

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 38.

NEW YORK, N. Y., WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1937.

5 Cents a Copy

Lewis Calls For Farmer-Labor Bloc

C.I.O. Leader Scores Roosevelt's Indifference To Labor's Demands; Reveals 4,000,000 Now In New Trade Union Movement

A strong appeal for labor-farmer unity against big business as well as a stern warning to New Deal leaders that their recently manifested hostility or indifferences to labor's struggles would meet with decisive action on the part of the C.I.O., were the high-spots of a most significant address delivered by John L. Lewis, chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, on September 3, shortly before Labor Day.

The C.I.O. leader began with a striking picture of the remarkable progress that the movement had made in the past year and a half. "The Committee for Industrial Organization," he proclaimed, "has a numerical enrollment of 3,718,000 members. It has 32 affiliated national and international unions. Some 200,000 workers are organized into 507 chartered local units not yet attached to a national industrial union. This record bespeaks progress. It is a development without precedent in our own country." Lewis then turned his attention to the outrageous conduct of the local and state authorities in the recent steel strike, especially Mayor Kelly of Chicago and Governor Davey of Ohio, whom he branded as "puppets" of big business interests. But he did not stop there. He went on to deal with the very leading figures of the Democratic party, the legislators who had transformed the recent session of Congress into such a spectacle of reactionary futility, and even President Roosevelt himself. Altho Lewis did not mention the latter by name, there was not the slightest doubt as to the implication. "It ill behooves one who has supped at labor's table and who has been sheltered in labor's house," the miners' leader thundered, "to curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they become locked in deadly embrace"—plainly referring to Roosevelt's "a plague o' both your houses" remark of a few months ago. "Labor next year," he continued, "cannot avoid the necessity of a political essay of the words and deeds of its so-called friends and political beneficiaries. . . . Those who chant their praises of democracy but who lose no chance to drive their knives into labor's defenseless back must feel the weight of labor's woe even as its open adversaries must ever feel the thrust of labor's power." It is clear that, in this speech, Lewis went further than ever before in suggesting the necessity of setting up an independent labor party so as to enable labor to advance its political interests most effectively. Coming after the C.I.O. leader's recent sharp rebuke of the Democratic leadership, this section of his address was everywhere taken to be of major political significance.

In swift sentences laden with meaning, Lewis outlined the common bond of interest uniting the workers and farmers of the country. "The interests of the two groups are mutually dependent. . . ." he concluded. "It becomes increasingly imperative that the farm population and millions of workers in industry learn to combine their

strength for the attainment of mutual and desirable objects and, at the same time, guard themselves against the sinister propaganda of those who would divide and exploit them."

Lewis took the opportunity, in the course of his address, to differentiate trade unionism, as he understands it, from communism. The chief distinction he found in the fact that the former, as opposed to the latter, allegedly presupposes the existence of private property and operates on the basis of existing property institutions.

On the very next day after Lewis's address, President Roosevelt issued a Labor Day statement which, tho it had been prepared before, was in effect a rejoinder to the C.I.O. leader's remarks. Again the President criticized "both sides" in the industrial struggle and appealed for better machinery in capital-labor relations. The press generally saw in this a hint that the Wagner Act "might need some repairing and remodeling," as the New York Times puts it.

(See the editorial in this issue.)

Socialist Group Forces Release of POUMists

AN Anglo-French delegation left recently for Spain to inquire into the situation of the P.O.U.M. and other labor organizations suppressed by the Negrin-Stalinist regime. Heading the delegation is James Maxton, chairman of the British Independent Labor Party, and among its other members are Weil-Curiel, French socialist who recently beat Doriot at Saint-Denis; Foucault, of the left wing of the French peasant movement; and Levy, of the French League for Human Rights.

Maxton's first report declares: "It is already possible to report some advance. Forty members and supporters of the P.O.U.M. in prison at Barcelona have been released. They include well-known names. I am also able to report that the government is taking steps to liberate many of the foreign revolutionary socialists in prison and also members of the International Brigade who have been imprisoned. . . ."

This is welcome news. At the same time, however, it is announced that the Aragon government council has been dissolved by the Negrin regime and its president, Joaquin Ascaso, arrested on the ridiculous charge of "smuggling jewels." Ascaso is a prominent C.N.T. leader and the Aragon council was

Soviets Brand Italy "Pirate"

Germany, Italy Refuse To Attend Anti-"Piracy" Conference; Anglo-French Diplomats Try To Sidetrack Soviet Charges

A sudden shift in Soviet foreign policy towards independent, aggressive action in the Spanish crisis brought about a sharp change in the European situation last week and helped considerably to drive Germany and Italy into a position of great diplomatic disadvantage.

For the last few weeks, the Mediterranean has been increasingly infested with submarines preying upon merchant vessels of various nationalities, English, French, Russian and others, engaged in trade with loyalist Spain. Direct evidence confirmed the conclusions of expert observers that these submarines were Italian craft, operating on behalf of the fascist insur-

under the influence of the C.N.T. Over 5,000 anarcho-syndicalists are reported in government jails. In the July 31 issue of the New Statesman and Nation (London), Louis Fischer, the Stalinist correspondent, "forecasts" that Caballero and his friends are likely to find themselves "outside the law" within three months. Apparently the counter-revolutionary crusade is still under way. . . .

gents in order to prevent food and other supplies from reaching loyalist Spain. It did not take long for Great Britain and France, far from hostile to the rebel cause in general, to begin to grow greatly disturbed at the danger of Italian domination of the Mediterranean. These two powers, therefore, decided to take action, within the bounds, of course, of their general diplomatic policy of not "antagonizing" the fascist states beyond certain limits. Great Britain, thereupon, sent out invitations to a number of European governments to attend a conference in Switzerland for the purpose of devising ways and means of curbing "piracy" in the Mediterranean. To this conference were invited also Italy, the chief pirate, and Germany, which has no recognized Mediterranean interests at all. It was understood that no discussion of past events and certainly no charges against any participant would be permitted. Thus the Anglo-French diplomats hope to safeguard their position of power in the Mediterranean without giving rise to any open conflict with Italy or Germany. In all of these manouvers, no attention whatever was paid to Spain or its interests in the situation.

These well-laid plans were suddenly spoiled by a diplomatic bombshell from Moscow. From the Soviet Foreign Office came a sharp note to Italy accusing it point-blank of acts of aggression against Soviet vessels and demanding adequate reparations. Italy's defiant reply was followed by another note couched in similar terms. There was even talk, greatly discounted, of the possibility of a rupture in Italo-Soviet relations. However that may be, it soon became clear that the Soviet action had entirely changed the situation with the anti-"piracy" conference. After some hesitation, both Italy and Germany, acting jointly, refused to attend the conference unless Russia were barred and Portugal and Poland invited! The whole matter—the fascist powers further suggested—should be referred to the London Non-Intervention Conference, that brazen fraud which has served so well since its foundation as the arena for anti-Spanish manouvers.

Despite the hostile attitude of Italy and Germany, the anti-"piracy" conference met on September 10. On the eve of the opening session, it appeared that Anglo-French policy was still the same—to suppress any reference to Italy and to deal with the question purely from the viewpoint of their own diplomatic interests. There seemed little doubt, however, that the Soviet Union would continue to act independently and strive to turn the fire upon Italy and Germany, the real pirates—with Great Britain and France striving to prevent any such development.

For loyalist Spain, the whole matter is of life and death importance. Writing from Paris on September 5, Herbert Matthews, New York Times correspondent, gave it as his considered opinion that "the

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PROGRESSIVE SWEEP IN U.A.W. SPURS UNION ADVANCE

New Constitution Brings Much Needed Stability To Auto Union

By FREDERICK J. ARNOLD

THE members of the Communist Party and their allies in the auto industry, the Stalinist socialists, are tensely awaiting the results of the current International Executive Board meeting of the United Auto Workers Union. Their anxiety is due to the fact that, while they may talk loudly about their "victory" at the Milwaukee convention, they know that they have suffered a crushing defeat and they fear that some of their ardent members, who have been on President Martin's neck or at his heels but never at his side in the recent battles in the auto industry, may fare badly in the process of consolidating and stabilizing the U.A.W. One has but to examine the press of the communist and socialist parties to see the biased bitterness which expresses their chagrin at their defeat. By far the worst in this respect are the socialists who did most of the fronting for the Communist Party at the convention.

Socialist Stooges

To embark upon such dubious policies as did the Socialist Party and to thus discredit itself in the eyes of the labor movement is bad enough. But to meet defeat while serving as the fig-leaf for the C.P. is difficult, indeed, for the Fishes and Fishers and Porters to explain. They admit that they are having

one hell of a job to sell their auto policy to the Socialist Party membership. Hence their loud cries and bitter attacks.

The Stalinist socialist, Paul Porter, writing in Kenosha Labor, is forced to wear his silk gloves. He refers to the broad front in the progressive caucus at the U.A.W. convention ranging "from Lovestone on the left to former Black Legionnaires from Flint—no doubt now honestly repentant. . . ." But a certain Hy Fish, writing in the Socialist Call, goes at it with bare knuckles when he says that, while Martin and Frankenstein accepted the proposal to reelect all officers with the addition of R. G. Thomas and Richard Frankenstein, "they were opposed by their 'allies' the Black Legion elements, the real reactionaries."

Such is their bias that they fall right into the old "social-fascism" phraseology of the Communist Party. Those who fought and defeated them must naturally be "reactionaries," must be "Black Legionnaires." And they are not above a little Red-baiting of their own when the occasion presents itself. Thus Paul Porter, who resents the truthful statement that his policies represent a vulgarized, if that be possible, version of the Communist Party's People's Frontism, says in his mildest manner: "The chief advisor of the Martin-Frankenstein block, tho unknown to most delegates, was himself a communist of a sort—Jay Lovestone, former secretary of the Communist Party and now leader of a split-off known as the Independent Communist Labor League." This form of Red-baiting

Victory Lays Basis For Success In Big Ford Drive, GM Pact

reflects only on those who are forced to resort to it!

But there are more substantial ways of illustrating the defeat of the Mortimer opposition. The convention battles raged around two central issues—first, the fight for leadership by the opposition; and secondly, their determined resistance to any measures tending to stabilize the union. And, as far as leadership is concerned, the proposal of the opposition would have left Martin with a majority of the officers against him. The final results gave the majority to Homer Martin. No longer is he dependent on the ill-tempered obstructionism of three out of a total of five officers. And, in the International Executive Board, he has a safe majority of 16 to 8.

Even more clear becomes the defeat of the opposition upon examining the issues raised by the new constitution. It was drafted by supporters of Homer Martin and stubbornly fought by opposition leaders in the committee and on the floor. A reading of the speeches delivered by opposition leaders against biennial conventions will show that biennial conventions mean to them bureaucracy, autocracy, and everything reprehensible in trade union procedure. Nevertheless the opposition finally voted for it. And, despite their objections, the constitutional pro-

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WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$6.00 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00; Canada \$1.50 per year.

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: BRyant 9-0127

Vol. 6, September 15, 1937. No. 38

LEWIS'S SEPT. 3 ADDRESS

JOHN L. LEWIS'S September 3 address, especially if taken in conjunction with President Roosevelt's Labor Day statement issued the following day, is easily one of the most significant declarations of policy to come from the labor movement in recent months. We say this not because we believe that Mr. Lewis was entirely correct in every word he said. We are of the opinion, for example, that the distinction he tried to draw between trade unionism and communism on the ground that the former, in contrast to the latter, presupposes private property and operates on its basis, is far from valid. As a matter of fact, thruout most of the world today, the trade union movement, while conducting its day-to-day work within the framework of capitalism, officially accepts socialism as the animating ideal of its more far-reaching activities. In the United States, owing to specific historical conditions, this fusion between socialism and trade unionism has not yet taken place but there is every indication that social forces are beginning to gather beneath the surface of American society which will ultimately lead to such a result. Socialism (or communism) and trade unionism are different, of course, but they are by no means hostile or opposed in principle to each other; rather do they represent distinct stages or aspects in the development of the working class movement.

But, after all, this question is hardly a burning issue at present. Much more important today are Lewis's pronouncements on two current problems facing the labor movement and, on these, the C.I.O. leader's remarks are representative of the best progressive thought in the ranks of organized labor. His merciless castigation of the false "friends" of labor who "curse with equal fervor and fine impartiality both labor and its adversaries when they are locked in deadly embrace," marks a new step in the political development of the C.I.O. since its foundation nearly two years ago. From independent labor support of the New Deal and its representatives, the C.I.O. is now advancing towards independent labor politics as such, to a realization that labor needs its own independent organization as the instrument by which its broad social aims and ideals may best be achieved. When Lewis calls upon the Democratic party to "confess that their party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing social problems," the significance is unmistakable.

Perhaps just as important was the C.I.O. leader's appeal for labor-farmer unity against big business. It is hardly necessary, in these columns, to emphasize the strategic role that the masses of the working farmers are bound to play in the class struggle in such a country as the United States. Without their support, labor can make no permanent or far-reaching headway in the struggle for emancipation; and should they be definitely alienated, the way is thereby opened for the rapid advance of reaction and fascism. Recent surveys of farmer and middle-class sentiment have been far from reassuring: owing to a combination of circumstances, there has apparently taken place in the last few months a definite recession in sympathy for labor and its aims. It is, therefore, doubly welcome that the head of the C.I.O. should place the problem of cementing a firm alliance between organized labor and the farmers at the very forefront of the immediate tasks of the movement.

John L. Lewis's September 3 address is a clear sign that the new trade union movement arising under the banner of the C.I.O. is becoming increasingly aware of the broader aspects of labor's struggle in this country.

JACOBIN DEFENSE IN THE SPANISH WAR

By WILL HERBERG

THE Spanish situation, so contradictory in its many aspects, has given rise to a number of questions of an unusually complex character. How can you be for the Spanish anti-fascist cause—we are sometimes asked by people more or less infected with Stalinist confusion—while carrying on a relentless political campaign against the Negrin government? But, more commonly, the question comes from the other direction: How can you give any sort of assistance—as you do when you collect money and supplies—to a regime that imprisons and murders the best representatives of the Spanish working class? Both of these viewpoints are wrong but it is necessary to understand very clearly exactly why they are wrong and exactly what attitude revolutionary Marxists should adopt in the present situation.

The Political Character Of The Spanish War

Any consideration of the Spanish question must begin with an estimation of the political character of the war which is being waged in Spain. No one, of course, can fail to see that, on the loyalist side, the war is a just, defensive and progressive one. It is a war of the Spanish masses against a clique of fascist-militarist insurgents, aided directly by Hitler and Mussolini and, less directly by the "great democracies" of England and France. On the fascist side, however, the war is a thoroughly reactionary, an act of predatory aggression. Obviously, our sympathy and active support must go to the loyalist cause; for us, as for the Spanish people itself, the defeat of the fascist insurrection is the great immediate objective.

But this is precisely the crux of the whole problem. How may the fascist insurrection best be defeated? What policies and tactics are likely to prove most effective? Hatred of fascism, determination, courage and devotion are necessary but they are not enough; if victory is to be achieved, they must be directed along the proper channels, under the guidance of the proper political directives and slogans.

The present Negrin-Prieto regime, behind which the Stalinists are the chief political force, is following a policy which must inevitably weaken, undermine and ultimately paralyze the struggle against Franco because it places all reliance upon the bourgeois elements in Spain and abroad, to please whom it is ready even to curb the worker-peasant movement, to alienate the great labor organizations and to combat all tendencies towards socialism. Whatever may be the intentions behind it, this sort of policy is bound to lead to defeat—it is bound to open the way for the establishment of a fascist or military dictatorship in Spain. It is a policy of suicide and disaster.

What, then, shall be the line of the Spanish revolutionists, of the Marxists of the P.O.U.M., of the anarchists of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., of the left socialists in the S.P. and U.G.T.? Their line can only be: Jacobin defense! All energies into the struggle against fascism, with the clear recognition that victory is possible only if the governmental regime and fundamental policy of republican Spain are changed in a revolutionary direction! A fight on two fronts: implacable war against Franco at the front—uncompromising political struggle against reactionary, self-defeating policies at home!

Girondin And Jacobin In The French Revolution

The policy of Jacobin defense is one to which the radical wing of many a progressive movement has resorted in the past with results that have made history. It is a policy that Marx formulated in theoretical terms on the basis of the experiences of the great French revolution of 1789 and the revolutions of 1848; it is a policy that Lenin followed so brilliantly in the summer of 1917. What are the essential features of this policy?

In 1792, revolutionary France was at war with a vast reactionary coalition that was soon to embrace practically all of Europe. Dominating the French government were the Girondins, a conservative republican party, sincerely opposed to monarchy and the old feudal-aristocratic regime but hardly less opposed to those radical measures and policies that alone could carry thru the revolution at home and achieve victory at the front. First let us win the war—the Girondists repeated—and then we can turn our attention to the revolution. To this the Jacobins, the party of revolutionary intransigence, answered: If you don't push forward the revolution now, we will most certainly not be able to win the war! The Jacobins distinguished themselves in the military struggle against the monarchist coalition but they never, for a moment, ceased their political campaign against the Girondin regime, for they recognized in the policies of that regime a most serious obstacle to an effective war against the foreign enemy and its ally, the royalist conspirators at home. So successfully did they prosecute this political struggle that, towards the middle of 1793, they finally succeeded in replacing the Girondist regime by one of their own. The war against royalist reaction at home and abroad immediately took on a revolutionary character; the great masses of the French people were aroused to the most heroic achievement and victory was gained on every front! "If, at that critical time," Rosa Luxemburg tells us, "France was able to meet each new coalition of the enemy with a new and miraculous . . . burst of fighting spirit . . . it was only because of the impetuous release of the inmost forces of society in the class struggle."

Were the Jacobins "royalist agents" because they combined war to the death against the enemy at the front with implacable political hostility against the Girondin regime which, mind you, was officially conducting the war against the monarchist coalition—just as the Negrin-Stalinist regime in Spain today is conducting the war against Franco? Of course not—the Jacobins proved to be the saviors of France!

(Continued Next Week)

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By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

I.C.O. Proposes 5-Point Program To Rally Left Socialists

RECENT developments of international significance—especially the civil war in Spain, the disastrous effects of the People's Front in France, the changed attitude of the Communist International on war and other questions, and especially the Stalinist terror in the Soviet Union—have powerfully stimulated the tendencies of reorientation in the working class movement of Europe and the world. These events have greatly influenced the political outlook of such organizations as the Spanish trade unions (C.N.T. and U.G.T.), the left socialists of France and Austria and the I.L.P. of England in the direction of revolutionary socialism.

These changes in the international labor movement are being given careful attention by the International Communist Opposition, the headquarters of which are situated in Paris. Negotiations with a view to collaboration have been initiated between the I.C.O. and the London Bureau, embracing the I.L.P., the German S.A.P., the Spanish P.O.U.M., the Swedish Socialist Party, the French left socialists and others. The I.C.O. proposed five points as a basis for such collaboration and these were accepted by the I.L.P. representatives. It was also decided to publish jointly an international periodical for the purpose of discussing freely the vital issues facing the international working class movement and of developing a common program for all genuine revolutionary socialists and communists. It was also decided to prepare a five points, proposed by the I.C.O. as the basis for collaboration are:

- 1. For the proletarian revolution in Spain—defense of the P.O.U.M. 2. No support to any policy of class collaboration either in peace or in war. 3. Support of the revolutionary movement in the colonies against imperialism. 4. For proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union—defense of the Soviet Union in which a socialist basis of society is being laid. 5. For inner democracy in all proletarian organizations. The five points of the London Bureau, as enumerated in the New Leader (London) of August 20, differ somewhat on the first point from the I.C.O.'s proposals. Further negotiations will doubtless remove these differences. At any rate, a definite realignment of international working class forces is beginning to get under way.

A STARTLING DISCLOSURE

In the August 8, 1937 issue of the German emigre radical paper, Weltbuehne, Louis Fischer, the well-known correspondent, makes some very startling disclosures as to the attitude of the Spanish government towards "mediation" and "arbitration" in the civil war. According to Fischer, a representative of the Valencia government recently presented to Anthony Eden a plan for "ending" the civil war. It suggests a truce, during which all foreign volunteers are to leave Spain and the front lines are to remain unaltered. After the non-Spaniards have left—it is suggested—Britain, France, Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union would draft a plan for allowing the Spanish people to "decide for themselves" the social and political system they prefer; the Valencia government would be ready to bind itself to accept the decision thus reached. This plan, according to Louis Fischer, was rejected—by Franco who demands unconditional surrender.

Louis Fischer is notorious as a Stalinist apologist and is quite friendly to the Negrin regime. There is no reason, therefore, for doubting his report. And if it is true, what is it but a confession of treasonable double-dealing and capitulation on the part of the Valencia government?

THE BOSS IS A JOLLY FELLOW . . .

In the French C.P. paper, the Strasbourg Humanite, July 20, 1937, we read the following edifying description of the outing of the employees of the Brasserie Brierre: ". . . A jolly good drive took us towards home. In the meantime, our throats had become thirsty again. . . Then we went home with the feeling of having spent a joyful Sunday, thanks to the friendliness and kindness of our esteemed management, for this day was again proof of the good understanding between management and employees. . ."

Who Backs the "Unity" Group Program?

By D. S.

THE United Automobile Workers convention that met recently at Milwaukee was confronted with a number of grave issues of wide significance for the labor movement generally. And because what the C.I.O. does today is of vast national importance, the Milwaukee convention attracted the attention of the capitalist press of the entire country, with many columns being devoted to a discussion of the issues there raised.

Among these papers was the New York Herald-Tribune, the banner-bearer of Liberty League reaction in the metropolis. What this paper had to say about the auto workers convention and its problems, should be of major interest to us on the general principle that we should learn from our enemies. The first big issue at Milwaukee was organizational stabilization and responsibility. The progressives, headed by Martin and Frankenstein, championed a program of increased centralization and authority for the union, a program striving to eliminate that type of irresponsibility that manifests itself in lack of cohesive discipline, in local autonomy—run-wild, in unauthorized strikes. The so-called "unity" caucus, on the other hand, came to Milwaukee with a program which, by and large, was nothing but a half-veiled justification of these evils and a plea for their continuation. And the Herald-Tribune? In an editorial in its issue of August 26, this organ of big business reaction came out unequivocally—for the "unity" caucus position:

"From this distance it (the issue at Milwaukee) appears to concern the choice between an international union administered as a centralized autocracy, on the model of the United Mine Workers, and one whose local units retain some degree of autonomy. . . A large proportion of the delegates object to his (Martin's) investiture with the powers that Lewis wields over the coal miners. The slightest familiarity with the tyranny to which the United Mine Workers are subject will explain this objection. . . Little wonder, then, that a large contingent of the automobile workers, represented, significantly, by the older men among their officers, would avoid a despotism of the sort. . ."

And the Herald-Tribune concludes, naturally enough, with the demand for governmental regulation of unions to compel decentralization and lack of authority—law, in other words, to carry out the "unity" caucus program! The second big issue at Milwaukee was the question of leadership. The progressives called for the endorsement of the Martin administration and the strengthening of the union leadership with such people as stand for the progressive program. The "unity" caucus were out for a coup d'etat; they were ready to vote for Martin because they couldn't very well do anything else, but they strove to surround him with officers and an executive board that would paralyze his efforts and frustrate his policies. The delegates at Milwaukee were therefore confronted with two distinct groups representing two distinct types of leadership.

And the Herald-Tribune? In the above-mentioned editorial, it will be noted how approvingly "the older men among their officers," by which Mortimer and his friends are referred to. On Sunday, September 5, there appeared in this same paper an article by a certain Geoffrey Parsons, Jr., eulogizing the "unity" group without restraint or disguise. The tone is even more

The New American Vigilantism

By D. S.

A BARE year ago when American labor under the inspiration of the C.I.O. began to break its ancient shackles, it caught industry unawares. For almost a generation business had regarded its workers as emasculated lapdogs and its first reaction was the horrified immobility an old lady might display on finding her darling Pekinese changed into a raving lion. It is a tribute to the C.I.O. that it took quick and full advantage of those brief days of respite.

But only the most chronic optimist or the most bemused liberal could believe that alert and ruthless American capitalism would not strike back. Thru the early days of 1937, it was forging a new weapon—a weapon that was first unsheathed fully in "little steel." That was Vigilantism. How it was done and what its menace means to labor have been brilliantly analyzed by Ben Stolberg in two articles in The Nation, called "Vigilantism, 1937."

"Vigilantism And Fascism" "Vigilantism is the spirit of per-bitter and factional than the Daily Worker permits itself. In the approved Stalinist style, Parsons tells us that the Lovestonites—who, according to this expert, are really behind the whole business—are engaged in "Trotsky-like sniping at the official Communist Party," that it was the "conciliatory willingness on the part of the 'unity' group to yield" that saved the convention, that the Communist Party members are the "most experienced" organizers and more of such garbage.

The Mohawk Valley Formula The technique of organizing vigilantism forms the meat of Stolberg's articles. The scab Bible of the movement is the "Mohawk Valley Formula," first published in the Labor Relations Bulletin of the National Manufacturers Association and presumably written by James Rand, Jr. from the experiences of the Remington-Rand strike. The "formula" comprises very definite actions to be taken from the instant a strike is in prospect. First, it details the various propaganda steps required, the labelling of union leaders as "agitators," the publicity to prove that the workers demands are outrageous and the company's position one of sweetness and light, the general raising of a dark smoke-screen over all the real issues in

dispute. Second is the organization of a "citizens committee" of prominent citizens, politicians, ministers and similar solid, respectable folk and the calling of mass meetings to protest against the strike and to bear aloft the sacred shibboleths of "law and order." Next comes the mobilization of the largest possible armed force of local and state police, deputies, company thugs and vigilantes. And, as the climaxing step, the organization of a "back-to-work" movement with all the trappings of exploitation and publicity that high-powered and high-paid press agents can evolve.

The reader will, of course, recognize the "formula" in its model application—the Johnstown Citizens Committee formed during the "little steel" strike. Stolberg has penetrated behind the stuffed shirts of this Citizens Committee to the real organizer, who is John Price Jones of the John Price Jones Corporation, large publicity and fund-raising outfit of New York. Engaged by "little steel" to give life to the "Mohawk Valley Formula," Jones spent \$65,000 running full page ads in forty newspapers simultaneously two days after the formation of the Committee. These were the ads which the Citizens Committee proudly announced had been paid for by the contributions of "thousands of real Americans."

This was, in a sense, true—except that the "thousands of real Americans" were the workers of Bethlehem and Republic and their payments were the involuntary ones wrung out of their sweat and blood for the fatted surpluses of the steel corporations.)

The Johnstown Committee has constituted itself the base of a national organization embracing variously similar vigilante groups chiefly in the steel area. Interesting is the telegram recently sent by Tammany candidate Copeland to the secretary of the committee. Senator Copeland blessed the effort, saying: "I have done my best for you. I took the matter up with Senator Bridges and some of the other Senators. I was deeply moved by your letter."

Some Of Ford's Methods Under the subtitle of "Ford's Private Underworld," Stolberg devotes a few paragraphs to the

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Progressives' Sweep Spurs Advance

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visions extending the rights and powers of the president were finally approved. Similarly, the curtailment of the powers of the secretary-treasurer was resisted by the opposition but was carried nevertheless.

Of special interest is the section of the constitution which gives the International Executive Board power to revoke the charter and reorganize any subordinate body for failure to comply with the orders of the Board. This provision assumes great importance in the light of the repeated flaunting of the Board's authority by the organization in Flint. Such provisions as these were carried over the opposition of the Stalinists and socialists.

Wildcat Strikes Ended Still more important is the decision on strikes. The opposition point of view was expressed in the resolution submitted by former I.E.B. member, Lloyd Jones. In that resolution, he insisted that the Local be the decisive factor in determining strike action and that the approval of the District Council and the General Executive Board be purely formal. If anything, the G.E.B. would have even less to say about strikes than the District Council.

The Martin-Frankenstein supporters successfully defeated this dangerous viewpoint, arguing that it was undemocratic as well as irresponsible to permit one local union to precipitate a strike involving tens of thousands of workers in numerous locals without so much as the possibility of an expression of opinion by the rest of the locals. Furthermore, they argued, it is the International Executive Board which signs agreements and is responsible for living up to them and hence should also have a final say on whether the agreement should be abrogated or considered as broken by the employers. Any other provision, they said, makes the signing of general agreements impossible and endangers the whole system of collective bargaining.

Apparently the opposition considered this proposal crucial for they fought for it longest—collapsing only when George Adde, one of their leaders, threw in a bombshell by changing his mind and coming out in support of the Martin-Frankenstein proposal. Thus, on the most essential features characterizing a centralized, responsible union, the new constitution constitutes a sharp rebuke to the "unity" shouters.

Basis For Ford Victory The significance of these decisions for the union cannot be overstated. The continued chaos of the pre-convention days would have greatly encouraged the enemies of labor in the auto industry. The continued occurrence of outlaw strikes would have given the employers a powerful weapon against the union and against collective bargaining as such. Altogether it is not yet known whether General Motors intends to sign peacefully or after a strike, it is certain that the outcome of the convention will cause General Motors to deal with the U.A.W. with much greater respect.

The Ford situation also will be similarly affected. An international union in which the locals are a law unto themselves could never hope to crack that last open-shop fortress. Only a well organized, well disciplined, centralized union, led by a responsible leadership can renew the agreement with General Motors and unionize Ford. These prerequisites have been realized in the Milwaukee convention.

Announcing the opening of the eighth year of the NEW WORKERS SCHOOL

FALL TERM

Six eight session courses will be offered during the fall term of the New Workers School. Courses, instructors, and time of classes are listed below:

- 1. New Problems of Soviet Dictatorship. —Instructor: WILL HERBERG (Courses 1 and 2 will be given on Mondays at 7:00 and 8:30 P. M. respectively)
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3. American Labor and Political Issues Today. —Instructor: M. S. MAUTNER (Courses 5 and 6 will be given on Fridays at 7:00 and 8:30 P. M. respectively)
4. New Problems of Trade Unionism. —Instructor: I. BRILL (Courses 3 and 4 will be given on Tuesdays at 7:00 and 8:30 P. M. respectively)
5. Communism: What It Is and What It Is Not. —Instructor: D. BENJAMIN
6. Four Revolutions: The Central Problems of Marxist Strategy. —Instructor: B. D. WOLFE (Courses 5 and 6 will be given on Fridays at 7:00 and 8:30 P. M. respectively)

Registrations are now open. The fee for each course is \$1.75.

A special rate of \$3.00 is being offered to trade unionists for a combination of courses 3 and 4.

The catalogue, containing a full description of all courses may be had on request by writing to:

NEW WORKERS SCHOOL 131 West 33rd Street Director: WILL HERBERG New York City Associate Director: MAC STUART

Big New York Meeting Launches \$10,000 Drive for I.C.L.L. Activity

One of the best-attended and most enthusiastic meetings of the New York organization of the Independent Communist Labor League held on Thursday, September 9, voted unanimously to throw all energies into an intensive drive for \$10,000 to expand the work of the I.C.L.L. in this country as well as to rush aid to the German Communist Opposition fighting underground against Hitler fascism, and to the P.O.U.M. in its heroic struggle for a socialist Spain.

The decision of the New York meeting came after a brilliant report by Jay Lovestone on the significance of the recent convention of the auto workers union at Milwaukee and on the constructive role

that I.C.L.L. members played at that most important gathering. Lovestone laid great emphasis on the far-reaching implications of the progressive victory at this convention for the auto union as well as for the entire American labor movement. The convention also constituted—he pointed out—a proving-ground for the clashing trade union policies of the I.C.L.L. and the Communist Party, with the results completely confirming the realistic approach and practises of our group.

Vast possibilities for the growth of the power and influence of our organization are at hand—Lovestone concluded—but to realize these possibilities we must multiply our financial resources and

our man-power many times over. It is especially vital—he said—to make possible the publication of a six-page Workers Age by November and eight-page paper by the new year. The \$10,000 drive thus becomes an immediate task of the highest political importance.

The enthusiastic response of the New York membership meeting was a sufficient guarantee of the success of the drive. Over \$2,000 was contributed and pledged on the spot.

The big \$10,000 drive is now under way. Every member and friend of the I.C.L.L., every reader of the Workers Age, should get on the job and put it over the top in record time!

Treachery Led to Fall of Santander, Report Shows

The Manchester Guardian Weekly of August 27, 1937, has the following information to report about the fall of Santander:

"Santander fell to the rebels on Wednesday—not to General Franco's troops (half of whom were Italians) but to his famous 'fifth army' of rebel supporters inside the town. . . . According to refugees reaching St. Jean de Luz on Wednesday night, the public buildings at Santander were occupied early that morning without any resistance from the militia sentries, who were already discouraged and disorganized. During the morning, the revolt made rapid progress and the Civil Guards were joined by a number of carabineros and assault guards. Emissaries were sent to Burgos. . . ."

The story is plain. Fascist sympathizers among the civil guard, assault guard and carabineros virtually handed over Santander to Franco!

But how was such a thing possible? How could the fascists get such a grip over the civil guard, the assault guard, the carabineros—precisely the forces to whom the safety of the republic is supposed to be entrusted?

1. Reactionary elements have been permitted to remain, and even to strengthen their position, in the civil and military machinery of the Valencia government—because to wipe them out would require radical measures and a complete overhauling of the governmental apparatus and such steps would alienate the liberal partners in the People's Front regime whose political friends and connections these reactionaries frequently are. As a matter of fact, the demand for the elimination of such questionable elements is one of the "counter-revolutionary crimes" with which the P.O.U.M. is accused.

2. The reactionary elements in

these armed police forces must be "tolerated" by the government because they are "necessary" in order to suppress the revolutionary sections of the working class, such as the P.O.U.M., the C.N.T., the left socialists, etc. Let us remember that the carabineros were strengthened and built up by Negrin himself for use against the Catalonian workers in the infamous provocations of last May. The Noske-Scheidemann "socialist" regime "tolerated" the Junker officers because they were useful in crushing the Spartacans—but thereby the door was opened for fascism and Hitler. The Negrin-Stalinist Front regime now "tolerates" reactionary element because they are useful in crushing the P.O.U.M.—but thereby the door is being opened for the triumph of Franco!

Santander but repeats the story of Toledo, Malaga, Bilbao. The policies of the People's Front are tying the hands of the valiant antifascist fighters in Spain, sometimes even handing them over helpless to the enemy. The People's Front is the strategy of disaster and defeat!

CIO Oil Union Reports Gains

FORT WORTH, Tex. (UNS)—Harvey C. Fremming, president of the Oil Workers International Union, C.I.O. affiliate, speaking Labor Day at the Fort Worth Frontier Fiesta, told of the advances made in his industry through union organization.

"Eight years ago workers in the production end of the oil industry were working, for the greater part, on a 12-hour shift, for low wages and under conditions controlled entirely by the employers," he said.

"Today, among the more substantial companies engaged in oil production, the work-week does not exceed an average of 36 hours a week." Quoting figures issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Fremming said that the average wage paid in the petroleum industry is now the highest in the manufacturing industries of the nation, amounting to 95.1 cents an hour and exceeding by 50 per cent the average wage paid employes in 91 other industries included in the bureau's survey.

Existing Contracts Cover 85,000

"Contracts in effect today between the members of the Oil Workers International Union and the employers affect upwards of 85,000 workers, as a result, in part, of the intensive drive which has been under way during the past

New American Vigilantism

(Continued from Page 3)

strange story of the unsavory Harry Bennett, head of the Ford gangsters. Using as a nucleus the Down River gang of Detroit, Bennett has gathered some eight hundred thugs into the "Ford Service Men." These are the Storm-Troopers of the Ford Empire; supplementing them, are seven or eight thousand workers terrorized into acting as spies and stool-pigeons. Stolberg reports that Sorenson, Ford's production head, and Cameron, Ford's secretary, are opposing Bennett and are offering the "Ford Brotherhood, Incorporated," a more conventional company union, as a substitute for the underworld "service men."

Class Character Of Vigilantism

The great value of Stolberg's expose of up-to-date vigilantism lies in his clear-sighted understanding of its class character. He knows that vigilantism is directed against the growing power and the growing consciousness of the workers and that it is the workers who must defeat it. No middle-class friends of democracy, no reformed rabbis or regenerate Methodists, no pacifist professors, are going to do the job. The government should stamp out vigilantism but the government—with its policy of "a plague on both your houses"—is, quite clearly, not going to. So, as Stolberg concludes: "The greater anti-vigilante force is organized labor itself. The responsibility of men like John L. Lewis and Phil Murray is historic. Labor must be organized intelligently, strategically, quickly but not hastily. The C.I.O. cannot afford a long apprenticeship of trial and error. And, above all, the C.I.O. must root out mercilessly every expression of political factionalism within itself. For nothing is as dangerous a foil to fascism as a mass labor movement which permits sectarian bitterness to divide its strength."

year, and which has more than doubled the membership of the organization.

"We can see no reason why, in an orderly society, the 500,000 workers in the various divisions of the production, refining and distribution of petroleum products, should not all be included in a structure built of just such agreements as these. We know that such a condition would contribute greatly to that social security toward which we all yearn."

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Spanish Masses Demand Justice!

(The following paragraphs are from an address of Federica Montseny, one of the C.N.T. ministers in the former Caballero cabinet, delivered on July 21, 1937, at the Olympia in Barcelona.—THE EDITOR.)

* * *

"We Spaniards were and are decent and honest. We fight with fair methods. Sometimes our organizations would fight each another but it took them a long time to resort to crime, infamy and defamation. The monarchy used to do it—but not the Republicans, the communists, the socialists or the anarchists. It seems that Spanish organizations are learning from other countries how to accuse all members of a particular party, how to arrest them and try them secretly.

"When socialist representatives from other countries come to Spain, some of the arrested men are released in order to save appearances. But we have been told that the dead bodies of Nin and two other comrades have been found in Madrid. This news has not been confirmed yet. But we must believe it to be true as long as the government does not deny it and tell us where Nin is being kept. One cannot, with impunity, insult the will and dignity of a whole people, arrest a handful of men, charge them with crimes without proving the charges, detain them in a house specially prepared for this purpose, take them out at night and murder them. One cannot do this, for Spain is a country that has not yet lost its dignity and manliness. In this country, the great masses cannot be so easily deceived. If we are told that Nin is an agent of fascism, we answer: 'All right, prove it and then shoot him in the most public place in Spain.' If we are convinced that Nin, Gorkin and Andrade are spies, then we shall demand that they be shot, but we shall not allow them to be secretly murdered. Franco, Quiapo, Cabanellos may murder, but one cannot murder in the name of a government which fights fascism. . . ."

"At this moment, we feel glad that we are not participating in this government. This crime has been committed over the head of the Minister of Justice but, as a member of the government, we would have been historically responsible for it. The C.N.T.-F.A.I. have the right to call on the Spanish people to do its duty. The Spanish people has proved that it is ready to die for the cause of liberty. Neither Rome and Berlin, nor Moscow, will be able, in the long run, to deprive us of our freedom."

P.O.U.M. Fights On Thru New Stalinist Repressions

(We present below some paragraphs from a private letter sent on August 24 by a leader of the P.O.U.M., now living in France. The information is of extreme interest for the light it casts on the revolutionary activities of the P.O.U.M.—Editor.)

It is precisely while working underground, doing secret work, that the revolutionary spirit and the fighting capacity of the membership of a militant organization can be tested. Under these circumstances, the P.O.U.M. is giving proof of being a powerful, disciplined organization. While underground, with headquarters closed, our leaders arrested, our press suppressed, our money confiscated,

everything that suggests the P.O.U.M. pitilessly crushed, with a police system not of Spanish style acting mercilessly against the revolutionary movement, we are nevertheless publishing two underground weeklies full of information; these are being distributed daily in the streets and pasted on the walls throughout Spain; also leaflets and manifestoes that vibrate with the vitality and life of the P.O.U.M., spreading our revolutionary message and letting our voice be heard all over.

Each one of our members has adopted these slogans: Every member an agitator; every wall a bulletin board; around every group a meeting.

The Stalinists are raging mad. They thought we were dead, buried—the scoundrels! It is true that some of our best forces are dead (assassinated!) but we shall never be buried: the revolution cannot be stopped and this is what our party represents. We are confident of the future; it is true that Nin may have been assassinated but we shall save the rest of our comrades. Among the prisoners that are to be tried for "espionage and treason" (what cynicism, what villainy!) is our comrade Rebull (David Rey), the comrade who was the leader of our group on that unforgettable voyage to New York—Rebull, who has spent twelve years in prison (all his youth), and now the Stalinists want to shoot him.

I repeat what I told you in my previous letter. You must help us morally and materially!! To save our comrades we must have propaganda, a lot of agitation, provide lawyers for the trials and help the hundreds of prisoners and their families. All this requires money. You can help us considerably by a permanent P.O.U.M. sustaining fund in the form of a weekly pledge from every member.

Soviets Brand Italy "Pirate"

(Continued from Page 1)

continuance of the present submarine blockade would doom the Valencia government." How well the Spanish cause will fare at the conference, where all powers except the Soviet Union are more or less hostile to it, is far from certain.

There is considerable speculation as to the causes for the sudden shift of Soviet foreign policy. It is suggested that the Soviet Union has been able to embark on a more independent course in Europe because, for the time being, it is safe from attack by Japan which has its hand full with the Chinese war. There are also signs that the recent conduct of England and France, especially in the Spanish crisis, has convinced the Soviet government that dependence on the "great democracies" is a mere rope of sand, a policy of suicide. At any rate, it is certainly to be hoped that the turn of the Soviet Union towards and independent and aggressive foreign policy will prove a lasting one.

The International Class Struggle

Organ of the International
Communist Opposition

A quarterly publication of
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Annual subscription at \$1.00
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