

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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"Age" Correspondent Tests French Blockade of Spain

People's Front Government Of France Blockades Frontier Heavily With Armed Forces To Prevent Any Entry Into Spain

By ALBERT WILLIAMS

(Special Correspondent in Spain for Workers Age)

VALENCIA—(By mail, delayed)—My attempts to enter Spain, not as a volunteer but as a labor press representative fully provided with passport, press credentials, Spanish visa and safe-conduct recommending me to the popular militia, gave me a vivid picture of how the "non-intervention" pact and blockade are working out on the French border.

When I made my first attempt to penetrate the new "cordon sanitaire" that People's Front France has thrown across

the Pyrenees, Italy was just making a shipment of 10,000 conscripted "volunteers" on February 28, exactly eight days after it had taken a solemn pledge that no more would be sent. A Portuguese fascist daily was publishing derisive headlines such as "England Sends Commissioners to Watch Troops and Materials as They Go By". Yet the "friendly" French border had been shut tighter than a clam's face for weeks, in order to "shame Mussolini and Hitler by the pressure of high moral example." Your correspondent was one of the first victims of this "high moral example" and his repulse on an early March morning by French police and non-intervention authorities on the airfield at Toulouse where a Spanish-chartered plane was warming up for the take-off, actually shamed Mussolini into dispatching another 5,000 men to Cadiz on March 5!

Border Closed Tight

Workers Age had the right to have a representative in Spain so your correspondent, after lodging his protest in due form and watching wistfully as the graceful plane soared upward towards the high Pyrenees, set out for the mountainous frontier to see how this atrocious, one-sided "control" system was working at the border. The border was tight! The People's Front Government of France, that cannot find forces adequate for carrying out its decrees outlawing and disarming the Croix de Feu, has mobilized what amounts to a wartime army of police, detectives, spies, customs guards, non-intervention officials, Garde Mobile, and battleships, to prevent help, material or human, or even friendly sympathy from reaching its sister People's Front Government of Spain. Even God seems to have foreseen the Pope's latest encyclical and cooperated by making the mighty Pyrenees especially high and forbidding, there where an imaginary line rises and falls against the sky, separating France from Spain.

An attempt to get through that great barrier by means of a railway tunnel from Cerbere to Port Bou merely taught me that the tunnel mouth was policed by the Garde Mobile. They, like the other officials and representatives of the Blum government, were not merely fulfilling a duty but clearly enjoying a pleasure—everywhere one meets fascist-minded officials who relish their job of trying to choke the struggle of the Spanish masses.

Night Fishing Succeeds

Two attempts to cross the Pyrenees on foot by hiring friendly guides and employing the light of the moon, fell through when we found the Garde Mobile, with soldierly thoroughness occupying the

only available saddles and ravines which would make crossing in a single night viable.

At last, a clenched fist in silver, adorning the lumber jacket of a Catalonian fisherman in a little Mediterranean seaport town on the French side of the Pyrenees gave me an idea. I arranged with him a fishing trip on the Mediterranean by moonlight.

The sun was setting behind the Pyrenees as I followed my guide, at a discreet distance, along a shore road that skirted magnificent cliffs and gave glimpses of indescribable beauty of the sea below. His boat, a little motor-equipped fishing dory, was moored out on a lonely rocky point; in it three Catalonian fishermen and four women were waiting to return home. They had come in, four couples in all, to buy bread and other supplies in the Catalonian-speaking village in Southern France where food was cheaper and more abundant than in war-torn Spain. For this, of course, thrifty, merchant-minded France keeps the frontier open and has even arranged an impromptu system of passports for local use, single sheets of sealed, stamped, (and, of course, taxed) paper for each Catalonian peasant or fisherman to carry as he makes his way, often many miles on foot and many bundle-laden miles back, and brings his usuriously discounted Spanish pesetas to French merchants' tills. The little dory had already cleared the inspection point with its passenger list of four couples, and my guide stayed be-

REXISTS BEATEN IN BELGIUM

IN an election held last Sunday the Belgian fascist Rexist Party, headed by Leon Degrelle, received a crushing blow. Degrelle running against Premier van Zeeland received less than 70,000 votes as against 275,000 for the premier. This represents a loss as compared to the 1936 election results.

Last minute statements from King Leopold and from spokesmen of the Catholic Church turned large numbers away from Degrelle. Van Zeeland was backed by all other parties including the Communist Party.

hind while I took his place to make up the eight. He was to pass the night in my hotel room and bring through my sparse baggage the next day as his own.

Viva la Espana Proletaria

The little dory put out with much spluttering into the resplendent afterglow of a Mediterranean mountain sunset; we passed two French destroyers policing the little bay, and lest binoculars should search out my unwonted presence and the not sufficiently bronzed face beneath the too recently purchased Basque beret, I sat up close to the great Spanish flag flying proudly near the dory's stern, and its red, yellow and purple folds mercifully and symbolically sheltered me from any too inquisitive gaze.

The little boat bobbed crazily in the teeth of a spray-spitting wind, and for hours or more we sailed along the rugged mountainous shore of the French cote vermeille which soon gave way to the even wilder costa brava of the Catalonian Pyrenees. The fishermen, unused to having a landsman aboard kept inquiring at intervals with grave and solicitous courtesy whether I were not getting seasick. After the days of fretting at the frontier, I drank in the wild beauty of that night in silence, breaking it only to reassure my companions as to the state of my health and to urge them not to fail to notify me when our boat passed the frontier.

At last, a higher mountain range

Local 22 Denounces Attack Of Company Mob at Hershey

Indignant protest against the recent mob attack upon sit-down strikers at the chocolate plant at Hershey, Pa., was expressed in a statement by Chas. S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., an organization of 30,000. The statement read in part: "Every union man or woman, every friend of labor thruout the country, must raise his voice in indignant protest against the disgraceful exhibition of mob violence that was staged at Hershey, Pa.

"Against the workers the company succeeded in mobilizing a mob of fanatical farmers, superstitiously opposed to reasonable hours and decent conditions in industry, together with greedy dairy owners, aroused because of the danger of losing a few dollars thru the tieup of the plant. With the aid and connivance of the local authorities, who stood by looking on without moving a finger, this mob of 4,000 brutally attacked the

300 workers in the plant, seriously injuring the C.I.O. organizer and a number of active strikers.

"We are confident that the Hershey workers and their union will not be intimidated by such tactics. The whole labor movement stands behind them in solidarity and support. Our organization, Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., with its 30,000 members, pledges all the assistance we can give in aiding the Hershey workers win their just demands.

"The workers of the country together with those who are sympathetic with the aims of labor know how to make their protest felt. If the Hershey company does not fall into line and abandon its anti-labor practices, millions of people in the United States, men, women and children, will refuse to buy any of the products of the Hershey company. We will not use chocolate mixed with workers blood!"

Oshawa Labor Defies Hepburn's Threats

Auto Workers Demand CIO Representative Have Right To Represent Them On Bargaining Committee With Canadian G.M.

The Little Caesar of Ontario, Premier Mitchell Hepburn, seems to be getting the worst of it in the battle with the auto workers in Oshawa. 5,000 strong they rallied to the call of the United Auto Workers and heard Homer Martin, eloquent president of the United

Auto Workers, refer to Hepburn as "the prehistoric premier" and the "puppet of General Motors". The auto workers thus defied Hepburn to bring in his red-coats to "drench the workers in blood".

The union has taken still one more step to expose Premier Hepburn for what he really is—a reactionary union baiter. His ranting against foreign CIO agitators was met by the affiliation of the auto local with the District Trades and Labor Council. Its president, John Noble, addressed the strikers. But again no further steps were taken in negotiations because of Hepburn's opposition.

The premier has now clearly illustrated that his primary interest is the attraction of American capital for the developing of Canadian industry and in order to achieve that he was willing to use the armed forces to keep the workers in their present state of economic slavery.

The present conflict in Oshawa comes after a prolonged battle with the Chrysler interests in the U.S.A. finally culminating in a settlement based on the preferential bargaining formula acceptable to the union. Committees of the union are now negotiating on matters of wages and conditions.

Chas. Zimmerman Chosen for TWOC

NEW YORK CITY.—The General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, meeting here, voted to continue its energetic support of the campaigns for organization led by the Committee for Industrial Organization. In line with this decision the Board voted to back the Textile Workers Organization Committee headed by Sidney Hillman.

Vice president Charles S. Zimmerman was elected to represent the Board on the TWOC. A committee of three including Zimmerman are to meet with Hillman to plan ways and means of enrolling the support of the I.L.G.W.U.'s 240,000 members behind the drive to organize the 1,250,000 unorganized textile workers.

than ever, a great cliff cut sheer against the sea as if by some terrestrial cutting machine, and one of my hosts said: "Now we are passing into the lands of Spain". I could not restrain my enthusiasm and, clenching my fist in an already familiar salute, I cried aloud: "Viva la Espana proletaria!" Thereafter, the fishermen forgot to enquire about my health and began an animated discussion with me on politics.

Coveted Spain

"Spain is a beautiful land and rich", said one. "Espana la codiciada", he called it—Spain the coveted. "That is why the Italians and the Germans are here, and why England and France scheme against us. We Spanish peoples could be very happy in these rich lands if we had a decent regime. Only capital interferes—our own capital and foreign. Capital is greedy and will not let the laborer live in peace or enjoy the fruits of his labor. None produces anything useful but the laborer—the laborer and the intellectual he added as if by afterthought—and capital, what is it but our own past labor monopolized by others who use it to exploit the labor of the present. In our hands capital is useful—to lighten and make fruitful our toil. In their hands it is degrading and exploiting and impoverishing. That is why our Spain, despite all her wealth, is poor."

How well this fisherman instructs, I mused as I listened: no illusions here about the "200 families" or "democratic" versus "reactionary" capital. Our talk turned to the blockade. I forgot the spume flying into my face and drenching my clothes, forgot the chill night wind, the grim mountain silhouettes, even the little boat itself dancing crazily on the open sea, as I listened to the simple eloquence

and burning indignation with which this Catalonian villager discoursed on world affairs.

"Was ever anything so shameful in history?" he asked me. "What good was there in passing international laws if they were only to be obeyed when it suited the powerful who have the might and need no other laws? Laws," he said, "always work that way. They are codes of the mighty to make easier their job of exploiting the lowly. They are only for us to obey—if we are fools enough. Us, they disarm, but the masters who make them never let the laws get in their own way."

Spain—Home At Last!

So absorbed was I in the conversation that I forgot to watch the magnificent coast till, rounding a rocky point we came in sight of a little cluster of lights. I counted forty in all from the little lantern at the wharf to the last house window a few hundred feet up the mountainside. We had penetrated some forty or fifty kilometers, as the crow flies, into Spain and were landing at what turned out to be both a fishing village and lovely and luxurious watering place in happier times. One of the fishermen took me into the big, but nearly empty hotel, said to the girl in charge: "This comrade is a friend. He needs food and a bed." I was welcomed with simple courtesy and no questions asked. Meat was lacking, but the food was ample and succulent. The bed was warm and seemed unexpectedly soft. As I sank into slumber I was still saying to myself: "Spain! At home at last!"

Don't fail to read in future issues of Workers Age Comrade Albert Williams' impressions of the Spanish civil war.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SIT-DOWN

By JAY LOVESTONE

EVEN Congress has been rocked out of its sleep because of the wave of sit-down strikes. The National Association of Manufacturers has come forward with a vicious up-to-date anti-labor program. Congressman Dies has proposed a bill outlawing the sit-down strike as a violation of the Anti-Trust Laws! Of course, this ranting reactionary never found it necessary to explain how Congressional authority could be so stretched as to cover all the manufacturing operations through such a strike-breaking law. It is precisely the most bitter opponents of the Wagner Act who never raise the question of federal authority in such legislation when it is strictly anti-labor in content and intent. The legislatures of the industrial states are flooded with proposals to throttle labor organization. How many of these measures will be enacted into law is at this moment far from clear.

Law—The Quintessence of Prevailing Class Relations

We cannot underscore too heavily that law is made in the fire of class relations. Legal enactments may be talked about in committee rooms, in corridors, and in chambers of legislative bodies. However, the actual law is welded only on the firing line of the class struggle. That is why the writer rejects the formulation: is the sit-down strike legal? That is not the way the question should be posed. What we should do is call upon labor to use the sit-down strike so effectively as to insure a hearty response to it from the great mass of workers. Thus, the power of the working class can be mobilized to make the right to "sit-down" legal, to compel the ruling class to recognize it as legal.

Step by step labor has had to fight for its rights. Thus only has labor been able to become an ever-more distinct and independent class force. Not so many decades ago the individual worker did not have the right to leave his job. Soon he won that right—by fighting for it. It is common knowledge that the act of workers quitting work collectively was once a crime. This right was first established for labor and by labor only at the beginning of the 19th century. We turn to John Bach McMaster, the noted American historian, who sheds some significant and timely insights on this issue. In "The Acquisition of Political Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America" McMaster tells us that, about one hundred years ago, when Massachusetts was about to make its second constitution, a champion of the doctrine of property qualifications for voters "considered it as unreasonable that a man who had no property should act directly upon the property of others. If gentlemen would look to the statute book, to the business of the legislature, or to the courts of law, how much of all that was done would be found to relate to the rights of property. It lay at the foundation of the social state; it was the spring of all action and all employment. It was, therefore, he apprehended, wholly inequitable in its nature that men without a dollar should in any way determine the rights of property or have any concern in its appropriation."

We are further told that: "Another member of the convention said he recollected that in 1775, the saying was current that taxation and representation should go hand in hand. Take this text and apply it to the men who are excluded by this qualification from the right of voting. Who are they? The laboring parts of society. How long have they been fettered? Forty years? Who achieved our independence? This class of men. And shall we not disfranchise them? I hope not. . . . Though a man was a Newton or a Locke, if he is poor he may stand by and see his liberties voted away. Suppose an invasion should happen—these men would be

obliged to come forward in defense of their country. He felt conscientiously bound to give them the right of voting."

Striking for Higher Wages and Shorter Hours Once a Criminal Conspiracy

And McMaster himself could not comment, as far back as April 1903: "That these men should be content to live under the old conditions of labor was not to be expected. . . . the first quarter of the 19th century, therefore, had scarcely passed when a great movement began in the manufacturing states for the rights of labor." Aent this great struggle, the historian tells us: "Almost at the same time the journeymen cordwainers of Philadelphia struck against a rate of wages which made it impossible for the workmen; more often they were found guilty and fined under the common law of England. To the conservative part of the community, these demands seemed revolutionary. Yet, each one of them was long since granted as a right."

Why, even the struggle for shorter hours was once a crime. McMaster tells us: "Associations of workmen of every sort, demands for a ten-hour day and better wages, and strikes when they were refused, now became a feature of the times. Again and again the strikers were prosecuted for conspiracy. Sometimes, the courts held for the workmen; more often they were found guilty and fined under the common law of England. To the conservative part of the community, these demands seemed revolutionary. Yet, each one of them was long since granted as a right."

Today, these appear as dark pages in a so-called enlightened age. It is not out of place to turn the light on these shadows of the past in order to understand better how to get sunshine today. This goal will be all the more easily realizable if we constantly keep in mind one cardinal truth: In the eyes of the master class it is always illegal and criminal for the oppressed classes, for the exploited masses, to fight for enlargement and diversification of their rights. When labor first launches or loses such a fight, its objective is and continues to be a trespass on private property and, therefore, illegal. Once labor wins such a fight, its demand becomes legal, is written into law. In class society the final measure of legality is not the fraud of existent statutes but the prevailing force of the class fist.

Extend the Right to Picket Inside the Premises

The very right to strike and to organize was first recognized as legal, even in the abstract, only at the beginning of the 20th century in the United States. Even then this was only a paper right insofar as the mass production industries were concerned until the CIO came upon the scene to give it some flesh and blood—in other words, made it a living right. The right to picket—outside the premises of the employer—is still illegal in many states. This right to picket, which is essential to unionism if it is to live, is circumscribed in all states in varying degrees. The employing class has never, in practice, granted the right of free and untrammelled picketing in a single one of the forty-eight states. Through devious methods it is skillfully and dangerously limited in order to reduce its effectiveness to a minimum

in order to protect capitalist private property rights.

Now we are witnessing a struggle by thousands of workers for an extension of this right to picket. The right to picket inside (or on) the premises (sit-down) is the next one to be fought for and to be won by labor. In essence, the sit-down strike is a form of picketing on the factory grounds, on the premises, to make sure that armed thugs, gangs and scabs, and company mobs do not rob the workers of the right to the job. The struggle for this right is rooted in the mass production industries where thousands of workers are massed in one economic unit, where the employers have their private armies, private espionage services, private extra-legal agencies, and private super-governmental forces.

Private Property and Private Property

All of these rights which we have mentioned, some of them already won by labor, others still being won, still others yet to be won, are in differing degrees in-

"People's Front Illusion"

A Review

By D. SWIFT

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this pamphlet. In succinct form and brilliant language, with vast knowledge and a polemical restraint bordering upon the charity of the ages, it analyzes the complex practical and theoretical problems involved in the tactic of the People's Front, and offers a realistic solution out of the horrendous mess. Mr. Lovestone has never written anything better, and I for one have a feeling that his present booklet will in time become a minor classic in the American revolutionary struggle.

A mere layman, with only a general interest in the radical movement, I can do no more than outline the contents of "People's Front Illusion." It is subtitled "From Social Fascism to the 'People's Front,'" which is to say, it is a broad historical survey of the 180 degree swing of the Comintern from its ultra left policy of the Sixth Congress to the ultra right position of the Seventh Congress. Mr. Lovestone shows that the present position is not new to world labor struggles; it was denounced by Marx as far back as 1849, and it was attacked by Lenin during the World War. Kautsky and the other Kaiser Socialists were really no more than People's Frontists, but then the Communists properly held them in contempt, while now they emulate them.

Revival of Reformism

Kaiser Socialism—or sewer Socialism, as it is known in this country, where Socialism is popularly associated with the leadership of the late Morrie Hillquit and Dan Hoan of Milwaukee—is based upon a humanitarian bewilderment as to the nature of the class struggle. In other words, it is the good old reformism with a little misunderstanding of radical philosophy thrown in. It worships that vague and most misleading of all political concepts, "the people," and as a result fails to differentiate between workers' democracy and bourgeois democracy. The latter, of course, has been a nest of rattlesnakes from its very beginning in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In more recent times the great bourgeois democracies of Europe and of the American continent have brought about wars, enslaved Afri-

* *People's Front Illusion*. By Jay Lovestone. Workers Age, N. Y. 20c.

fringements upon the right of capitalist private property in its pristine and most unsocial, anti-social or a-social forms. But in the mass production industries, we have a different type of private property. The lawyers call it corporate property. Far be it from us to attempt to delve into legal abstractions and arguments. For us, it is sufficient to indicate that a dozen automobile plants, a score of blast-furnaces, half a dozen oil wells, a baker's dozen of rubber factories are not the same kind of private property as the toothpick, the shoe, the pillowcase, or the rocking chair. The former types of private property are means of production of such articles of consumption, or even of other means of production. *These means of production are socially used but privately owned.* Here is the rub; here is the source of class conflict, the soil out of which springs the sit-down controversy and other issues of similar character.

As a matter of fact, such property (corporate property) is no longer strictly private, even in

capitalist society. One need but mention the existence of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the case of railroads, and the means of communication, the bourgeoisie as a class have not only learned to accept but have even learned to welcome certain limitations on the privacy of their property in these fields. On the other hand, in relation to the means of production in general, such restrictions on the privacy of property—in the very interest of preserving the system of capitalist private property as such—have not yet been recognized by many bourgeois spokesmen. But even in private property, in the realm of the strictest private articles of consumption, the privacy of today is not what it was fifty years ago. The privacy of today in the field of privately-owned and personally consumed articles is very much standardized, wrapped in cellophane. Note the work of the Bureau of Standards. Keep in mind the volumes of legislative acts aimed at fraudulent advertising and short weights. Why, even, the sacred cow of capitalist private property (shares or stocks) is now "regulated" by the government through the Securities Exchange Commission—in the very interest of preserving the stock market as an agency for allocating (speculatively but not planfully) capital to industries operated socially but owned privately.

Therefore, all this hullabaloo about the security of, and all the jittery editorials about the dangers to, the integrity of private property in the immediate sense, as occasioned by the sit-down strikes, are just that much hokey. Where the enhancement of the interests of labor is not proposed, there the capitalist ideologists and leaders do not hesitate to seek restrictions on or regulations of private property in order to safeguard capitalist private property as an institution. Find the railroad magnate who would today propose the abolition of the Interstate Commerce Commission. James M. Landis, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and Dean Designate of the Harvard Law School, has aptly said: "But it is banking, insurance, utilities or railroads that form the dominating motif, rather than some highly theoretical doctrine as to powers that should or should not be possessed." Very appropriately, Mr. Landis further stresses that: "In the field of corporate organization, the stockholder is clamoring for protection against complexity in the corporate structure, against the divorce of ownership from control, against the uneconomic combination of lusiness units into a far-flung enterprise."

cost the lives of thousands upon thousands of workers.

Return to Marxism

The only way out of the People's Front mess is, of course, a return to Marxist principles, to the abiding faith of the class struggle, to the ever-lasting truths that the only democracy worth fighting for is a workers' democracy and that this workers' democracy can be achieved only by the united front of workers. Merely to be anti-Fascist is not to be a worker. To be a worker one must be a worker. There can never be any common ground between those who toil and those who live on capital.

The People's Front in the United States is only a bit more preposterous than its counterpart on the European continent because of the greater immaturity of its leaders. Therez may be misguided, but Browder barely knows what it's all about. Harry Pollitt may be a hy-

(Continued next column)

LABOR ALONE CAN FREE THE SOUTH

By GEORGE STREATOR

ON the ruins of soil burned-out by cotton and tobacco, there will sprout mushrooms of industry built on the labor of black and white wage slaves. It was ten years ago that the North became conscious of the passing of New England as the center of textiles. Industry in the hands of heartless money bags desert a modern Rome and leave its workers to the ravages of vandals from the high towers in Wall Street.

Today, we have Danville, Virginia, and a Piedmont region in North Carolina: both built on the transplanted ruins of thousands of New England workers. Fifty years ago, idealists in economics longed to abolish Poor-White poverty in South Carolina by establishing the cooperative manufacture of textiles. But industry is too big to be grappled with by Sunday-School approaches. This is a machine age, an era of electric power. In the face of an expanding, commanding capitalism, the good intentions of co-operators were blown hither and thither like thistles in the wind. The intentions were good, but this is more than an agricultural country able to mold a simple, pleasant life from the products of the soil. America is more than a butter and egg economy.

The Committee for Industrial Organization is turning to the South. The Textile Workers Organization Committee has opened its drive. In the minds of many there is the question of the Negro worker. How many are in the textiles? Will the white workers "consent" to their organization? It is well to consider the backgrounds of the Southern working class.

Background of Southern Workers

The Southern workers are much discussed, but are hardly beginning to be known. Even the efforts at creating "labor schools" have met with a certain amount of frustration in the tendency of Northern sympathizers to approach the South with lots of love for the romantic, but equipped with conspicuous "weak-knees." The bravery of the past generation of New England school-ma'ams who risked not only their social position but their lives, in building schools to reach the Negro and Poor White masses, has been replaced by thrilling speeches in New York backed by timidity in grappling with the segregation problems of the South.

All white people in the South are not aristocrats; nor, are all Negroes exploited in the worst sense. Jim-Crow is shared by all colored people, but city life, education, spurs the refusal to be annihilated by hostile, ignorant Poor Whites. Likewise, this separates them from the exploited, Negro farm-peons.

ocrite, but he is more conversant with social forces than Clarence Hathaway. Otherwise how explain the almost incredible conduct of the American Communist Party in the last presidential election, and especially its flirting with Father Divine and Dr. Townsend? The basic trouble with the American Communist Party is to be found, naturally, in the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress, but more than a little of it is also to be found in the modest mental attainments and dubious character of its leadership.

Mr. Lovestone discusses all these matters at great length and with relevant and timely documentation in his pamphlet. It is full of sound and solid sense, and is indispensable to every person who wants to think intelligently upon the major politico-economic problems of the day. Nothing better on the subject of the People's Front has been written in the United States.

It is increasingly difficult for Northern radicals to grasp the simple facts. Probably because it is easier to talk revolution and enact cowardice in Southern tactics, than it is to reverse the formula in facing reality.

Of the Negro workers, the best thorough contribution has been assembled in Spero and Harris' *The Black Worker*, and W. E. B. DuBois' *Black Reconstruction*. The pamphleteering and theorizing done by ill-provided "intellectuals" in the radical movement is making it increasingly difficult to attract class-conscious students on the Negro and Poor-White problems.

Of the Poor Whites who have remained, on the whole, as unassimilated into prosperity as the lowly Negroes, wrote Broadus and George S. Mitchell (page 288, *The Industrial Revolution in the South*):

"... Not having enough money to purchase slaves, he was pushed into the economic and social background. Cotton culture with Negro labor took from the Poor Whites such employment as he had in manufacturing. Iron furnaces and filling-mills were abandoned in favor of planting on a large scale. The sand-hiller became a tenant of the slaves owner, chronically in debt... distrusting the upper Whites, hating the Negroes and by the Negroes despised, these people were patterns of the mean and sordid."

Religion in the South

The retarded development of education in the South is a sidelight on the emergence of the ruling class of the present generation, and of the neglect of the Negroes and Poor Whites, particularly the Mountain Whites, a people badly exploited in everything, from radio programs to textile mills. The progressive role played by religion came in the period labeled "Reconstruction," when modern public education was born, not re-born. Protestant preachers and Catholic priests, and even a scattering of synagogues of the Jewish faith became shut-mouthed on slavery after the invention of the cotton-gin. So-called Virginia liberals who were eager to see slavery wiped out at an earlier period of history, lost that zeal for humanity when the invention of the cotton gin converted wasted investments in human bodies to a profitable undertaking.

Following the Civil War, however, the country proceeded to emancipate the black slaves and the Poor Whites. Neither undertaking has sufficiently called the South, the Solid Democratic South, democratic. But at the close of the Civil War, the religious orders from the North felt the prick of their consciences and turned with zeal and a true revolutionary spirit to the cultural wiping-out of feudalism. After the lamentable failure of the first Federal venture in public education—the "Bureau for Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands"—the beginnings of public education were planted by the church.

This is understandable. The masses linger in the shadows of superstition. The church is an instrument of social control, in the most narrow sense. Just as the church was able to find proof-texts that justified chattel slavery, present-day theologians—the very best of them—are able to twist their minds around, searching for "evils" of labor's sudden spurt.

But this is another day. John D. Rockefeller Jr., has long idealized the role to be played by a unified Protestant Church. Younger and more humane than his father, but nevertheless an old

man, John D. Rockefeller Jr. will be forced to leave this earth without solidifying the Protestant Church. In spite of the science and architecture born in a renovated church, religion in America, particularly in the South, is giving way to science itself. No matter how many old men of science turn to religion as a solace for frustrated scientific inquiry, newer scientists and younger geniuses will push the circumference out farther and farther. God is Dead.

Temporary victories like the defeat of the New York Child Labor Amendment stimulate Catholic stand-patters to new strength, but the South buried Catholicism in the crushing defeat of Alfred E. Smith, eight years ago.

Is the South "something new?" Is the Southern church, white and Negro, likely to play a role more progressive than the Catholic Church of the East? That will hardly be true. In Birmingham, Alabama, the great Tennessee Coal and Iron corporation dominates the hospital school, and church facilities of its workers. In North Carolina, the textile magnates keep their thumbs on the pulses of every school and college. The weekly Negro newspapers print the same "success stories" from Ford, General Motors and the steel trust that appear in the rural and small-town papers.

Labor Can Save the South

That means that ambitious young Negro lawyers and preachers, white and Negro, might turn out to be Leo Waldmans and Father Coughlins at a moment's notice. Class relations, not the People's Front, will save Southern labor. The foundations can be laid with the assistance of sympathetic, genuine, intellectuals; but politicians, defeated on one field and eager to "save their people" on another, must be watched with care. This does not close the door to proved champions of the masses.

The South needs more Broadus Mitchells: men who can trace their lineage to the heart of the Old South without cringing in face of the bitter criticism of sensitive "loyalists" who waste their time spinning webs around the crumbling, Georgian columns of the old regime. The South needs more Howard Kesters who can hang their cassocks on a limb and plunge in where the treacherous waters are deepest.

The road to freedom for the Southern workers winds around an unpaved road. For fifty years black and white workers come close to climbing that road through textile strikes, water-front strikes, saw-mill strikes, lumber-yard strikes, and the battling of starved, maltreated sharecroppers. Coupled with industrial struggle, there are the menacing tides of Old Man River; that endless power ever returning to avenge the destruction of the earth by greedy exploiters of the soil. The elements of nature know neither race nor color. But the Dollar Snatchers are eager to pit blacks against white. And the confused workers who have their sight crippled by the jaundice of prejudice will never climb that road to freedom.

For the Negro the real enemy is not the white workers who suffer like him, but the modern "patter-rollers" who patrol the sacred lanes of the bosses' factories and oppress the workers of all colors and hues. It is no longer "Run, Nigger, Run! De Patter-rollers'll ketch you. Run, Nigger, Run! It is almost Day!"

This is a New Day. Poor Whites and Poor Blacks must raise their hands in a joint pledge:

"I's jes as innerpentment as a pig on ice
Gwint'er git up ag'n if I slips down twice
If I can't git up, I can jes sit-down
No company-police can kick ME around!

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

THE labor movement should have been suspicious when the executive council voted to "study" the sit-down before committing itself on its merits. The recent statement of William Green on this topic indicates that the study concerned itself chiefly with the question of when A. F. of L. opposition to the sit-down should be announced in order to do the greatest harm to the CIO and to the many thousands of workers who follow it in the strikes now in progress.

The A. F. of L. picked the present moment—when numerous state legislatures have introduced legislation against the sit-down, when manufacturers' associations are screaming hysterically that the sit-down is red revolution—to bolster the hands of reaction in its anti-labor and anti-union drive. The extremely interesting remarks of Secretary of Labor Perkins expressing doubt about the illegality of the sit-down were not "studied," even the recent statement of Senator Borah in which he takes a more liberal view of the sit-down than does the executive council of the A. F. of L. was not studied. Why is that? Because the A. F. of L. did not study the sit-down as a weapon of labor in the struggle to win collective bargaining and improvement of its conditions. It studied it purely as a weapon of the CIO and therefore it had to be wrong and condemned regardless of any and all considerations. Once again faction bias proved to be the dominant force which determined the policies of the executive council. It is this attitude which speeds it to its doom.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY has just held its convention in Chicago and spent a little time in a discussion of the present situation in the labor movement. Two resolutions were introduced in an attempt to define socialist policy in the trade union. Before discussing the content of these it is necessary to note the following interesting phenomenon. The Socialist Party usually talks as if it were a tremendous force in the trade union life of this country. A reading of its resolutions tends to completely disprove that statement. Or at the very least it tends to show that where they are in the trade unions they are only missionaries trying to convert the heathen. The main resolution introduced by Frank Trager is an excellent example of this attitude.

Somewhere in the resolution Trager writes: "In supporting the trade union movement we are forever mindful of its shortcomings and limitations." Only those who are outside of and dissociated from the trade union movement can write in so detached a manner. Only a pseudo-intellectual dilettante can write about the trade union movement in so paternal and condescending a manner.

In neither of the two resolutions (the second resolution was introduced by Murray Gross of New York) is there an adequate appreciation of the role of the Committee for Industrial Organization. But while the Gross resolution emphasizes the necessity to work with and build the CIO the Trager resolution shows the effects of all the Trotskyist doubts and vacillations on this question. It should be remembered that long after the A. F. of L. forced began the fight in the CIO, the Trotskyites maintained that John L. Lewis and his supporters in the A. F. of L. represented the main danger for the progressives and that the main fight must be directed against them. Obviously the Socialist Party cannot, at this late date, come forward with such a position. The Trotskyites themselves were forced to modify their first stand. But the Trager resolution shows that the Socialist Party is still not ready to support the CIO except with many serious reservations. The

resolution says: "In rendering support to the C.I.O. in its drive to organize the unorganized, the Socialist Party recognizes the shortcomings of the CIO; the fact that its leaders are tied politically to the capitalist system, to the Democratic Party and that some of the unions suffer from a lack of democracy and remnants of craft unionism." Merely to state that "its leaders are tied politically to the capitalist system, to the Democratic Party. . . ." is completely to misunderstand the basic trend inherent in the development of the CIO. Dried-up sectarians only can fail to see the political implications of the very economic struggles that are proceeding now. John L. Lewis, whom the resolution ties to the capitalist system—not being a member of the Socialist Party, does see these implications. The writer of the resolution should have read his recent speech made in Madison Square Garden. He might have learned that things are moving forward in the CIO in the direction of increasing political consciousness even though this occurs without benefit of socialist clergy. Also on the question of "unity" does the resolution show its hesitation. It warns against "those who are flushed with the recent victories of the CIO and are ready to abandon the AFL and organize immediately a new federation." With these words the resolution adds grist to the mills of the craft unionists who also berate the supporters of the CIO for abandoning the AFL. The resolution states further: "It is therefore the duty of the progressive forces in the labor movement—both in the CIO and the AFL—to strive to preserve the unity of labor in such a manner that it will be possible to organize the workers in mass production industries along industrial lines while preventing wasteful and exhausting conflicts in building and allied trades where craft unions are solidly entrenched."

The above attitude closely approximates also the position of the CP and suffers from the same basic fault; it does not state whether such a policy is possible. Such fence-sitting would never have organized the automobile and steel industries, would never have aroused and stirred the masses to the needs of trade union organization. Yet, the Socialist Party, still presents a resolution at this late date which considers as possible the organization of the mass production industries within the organization confines of the AFL.

The two resolutions also differ on the attitude of the socialists to collaboration with other progressive forces in the trade unions. Trager emphasizes the necessity of keeping aloof from other forces. He shows great fear that socialists "may become a tail to the kite of any political or trade union group." Altho Murray Gross deals with the question rather vaguely he nevertheless stresses the very opposite policy. He states that: "The local, state and national labor committees, in carrying out this program, shall promote the greatest degree of unity of all constructive forces which can be rallied about it. In any event we must guard against isolating the party comrades from the main stream of progressivism in the labor movement."

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OPEN SHOP IN CANADA

ONTARIO'S Premier Hepburn is still blustering against the "foreign agitators"—John L. Lewis and Homer Martin—whose organization, the United Automobile Workers Union, is attempting to organize the Oshawa plant of General Motors. He loudly rants against the "state of anarchy" and threatens to "raise an army" against the foreign invader.

Mr. Hepburn's game is intended to entice American industry, hard hit by growing unionism, to cross the border into Ontario, the present haven of open shoppism. If this plan is to succeed, Mr. Hepburn must keep wages and conditions far below the standards now being won in our industries. President Martin calls attention to this very condition when he says: "Canada pays such wages that I am almost ashamed to talk about it—30 cents an hour in General Motors plants right across the border and sixteen hours a day. No wonder they get up in arms when they hear the American 'agitators' are on the way."

The attitude of the Oshawa workers shows clearly that Mr. Hepburn is about to learn a few elementary lessons, namely, that bayonets will not make automobiles, that one cannot establish an effective embargo against unionism given such conditions as exist in Oshawa, and that Oshawa striker and Flint sit-downer are pretty much the same under the skin and their loyalties far greater to the foreign agitators John L. Lewis and Homer Martin than to Premier Hepburn, the native lickspittle of General Motors.

THE HERSHEY MOB

THE Hershey firm is pleading for peace and is now negotiating with representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization. This is indeed a remarkable fact and illustrates the courage and fighting capacities of the CIO. Evicted and beaten one day by a mob of aroused and misled farmers generously peppered with Philadelphia thugs and criminals, the strikers returned the next day a thousand strong to picket the plant in a drenching rain. The benign smile upon the face of the "philanthropist" Hershey froze in amazement and the several hundred rats who had reentered the plant shook with terror, finally dashing out of the plant in great haste when the report spread that the hard-hitting miners were gathering in the neighboring mining towns for a march on Hershey to aid their fighting brother unionists.

Little, isolated Hershey presents a lesson in courage, solidarity and that feeling of invincibility with which the CIO has inspired the men fighting under its banner.

But there is more to the story of Hershey. Here is another case of the company mob in somewhat new form. The Flint Alliance composed of company agents, stool pigeons and some misled workers, with their cry of law and order, here appeared as a group of farmers with special interests upon which the company agents worked. There is no doubt that the closing of the plant worked hardships upon the farmers who supplied milk to the firm, and they therefore became subject to company propaganda against the sit-down strikers. But it need not have been so. It is not improbable that preliminary preparatory work among the farmers would have convinced many that the Hershey firm robs and exploits them just as it robs and exploits the men who work inside the factory. This element of common grievance might then have been dramatized in the form of a common fight, e.g. the inclusion of a demand for a higher milk rate.

A careful policy along the above lines would have robbed Hershey of an active ally and might even have placed them on the side of the workers. The union workers must not permit the acts of the misguided farmers to rankle too long. On the contrary in such communities as Hershey the most energetic attempts must be made to unite the workers and farmers for common political activity in the form of a farmer-labor party. Such a development would result in incalculable advantages to both worker and farmer.

The problems raised in the Hershey strike present themselves in many communities and must be given careful thought by the leaders of the CIO so that the maximum results may be attained from every struggle for improvement of conditions.

HITLER OVER CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE propaganda machine of the Third Reich has recently been directed against the republic of Czechoslovakia. This attack serves two purposes. The first is to bring sufficient pressure on Czechoslovakia to break the military pact with the Soviet Union and join the powers that group themselves around the Rome-Berlin axis. The second is to remove any obstacle that might block Germany's road to the Balkans. Once again German imperialism dreams of establishing a direct connection between Hamburg and Bagdad.

Encouraged by the weakness of the foreign policy of France and the dwindling of French influence in South-Eastern Europe, Nazi Germany quite successfully pushed the policy of breaking up the Little Entente. In accordance with this plan the main attack is now being waged against Czechoslovakia. Fortifications and other signs of military preparedness along the Czechoslovakian border indicate that Germany is ready for an armed struggle against Czechoslovakia.

Hitler-fascism takes advantage of the national antagonisms within the Czech republic which present as difficult a problem as they did in Austria-Hungary under the monarchy. The 15,000,000 people living on Czechoslovakian soil comprise six different nationalities. The Germans with 3,200,000 form the largest minority group, most of them living in the foothills and valleys of the Sudeten, the mountain range which separates Germany from Czechoslovakia. It is the region where the economic misery of the masses is greatest. Equally disappointed by the effect of the Social-Democratic policy and that of the past ultra-left course of the Communist Party and resentful of the anti-German attitude toward them, large groups of the German working population in the Sudeten section fell victim to the demagoguery of the Henlein Party, the legal successor to the Nazi Party dissolved in 1933. The result of the last election showed that almost 80 per cent of the Germans had voted for the Henlein Party. It closely follows the instructions from Nazi headquarters in the Third Reich.

Hitler Germany plays the protector of the German minority and utilizes the unsolved national problem as a means to engage the interest of all the reactionaries of Europe in the campaign against that country. Thanks to Ribbentrop, the untiring Nazi ambassador to London, Henlein's emissaries succeeded in winning the newspaper-king Lord Rothermere to their cause. Lord Rothermere made himself the mouthpiece of Nazism when he declared in an article published by the Daily Mail that the Germans and Hungarians are "foreigners" and "prisoners" in Czechoslovakia, which country he called "an artificial and strange state that might plunge Europe into war." The whole Nazi press carried this article under big headlines.

Nazis Hit At Czechs—Mean Russians

Since the conclusion of the Czecho-Soviet pact the Nazis claimed that Czechoslovakia serves as a military base for Bolshevism and therefore represents a danger for European culture. The Soviet Union laid out, the Nazis assure, enormous flying fields in Czechoslovakia so that in case of her going to war with Germany, that country will become the "airplane carrier" of the Soviets. According to Nazi opinion Bolshevism is so great a menace in Czechoslovakia that pretty soon conditions there will resemble those in Spain. The German Fascists openly state that they would help to defend Nordic culture in Czechoslovakia just as they are defending it in Spain. The diplomatic correspond-

ent of the Daily Telegraph reports that on the basis of information supplied to him by a Henlein agent he was led to the conclusion that Nazi extremists think it is possible to create in Czechoslovakia a situation similar to that in Spain. With things being as they are this cannot be regarded as a mere threat.

Pro-Hitler Tendencies

How do the ruling classes react to this? The leading party in the coalition government is the Czech Agrarians. The right wing of this party is not disinclined to break the pact with the Soviet Union and to form an alliance with Hitler Germany. The leading industrialists and merchants likewise favor an understanding with Germany. The Central Board of Commerce recently sent a report to economic experts in the Reich wherein it was emphasized that contrary to the news circulating in Germany, there is no danger of Czechoslovakia turning Bolshevik. The C.P., the report explains, exercises no political influence and will not make any new inroads in the future as the S.P. refuses to cooperate with it. The report further stated that economic liberalism was definitely on the decline in Czechoslovakia and that the method of government interference in business is steadily gaining recognition.

The same ruling classes also try to come to terms with the Henlein Party. As a result of their policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie the Socialist parties are constantly losing ground to the reactionaries. The democratic rights of the workers have been so greatly reduced that the republic can be called democratic in name only. The right of self-determination of the communal governments exists merely on paper. At any time the municipal administrations can be replaced by state commissars and the bourgeois democracy changed into a military dictatorship. The law for the defense of the state submits the press to censorship and prescribes government permission for holding of political meetings and demonstrations. If such permission is granted the meetings are held under police supervision. According to special law any undesirable opposition party can be dissolved. The law for the defense of the state partly abolishes the right of settlement and puts so many restrictions on other constitutional rights and regulations that in times of war the parliamentary government would practically be eliminated. The same law also rules that politically unreliable elements be barred from work in government plants and in the armament industry.

Growing Militarization

According to present regulations Czechoslovakia has a peace-time standing army of 150,000. A new law, however, is planned giving the government authority to increase the annual number of recruits. New measures for a more systematic pre-military training of young people are likewise under consideration.

It goes without saying that the Socialist parties sponsor this policy. Since the adoption of the new line by the C.I. the C.P. of

Lambda EUROPE TODAY

Rearming Speeded By Great Britain

London, March 17, 1937

IN commenting on the naval appropriations bill, Sir Samuel Hoare, the First Lord of the Admiralty, mentioned that the naval building program, which ordinarily would occupy a whole decade, must be completed in a period not exceeding two or three years. According to him no less than 148 ships will be under construction by the end of 1937. With equal speed Great Britain wishes to increase her air-force. Since Germany, by agreement with the British government, is to bring her naval strength up to 35% of that of Great Britain, she will feel herself compelled to start building new ships at an accelerated tempo.

It isn't very probable that the Germans would wait to wage war only after the completion of the British armament program. This could hardly be assumed, even if they should plan an offensive against the East and assure themselves of Great Britain's neutrality. What may be safely said is that the Germans intend to go to war no later than the British will have completed their armament program.

From Hoare's speech we can also draw the conclusion that Great Britain practically counts on no other but her own force and that "collective security" is to her nothing but a meaningless term.

Only the I.L.P. is in principle opposed to the rearmament plan. The opposition of the Labor Party rests on the idea of "collective security," and thus has no basis in reality.

The note which Germany and Italy sent in reply to the British request for a statement on the Western Pact shows the attempt:

1. To exclude the Soviet Union from such pact.
2. To restore the "neutrality" which was granted to Belgium in pre-war times. (This was proposed to prevent France and Great Britain from taking effective measures to secure Belgium's support in time of war.)
3. To break up the Franco-Soviet pact.

Italy demands pointblank that this pact be dissolved. Germany offers the proposal that Italy be authorized to decide, with the aid of Great Britain, whether and when the regulations of the Franco-Russian pact should be followed. This is only a round about way of expressing the same thing Italy stated bluntly.

4. To eliminate the pledges of mutual aid from the League of Nations—which would mean the elimination of the League of Nations itself.

In pursuing this policy Germany is not guided by any interest in the preservation of world peace, but by the desire to establish conditions which would best enable her to launch an offensive, first against the East and later towards the West (Belgium).

Great Britain and France wish to prolong negotiations in order to win time for the continuation of their armament program. They also hold that, pending negotiations, it would be difficult for the Germans to make any armed attack.

ITALIANS Routed ON MADRID FRONT

THE THREE Italian divisions that recently made the attacks on Madrid suffered a terrible defeat. According to information gathered from war prisoners Italy had kept on sending troops to Spain after the frontiers were closed to volunteers. More important news, however, is that these prisoners, officers and men, are against the Mussolini regime and the war in Spain. Another such defeat and the morale of the Italian troops would be destroyed completely. It appears that Spain is not Ethiopia.

The fact that new contingents of Italian soldiers were dispatched to Spain on a large scale after the manner in which the British government reacted to it, shows very clearly that Italy acted with the tacit consent of Great Britain and France. The identity of British and French policies is illustrated by an article from official quarters recently published in the *Temps*. This article advocated that France should also enter into official negotiations with Franco.

The decision of the Bureau of the Socialist International on the Spanish question is cold comfort. It is characteristic of the present state of affairs that the English government immediately sent the Franco-Belgian delegates home again after the gathering.

(Continued on Page 6)

On the Daily Worker's "Redefinition" of Our Political Line

2. THE POUM AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

by WILL HERBERG

(This is the second of a series of articles discussing the problems raised by Milton Howard's article, "Toward What Is Lovestoneism Heading," in the Daily Worker of March 23 and 24.—Editor)

WHAT seems to bother Comrade Howard most and to give rise to the greatest doubts in his mind as to our future is the fact that we are "completely identified with the activities of the P.O.U.M." in Spain. How—he asks—can we regard ourselves as sincere friends of the Spanish people and yet support the P.O.U.M.? Isn't this "stretching logic to the bursting points"?

THE "CHARGES" AGAINST THE P.O.U.M.—AND THE "PROOF"

For, according to Comrade Howard, the P.O.U.M. "has become the notorious 'fifth column' of the fascist army. . . . The P.O.U.M. has become a force for treachery and demoralization."* Perhaps these epithets do not impress us as much as they might because, after all, we still remember the day when we were called "counter-revolutionaries," "social-fascists" and "agents of Wall Street." Under such circumstances, we may be excused if we ask for proof.

And what is the proof? Primarily, that the P.O.U.M. has been condemned by "all the groups" in the Valencia government and the Madrid defense junta! First, as to the facts. It is true that, for a time, the S.P. and even members of the Madrid C.N.T. united with the C.P. against the P.O.U.M., subjecting it to all sorts of persecution. It is true that in Caballero's paper, *Claridad*, there appeared an editorial and, in the Paris *Le Peuple*, an article by Pietro Nenni, violently attacking the P.O.U.M. It is true that the P.O.U.M. was forced out of the Catalan government after a short period of participation in it. All this is the truth—but it is not the whole truth!

Comrade Howard knows, because he refers to it, that Caballero soon after repudiated the repressions against the P.O.U.M. and that the Madrid C.N.T. at first denied, then also repudiated the action of the Madrid junta. He knows, because he has read the whole story in detail in the *Workers Age* (January 23, 1937), that the ousting of the P.O.U.M. from the Catalan government was accomplished thru a tricky maneuver by playing upon the anti-political prejudices of the anarchist-syndicalists and that, as a result, the P.S.U.C. (Comintern party) is not directly represented in the government either. He knows that in Catalonia all of the important labor organizations (P.O.U.M., C.N.T., F.A.I., etc.), with the exception of the P.S.U.C. and unions controlled by it, have joined in a united declaration, pledging: "We undertake not to make use of our political campaigns of defamation or calumny against other anti-fascist organizations. We agree to avoid all action which may foment discord in the anti-fascist front." He knows that, at the conference at Lerida on February 2, the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. agreed on a joint military-political course and adopted a resolution concluding: "That, in view of the refusal of the P.S.U.C. to support this meeting, the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M. be the organizations entrusted with the realization of the work decided upon." He knows that, towards the end of January and the beginning of February, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. joined with the P.O.U.M. in setting up a united Revolutionary Youth Front. He knows that, upon the reconstitution of the municipal council of Valencia, the seat of the government, on February 3, all parties and groups, including the S.P., the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., united in insisting that the P.O.U.M. be given adequate representation and that the C.P. withdraw rather than agree. All this and more he knows, but somehow, he does not seem to think it worth mentioning to complete his rather dubious picture of the "united

front" of all groups against the "fascist" P.O.U.M.!

STRANGE JUDGES OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

Quite aside from the facts themselves, there is an interesting political idea implied in Comrade Howard's line of argument. It is true that, in certain Spanish socialist circles, there is a distinct distaste for the P.O.U.M. and that Caballero's belated disavowal of any hostile intentions against it has come under the pressure of rising mass resentment against the persecutions. It is even true that Pietro Nenni, member of the executive of the Socialist International, positively dislikes the P.O.U.M. To Comrade Howard, this seems enough to turn the P.O.U.M. into a fascist organization. How can you be for the P.O.U.M.—he asks in great perplexity—when "the tried and tested leaders of the anti-fascist forces, Caballero, Pietro Nenni, etc." are against it?

But since when have Caballero, Nenni and the rest become such infallible arbiters of revolutionary Marxist policy that their mere disapproval is enough to condemn the P.O.U.M.? Comrade Howard apparently does not take much stock in history but perhaps some historical experience may prove illuminating. In September 1917, the chief Soviet bodies of the Russian capital, still dominated by the Right S.R.'s and the Mensheviks, and with the Bolsheviks in the minority, were fighting Kornilov and his troops, just as the Madrid junta or the Valencia government are fighting Franco—except that the latter bodies are far indeed from being Soviets! And yet these same Menshevik and S.R. leaders found it quite possible to slander the Bolsheviks as "agents of the Kaiser" and to keep Lenin outlawed and in hiding! Just because Chkheidze and Chernov dominated the All-Russian Soviet C.E.C., did that make the charges against the Bolsheviks true—did that justify the persecution of Bolshevik leaders? Why, then, do the utterances of Caballero and Nenni acquire a sacred character, just because the former is a socialist Premier and the latter a member of the L.S.I. executive? Isn't it rather curious that a Communist Party spokesman should vest the opinions of socialist leaders with such final authority? Will Caballero's word be gospel truth also when he comes to turn his criticism against the C.P. as, I may assure Comrade Howard, he is not altogether unlikely to do?

IS OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY?

But is not the P.O.U.M. "counter-revolutionary"?—demands Comrade Howard. Is it not openly opposed to the policies of the government that is carrying on the struggle against Franco? Yes, the P.O.U.M. is opposed to the course being followed by the Valencia Cabinet, the Madrid junta and, to some extent, also by the Catalan Generalidad; but does that necessarily make it counter-revolutionary? A little history won't do any harm here either. In 1792, the Girondin government of France was fighting a desperate war of revolutionary defense against the combined reactionary powers of Europe. Yet, at the same time, the Jacobins—Marat, Robespierre, Danton—criticized this government most mercilessly and attacked it upon every possible occasion. Did that make the Jacobins "counter-revolutionaries"? When the abolitionist Radicals rose up against Lincoln to the point even of opposing his renomination, at a time when he was engaged in bitter struggle to suppress the slaveholders' insurrection, were they "counter-revolutionaries"? And when the Bolsheviks continued their hostility to the Provisional Government of the socialist Kerensky, even while it was under attack from Kornilov, were they "counter-revolutionaries"? Of course not! They all criticized the government *from the left*; they attacked it for its dangerous moderation, for its hesitation and vacillation, for its refusal to take revolutionary measures. And that is exactly how the P.O.U.M. is criticizing the regimes at Valencia and Madrid today!

"EITHER FORWARD TO SOCIALISM OR . . ."

It need hardly surprise anyone that such bourgeois liberals as Azana or such opportunistic socialists as Caballero and Nenni exhibit no great affection for the P.O.U.M. For, in the Spanish situation of today, the P.O.U.M. is following, in the face of tremendous odds, a steady course of revolutionary Marxism. Long ago, under circumstances quite analogous in fundamentals to the state of affairs in Spain today, Lenin wrote: "Is it possible to go forward while being afraid

of socialism? . . . Either you are a revolutionary democrat in deeds and then you do not have to be afraid of steps leading to socialism—or you are afraid of steps leading towards socialism, you are denouncing them Plekhanov-fashion, by Dan arguments, by Chernov arguments, saying that our revolution is a bourgeois revolution, that it is impossible to 'introduce' socialism, etc.—then you must unavoidably sink to the level of Kerensky, Milyukov, Kornilov, i.e., to the position of suppressing in a *reactionary-bureaucratic* manner the revolutionary-democratic tendencies of the workers and peasant masses. There is no middle course. And therein lies the fundamental contradiction of our revolution. It is impossible to stand still in history generally, in war time, particularly. One must go either forward or backward. It is impossible to go forward in the Russia of the twentieth century, a Russia that has won a republic and a democracy in a revolutionary way, without going towards socialism, without taking steps towards it. . . . And, if you are afraid to go forward, that means that you are going backward, which is exactly what the Kerenskys are doing, to the delight of the Milyukovs and Plekhanovs and with the foolish aid of the Tseretellis and Chernovs."

And neither can you "stand still" in the Spain of 1937—or "go forward while being afraid of socialism!" The P.O.U.M. is showing the way forward today and, in its forward policy, it is being largely supported by the C.N.T. and by masses in the other labor organizations. Thru their confusion and hesitation, thru their vain search for a "middle course," the S.P. and the C.P. are—contrary to their own intentions, of course—opening the way for the forces of reaction, for those who want to go backwards no matter what the cost. That is why the leaders of these parties are so hostile to the P.O.U.M.; it is certainly no discredit to the latter!

ROTSKYISM AND THE P.O.U.M.

None of these matters does Comrade Howard discuss; perhaps he feels it is the better part of political valor to ignore them. He indulges in a few vague and unintelligible sneers about the "hash of slogans for 'socialization' and 'dual power'" that is supposed to characterize the policy of the P.O.U.M. but his decisive argument seems to be the alleged "startling similarity of the P.O.U.M. program to the position of the Trotskyites in Spain." That is why, I suppose, Trotsky denounced the P.O.U.M. so bitterly a year and a half ago and that is why he denounces it again even more bitterly in his recent manifesto on Spain. That is why, presumably, the French and American Trotskyites have abused the P.O.U.M. in terms that might go well in the *Daily Worker*. That is why the P.O.U.M. has emphatically repudiated any political or organizational connection with Trotskyism. It all sounds very plausible, doesn't it, Comrade Howard?

Comrade Howard is now ready to carry his argument a little further. The Trotskyites and we are both against the tactics of the People's Front; that, apparently, is enough to establish some sort of political identity between us. But Comrade Howard himself points out that we arrive at our position by "starting from entirely different theoretical premises." Is that of no significance? Three years ago the Trotskyites and the C.P. were both against a labor party policy for this country; in Comrade Howard's phrase, they "found a common ground" in their hostility to this policy. Was that enough to establish any political tie between the C.P. and the Trotskyites? Today, the official communists and the bourgeois liberals both favor the People's Front, emerging, of course, "from entirely different theoretical premises." I sincerely hope Comrade Howard does not insist that this fact establishes the political identity of the Comintern and bourgeois liberalism!

The fact is that such methods will no longer do. They died with the late and unlamented "third period" and it would be well for all concerned to let them rest undisturbed!

OUR DIFFERENCES WITH THE P.O.U.M.

Let me add a word about the P.O.U.M. While we regard this party's Spanish policy as fundamentally sound and revolutionary, we have never hidden the fact that we do have serious differences with it on other

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Quebec Anti-Communist Law Backed by Catholic Church

THE Catholic Church is gradually losing its mass base among the French Canadians. Vacillation and even atheism is spreading slowly but surely; disbelievers are increasing in numbers; and churchgoers are fewer than ever. The Catholic Church knows very well that this "radicalism" was caused by present economic conditions which taught the illiterate French masses the lesson of their lives. It understands that some may even "fall victims" to Communism, as a guide to action. It fears and shudders at the thought of what happened to the Church in Spain. To appeal to the bosses to do right by their workers, as the Pope does, is a hope that they neither wish for nor cherish. For how could the wealthy Catholic Church, with all its pomp and opulence, exist and flourish if it were not walking arm in arm with the economic exploiters and oppressors? Therefore it seeks an unholy crusade against communism, and, as ever to play the role of dark reaction ideologically.

Premier Duplessis unwittingly let the cat out of the bag when he explained the "necessity" for his bill: "A few months ago, the Premier continued, he had been invited by Cardinal Villeneuve to attend a meeting held to decide on steps to combat Communism. It was then and there that he determined to do his duty towards curbing the activities of all revolutionary organizations." (Star, March 18.)

Catholic Unions

To further divert the economic interest of the French Canadian workers into "harmless" channels, the Catholic Church with the tacit support of the Government, has been working overtime to resuscitate, rejuvenate and reinforce the decrepit, reactionary and priest-controlled Catholic Syndicates.

During the victorious 1936 strike of the pocketbook workers, some priests called "shop meetings" in Church halls and urged the French workers to join the Catholic Union, and "rebuked" them for being at odds with the bosses.

The Catholic Syndicates, furthermore, form dual unions wherever they possibly can. Just recently they tried to split off the Italian local from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; but all they managed to get was the business agent, Pio, and a handful of workers. There are good grounds to believe that

Pio is now being used to thwart the dressmakers campaign of the I.L.G.W.U.

The Millinery workers have also had some bitter experiences with the Syndicates, which now control two shops in the trade. Several weeks ago the Catholic Syndicates demanded that the Duplessis government appoint a commission to investigate the International Unions—the investigation to start with the Millinery Workers Union. The idea behind the investigation quite "coincides" with the desire of the government to incorporate the unions, and have them in general under government supervision. This situation was brought to the attention of the Montreal Trades and Labour Council, and it was decided to protest to the Premier. Whether that will accomplish anything is very doubtful.

The Labor Party

While the reaction in the Province is growing ever thicker, there is still no strong, unified, labour counteraction. Some attempts, however, have already been made.

The Labour Party decided to voice a vigorous protest to the authorities, and appointed a committee to investigate the legal aspects of the anti-Communist Act—for if necessary it intends to fight it in the courts. (It is understood that only the Federal Government has the right to pass legislation concerning the Criminal Code, and that this Act is constitutionally illegal). The C.P. was panic-stricken from the outset, and in truly People's Front fashion wants to unite with everybody and anybody to combat it. They even want to unite with Catholic organizations on this issue, though the Lord only knows what quarrel they have with the bill.

What is still necessary, however, is to coordinate the labour force in the Province, including the trade unions and all labour political and fraternal organizations. To protest and protest vehemently and in unison—through demonstrations and mass-meetings, against this attack on labor's rights to its freedom of speech, press, and assembly. More glaring than ever is the need for a broad and mighty Labour Party—a Labour Party to protect the elementary rights of the workers and fight for labour legislation.

EUROPE TODAY

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There are definite signs that the Spanish working class is becoming increasingly aware of the necessity of joint action on the basis of revolutionary principles. The fascist conspiracy in Madrid and the fact that the conspirators posed as representatives of the People's Front parties clearly shows what a fertile ground the People's Front provides for the seed of counter-revolution.

DALADIER, leader of the Radical Socialists, recently issued the slogan to "Organize the Middle Class." As if it wasn't a well recognized fact that the middle class had, quite some time ago, been organized—thanks to the initiative of the Radical Socialists. It is thru organizing the middle class and leading it against organized labor that Fascism gets into the saddle.

None of us will express surprise that the C.P.F. voted for the defense loan. At the meeting of the Central Committee Thorez assured Blum that his party would continue to support the government in its efforts to carry out the People's Front Program. He didn't mention that the government ceased to pay any attention to the People's Front program. Things being as they are, Thorez's words imply that the C.P.F. is willing to support the government even if it does not carry out the People's Front program.

Special committees were set up all over France for the defense loan propaganda. Priests and other reactionary notables actively participate in this work. Thus the way is being prepared for the establishment of the Union Sacree.

ACCORDING to dispatches from Vienna two hundred S.S. leaders were arrested in Munich on charges of conspiracy. In recent times the Reichswehr and the S.S. have clashed frequently. The S.S. is for a more aggressive foreign policy and for increased German intervention in Spain.

From March 15th on, white flour will be mixed with corn meal. Masses of pigs were slaughtered for lack of fodder. This helped to secure a sufficient supply of meat and fat. However, it does not solve the food problem which is becoming ever more acute.

THE CAMPAIGN for establishing inner party democracy in the C.P.S.U. reveals how much power the bureaucracy has usurped and how difficult it has become to make the control of the party functionaries by the membership effective. "I don't remember," Comrade Julenko, representative of the Dshershinsky machine factory (Saratoff District), declared, "when we elected the party committee in our factory and when it gave us a report on its work." This is a very typical case.

The Buckarin-Rykov trial will be preceded, as all former trials were, by a newspaper campaign. The campaign for inner party democracy is connected with the trials.

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Pennsylvania Federation Silent on CIO Question

By BERN BRANDON

HARRISBURG, Pa.—The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor met here in its 36th Convention. Everyone came expecting to witness a sharp debate on the CIO-AFL controversy, especially in the light of A. F. of L. organizer Hines' declaration of war in Philadelphia. But there was no enemy with whom to fight. The Convention was unanimously pro-CIO; there was no delegate to go to bat for the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. More interesting, however, was the reluctance of the leadership of the Convention, including the miners, to raise the craft vs. industrial union controversy in any manner, shape, or form.

A resolution was presented by the Executive Council disclaiming any desire to interfere in the controversy on the ground that the Pennsylvania Federation "is a subordinate branch of the American Federation of Labor and as such should confine itself to the field in which it has customarily functioned" and that "it feels certain that the interests of our movement will be served best by the adoption of a 'hands-off' policy on this or any other controversial issue of like nature . . . that may be subject to decision or action through the authority of the American Federation of Labor." One lone delegate offered an amendment condemning the action of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy in Philadelphia. He was ruled out of order on the ground that his amendment was in conflict with the very purpose of the resolution. Such was the hush regarding the most important question facing the American labor movement.

It would be erroneous to infer, however, that the delegates are not alive to the industrial union issue. The air was charged with electricity every time the CIO was mentioned; John L. Lewis was hailed as the greatest labor leader in the history of the world to the thunderous applause of the assembled delegates; John A. Phillips, President of the Federation and a leading light in the conservative craft-conscious Typographical Union, is openly aligned with the forces of industrial unionism, recording his vote at Tampa against the Executive Council's suspensions; the response of the craft unions, including the building trades, in support of the CIO was as spontaneous and enthusiastic as was the response of the miners; and, finally, the Convention went on record unanimously in favor of the sit-down strike.

Because of these unmistakable evidences of CIO support, I asked President Brennan, of District 9 of the U.M.W.A. and floor leader for the Administration why the A. F. of L. was permitted to get off so easily. His response was: "We decided to let sleeping dogs lie."

The State Federation tendered a testimonial dinner to Lieut-Gov. Kennedy, Sec'y-Treas. of the U.M.W.A., Tuesday night. After a host of labor leaders had hinted at the future, both Philip Murray and John L. Lewis took the bull by the horns and declared that "If Governor Earle is called upon to more important duties, then no better man than Tom Kennedy could be found for Governor." The working class of Pennsylvania has been so accustomed to reactionary Grundyism that the election of the Democratic Earle-Kennedy ticket represents a social, economic and political revolution.

Czechoslovakia

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Czechoslovakia has so rapidly moved to the right that it practically also supports the policy of the ruling bourgeoisie. Speaking for the C.P. in the Czechoslovakian parliament Comrade Kopecky said only a few days ago: "We stand for democracy and shall defend it against fascism and any form of reaction. To call the C.P. anti-national, anti-republican and anti-democratic and to say that it plots against the state means to slander it. Our attitude is determined by conditions in this republic and NOT BY ANY CONSIDERATIONS OF PARTY INTERESTS."

The C.P. also abandoned the communist position on the national question. Its only demand is one for a "balance of national interests." Today it is entirely out of the question for communists to advocate that the German part of Czechoslovakia be incorporated into the Reich. We must fight the policy of the Fascists, but this has to be done on a class basis, without kow-towing to the bourgeoisie.

Mr. Goebbel's spokesmen refer to the Czechoslovakian republic as "Europe's appendix" and declare that it must be removed by an operation. If the C.P. continues to discard communist principles, the working class of Czechoslovakia will, at a very critical hour, be left without leadership or sound plan of action.

Spanish Revolution

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questions, on the attitude towards the Soviet Union, for example, or on perspectives of the international labor movement. But just because we think it is wrong on these questions is no reason for slandering it as "fascist" or "counter-revolutionary." It is a reason for encouraging the freest and most comradely discussion in an effort to bring about clarification and agreement. We recognize also that there are Trotskyites in the P.O.U.M. and that, in losing Maurin, this party lost a most effective fighter against Trotskyism. But we know quite well that the Trotskyites constitute only a tiny handful in the P.O.U.M. without any visible influence on its policy. Unfortunately, it is not altogether impossible that the reckless and irresponsible actions of the C.P. and S.P. lately may tend to inflate the slim prestige of the Trotskyites to dangerous proportions. Would it not be more profitable and sounder policy into the bargain to adopt a more constructive attitude towards the P.O.U.M., an attitude that would help isolate and eradicate whatever Trotskyist or anti-Soviet elements may be found in it? (In his final article, Will Herberg will discuss the question of the Moscow trials as raised in Comrade Howard's article.—Editor)

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