections every year. No; formal rules embodied in legislative regulations cannot meet the situation but an aroused and determined membership, organized for clean and democratic unionism, can—as experience has abundantly proven. The salvation of the trade union movement is to be found in the trade union movement itself! And it is finding it—in and thru the C.I.O.!

SOUTHERN BOSSES AND ILGWU DRIVE

By MARY AUSTIN

OUR Southern "democracy," base of the New Deal Democratic party, thunders its anger at the attempts of the workers to organize everywhere, and in Tupelo, Mississippi, in particular. It uses for its voice, a New Deal "liberal," Mr. John Rankin, who raved against the National Labor Relations Board as having ruined industry in the otherwise idyllic town of Tupelo, thru its "communist activities . . . stirring up strife in every section of the country, and especially in the Southern states."

The whole corrupted structure of Southern economy, where semi-feudalism has been carried over from the slavery-plantation system to industrial capitalism, is rearing itself up on its reactionary legs to fight unionism with the ruthless tactics of "democracy," so easily converted, in the reactionary and putrid soil of the Southern ruling class, into fascism.

Mr. Rankin, speaking for the Southern mill owners stated: "The ruthless manner in which they (the N.L.R.B.) helped to destroy and forced the liquidation of the cotton mill in Tupelo, throwing all the employees out of work, and the brutal manner in which they are now trying to destroy the garment factories in that city is enough to stir the people of my state to revolt."

But why, Mr. Rankin, are "the people of your state" being stirred now to revolt against the miserable, standards obtaining in the Southern sweat-shops?

Behind this vicious attack is a story of long and bitter animosity on the part of Mississippi toward any organization which might succeed in raising the standard of living of its workers thru challenging the feudal rule of local employers.

Workers Organize Themselves
The recent events date back to April 7, when the workers in the Tupelo Cotton Mill, who were earning an average of \$11 or \$12 a week, sat down, demanding recognition of their committee, headed by a militant young striker, Jimmy Cox. After 10 days, during which the mill of 400 employees was completely under their control, the strikers evacuated under agreement with the management that both sides would abide by the result of an N.L.R.B. election. The election gave a 2-1 victory to the Cox Committee. The management then calmly proceeded to break the agreement, called a stockholders meeting and voted to liquidate. Meanwhile the strike-breaking tactics of the mill were so obvious that the N.L.R.B. asked the State to refuse to appoint a liquidator. The motion was denied, a liquidator appointed, and some unused cotton bales and uninstalled machinery disposed of. No effort was made, however, to dispose of any machinery which had been in operation. In fact, the company has let it be generally known, that a back-to-work movement and defeat of the Cox Committee would find the plant eager to start operations on an open shop basis.

And just to prove that the company has not lost interest in its former employees, eviction notices to all residents of the company houses were received, by a strange coincidence, on the same day that strikers would no longer be provided. This was July 17. Evictions have not yet been carried out, as the state laws stipulate a certain number of days before forceful eviction takes place.

Meanwhile tension grew in the shirt factory of the Tupelo Garment Co., where the power was pulled April 17. Management here was ready, however, and the strike was quickly broken. Eight employees were fired and a company union set up. Employees were forced to sign their names to blank pieces of paper; not until after their signatures were written did they know what they were signing. No attempt has been made to disguise the flagrant company domination of the stooge union. John R. Hunter, secretary-treasurer of the company had himself elected president of the cutters' local. No decision on violations of the Labor Act have yet been handed down by the Board which conducted hearings July 6.

The Union Comes To Town
So far, no organizer had come into Tupelo. Union sentiment came directly from local workers. But the last spark was added to the smoldering fury of the "indignant citizens" of Tupelo when Ida Sledge, I.L.G.W.U. organizer, arrived to assist organization of the two garment factories—Reed Bros. employing about 400, and the Milan Mfg. Co. with 125 workers. Attacking the C.I.O. and the I.L.G.W.U. as "communist," Reed Brothers instructed their fore-

ladies to tell the girls to get the organizers out of town. Fearing loss of their jobs, about 200 young girls, led by the foraladies, attacked Ida Sledge and her assistant, a young worker from Forrest City, Ark., in their hotel room, June 18, dragged them out of bed and down the stairs and took them out of town.

Citizens' Committee Formed
But the organizers promptly returned and were able to convince so many of the workers of their mistake that the firm was forced to resort to other tactics! A citizens committee was organized, led by Ike Savery, vice-commander of the Mississippi American Legion, and composed of local merchants and business men, with the obvious connivance of the Mayor and under the inspiration of the Reed Brothers, who incidentally are also the largest stockholders in the cotton mill. The editor of one of the local papers who had shown some fairness was threatened with immediate loss of all advertising unless he endorsed the Citizens Committee completely, which he promptly did. The second expulsion of the organizers then took place, July 9, when a delegation of committeemen came to the hotel and took them out of town.

But the organizers were sure of themselves this time. They had the cotton strikers behind them. No sooner had the committee deposited them in the nearest town, than Miss Sledge returned to her car, drove back to Tupelo where a group of mill strikers surrounded her to preserve her from physical harm, and took her to "Milltown" with them.

Foaming at the mouth, the Tupelo union-haters have issued leaflet after leaflet attacking the I.L.G.W.U., and the Labor Relations Board, calling for physical violence against the organizers—two young girls in their twenties—threatening to close every plant in Tupelo, and finally inspiring Rankin to make a spectacle of himself before the nation.

The I.L.G.W.U. continues its organization work, but until something breaks in the mill strike, the situation is deadlocked. What will happen the day of the evictions none can foretell. Southern bosses are not squeamish about how to treat the ladies—of the union!

THE "LEFTS" IN THE AUTO WORKERS UNION

By GEORGE F. MILES

AS the convention of the United Automobile Workers approaches and the certainty in union ranks grows that the Martin-Frankensteen forces will constitute a decisive majority, the cry of unity emanating from the decimated ranks of the Mortimer-Hall faction grows ever louder. However, apparently feeling that Mortimer was not doing half the job he should along the lines of this new strategy, the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party, has boldly inserted itself into the inner union controversy thru the person of B. K. Gebert who wrote several articles giving Mortimer some fine points in the art of catching flies with honey.

The articles in the Daily Worker and the programs and slates of the union revolve around three axes: factional use of the name of the C.I.O., a sycophantic attitude toward Homer Martin, and the fraudulent cry of unity. With the effective operation of this program they hope to cause enough confusion in the ranks of the union to win out in a walk.

The C.I.O. Issue
Probably the most dastardly business was the deliberate campaign to create the impression that the Martin-Frankensteen forces were contemplating withdrawal from the C.I.O. if reelected into the leadership of the union. The Toledo caucus program simply says: "We want the closest tie-up with the C.I.O. We will help support its organizing drives and work under its guiding influence." It was left to the local caucus leaders to embroider and interpret this statement into the real meaning intended by the cautious program makers at Toledo. Thus the white slate elections for delegates to the convention in Flint is captioned "C.I.O.-U.A.W. SLATE," creating the very definite impression that the opposing slate is anti-C.I.O. More than that the second point in the program listed on the reverse side of this slate calls for "Real unity with C.I.O. and fullest support to all their organizing campaigns." It was the obvious intention of the Mortimer caucus to create the impression that there had been no real unity with the C.I.O. and that the fullest support

to organizing efforts of the C.I.O. had not been extended by the Mortimer-Frankensteen forces. The Homer Martin was the instrument of reaction in the struggle against the "left" and "progressive" Mortimer. Why the change now? The change is due to no altered evaluation of Homer Martin as a leader or of the policies which he represents. It is due rather to their recognition that the widespread support of the membership for President Martin and his policies makes his election a certainty. Any attempt on their part to place a candidate in the field against Martin would lead not only to the defeat of that candidate but, with him, also the rest of their ticket.

It is also reported that Martin and Frankensteen are in favor of the union's splitting from the C.I.O. while the Mortimer-Travis faction is opposing such action and is hoping to prevent it by retaining Mortimer in his present position. "If these people see the incongruity and unscrupulousness of shouting unity and pledging the reelection of Homer Martin to the presidency even while slandering him and his co-workers on the C.I.O. question, they show no signs of it. Neither Mortimer, nor Hall nor any of their Flint lieutenants saw fit to repudiate the above story. If these people realize that this type of campaign harms the C.I.O. and gives aid and comfort to those who constantly speculate on the disruption of the C.I.O., then they have not acted on the basis of such realization. Factional exigency remains the chief force determining their line of campaign and to hell with the interests of the union or the C.I.O.!"

Martin For President

Against Martin, the Mortimer caucus has placed no candidate in the field. They will look at you in sheer amazement at any suggestion that such a step was contemplated at any time. Has not the Daily Worker, speaking for the Stalinists in the union, said "We Communists declare openly and above board that we have no aim to obtain organizational control of the international?" Has not B. K. Gebert, in his Daily Worker articles, said in a dozen different ways that nothing could possibly be more progressive, militant, forward-looking, than the U.A.W. and that "no small credit for this achievement goes to the international officers of this union headed by Homer Martin?"

All this and more the writers of the Daily Worker now say about Martin. In fact, the Stalinist press now speaks of Martin almost in the same reverent terms which in the past has been reserved ex-

clusively for the holiest of holies in the Stalinist hierarchy. On the other hand only a few weeks ago Homer Martin was the instrument of reaction in the struggle against the "left" and "progressive" Mortimer. Why the change now? The change is due to no altered evaluation of Homer Martin as a leader or of the policies which he represents. It is due rather to their recognition that the widespread support of the membership for President Martin and his policies makes his election a certainty. Any attempt on their part to place a candidate in the field against Martin would lead not only to the defeat of that candidate but, with him, also the rest of their ticket.

Hence the new strategy which in essence concedes Martin's election and tries to have some of its other candidates ride into office by utilizing their so-called endorsement of Martin. This attempt to strengthen their caucus by riding in on the popularity of Homer Martin bears within it the seeds of their own destruction as they will discover soon enough. But what is of interest now is their inconsistency, bias and petty factionalism even in the execution of this strategy: thus betraying its real character as an anti-Martin move.

At the very time that they shout for the reelection of Martin, leaders of the Mortimer-Hall caucus have unleashed a poison-gas campaign of slander and character assassination. Publicity directors of the union, paid by the union but supporting Mortimer, will not hesitate to drop remarks of a highly derogatory nature to Daniels of the New York Times or Parsons of the New York Herald Tribune, taking the necessary precautions, of course, to safeguard their own positions. These reporters will then flower out with stories beginning with "union leaders say" and ending with such choice bits of gossip as the Mortimer people see fit to spread.

Within the last few days it has even become known that the Mortimer caucus is planning to introduce a resolution making it impossible for a president to serve more than three terms. This proposal by itself indicates the real nature of their "support" of Martin. They are biding their time and repairing their fences as best they can.

As To Unity

The cry of unity usually arouses sympathy. The A.F. of L. bureaucrats counted on that very factor when, as against the C.I.O.'s emphasis of industrial unionism, they kept shouting for unity. The Mortimer-Hall caucus is trying to duplicate that stunt. Just as the C.I.O. answered by a discussion of issues so is it necessary to see what are the issues in the U.A.W. But there are no issues, says the Daily Worker. . . . this program (Martin-Frankensteen) shows that on basic principles, there are no fundamental differences which should keep the progressive forces apart and keep the organization in a state of strife." But there are no issues, echoes the Toledo caucus statement. "Unity is not hard to get. On all important issues there is substantial agreement."

Unfortunately, the Daily Worker and the Toledo caucus are the only ones who say so and even these don't believe their own words as can be shown by a comparison of the two programs.

The central questions upon which there is no agreement are those revolving around stabilization of the union, coordination and unity of effort in the leadership, centralization of union procedure while guaranteeing the democratic rights of the membership, abolition of

wild cat strikes, G.E.B. approval of all strikes, discipline and responsibility.

On all concrete proposals flowing out of the above problems the Toledo caucus represents the very opposite point of view. It proposes to continue and worsen the present condition in the leadership by cutting down on the powers of the president and by surrounding him with a group of vice presidents—supporters of the Mortimer caucus in the majority—all of whom will have equal powers. Their attitude on unauthorized strikes can be seen from the irresponsible manner in which Mortimer and Hall behaved while in charge of General Motors matters. Their opposition to extending the powers of the G.E.B. flows from a determination to continue a condition of dual authority as in the case of the West Side local in Detroit and the Flint organization up until recently, when the G.E.B. was forced to take steps to set the organization in order. When we realize that, as

the Negrin front for the Spanish Stalinists can swoop down on and crush the workers. But it is also true that things cannot much longer go on in this way, where working-class leaders are murdered.

Largo Caballero once again seems to have broken completely with the policies of the people's front government, and is criticizing it sharply. The intensification of his criticism serves as an indication of the corresponding dissatisfaction of the Socialist masses and the U.G.T. unions with the Stalinist policies.

Andres Nin was formerly a leader of the Spanish Trotskyist group. When Leon Trotsky ordered his international turn into the Socialist Parties of the various countries, Nin led the opposition to this capitulation to reformism. Trotsky forthwith "expelled" Nin and his followers, publishing a typically vicious attack on that group.

The break with the Trotskyists was completed not only organizationally but ideologically in many fields. After the October Revolution, Nin joined forces with the Workers' and Peasants' Alliance led by Joaquin Maurin. The latter had been in fraternal relations with the International Communist Opposition. The uniting of these forces created the P.O.U.M., made permanent the break with Trotskyism, and laid the bases for a real communist movement in Spain, freed from ultra-leftism and opportunism.

When Maurin was trapped in fascist territory at the outbreak of the counter-revolutionary uprising, and executed, Nin became the accepted leader of the party. Altho at first participating in the Catalan government, the P.O.U.M. under Nin's leadership, became a revolutionary opposition to the government, setting itself as its major task the winning over of the vast masses of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. party adversely. But this need only be temporary. For the revolutionary proletariat and of Spain, and especially of Catalonia, these blows of bourgeois reaction cannot for long be withstood in silence. The C.N.T. deliberately provoked into the Mays Days in Barcelona and which had offered the services of its best lawyers to aid in the defense of Nin and the others, is already seething with anger. Rumors are that the workers are already in the streets in Barcelona. It is probably true that further action is being provoked in order

to organize efforts of the C.I.O. had not been extended by the Mortimer-Frankensteen forces. The Homer Martin was the instrument of reaction in the struggle against the "left" and "progressive" Mortimer. Why the change now? The change is due to no altered evaluation of Homer Martin as a leader or of the policies which he represents. It is due rather to their recognition that the widespread support of the membership for President Martin and his policies makes his election a certainty. Any attempt on their part to place a candidate in the field against Martin would lead not only to the defeat of that candidate but, with him, also the rest of their ticket.

Hence the new strategy which in essence concedes Martin's election and tries to have some of its other candidates ride into office by utilizing their so-called endorsement of Martin. This attempt to strengthen their caucus by riding in on the popularity of Homer Martin bears within it the seeds of their own destruction as they will discover soon enough. But what is of interest now is their inconsistency, bias and petty factionalism even in the execution of this strategy: thus betraying its real character as an anti-Martin move.

At the very time that they shout for the reelection of Martin, leaders of the Mortimer-Hall caucus have unleashed a poison-gas campaign of slander and character assassination. Publicity directors of the union, paid by the union but supporting Mortimer, will not hesitate to drop remarks of a highly derogatory nature to Daniels of the New York Times or Parsons of the New York Herald Tribune, taking the necessary precautions, of course, to safeguard their own positions. These reporters will then flower out with stories beginning with "union leaders say" and ending with such choice bits of gossip as the Mortimer people see fit to spread.

Within the last few days it has even become known that the Mortimer caucus is planning to introduce a resolution making it impossible for a president to serve more than three terms. This proposal by itself indicates the real nature of their "support" of Martin. They are biding their time and repairing their fences as best they can.

As To Unity

The cry of unity usually arouses sympathy. The A.F. of L. bureaucrats counted on that very factor when, as against the C.I.O.'s emphasis of industrial unionism, they kept shouting for unity. The Mortimer-Hall caucus is trying to duplicate that stunt. Just as the C.I.O. answered by a discussion of issues so is it necessary to see what are the issues in the U.A.W. But there are no issues, says the Daily Worker. . . . this program (Martin-Frankensteen) shows that on basic principles, there are no fundamental differences which should keep the progressive forces apart and keep the organization in a state of strife." But there are no issues, echoes the Toledo caucus statement. "Unity is not hard to get. On all important issues there is substantial agreement."

Unfortunately, the Daily Worker and the Toledo caucus are the only ones who say so and even these don't believe their own words as can be shown by a comparison of the two programs.

The central questions upon which there is no agreement are those revolving around stabilization of the union, coordination and unity of effort in the leadership, centralization of union procedure while guaranteeing the democratic rights of the membership, abolition of

Sloan's Crocodile Tears For 'Union-Caused Loss' Exposed

Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Chairman of the Board of General Motors, lets on that his company is slipping, and it's all the union's fault. In a statement issued July 27, Sloan accuses the United Auto Workers of causing a loss of \$22,000,000 in G.M. profits for the second quarter of 1937, and bluntly accuses the union of "irresponsibility."

In foreboding tones he calls on the public to realize "the unreasonable and unnecessary losses which it is sustaining by such experiences as General Motors has been subjected to during the period under review."

What are these losses? According to Sloan, cash resources of G.M. dropped \$120,000,000 in the second quarter of 1937, as compared to a similar period in 1936.

This sounds serious, but on looking closer other figures begin to emerge which make an entirely different picture. During the same period, G.M.'s holdings in U. S. Government securities increased \$77,000,000, its inventories increased \$79,000,000, and its net working

capital increased \$19,000,000—much more than offsets the "loss" in cash.

In fact, it makes the "loss" of \$120,000,000 look suspiciously like a gain of \$55,000,000.

Sloan also complained about the drop in profits on sales. Again a second look at the figures shows that during the period covered in the statement, earned surplus increased \$28,000,000—equal to the increase in sales.

This proves something: Sloan's cost of making cars has not increased. It has decreased, in spite of wage increases to G.M. workers and in spite of union "irresponsibility."

It wipes out Sloan's claim that the cost of higher wages and collective bargaining is destroying his company, the public, and the nation.

One other item in Sloan's statement also escaped notice in the papers. This was the decrease of approximately \$3,000,000 in G.M.'s allowance for "employees' bonus, etc." for the first six months of 1937.

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A.L.P. AND THE CITY ELECTIONS

In the welter of political flux that characterizes the mayoralty conflict in New York City, the activities of the American Labor Party are emerging more clearly as being the most consistent and determined. For a new party, born only in the recent elections, its firmness of purpose must win to its support not only new sections of the workers and other elements in the population, but should serve to convince many a wavering super-revolutionary of the genuine class-character of this party and its growing independence.

Far from being tied to the apron strings of the New Deal wing of the Democratic Party, or merely serving as its "labor adjunct," certain policies of the A.L.P. have underscored the fact that it is a real political organization with definite objectives that transcend personality. Whereas, in the 1936 elections, it campaigned for Roosevelt and Lehman, on the basis of their real or imagined services to the labor movement, just so soon as Governor Lehman broke with the proponents of Court Reform, he found he had broken with the A.L.P. Representing the limited political development of the American working class, and that in its most advanced form, the A.L.P. sees its needs in the labor aspects of the New Deal, and supports those individuals who advocate this program. But what is important is that devotion to program and need come before blind fidelity to any individual.

Up to date, one of the major tasks of the American Labor Party in regards to the municipal elections, thrusting forward its independent candidates, has been carried on with a political skill amazing in a party so new to the intricacies of New York's municipal politics. This experienced method of dealing with the situation receives its real appreciation when we recognize that, by and large, it does not cover up an opportunist policy but rather advances the cause of independent labor politics.

While relations with the Fusion group in the city must obviously be of a delicate and complicated nature, the nomination of LaGuardia by both groups did not bind the A.L.P. to Fusion candidates at all. On the contrary, the leaders of the A.L.P. lost no time in rejecting the cheap political make-shift slate of Seabury, which brazenly included the infamous labor-hater Harvey of Queens County. The A.L.P. is now proceeding to nominate totally independent slates for the various city offices, exclusive of the mayoralty. In the Bronx, Isidore Nagler, vice-president of the I.L.G.W.U., and Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, have been nominated for borough president and city councilman respectively. In Brooklyn, Hollander of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Armstrong of the Typos will head the A.L.P. slate. In other counties nominations are yet to be made. But the essential trend can be easily recognized—the determined and consistent nomination of leading trade unionists to represent the A.L.P. in the elections.

The nomination of LaGuardia has, therefore, not resulted in capitulation to Fusion, or caused retrogression as regards political independence. Only those who viewed the situation from an abstract stand-point could fail to see that there were present limits to the degree of independence possible for the labor party. Those limits are determined by the illusions of labor anent the New Deal, concretely expressed in the nomination of LaGuardia. But within these limits, the American Labor Party is functioning with the extreme possible independence. It should not be forgotten that there is a concrete need for a labor party, over and above the historical analyses of Marxism, felt by the trade unions themselves. This need, once achieving organizational existence, proceeds along the lines of necessity of its own being—firm independence.

There is still room for even further emphasis on the independent character of the American Labor Party. While all indications point to use of correct strategy on the part of the labor party leaders, it will serve more purpose than mere repetition to urge the necessity of a program for the coming elections. Secondly, the excellent work done in pushing forward the role of the A.L.P. in relation to LaGuardia must be so stressed as to make it clear to the widest numbers of voters that it and not Fusion is the most important factor in the elections.

CNT Warns Against Persecuting POUM

(We publish below a very significant article that appeared in the Madrid C.N.T. paper, CNT, on June 18, 1937. It expresses the attitude of this great Spanish trade union federation towards the persecution of the P.O.U.M. by the reactionary Negrin government, under the inspiration of the official Communist Party of Spain. It is only necessary to add that, since this article was written, all the worst fears expressed in it have been realized. The persecution of the C.N.T. and the left socialists of the U.G.T. has already begun.—THE EDITOR.)

OUR international situation have forced us to remain silent on many questions that have shocked us here in Spain. . . . In the face of maintaining our anti-fascist struggle, we did not want to do anything even remotely smacking of antagonism. . . . But the others did not do the same. There are those in Spain who, putting aside our need for mutual confidence and common action, have brought antagonisms into our political and social midst.

At the beginning of the war, the communist press began to talk of Trotskyism in its international aspect. Nobody was concerned about the question. A little later, the same papers began saying that Spain also had Trotskyites and pointed to their presence in the P.O.U.M. Still later, they said that this whole party was tied up to Trotskyism and then, in the face of the freedom from bias among all the political and social elements, the same dailies began to say that the Trotskyites were in the service of the Gestapo and constituted an advance guard of fascism in our camp. To develop their campaign, they refused to recognize the fact that the P.O.U.M. had thousands of fighters in the front lines, where they were fighting as courageously as all the other Spanish anti-fascists. To accuse this party of Trotskyism, they ignored the attacks that it was constantly receiving from the Bulletin of the Fourth International, attached to Trotsky. They forgot all good faith, all loyalty in words and acts, in order to unleash a campaign against the P.O.U.M. that no other powerful organization would have tolerated.

Numerous militants of this Party have been assassinated or have disappeared. Many others, on the fronts and at the rear, have been ordered to leave the P.O.U.M. in order to save their lives, and take out a membership card in some other anti-fascist organization. Heroic soldiers of the people, such as the commander Alcantarilla, have been seized, not by the official authorities, but by people who abide by the law of the Republican when it suits them. The campaign has not stopped here. The provocations that took place during the tragic events in Catalonia, have been continuing with greater intensity. Men like Vidiella, who mock-ed Nin and called him "the eye of Moscow" a number of years ago, today, wrapped up in a communist mantle, demands the imprisonment of this comrade. Many other leaders of the P.O.U.M. meet the same fate. We are about to see this party outlawed. The offensive, launched at first by the communists, seems to be acquiring an official character. The P.O.U.M. is going to be rendered mute and inarticulate and cast aside. Their leading figures are going to jail and, the demands of the communist are going to be satisfied, we shall see the threat of the death penalty hanging over them.

This is a very serious problem

and we must express our opinion about it. . . . We, workers of the C.N.T., are not very much in agreement with the ideology of the P.O.U.M. On the other hand, it will be worth while recalling that this party attacked our organization many times before the 19th of July and since then. We have no obligations toward them and therefore our words must have more value now.

In the campaign against the P.O.U.M., we see a break in the wall erected by all the anti-fascist organizations. At a time when the enemy is redoubling its attacks, both on the military field as well as in the realm of diplomacy and in propaganda, seeking to influence foreign opinion, we see our unity in struggle broken, a systematic persecution undertaken against certain anti-fascist workers groups. We regard this as extraordinarily grave. We must declare, with full emphasis, that this is playing with fire and paying attention to foreign interests rather than to the needs of our own country. The persecutions cannot meet the approval of anybody who is free of sectarianism and must shock great numbers of revolutionary workers. And, truly terrible consequences for all of us can follow from this shock. The danger for all of us who are concerned with the war and the revolution is great enough without allowing ourselves to abandon the firm ground of reason.

But even more, we, workers of the C.N.T. see in this campaign a sample of reactionary effrontery. If, in the past they have fought only against the P.O.U.M., they will now fight also against the C.N.T., as well as against those members of the U.G.T. who refuse to submit to foreign influences and want to create the social and political conditions that are indispensable for our victory. We see that they do not take into consideration the work of those who are now the object of the most unjustifiable attacks. Largo Caballero, Pascual Rubiera, Ricardo Zabalza, Carlos Bubieta, Barahbar and other men with great prestige among the workers are being fought in a campaign as dishonorable as it is furious, by the same elements who are conducting the persecutions against the P.O.U.M.

We can expect anything from this offensive. We repeat: ANYTHING. Precisely for this reason we shout our warning to the Spanish proletariat. We shall never grow tired of repeating that we must all have a greater sense of responsibility. But neither can we pass over in silence what we loyally and sincerely interpret as one of the most serious attacks against the revolution, against the liberties of the people and against the spirit of harmony that we have been forging during the past eleven months of struggle against fascism. But we shall be vigilant and watchful. . . .

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By Lambda EUROPE TODAY Japanese Drive In China Based On Hopes of Weakness In Red Army

London, July 18, 1937.

THE Amur incident was an attempt on the part of Japan to drive back the Soviet Union by means of the bayonet after the decapitation of the Red Army. Its purpose was clearly not that of a major attack against the Soviet Union but merely to ascertain whether and how far the Soviet Union would intervene in the case of an attack against North China. How Japanese imperialism estimated the results of its experiment can be judged by the fact that a major attack against China has now actually been initiated. The usual Japanese provocation preceded it. Japan has already sent 20,000 men to North China and each day sees new Japanese troops moving in. The struggle rages right under the walls of Peking.

The Nanking government has decreed a general mobilization. It has refrained from appealing to the League of Nations—it isn't even worth losing time and effort on such a move any longer. England, France and the United States want to "learn" from the Japanese and Chinese governments whether it is the Japanese purpose at this time to conquer North China; in this case they will make a common "protest." Since none of these powers even dreams of opposing the Japanese attack in a military sense, Japan has no intention of halting before mere verbal protests. How far Japan will go now depends, therefore, primarily on the amount of resistance that Nanking can offer. This is a test as to whether the Kuomintang government is really capable of organizing a genuine war of national defense. Or directly this will also test the present policy of the Comintern in China which has sacrificed the Chinese revolution in the expectation that the Kuomintang can thus be moved to undertake, and is capable of carrying on, a war of national defense against Japan. Basically this is the same policy as in Spain, where the proletarian revolution is sacrificed, while in China the national revolution is thrown overboard for the gamble of a military success on a bourgeois or semi-feudal counter-revolutionary basis. The attack of Japan on North China, of course, touches the Soviet Union much more directly than the attack on Spain. In North China, Japan seeks to expand its military base against the Soviet Union.

The position of French imperialism in this conflict is clarified by the following remarks of Le Temps of July 14: ". . . Under these conditions the affair can only be usefully handled by the Japanese military officials together with the political Council of Chahar and Hopeh. . . . The disquieting point in China consists of the aspirations of certain revolutionary elements whom Russian Bolshevism has continually encouraged and who entertain and foster constant unrest against Japanese influence; but in reality the principle of Chinese-Japanese collaboration remains the exceedingly complicated policy of both governments."

Thus speaks the French partner in the Franco-Soviet pact! That is a direct encouragement for an "understanding" between Tokyo and Nanking against the Soviet Union. It is obvious that the conduct of Japan is simplified not only by the crisis of the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union but also by the collapse of the so-called non-intervention policy in Spain.

GROWING TENSION IN HITLER GERMANY

Even attempting to secure of the necessary supply of breadstuffs in Germany meets with ever greater difficulty. Pure wheat flour is no longer delivered to the consumer at all. For the future, corn meal will be mixed with it right in the flour mill. With rye flour, potato flour is mixed. The mills are no longer obliged to maintain certain supplies on hand. For the future, buckwheat and all fodders are to be controlled by the government, i.e. their price is raised and their use is limited. The growing shortage of iron and steel has led to decrees making it obligatory to report even the smallest quantities in private hands. These facts speak eloquently of the incapacity of Hitler Germany today to carry on a great war, and indicates that its stand in the Spanish question as well as in the question of Czecho-Slovakia and Austria is, for the time being, nothing but bluff.

ON THE CRISIS IN THE REGIME OF THE C.P.S.U. Resolution of the International Communist Opposition

(We publish below the resolution of the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition on the present events in the Soviet Union. This resolution was unanimously endorsed by the National Council of the Independent Communist Labor League, at sessions held recently.—THE EDITOR.)

1. THE SITUATION IN THE U.S.S.R.

1. On the occasion of the Radek-Piatkov trial, we expressed grave doubt as to the truth of the monstrous accusations raised against the defendants and of the "confessions" and self-denunciations made by them. We then said that a regime under which such events could occur must be thoroughly unsound. We declared it was necessary to give the party a good airing, to introduce genuine inner-party democracy into the C.P.S.U. and thus to overcome the deep-rooted causes of decay of the party and soviet bureaucracy.

2. Outwardly, on the surface, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. headed by Stalin, appeared to bow to this necessity by permitting free criticism of the party and soviet machine, by demanding that leading party functionaries be held accountable to the membership, by ordering the discontinuance of the prevailing methods of bureaucratic self-glorification, by proclaiming that a stop must be put to the suppression of party democracy and boot-licking before leaders, and by announcing new elections of party and trade union executives by secret ballot with individual candidatures and polls for each office.

3. However, no sooner had it become clear that the rank and file of the party members were turning with great bitterness and

Who Are the "Purge" Victims?

4. First, the Old Guard cadre of the C.P.S.U., those trained by Dzershinsky—Yagoda and his men—were put out of the way by accusing them of corruption, etc. Soon this was followed by lopping off the heads of the Red Army. The defamation and extermination of the ablest generals of the Red Army—those who had practically all risen from the rank and file of the party because of their brilliant achievements during the civil war and had been appointed to the leading military posts in the Red Army by the party—came next. Here were men who had been instrumental in raising the Red Army in military, technical and political aspects to its present eminent position, in transforming it into an ever-ready weapon for the defense of the Soviet Union, a weapon schooled and educated in the spirit of world revolution and communism.

The charges levelled against Tukhachevsky and his comrades are, of course, utterly incredible and bear the earmarks of brazen falsehood. As a matter of fact, they have caused everywhere the profoundest skepticism. There is not the slightest trust in these charges among all those who do not a priori tend to forego all critical evaluation for special reasons of their own. In illustration, we cite the article of the Moscow correspondent of Le Temps ("Refections on the tragedy of June 11th," June 20, 1937) which states that, among the foreigners in Moscow, "there is no one who believes the accusations of espionage and treason. No one is willing to believe even for a single moment the allegation that military leaders of such reputation were paid agents of a foreign power, that they betrayed to a nation hostile to the U.S.S.R. the secrets at their disposal by virtue of their high ranks, nor that they conspired to bring

ing classes have progressed culturally and politically. On the other hand, a vast section of the party and soviet machine has remained stagnant, retrogressed and degenerated. The contradiction between the forward development of the masses and the retrogression of vast sections of the party and the soviet machine is being sharpened daily. It demands a solution. In the laboring masses the impulse to break the fetters of bureaucratic guardianship and oppression, to create adequate room for liberty and independence within the framework of the Soviet state, proletarian dictatorship on the basis of socialism, continues to mount. This impulse was revealed in a mighty and even stormy fashion when the party experienced its first airing and when there was a call for and perceptible encouragement of criticism by those on top. Only reluctantly, insincerely and, as it was later revealed, with malicious intent, did Stalin and his clique at all yield to this impulse which was released within and beyond the ranks of the party by the grave shock, by the indignation and storm of opposition following the trial, and the butchering of Zinoviev-Kamenev following the behavior of the defendants in the Radek-Piatkov trial. This mood in the party and in the country grew out of a reaction to and resentment against Stalin's plot to extirpate physically and morally the ringleaders of the former Opposition. There was a growing realization that the executioner's sword was hanging precariously over the heads of all party members.

5. The bloody and filthy campaign of extermination has long since ceased to be directed solely against the former or present adherents of the various old Oppositions (Trotskyist, Zinovievist, Bukharin-Rykov). This campaign is now directed with ever greater frequency against staunch partisans and tools of the party and soviet bureaucracy, against those chosen, groomed and guided by Stalin personally.

6. What is at stake in the Soviet Union? Thru the strides made towards building socialism in the Soviet Union, the broad masses of the working class and other labor-

But, when the danger that this tidal wave would engulf the leaders themselves seemed imminent, they staged a desperate resistance and entrenched themselves thru every device of physical and moral terror. The ever-widening circle of those against whom Stalin and Yezhov aimed their murderous thrusts proved that the opposition to Stalin's regime continues to draw in ever-broader layers. In fact, so all-embracing has this opposition become that today even some of the highest officials of the party and the soviet state are included therein.

Regime and Socialism

7. The Stalin regime has been instrumental in the construction of socialism and in making the Soviet Union what it is today and thus it indisputably did play a progressive role despite its negative features that marked even its very best period. Even then, the Stalin regime simultaneously furthered, and drove to the extreme the bureaucratic excesses within the party and the soviet apparatus. The positive features of the Stalin achievement have, in the course of time, been effaced and displaced by its negative traits which are now preponderant.

Every symptom of sickness, every manifestation of decay in the party and soviet apparatus flows from the top. If it is today discovered that for years the party statutes had been violated, that the election of party functionaries had been suspended over a period of years and instead co-optation was resorted to, if we now hear that all control of party executives by the membership had been stifled, that the party administration had become one festering body of cliques, that boot-licking and self-glorification had become mass phenomena, then a series of irrefragable questions leap to our mind: Who chose those executives? Who educated them? Who led and controlled them? Who introduced such methods? Who tolerated, im-

proved and encouraged them? The answer is obvious. It is the Central Committee with Stalin at its head. The small fry of the party leaders were merely emulating the glowing example set them by "The Great Leader." The Central Committee, with Stalin at its head, bears full responsibility. It is a well known maxim of Lenin that the leader is responsible for those whom he leads. Today, the preponderantly negative traits of the aforementioned leadership threaten to destroy what has already been built.

8. In view of the recent events, the articles of the "Stalin Constitution" of the Soviet Union which granted greater rights to the working class and which "guarantee" the immunity of persons, etc., read like a gruesome mockery. The reign of terror imposed by the Stalin-Yezhov clique upon the party and the soviet state has put a bloody check on this constitution. There can be no hope for any kind of democratic rights either inside or outside the party when more than physical terror is let loose against all persons who, in the eyes of the "Central Committee with Stalin at its head," seem suspicious, dangerous or not loyal to the leaders.

The Removal of the Stalin Leadership

9. Therefore, it is the most imperative prerequisite for the benefit of the Soviet Union to remove Stalin and his clique from the leadership of the C.P.S.U. and thus of the soviet state. If the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. makes it a point to decree that criticism must stop at the threshold of the Central Committee and if it makes it a practice to crush by violence all criticism aimed at it, then it is high time, in view of the present situation of the Soviet Union, that criticism and militant opposition should concentrate on the Central Committee headed by Stalin with a view to getting rid of these emineces who refuse to be held responsible even before the party and soviet power. This is the most burning issue with which the soviet state and communism are today confronted.

We are thoroughly convinced that, at bottom, the C.P.S.U. itself is perfectly sound. The best proof of its soundness was revealed in the energy with which party members began to express their criticism of the party bureaucracy. We are convinced that the C.P.S.U. will muster within itself the strength to overcome the crisis of the bureaucratic regime and that it will see to it that a solution is reached along lines leading to a strengthening of soviet power by enlarging its base and to a rehabilitation of the hard-hit prestige of communism.

In the Soviet Union, we are not at all dealing with a crisis of decay but with a crisis of growth. It is not at all a crisis of the soviet state but, on the contrary, symptomatic of the process leading to the next stage of the extension of its base, to a higher stage in the direction of realizing the principles on which the soviet state is founded—principles which call for an ever-widening and more immediate participation of the working class in the functions and duties of government. We are dealing here with the painful birthpangs of the historically inevitable step forward which is due, which has been accumulating momentum during twenty years of civil war and building of socialism. We are deal-

ing here with a forward step in the development of the soviet state, a step which will spell broader soviet democracy on the basis of socialism. This will simultaneously be a step in the direction of the "withering away of the state as such," a process in which government functions gradually cease to be entrusted to a vested bureaucracy apart from the masses, alien to them, opposed to them, independent of them and self-sufficient, a process in which government functions become functions of the broad masses of the workers themselves, trained and educated in socialism. When this stage of development is finally reached, then the methods of compulsion and force inherent in the guardianship of a bureaucracy will give way more and more to the methods of cooperation and enlightenment.

In the Soviet Union, which is a state where the working class rules and socialism is in the making, this historically necessary process can take place thru the channel of evolution. No repetition of revolution is required—that is to say, the ruling class of the Soviet Union need not be superseded by another class. What must be removed is not a privileged class but a small clique without any social base, namely, the topmost excrement of the bureaucratic regime which is forcibly blocking the historical advance of the soviet state and of communism in the Soviet Union in the interest of their own personal positions of power. Therefore, the role played by them, the once revolutionary and progressive, has now become counter-revolutionary and reactionary.

We are convinced that the 170 millions of workers and farmers, who are tenaciously bending all their efforts to build socialism in a gigantic country, who are daily achieving greater knowledge and ability, who have overcome the handicap of centuries (during which czarism was keeping them in ignorance and depriving them of culture) in two decades, who have discarded the hereditary servility of the oppressed and who have developed a new socialist self-assurance and sense of human dignity, do represent, not only quantitatively but qualitatively, a higher collective force and that the crude, barbaric violence and cunning of a small clique will never be able to hold out against them. (Continued on Page 6)

THE CRISIS IN THE CPSU REGIME

2. THE SITUATION IN THE C.I.

(Continued from Page 5)

10. It is urgently necessary, in the interest of Soviet power and of communism, that the Central Committee, headed by Stalin, should be removed. It is, however, no less urgently necessary, in the interest of the world communist movement, to remove this same leadership from the Communist International.

This leadership was responsible for the ultra-left course which, along with the policy of the reformists, helped bring about the victory of fascism in Germany and Austria and led to the defeat of the working classes of these countries by fascism. This course was a break with the fundamentals of communist tactics as worked out by Lenin. Furthermore, this leadership is responsible for the ultra-right course being pursued by the Comintern today—a course which is neither communist nor bolshevist but the typically reformist or menshevist policy of coalition between working class parties and the parties of the liberal bourgeoisie (People's Front).

This leadership is responsible for the position taken by the communist parties on the question of imperialist war, foreshadowing bourgeois patriotism, support of imperialism and suspension of class war in the event of national war. This ultra-right course is, therefore, tantamount to a break with the very fundamentals of communism; it is a break with the basic principles of Marxism, with the principles of the class struggle.

This leadership of the C.I. is responsible for the dastardly deeds of open counter-revolution that have been and are being perpetrated, under its inspiration, direction and banner, in Spain by its representatives and by the leaders of the Communist Party of Spain and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

This leadership is responsible for the conspiracy now raging in Catalonia to exterminate the P.O.U.M. and its leaders by employing against them the same criminal methods, moral and physical, that were employed to liquidate the leaders of the Soviet Union's Red Army. Here lies the responsibility for the conspiracy to foist such counter-revolutionary methods on the international labor movement.

Restoration of World Communist Unity

11. The removal of Stalin and his clique from the C.I. leadership is the primary prerequisite for arriving at long last at a condition in which we will be able, honestly and truthfully, to sum up and draw the balance sheet of the fateful policy of the C.I. over the entire period since the death of Lenin—the ultra-left as well as the ultra-right days. This will enable the communist movement to profit by mistakes of past performances, thoroly to clean out and reorganize the ranks of its leading functionaries. Here we have the basic condition under which the unity of the world communist movement can be restored, under which recruiting new adherents can be conducted effectively, under which it can win power in the struggle against international capitalism and reformism.

12. In view of this situation, the International Communist Opposition deems it of paramount necessity for all genuine communist forces, inside and outside of the communist parties, to proceed unitedly and to rally all those who clearly recognize the state of affairs prevailing in the C.I. and in

This leadership is responsible for the deep-going ideological and moral decay so characteristic of the leaderships in almost all sections of the Comintern. Whereas the C.P.S.U. and the soviet bureaucracy can boast of great achievements attained in the course of a dialectical historical process and has deteriorated only partly, the C.I. bureaucracy, under the guidance of Stalin's leadership from beginning to end, can boast of nothing but negative "achievements."

This leadership is responsible for the fact that, in the countries outside the Soviet Union, all questions pertaining to the communist movement are settled not from an objective point of view, but with an eye on how to influence most advantageously the all-overshadowing factional and clique quarrels in the C.P.S.U. Thus, solutions are reached which may be violently detrimental to the cause of communism. Since the leaders of the communist parties are selected, appointed and demoted from above and their tenure of office is exclusively dependent on blind and unconditional belief in Stalin's leadership, a complete lack of integrity and demoralization have become their characteristic features. This leadership is responsible for the condition in which, for years, all inner-party democracy and, consequently, all spiritual life have been stifled thruout the Communist International. It is responsible for the C.I. being reduced today to utter insignificance and for its ceasing to represent a powerful factor in the international labor movement.

If the C.I. is to be salvaged, if it is to be revived, if it is to be restored on a basis of communist principles and if it is again to become a vital and progressive force in the international labor movement, then the first and foremost requirement of the day is the removal of its leadership, headed by Stalin, and the demand for a strict accounting of its actions. The salvaging and regeneration of the Communist International is not only necessary but possible because, in almost all communist parties there still exists a more or less substantial nucleus of members loyal to communism, and only the officers and their bureaucratic apparatus are rotten.

the international labor movement, who are aware of the fundamental causes and requirements and who are ready to act accordingly.

13. The I.C.O. reminds all members of the communist parties that communist party discipline cannot be invoked in behalf of the violation and betrayal of communist principles, in behalf of counter-revolutionary deeds, in behalf of Noske methods imposed on revolutionary working class organizations. Persons who permit themselves to be used against communism and against revolution are accessories to counter-revolutionary crimes and must expect to be held responsible for them. Highest communist and revolutionary discipline demands, above all, the exertion of every effort in resisting and overcoming the betrayal of communism. The I.C.O. calls upon the members of the communist parties to unite with it in waging this struggle.

14. The I.C.O., furthermore, deems it necessary to enter into a firm alliance with all forces in the international labor movement who, on the basis of revolutionary class struggle and Marxism, are ready

POUM Arrests "Lefts" Praised Hit by Thomas Banned Work On Dialectics

Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party of the United States, issued a statement sharply lashing the actions of the Negrin government and the Spanish Communist Party, in their persecution of the P.O.U.M., and arrest of its leaders. While the government had pledged an open trial, word had been sent across that a secret trial, before a military tribunal, was being given to Andres Nin and other P.O.U.M. leaders.

This statement was issued before the N. Y. Times dispatch of August 8th revealed to a shocked international labor movement that Andres Nin had been brutally murdered a month ago.

Statement of Norman Thomas

"Every government at war has a right to deal drastically with spies and traitors," he said. "It has no right to get rid of its political critics by charging them with sedition or treason. It will be a tragedy if, under the initiative of the Communist party, Spain should now emulate Russia in precisely that denial of civil liberties which has brought the gravest reproach on the constructive achievements of the Soviet Government.

"It is impossible for any one who knows anything about the history of the Spanish Revolution to believe that men of the sort who have been arrested are in any real sense Fascists, traitors, 'Trotskyist agents of Franco' or 'Anarchist uncontrollables.' They have been steadfast foes of fascism; most of them were active in ending the Barcelona rising early in May, a rising which I could never approve but which certainly had provocation.

"Apparently, these political opponents of the Communist party and of the sharp turn to the right by the present Government are being tried under one of the most tyrannical sedition laws that can be imagined. For instance, the special tribunal is given jurisdiction over 'all acts or omissions that because of their character or the circumstances can be considered as constituting high treason because they tend to harm the republic.'

"In Spain itself the Left Socialists, led by Largo Caballero, and the strong labor union, the C.N.T., have vigorously demanded justice and warned the Loyalist government against following in this respect in the footsteps of the U. S. S. R. If their demands are backed by further protests from friends of Spain and of civil liberty in America it is still possible that Loyalist Spain will prove its opposition to fascism by protecting the rights of political association and political discussion which fascism denies."

to resist this policy of class collaboration with the liberal bourgeoisie (People's Front), to fight against the renunciation of the class struggle in case of war, to struggle against the abolition of proletarian democracy within the labor organizations, to defend the Soviet Union against every imperialist onslaught and to support proletarian revolution in Spain.

15. Events in the Soviet Union itself have shown that, at the very first chance given, the great mass of party members opened a stormy attack on the bureaucratic regime. They mercilessly tore into it and its exponents with their criticism, exposed and bitterly censured those to whom exposure and censure were due. This proves that the rank and file of the membership of the C.P.S.U. have remained sound at heart and are determined, when the slightest chance offers itself, to attack boldly and to get rid of this bureaucratic regime and its exponents. The ravings of Stalin-Yezhoffs are nothing more

(In a recent issue of the Age we called attention to the curious action of the English Left Book Club in abruptly withdrawing their recommendation of August Thalheimer's "Introduction to Dialectical Materialism" as an Additional Book for May and in cancelling the publication of their edition of this work. That this was done in response to pressure from official communist sources because of Thalheimer's oppositional views, is obvious enough. It is therefore interesting to note the laudatory review that the Left Book Club News included in its March 1937 issue. This review we present below in full.—The Editor.)

* * *

"This book," says Thalheimer, "is not meant for casual speculators; nor is it meant for those who are or wish to be academic philosophers." That note sets the key in which a book on dialectical materialism ought to be written. For the whole science of dialectical thinking offers us not so much an abstract theory of the universe, as "a tool for practical and conscious participants in the class struggle to-day." Many others will want to read this book in order to find out what is the underlying philosophy, in the technical sense of the word, of the Marxist movement. Thalheimer writes specially for readers who have no special philosophical training but who are connected with the labour movement; for this very reason, no better introduction to Dialectical Materialism could be put into the hands of anyone. Its extreme clarity and simplicity are achieved without falsification.

While the book is of course in no sense a complete study, it is an excellent beginning to the study of dialectics. The student will have nothing to unlearn as he proceeds to more elaborate works, while the active political worker without Marxist training will get at once a new mental equipment to aid him in the day to day struggle. A little later will come far more complete and elaborate works "A Text-Book of Marxist Philosophy" (a co-operative work in use in Moscow) and Professor Levy's "Dialectical Materialism."

The book begins with a useful study of religion and the modern world view. Thalheimer treats this part of the subject historically and has a good deal to say on Indian religion. As it is generally believed that Indian philosophy is purely idealistic, in the technical sense, this new point of view, with the very illuminating relation of Indian religion to Indian social conditions, will be of interest. In a later chapter Chinese religion and philosophy are discussed. This unusual feature of the book is because Thalheimer's original aim

than a reaction to this manifestation.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is neither in its death throes nor dead. What we are witnessing today is the death rattle, the agony of the stagnant and decrepit leadership of Stalin-Yezhoffs and their immediate clique seeking to maintain themselves at the top thru dealing heavy blows at the ruggedly advancing party.

Reflected in the spirit of the rank and file of the C.P.S.U. and of many militant workers not affiliated with the party, is the sentiment of millions of people in the Soviet Union ready to go into action against the Stalin regime.

The sound elements of the international labor movement outside the Soviet Union who are opposed to this regime may rest assured that, within the folds of the communist movement itself, there are forces germinating which will put an end to the bloody nightmare of the Stalin regime. June 25, 1937.

Copies of August Thalheimer's "Introduction to Dialectical Materialism" may be obtained from the Workers Age Bookshop, 131 W. 33rd St., New York City at \$1.50 each, for two weeks only.

was to explain Dialectical Materialism to the Eastern as well as to the Western mind. It adds to rather than detracts from it value.

In contrast to the religious approach to life, Greek materialism and philosophy are next considered. This is probably the most useful approach to any study of philosophy, since there is little in modern thought that does not find its origin in ancient Greece. It is through Plato and Aristotle that Thalheimer introduces us to the meaning of dialectic, a term which should baffle no one after reading this valuable chapter and its sequel, the chapter on Hegel himself. To deal with Hegel, Feuerbach and the French materialists in one chapter would be somewhat of a feat, but Thalheimer proceeds to expand his system from this point onwards. First, in Chapter VIII comes an explanation of how the new materialism grows out of and transcends the older mechanistic materialism which philosophers have long discarded. There follows a chapter on the theory of knowledge, which is absolutely fundamental, and will surprise those who have supposed that Dialectical Materialism denies the existence and function of mind. In the tenth and eleventh chapter we come to the heart of the book, the exposition of Marxian Dialectics: the law of the permeation of opposites, the Law of negation, the law of the transformation of quality into quantity and of quantity into quality. Those who have long hesitated to examine these questions, expecting to find unfathomable mysteries, will find, not mystery, but plain common-sense.

The remaining chapters are concerned with philosophy and history, the relation, that is to say, of theory to politics and social practice. From this we gain an altogether new insight into the profound significance of class struggle, and see that it is not in the least the impatient appeal to hate and violence which it is often represented to be.

A final chapter deals with Pragmatism and with certain other modern philosophical tendencies in a tantalizingly brief fashion which, however, should only serve to whet our appetite for a fuller treatment. An introduction to Dialectical Materialism which leaves us with this feeling has done its work well.

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