

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 40

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C.I.O. Leaders To Meet

Lewis Calls Conference October 11th To Face Tasks Of Growth

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WE KNOW WHAT WE WANT

By JAY LOVESTONE

MORE than that, we know why. And we know we are going to get it. What's it all about? We need, and want, \$10,000 in the next ten weeks.

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

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

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

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

historical feats . . ."

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

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

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

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

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

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IN MEMORIAM: THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Born 1919 - Died 1937

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

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

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

Rooseveltian In Practise

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

nists nor by any vague proletarian dictatorship." Vague indeed, attenuated to the thinness of an astral body haunting the folds of "Old Glory" and prevented only by the tortured thought of a yet unburied hammer and sickle from leaving this earthly region altogether, for the limbo of the lost souls and eternal rest and forgetfulness. "Peace, peace, thou tortured spirit," said the melancholy Earl as he cast the hammer and sickle into the flames and released the ghost forever.

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

"Bourgeois Communism"

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

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

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

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

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

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A.L.P., Fusion Bar Harvey

Deal Of LaGuardia With Labor Hater Rejected By Labor Party

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

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

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

"We are determined to oppose his re-election."

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

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

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

UAW DEMANDS WAGE RISE OF CHRYSLER

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

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

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

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AT THE END OF THEIR ROPE

There are sometimes occasions when a certain event, trivial enough in itself, acquires exceptional significance as an indication of underlying trends of development reaching their long foreseen yet shocking culmination.

Surely there is something awful, tho revolting, in the very degradation of the spectacle. A revolutionary, anti-capitalist party proclaiming its "heartiest agreement" with "the central thoughts and direction" of President Roosevelt's political approach.

To Browder, his differences with the New Deal are not "immediate" issues, just a little dispute over a "jump to utopia overnight" (socialism).

So be it! Browder has written the epitaph of his party as a communist organization. But Browder should know, if he still remembers anything at all of his old reading, that communism is not the creation of a few wicked agitators or "extremists" but emerges out of the very conditions of capitalism itself, even New Deal capitalism.

JAPAN'S PEASANTRY AND THE WAR CRISIS

By JIM CORK

The whole of Japanese economy rests upon an agrarian base. It is the excessive weakness and backwardness of Japanese agriculture that weakens Japanese economy.

Over half of the population of Japan still lives on the farm. Most of them live in a perpetual state of semi-starvation. Farming methods are exceedingly primitive; the social relation of production on the land are in the main feudal.

Japan is a small country. Owing to its mountainous nature, only about 15% of it is arable. Yet, on this limited amount of land, about 35 million people must exist. It is not surprising, therefore, that the size of the Japanese farms is so minute.

Agricultural methods are very primitive, the majority of the peasants tilling the ground with practically the same implements as their feudal ancestors used. Modern farm machinery or tools are extreme rarities in Japan.

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The Extent Of Tenancy

Nearly 70% of the farmers of Japan are tenants for all or part of their land, paying rent on a share-crop basis, usually from 50 to 60% of the total crop.

Unbelievable as it might seem in the face of these conditions, agriculture is further subject to governmental taxation. When Japan started her rapid industrialization about 70 years ago, the main source of revenue to finance the newly created industries was the land; and, accordingly, the latter was taxed to the maximum.

Japanese Farms And Farming Methods

Rural debt has, of course, risen year by year. In 1920, it was 2 billion yen; in 1929, 4 billion; in 1932, 6 billion; and today, it must be somewhere around 8 billion.

The Burden Of Taxation

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

In 1934, the authorities started a campaign for compulsory collection of taxes thru confiscation of property. This, in most cases, means confiscation of crops, since the peasants have practically no property.

The landowner, on his part, often punishes inability on the part of the tenant to meet his rent by eviction. This is easy for, in Japan, the tenant farmer has no legal

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By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

Reaction In Spain Causes Ferment In Ranks Of Left Socialists

London, September 5, 1937.

FROM the report of the Anglo-French socialist delegation, headed by James Maxton of the I.L.P., it is plain that the Valencia government finds itself in the grip of a struggle which is naturally making impossible the effective conduct of the war.

The report of the delegation shows that the who's government is anxious to deceive international public opinion as to the murder of Nin and to create the impression that Nin is still alive. The information seems to point to the Soviet general staff commander, "Orlov," as the ringleader in the murder.

Especially significant is the information contained in the report of a statement made by Caballero and others "that the possibility is not excluded of a popular rising similar to that which took place in Barcelona in the early days of May, only on a much bigger scale and with much more serious consequences."

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The Japanese attack on Shanghai met with the determined and effective resistance of the Chinese. The time is evidently gone by when the Japanese are able to engage in military promenades thru China at will.

We repeat: the task of the working classes of England and America does not consist in spurring on their imperialist governments to take part in the war in the Far East in the name of "democracy."

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

The leadership of the C.P. of France is directing to the membership these days a questionnaire of no less than 78 questions, on the basis of which a "cleansing", Russian model, will be undertaken.

The argument of political dictatorship is equally unfounded. It is trotted out now only in order to place the A. F. of L. in line with the cry of the employer organizations, hoping to increase the competitive power of the A. F. of L. Green's attack against "independent political action (which) means the subordination of an economic movement to a political machine"

Onward March of C.I.O. Maddens Heads of A.F.L.

(Reprinted from the UNITED AUTO WORKER, organ of the U.A.W., issue of September 18—EDITOR.)

THE last few weeks have been marked by a sharpening of relations between the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

But much more important is Green's insistence that labor has been irreparably harmed by the birth of the C.I.O. He aims his sharpest shafts at the C.I.O. on this count. "It seems almost unbelievable," he states, "that any group which professes to believe in the unity and solidarity of labor would deliberately create a split and division in the organized labor movement through the establishment of a dual, rival movement."

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

Some A.F.L. Leaders Refute Charges

Indeed these are serious charges, if true. But are they true? A few weeks ago Mr. Matthew Woll, representing Mr. William Green and the A. F. of L., appeared as a delegate at the Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions in Warsaw, Poland, and asked for admission. The question of the C.I.O. was raised and the relation between it and the A. F. of L. was discussed.

Split Inevitable

It is unfortunate that the progress of American trade unionism should have made necessary a division in the A. F. of L. but that split was primarily determined by the American Federation of Labor when it set itself upon the road intent on blocking the further progress of unionism.

"I have discussed your organization with some of my friends and we would like to know if it would not be possible to organize ourselves under your banner. Please let us know what to do and how to do it."

We need and want \$10,000—1,000 new subscribers to the Workers Age—and 500 new members in the Independent Communist Labor League in the coming ten weeks in order to:

does not hit at John L. Lewis or at the C.I.O. but at a growing and fundamentally healthy revolt in the body of labor against the very policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies" from which Green refuses to budge and which he holds out as labor's salvation.

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COMPARE THE RECORD, IS REPLY TO BROWDER

Statement of Jay Lovestone On The "Open Letter" Of Earl Browder

The following statement was issued last week by Jay Lovestone, secretary of the Independent Communist Labor League, in answer to an "open letter" addressed by Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, to Mr. Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, in regard to the disruptive activities of the Communist Party in that union.

"The 'open letter' of Mr. Earl Browder to President Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers of America is a transparent attempt on Mr. Browder's part to evade responsibility for his destructive activities of his followers in that organization. Mr. Browder seems greatly concerned lest the officers of the U.A.W.A. confuse his followers with the members of our organization. Let him rest easy. There is no possibility of such confusion; our records are so different and the workers understand the difference very well.

"Mr. Browder was ordered made secretary of his party in 1929. Since then, what has been the record of his party in the trade union movement? Up to 1934, deliberate splitting of legitimate labor organizations—particularly the United Mine Workers of America and in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union—founding paper unions under Communist Party domination for the purpose of hampering and obstructing the activities of organized labor, which it branded as 'social-fascist' and 'company union.' We have not forgotten the notorious Trade Union

3,718,000. Each is larger by a million than the A. F. of L. of 1933 and both together show a membership greater than during the war boom of 1920 by at least 3,000,000. In fact, far from having harmed the growth of labor organization, the C.I.O. drive in the basic industries was to a large extent responsible for the very growth of the A. F. of L. itself. Thus Green's cry of "weakness through division" is given the lie by a few simple membership figures. Nor will Mr. Green find it easy to claim that because of the split, wages have gone down and

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Unity League that became so utterly obnoxious to all decent workers. Then, when in 1935 Mr. Browder was ordered to put thru a sudden right-about-face in the policy of his party, he suddenly announced his full 'loyalty' to the trade union movement. Soon, however, it became apparent that, behind these professions, adherence to factional ends and the practise of reckless and irresponsible disruption continued. From what occurred at Milwaukee recently, it would appear that the auto workers have come to recognize Mr. Browder and his party for what they really are. Naturally, Mr. Browder is irritated, but the auto workers are to be congratulated.

"Our record is an open book, well known to the labor movement. When Mr. Browder was splitting unions and breaking strikes, we were conducting an uphill fight to strengthen the trade union movement thru a spirit of progressivism and militancy at a time when stagnation and apathy prevailed everywhere. From the very beginning, we aligned ourselves with the C.I.O. and the new labor movement arising under its banner, sparing no effort at constructive activity in every field of labor struggle. We have every right to be proud of the splendid work our members have done in the auto workers union, in the I.L.G.W.U., in the rubber, textile, coal, steel and other trade union organizations. Our members have earned for themselves the respect and esteem of their fellow-workers everywhere. Our record speaks for itself and we confidently refer to the members and officers of any union in which our people are to be found for a certificate of constructive activity! Can Mr. Browder do the same?"

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

conditions have become worse. The very opposite has resulted because of the organization of the C.I.O. Under the heading, "1937 Labor Income Set for a Record," the New York Times says in part:

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SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

MENACE OF UNION INCORPORATION

By SAUL HELD

(Continued from last week)

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

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

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

Incorporation And Responsibility

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

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

"Incorporation would give the courts, corporation-minded as they are in most cases, a free entry for meddling in all and every legitimate union activity each time unions contemplate strike action or anything else that may not suit a powerful and juridically well-connected labor employer. Labor has had ample experience with injunction judges to justify lack of confidence in the impartiality of the dispensers of justice in the thousand and one jurisdictions of the courts.

"Furthermore, incorporation of unions, would make it particularly easy for anti-union employers to have union funds tied up interminably and thus to cripple union activity. This they would do thru

law-suits for damages caused by strikes or less conspicuous breaches of contracts initiated by their undercover agents, disguised as union members and acting contrary to union advice and interest. The extent to which anti-union employers will go in such practices has been brought to light by recent Senatorial investigations. Such double-crossing, provocative and deliberate labor union-wrecking activities of employers are not quite so easy to achieve under the present manner in which unions function."

Menace Of Government Unionism

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

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

Sympathy strikes are not any more illegal than is the financial, moral and other aid forthcoming to employer groups in any particular industry from employers in other industries, thru trade associations, chambers of commerce, etc. If, by sympathy strikes are meant strikes of workers in an industry whose functioning is vital to another industry where a strike or a unionization campaign is in progress, why that is the stuff of which effective unionism is made. Actually, there are not in the economics of modern society such things as industries which are isolated, which are wholly self-sufficient—and certainly not from the viewpoint of financial control. If labor unions must encounter in collective bargaining conflicts the real rulers of its industry, it must have the right of tackling all of them involved, for certainly the financial rulers have the same privilege in their struggle against the unions. As to jurisdictional disputes; since this is an internal affair of the trade unions, the solution of these conflicts must be left entirely within the trade unions. Disputes over control in corporations are not waged in the courts nor won solely by recourse to law;

LENIN SPEAKS ON PEOPLE'S FRONT

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

V. I. LENIN, March 1918

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

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

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

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

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

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

IN MEMORIAM: THE COMMUNIST PARTY

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revolution is already "upon the order of the day."

Where Is the Class Struggle?

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

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

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

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

* * *
(Reprinted from a recent issue of The United Automobile Worker, organ of the U.A.W.—Editor)

that of the proletariat."

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

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

Andres Nin's Thesis

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

The actual events have clearly shown the ideologic inconsistency of the so-called "left" of the Spanish Socialist Party, whose revolutionary phraseology had given birth to so many hopes among a goodly number of the vanguard of the working class. Virtually nothing remains of the "left" tendencies which existed on the eve of July 19th.

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

The mission of our party should be to help those elements to see the situation clearly, trying to guide them along the correct path in a friendly way, that is to say, to make them understand the necessity of a clear policy of proletarian intransigence served by a strong revo-

lutionary party. Temporary agreements are desirable with those elements who, without fully accepting our revolutionary positions, are ready to fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy and its method of corruption.

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

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

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

(Concluded Next Week)

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