

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Lewis Scores Democrats

Denounces Party Leaders For Breaking Pledges; New Party Seen

In a statement issued by him in his capacity of chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League, John L. Lewis last week vigorously denounced the leadership of the Democratic party for its failure to live up to its pledges made in the 1936 campaign and, by direct implication, indicated the necessity of the formation of a new party by labor and allied forces to champion a program of progressive social legislation in the interests of the masses of the people.

The C.I.O. leader particularly castigated the conservative Democratic group in House and Senate who, in alliance with the Republicans, had blocked or crippled practically all of the New Deal legislation introduced during the recent session of Congress, such as the Wages-and-Hours bill, the Wagner Housing bill, farm legislation and the like. Especially shameful, he declared, was the conduct of the four or five Democrats controlling the House Rules Committee who refused to let the Black-Conerly bill come up for consideration altho the Senate had passed it and the House Labor Committee had recommended it almost unanimously. If the Democratic leaders cannot carry out their own promises, on the strength of which they were returned to power in the 1936 elections, Mr. Lewis concluded, then let them "confess that their party is not the vehicle by which the people of the country may progress to a solution of their pressing social problems."

William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor, also issued a statement at the same time, protesting against the action of the House Rules Committee in killing the Wages-and-Hours bill. A similar declaration was made by Sidney Hillman, chairman of the T.W.O.C.

ANDRES NIN IN 1934



18,000 In Silk Strike Pact

Uniform agreements between silk manufacturers and the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, providing for wage increases, a 40-hour week and union recognition, quickly followed the nationwide strike in the silk throwing and weaving industry, employing about 60,000 workers, which went into effect August 9.

Contracts covering more than 18,000 workers have already been reached between leading silk concerns and the T.W.O.C.

Negotiations are now under way with the principal firms in the industry for the purpose of reaching identical agreements, and thus establishing stabilized conditions in the industry. A regional office was set up in Paterson, N. J., to handle the applications for settlement in that area.

The strike, which completely tied up silk mills and plants thruout Pennsylvania and New Jersey, is the most effective demonstration in the history of the industry against conditions more chaotic and disorganized than in any other branch of the textile industry.

Auto Convention Opens; Martin For Union Stability

TWU Signs N.Y. Taxi Cos.

With a three-to-one victory in a State Labor Board poll of the 3,500 Parmelee Transportation Company employes, the C.I.O. Transport Workers Union is now sole bargaining agency for the entire taxicab industry of Greater New York. The Parmelee Company was the last of the major cab companies to submit to a collective bargaining election.

The T.W.U. in New York already has closed shop contracts with the Terminal Taxi System, employing 1,100 drivers; 25 fleet operators in the Sunshine-Radio System with 6,000 employes; and the 24 fleet operators in the Atlas-Liberty Fleet Owners Association with 4,000 employes. The union is about to complete negotiations with the Bell Transportation System which has 1,000 employes and will open negotiations soon with the Parmelee Company, largest single fleet operator.

The T.W.U.'s victory in the Parmelee election is its most significant accomplishment in the taxicab field. On June 1, Parmelee's old company union obtained a charter from the A. F. of L. teamsters union and announced the signing of a "closed shop agreement." The T.W.U. at that time described the A. F. of L. announcement as a "company union deal" and intensified its organizational work among Parmelee drivers.

Failure of the A. F. of L. teamsters local to participate in the State Board election and the company's consent to the election in face of the June 1 announcement, was looked upon as confirmation of the T.W.U.'s characterization of the A. F. of L. "closed shop agreement."

In all its taxi contracts the T.W.U. has obtained guaranteed weekly minimum wages, something unheard of before in the New York

Progressives Win First Clash At Meet; "Lefts" Oppose Responsibility And Discipline; Martin Group Has Big Majority

By GEORGE F. MILES

Milwaukee, Wis.—In the first pre-convention clash in the General Executive Board of the United Auto Workers Union over the composition of the convention committees, the Martin-Frankensteen forces emerged victorious. It all revolved around an interpretation of the constitution to determine whether members of the General Executive Board are to be considered general officers or whether that term is to apply only to the five holding official positions—these being President Martin, Secretary-Treasurer Addees and Vice-Presidents Mortimer, Hall and Wells. The Mortimer-Hall opposition held to the latter view. The constitution providing that committees shall be composed of members appointed in equal number by the general officers, they were assured of a three to two vote on all committees, with George Addees swinging over in their direction after a pledge of neutrality some weeks ago.

Oil Workers In Campaign

An organization drive in the distribution of petroleum products has been launched in the New York area under the direction of Allan S. Haywood, C.I.O. regional director. R. H. Stickel, director of District Seven of the Oil Workers International Union, is heading the campaign to organize workers in the marketing branch of the industry, including terminal employes, bulk plants, truck drivers and gas station attendants.

In oil fields and refineries wages are above the average and the work week is one of the shortest in any industry. Wage standards in the distribution of oil products, however, are far below those gained by the union in oil production.

Approximately 150,000 workers are engaged in wholesale and retail marketing on the Atlantic Coast.

taxi industry. It also has obtained shorter hours, vacations with pay, no-accident bonuses and insurance benefits for taxi drivers.

President Martin held the constitution to mean both the officers and members of the General Executive Board and this ruling was supported by the General Executive Board. Ora Gasaway, member of the General Executive Board of the U.M.W., representing John L. Lewis, and Fred Umhey, executive secretary of the I.L.G.W.U., representing David Dubinsky, who are working with the constitution committee in an advisory capacity, were asked for an opinion on this matter and agreed that the interpretation of President Martin was the proper one. This decision gave the Martin-Frankensteen forces a two-to-one vote in the committees.

This ruling out of the way the G.E.B. immediately proceeded to constitute the two major committees of the convention. The Con-

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Why Was Andres Nin Murdered?

WHY was Andres Nin, Spanish Communist leader, foully murdered by Stalinist gangsters?

To answer this question, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the dangerous situation existing in Spain today as well as of the fundamental issues involved in the desperate struggle of political tendencies within the Spanish anti-fascist front.

All of the political tendencies in loyalist Spain are, of course, striving with all their might to defeat Franco and crush the fascist insurrection. But as to how Franco may best be defeated, as to what policies and perspectives are to be followed in the anti-fascist struggle, on these questions there are deep and fundamental differences with the most far-reaching consequences in everyday strategy and tactics.

POLICY OF NEGRIN REGIME

Today the governmental power in loyalist Spain—and this has been especially true since the recent installation of the new Prieto-Negrin regime—is in the hands of a coalition of parties whose one point of agreement is their determination to make the defeat of Franco mean the restoration of bourgeois parliamentary "democracy"

The Crusade Against Revolutionary Socialism

and the preservation of the system of capitalist private property. The entire wisdom of these people is summed up in the one idea: People's Front! To win the war against Franco—they proclaim—it is necessary to gain the confidence and support of the "loyal" capitalists and landowners, to cooperate with whatever old-line generals have not yet gone over to the fascists and whatever discredited liberal politicians can still be salvaged from the dust-heap of history. To win the war—they continue—it is necessary to "reassure" the "great democracies," England and France. To win the war—they therefore conclude—all tendencies towards socialism in industry and agriculture must be curbed and capitalist private property safeguarded—the labor organizations kept in check—the vital demands of the workers and peasants either ignored or headed off—the workers militia dissolved—the great trade union federations removed from any positions of influence on the government—all revolutionary trends suppressed and wiped out.

This is the political program of the Prieto-Negrin government—counter-revolu-

tion in order to defeat Franco! Behind this government are the Communist Party, the right wing elements in the Socialist Party, a handful of trade union leaders, the bourgeois liberals. Behind it is the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union, with its vast resources of moral and material power.

ONLY REVOLUTION CAN DEFEAT FRANCO!

Against this political program of counter-revolution stand the labor organizations representing the great masses of the Spanish workers: the P.O.U.M., the Workers Party of Marxist Unity; the left socialists; the F.A.I., the Spanish anarchists; the C.N.T., the anarcho-syndicalist trade union federation; and, in its big majority, the U.G.T., the socialist trade union center. These groups have many important differences among themselves but, to a great extent, they, too, have one idea in common, an idea best and most clearly expressed in the policy of the P.O.U.M. This idea is: To win the war against Franco, it is necessary to rouse the masses of the Spanish workers and peasants to independent class war against capitalism, out of whose decaying

soil fascism grows and by which it is nourished—to take steps towards socialism in order to satisfy the elementary demands of the workers and to establish that unified direction of economic life without which real military efficiency is utterly impossible—to give the land to the peasants and the control of industry to the workers—to lift the colonial yoke from the neck of the Moors and other African peoples—to rest the whole anti-fascist movement on the worker-peasant organizations and to make the government the direct expression of these organizations. More or less clearly, they all see that bourgeois parliamentary democracy has no prospects whatever in Spain today, that the choice is, at bottom, between the rule of the bourgeoisie thru a fascist or military dictatorship and the rule of the workers thru a socialist regime. In a word, their program is: the socialist revolution to defeat Franco! Only the socialist revolution can defeat Franco! It is a program in full conformity with the experience of the twelve months of civil war, with the lessons of history and with the tested doctrines of Marxism.

Lifted into power thru an unholy alliance of Spanish capitalism, Anglo-French im-

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WORKERS AGE

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DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

WE have read President Roosevelt's Roanoke Island speech very carefully but, somehow or other, we cannot work up the same enthusiasm for it that seems to animate the Daily Worker in its long editorial in the issue of August 19.

President Roosevelt came out for "democracy—and more democracy" and again he excoriated the Tory opposition, this time by name, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Liberty League, the National Association of Manufacturers.

All this is very fine, no doubt, but it butters no parsnips. Of what good are homilies on the virtues of democracy in the abstract to the scores of thousands who are being thrown off the work-relief rolls or to the hundreds of thousands who cannot get on?

Such speeches are no bulwark against fascism, as the Daily Worker seems to think. Experience has shown that the fascists just thrive on such empty sermonizing, for it enables them to play upon the disillusion and discouragement of the "submerged" millions who demand something far more substantial.

President Roosevelt's address and the whole approach it indicates, are quite in line with the tradition of the People's Front: fervent protestations of love of liberty and democracy linked with firm determination to maintain the rights of capitalist private property.

No—it is not to President Roosevelt's sermons on democracy that we should look for a bulwark against fascism, but to the great labor movement arising under the banner of the C.I.O., to labor's constantly greater independence in political life and action!

THE SOCIALISTS AND N. Y. ELECTIONS

WITH the best will in the world it is difficult to understand the position of the Socialist Party in the present municipal election campaign in New York, especially its attitude towards the American Labor Party.

Original Sectarian Attitude Towards A.L.P.

A year ago, when the American Labor Party was first formed, the S.P. adopted a position that was at least thoroughly consistent in its sectarianism. Under the influence of the Trotskyites and semi-Trotskyites, who were then riding high, wide and handsome in the S.P., the party decided that the A.L.P. was not really a labor party at all, at least not the "genuine" kind of labor party that socialists could have anything to do with; in fact, it was—of all things—a "Tammany stooge!"

A Turn In The Right Direction

Then there followed a period of political soul-searching in S.P. ranks and the notion began to gain ground that, perhaps, the accepted attitude towards the A.L.P. was not the last word in socialist wisdom after all.

It is interesting, tho not very important, to recall that Thomas is here using identically the same arguments that the Workers Age repeatedly raised against the S.P. policy last year. Can it be that our articles have had some effect, after all? On the other hand, it seems that the lesson hasn't been fully learned for, in another paragraph, Thomas finds it possible to declare: "That party (the A.L.P.) still fails to meet the test of absolute independence from capitalist parties which we socialists must require for membership in it or full cooperation with it" (emphasis mine.—W.H.). Obviously this is a weak and, let us hope, soon-to-be-dissipated remnant of the S.P.'s "revolutionary" pastime of confronting the mass movement with all sorts of "conditions" and "ultimatums."

despite its ambiguities and shortcomings, was obviously a move in the right direction. But it soon became clear that it wasn't as simple as all that. From that time on, the Socialist Call has presented the picture of a "political battle-page" on the style of the Daily News. On one page, the A.L.P. is hailed as a promising movement that has made great headway in the course of the last year; on the next page, the A.L.P. is the same old fraud. In one column, LaGuardia's administration is strongly commended, tho naturally not without qualification; in the next, it is vigorously excoriated and condemned. In a word, here we have the new line, there the old—both at the same time and both in the same paper!

Arguing Two Ways At Once

Thus, let us take the issue of August 7, for example. In his column, Norman Thomas, national chairman of the party and its mayoralty candidate, emphasizes the great progress the A.L.P. has made in nominating LaGuardia. Says he:

"A year ago it endorsed Democrats who were masters in their own party. This year for mayor, it endorses LaGuardia who has publicly expressed his general support of the A.L.P., who is fighting the leaders of the Republican party and may not run in the primaries."

Right next to this, however, in the editorial column to the left, the leaders of the A.L.P. are sharply denounced because: "They are backing LaGuardia, a capitalist party representative, in New York City, under conditions most suitable for the launching of an independent working class political drive."

Again, in his column, Thomas frankly avows that, in its new policy, the S.P. is recognizing:

"... that LaGuardia's administration has been well above the average and that where he has failed it has been because of lack of proper labor support or labor pressure on him."

Turn to page 7 and you find the last of a series of articles on La Guardia by George Baker. In the course of these articles, LaGuardia has been "exposed" as practically everything from a strike-breaker and abject tool of the bankers to an inveterate enemy of the 5c fare—at any rate, hardly "above the average."

In his column, Thomas issues a sober warning about the Dead-Sea fruits of sectarianism: "We socialists are committed to such a labor party. If we now alienate ourselves utterly from the A.L.P. because of its imperfections, we shall lose our influence and become a sect like the S.L.P."

But right next to this, there is a double-column editorial making a

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By Lambda WORLD TODAY

War In The Far East—The Murder Of Nin And The Spanish C.P.

London, Aug. 4, 1937.

THE European press, chiefly under the inspiration of England, is systematically attempting to pooh-pooh the war in the Far East as a mere bagatelle. In reality there is already in process a war of major dimensions. The Japanese Minister of War, Sujiyama, recently declared in Parliament that the Japanese government has in mind "a complete solution of the present problems thru military action."

The Japanese government has rudely refused to give any sort of satisfaction for the attack on the Soviet Consulate at Tientsin. Japan, of course, is not contemplating prosecuting a war simultaneously against China and the Soviet Union.

THE ASSASSINATION OF NIN

Our fears become constantly greater that Nin has been gotten out of the way thru assassination.

Federica Montseny declared in a speech at the Olympia in Barcelona, July 21:

"When socialist representatives of other lands come to Spain, a few prisoners are set free by the powers that be in order to preserve appearances. But we have been positively informed that the corpses of Nin and two other comrades have been found in Madrid. This report has not yet been absolutely verified but as long as the government does not deny it, as long as it does not reveal the exact whereabouts of Nin, so long are we forced to believe the report true..."

The following facts only strengthen our fears:

1) A declaration by the Minister of War of the Valencia regime that he is unable to break thru the conspiracy of silence of the police authorities (who are controlled by the C.P. of Spain and its Soviet inspirers) and is therefore in no position to reveal the whereabouts of Nin.

2) The news that Bonnet, Andrade and several other executive board members of the P.O.U.M. have been transferred to Valencia—but that Nin is not among them.

3) That the government announces the forthcoming trial of 10 members of the P.O.U.M. plus some Phalangists (!!) and again Nin's name is not mentioned.

It is the duty of the international working class to mobilize public sentiment with maximum energy, in order to obtain from the Negrin government immediate and definite news as to the fate of Nin.

If the assassination of Nin is verified it would be an act that would put in the shade the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

The Politburo of the C.P. of Spain announced a few days ago that "an extreme group connected with the Fifth Column contemplates stirring up trouble." Immediately thereafter the Valencia government issued specific warnings, threats. This leads us to conclude that new counter-revolutionary actions are in preparation, this time against the C.N.T.-F.A.I.

The sabotage of the Aragon front by the Valencia regime continues as before even after all the demands made by the Valencia regime to the C.N.T. and F.A.I. were submitted to by the latter. The arms and ammunition that were promised are still not forthcoming. Even the sending of food to this part of the front is continuously sabotaged. The result is growing demoralization on the Aragon front.

UNION LEADERSHIP AND RESPONSIBILITY

Some Problems Facing the Auto Convention

A NUMBER of problems stand out in bold relief before the auto workers and their organization. Essentially these are questions of the most vital import not only to the membership of the United Automobile Workers but also to the entire organized labor movement.

Problem Of Leadership

The automobile industry is a young industry. The workers engaged in the motor industry are younger people. The leadership of the union reflects this. In many ways it is the good fortune of the U.A.W.A. to have a leadership which is not really bound by a pack of sterile traditions, which is not oppressed by memories that are at best of doubtful value.

It would have been an irreparable mistake if some people who had been seeking the leadership of this union by hook or crook, by cabled instructions or telegraphed manipulations, had succeeded in their nefarious objective of getting a stranglehold on the union.

(Continued from Page 1)

of the membership and thereby undermines their interest in union affairs." Insisting on greater autonomy for the local union, the resolution provides that where a local union is better than 50% organized "no representative of the International can be sent into this local or its jurisdiction without the consent of the Auto District Council..."

Victory For Martin

Questioned at a press conference this week, President Martin agreed that the Board ruling on the composition of the convention committees represents a victory for his supporters in the union and a severe setback for the opposition. He vigorously denied however any interpretation that holds this decision to be a blow at "communism." Communism was not under consideration, Mr. Martin stated. The fight in the union, Mr. Martin continued, was not over political issues or directed against any political group or party.

Here's precisely the kind of leadership that the auto workers union has begun to develop and which is most effective in facing the motor magnates. It must not be forgotten that the auto kings are the last of the so-called self-made men in the ranks of our captains of finance and industry.

That President Martin touched the very heart of the issue in the present conflict is borne out by the official organ of Local 2 Detroit which supports the Mortimer-Hall opposition. On every one of the issues touched on by the President, that local has introduced resolutions standing for the very opposite of responsibility and centralization of authority.

Opposition Against Stabilization

In an organization suffering from an excess of democracy bordering almost on rank-and-fileism run mad, the opposition caucus resolution says that "centralized control takes away the responsibility

arbitrary control coming from sources facing totally different problems. To match the vigorous and skillful motor manufacturers, the union has been developing a leadership with growing capacity for initiative, with unquestioned dynamic energy, with increasing self-confidence, with imagination and capacity for making policies.

When we speak of the leadership of the union we, of course, deal with the problem of leadership not merely on top but thruout the ranks. Particularly do we have in mind the officer class. The importance of this group in a modern army is obvious, whether this army be the military-industrial machine or the industrial union operating in the mass production industries and engaged in struggles which assume military characteristics and dimensions.

The younger Southerners, coming North and finding employment in the auto industry, getting their conditions improved thru unionization, frequently, during the lay-off season, pay visits to their relatives in the South. During these visits, these younger workers bring back to the South new ideas, new conceptions of life and labor and unionism, a recognition of new wants, a new standard of life and work. For the South, these ideas are extremely radical. To the Southerners these ideas are being

By JAY LOVESTONE

merely for today but also for the future of the labor movement.

Social Composition of Auto Workers

The speed-up system, as we have seen, dictates the hiring of generally younger people. Add to this the fact that the overwhelming majority of those employed in the auto industry are native-born and that a large proportion of the latter hail from the Southern tier of the country, and you have a force of potentially vast social consequences. It is this peculiar social composition of the auto workers and the auto union that assigns to the United Automobile Workers of America new tasks. These tasks the union will learn to meet as the consciousness of its membership develops.

The bosses thruout the country are raising a hullabaloo over the question of the unions being responsible. This is their fundamental challenge to the growing trade union movement. The drive led by Girdler against written contracts is an organic phase of the campaign for the incorporation of unions waged by the National Association of Manufacturers, by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and other open-shoppers of their ilk.

Auto Convention Opens; Martin Stands For Union Stability and Discipline

again that the Toledo caucus headed by Mortimer and Hall did not mean what it said against wild-cat strikes. Beginning with the fallacious arguments that the members of the local union "are closest to a given situation" and are "the best judges of whether immediate strike action is necessary," the resolution bewails the delay which would result if the General Executive Board approval had to be secured, and resolves that "a local union more than 70 per cent organized shall have power to call a strike by a two-thirds vote of its membership and will have the official sanction of the International officers, providing it first obtains the sanction of the District Council."

Having finished making of the local and District Councils practically separate International Unions, these people then proceed to cut down on the present powers of the G.E.B. In a resolution on that subject, Local 2 resolves "that all proceedings of all meetings of the General Executive Board shall be reported by a regular court stenographer, mimeographed and sent to every local." The minutes, we presume, will then be considered seriatim and the decisions will go into effect only if approved by a majority of the local unions. The latter is implied if not provided in the resolution. No leader, understanding the situation and the requirements of the union, could possibly propose such a resolution except if he holds his clique interests above that of his union.

"Lefts" For Wildcat Strikes

One more example will suffice to prove the correctness of Mr. Martin's claim: the resolution on strikes. In the light of the Toledo caucus' lip-service to the fight against outlaw strikes, which have plagued the union and endangered its very existence, one might expect Local 2 of which General Executive Board member Lloyd Jones is president, to say something about this menace and provide against its recurrence. But nothing of the sort is to be found in Mr. Jones' resolution, proving once

of first mortgage on all union treasuries, a sort of first mortgage which can be called in at will by the employers in the event of a successful strike.

The Auto Workers Union has a chance here to give a vital lead to all labor in meeting this defiance of the open-shoppers. Unions must make themselves responsible in contractual relations, if the responsibility is to be genuine and effective. We are confident that in its negotiations with General Motors for a renewal of the agreement, the United Automobile Workers of America will make a basic contribution to all organized labor in handling this question of union responsibility.

Union Responsibility as a Problem

It is entirely unnecessary for us to advise the union to try to lead emphasis to the importance of getting a better contract from General Motors and of insuring a successful Ford organization campaign. It would be very difficult, to say the least, to maintain decent union conditions in the motor industry if Ford were to maintain his open-shop empire for any length of time. The headway made by the U.A.W.A. in both of these fields is, therefore, most encouraging.

Union Consolidation And Structure

Recent months have witnessed a marked trend towards union consolidation, towards unification of the ranks around the leadership of Martin and Frankenstein and in support of their progressive policies. We cannot stress too strongly that policies are inseparable from persons and persons from policies. Particularly does this hold true in so far as the inner situation of the U.A.W.A. goes. The unprincipled disruptions over whom the C.P. has hegemony have tried with sinister cunning and reckless cynicism to give the impression that they can be for Martin and Frankenstein as the outstanding leaders of the union and yet at the same time be against the policies of these leaders. This is the cheapest poppycock that has been peddled for a mighty long time in the ranks of organized labor.

Unity and democracy within a union, whether it be the U.A.W.A. or any other organization, can be achieved only thru the development of an authoritative, responsible leadership, a leadership responsible to the membership only and not to any outside agency. Here comes the question of union structure. The basic sub-division of the union should be such as will increasingly give the rank and file members the maximum possibility for self-expression and development.

Tremendous forces have been let loose by the mass awakening symbolized in the unionization of the auto workers. These forces are constructive. These forces will determine the fate of hundreds of thousands of workers and these forces must be utilized. Without doubt there are hundreds of rank and files in the U.A.W.A. in whose knapsacks lie potential marshal's batons. That this is so, has already been proven, in a measure, by the fact that the leadership of the union has had to learn and unlearn in recent months what it took many of us years to master in the days of slower tempo. Here is cause for encouragement and inspiration to all labor.

Progressive Triumph Assured But of that there appears to be very little danger. Of the approximately 1800 delegates expected at the convention responsible spokesmen of the Martin-Frankenstein caucus claim 75% and report new converts every day from among the delegations which in the past had supported the Mortimer-Hall opposition.

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SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

S. P. Ousts Trotskyites

Mass Expulsions Bring New Crisis

By a vote of 48 to 2, with 18 not participating, the New York city central committee of the Socialist Party the week before last decided to expel 52 Trotskyites on charges of "organizing a movement conspiratorial and illegal in character to undermine the Socialist Party and to build a movement outside it" and of "maintaining, thru their caucus, membership in . . . an opponent organization, the Buro of the Fourth International." Among the expelled are Max Shachtman, Martin Abern, James Burnham and Joseph Carter. About 70 more are understood to be under charges and slated for expulsion. Last week, on August 19, it also became known that the National Executive Committee of the S.P. had, by unanimous vote, suspended the charter of California organization, controlled by Trotskyites, and sent Ward Rodgers to take charge of the work of reorganization. Similar conflicts are expected in other parts of the country, especially in Minneapolis and Massachusetts and in the Y.P.S.L., the socialist youth organization.

The Original Mistake

The new crisis, in the grip of which the Socialist Party finds itself today, is the direct consequence of its fatal mistake a year and a half ago in admitting the Trotskyites wholesale to membership. Disregarding our repeated warnings and the experience of the French socialists, the party threw its doors wide open to these people who have shown themselves everywhere to be incurable sectarians and factionalists, utterly unassimilable in any organization they do not dominate. In the months that followed, the whole inner development of the S.P. began to gravitate more and more around the "Trotskyite question." Three tendencies began to emerge in definite form: the Trotskyites with their national caucus; the Clarity group, headed by Zam and Tyler;

and the old New York Militants (Altman) with their allies in other parts of the country (Wisconsin, Massachusetts). Norman Thomas soon identified himself with the last named tendency.

The offensive was taken by the Altman group, which seems to be a loose alliance of right wingers, Stalinist agents and sympathizers and a large number of good, sincere socialists alarmed at the havoc wrought in the party by the bombastic leftism of the Trotskyites. An important element in the situation is the frantic efforts the Trotskyites are making to hamper the party from revising its sectarian attitude towards the A.L.P. in the direction of cooperation with the increasingly independent political movement of labor in New York State.

When the crisis came to a head in the New York city central committee, the Clarity group abstained from voting, alleging that the proceedings were illegal. In the N.E.C., however, the Clarity people supported the revocation of the California charter.

Immediately after the New York expulsions, the Trotskyites announced their determination to continue their struggle in the Socialist Party. They have constituted their caucus as the Socialist Appeal Association and have resumed publication of the Socialist Appeal. They have also declared their intention of appealing the case to the N.E.C., where the Clarity group is supposed to have a controlling influence, but, in view of the N.E.C. action on California, it is hardly likely that they will receive any comfort there.

For the Socialist Party to get rid of the Trotskyites is certainly a healthy thing altho it would have been far healthier had they never been admitted. The socialists will be well advised, however, to guard against any tendency to limit or impair the democratic procedure of their party in the heat of the struggle. Another danger that will certainly arise and will have to be

THE NEW REPUBLIC SPEAKS OUT

That the New Republic is virtually the unofficial spokesman of Stalinism in American liberal circles, is, of course, well known. In its columns, you will find elegantly turned out justifications of Stalin's policy of frame-up and physical extermination as weapons in factional warfare as well as indignant exclamations at the wicked P.O.U.M.ists, left socialists and anarchists in Spain who dare think of revolution and socialism at "a time like this." It is, therefore, very interesting to note what this liberal-Stalinist "journal of opinion" has to say about the United States in the Far Eastern crisis. "The real question," it exclaims, "is how best to keep ourselves out of war." And then it continues (August 25, 1937):

"There is nothing in the Far Eastern situation that warrants the entanglement of this country. We have no imperial ambitions in that area. We have agreed by act of Congress to set the Philippines free. Our investments in the Orient are so small in toto that it would be far cheaper for us to buy out their American owners than to fight, even for a few weeks, in their defense."

But, if only "we" had "imperial ambitions" in the Far East, if only "our investments" were more considerable, then, of course, "we" would have to intervene and fight!

How soon will it be before we see such stuff in the Daily Worker?

met is the effort that the right-wing elements and the Stalinists will surely make to capitalize the fight against Trotskyism for their own opportunistic purposes. For the left socialists, the fight will have to be carried on two fronts: against the sectarianism and factionalism of the Trotskyites and against the opportunism of the right-wingers and the Stalinists.

The Truth About Bilbao

Report Of A French C. P. Member

We present below portions of the report of a member of the Communist Party of France who was sent to Spain by his party. He was on the Basque front as a machine-gunner and artilleryman from December 1936 until the day Bilbao fell.—THE EDITOR.

* * *

In the course of eight months only two cell meetings, i.e., political discussions, took place, altho the majority of the soldiers were members of the party. Discipline, as far as the troops were concerned, was very strict. There were all sorts of military penalties, (shaved heads, etc.) and a company for refractory soldiers. The distinctions between men and officers were deep, the relations bad. The officer's life in the rear (formerly in Bilbao, now in Santander) is absolutely incompatible with the life and, above all, the maintenance of the soldier or civilian. Concerning the "efficiency" of the Basque officers, some typical episodes will tell the story. The batteries get orders to fire on a position, which is precisely estimated. After both sides have fired for almost an hour, causing heavy casualties, they discover they are each firing on their own troops, the position being held by Asturian soldiers, not fascists. Or they get orders to capture an enemy position. They are told that all the surrounding hills are already occupied by Basque troops. They therefore take the particular position by storm but then having won it, find out that they are isolated because all the surrounding positions are held by the fascists. Another example: an attack is fixed. Only five minutes before the attack are the machine-guns and ammunition received. In face of the enemy, when they want to open fire, they discover that the ammunition is the wrong size for the guns and consequently they have to retreat. On this occasion, they defended themselves with revolvers. Of course, this sort of thing involves sabotage. That it happens with the knowledge and toleration of the government which is protected by the communists, is

proved in the following. The constructor of the famous "iron belt" of Bilbao is a fascist. The government had been told and proof given that this line of defense would be useless or would, at best, only act as a trench for the fascists. The government did not do anything. Later, after the completion of these "defensive works," the constructor deserts to Franco with the plans and leads the operations against Bilbao. (These facts were also published in the Oeuvre but the real culprit, the Basque government was not mentioned). Besides sabotage from above, there was also sabotage from below. Even before the soldiers of Franco arrived, sections of the Basque troops were disarmed without resistance. It is estimated that about 40,000 Guards of the Basque government remained and took up duties for Franco immediately.

In Euzkadi the C.N.T. made a much stronger resistance. There were about 3,000 F.A.I. men. An anarchist battalion defended a position for 48 hours and was obviously sacrificed.

SOCIALIST PARTY AND N. Y. ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 2)

fervid plea for precisely such S.L.P. sectarianism!

What then is the S.P. position, if any? Is it authoritatively expressed in the decision of the New York City committee of the party?—or in the attitude of Norman Thomas, the national chairman of the party?—or in the editorial point of view of the Socialist Call, the official organ of the party? Or is there such a thing as a single Socialist Party altogether? Is it really more than a mere collection of hostile factions, each pulling in a different direction?

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Why Was Andres Nin Murdered?

(Continued from Page 1)

perialism and Stalinist intrigue, the Prieto-Negrin government—whose instruments of police repression are almost wholly in the hands of the official communists—immediately set to work to prepare a political offensive against the left, a crusade of extermination against any individual or organization daring to raise the banner of socialism. You cannot put over the program of counter-revolution without making every effort to stifle, disperse, exterminate the forces of revolution!

In this there is nothing new. When the Kerensky "People's Front" regime was striving to reestablish the power of the landlord and capitalist in Russia in the summer of 1917, it made sure to launch a campaign of repression against the Bolsheviks, outlawing their party, banning their papers, arresting their leaders and driving Lenin into hiding with a price on his head and in constant danger of his life. When the Noske-Scheidemann "socialist" regime was striving to reestablish the power of the banker and capitalist in Germany in the winter of 1918-1919, it made sure to launch a campaign of extermination against the Spartacans and to instigate the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

STALINISTS ARE TODAY'S NOSKES

Today the official communists, the Stalinists, are playing the role of Spanish Kerenskys, of Spanish Noskes. And their part-

ners in crime, the right-wing socialists and liberals, are equally responsible. It will not do for them to protest, with sighs and groans, that they have nothing to do with the matter, that they are being forced into it, that they can't help themselves. They are officially in positions of public power and all of the shameful atrocities are being committed in their name, right under their noses, while they turn their heads away and pretend not to be looking.

Now we can answer the question: Why was Andres Nin, P.O.U.M. leader, murdered? Because, in republican Spain, the forces of reaction, of counter-revolution, are in the saddle for the moment and they have set into motion an organized campaign of suppression, persecution and extermination against the revolutionary sections of the labor movement. Andres Nin is the most prominent but by no means the only victim of this bloody adventure.

The counter-revolutionary crusade has just begun. The P.O.U.M. was the first victim, but the C.N.T.-F.A.I. is not far behind. And then comes the left wing in the Socialist Party and U.G.T., the followers of Caballero. Slanders, repressions, arrests, assassinations, perhaps even "legal" executions—all are on the order of the day in this mad counter-revolutionary offensive.

Especially sinister is the role played by the direct representatives of the Stalin clique in this bloody carnival of reaction. Holding as their trump card the material assistance that the Soviet Union has been giving to the Valencia government, they are attempting to introduce into the Spanish labor movement the Stalinist methods of frame-up and physical extermination of

political opponents. They have the brazen effrontery to refer to the P.O.U.M.ists, those irreproachable revolutionists and front-line fighters against fascism, as "agents of Franco" and it will not be long before the same unspeakable slanders are hurled at the C.N.T. leaders as well as against Caballero and his friends. Of one thing we may be sure: Behind every indecent outrage committed against the revolutionary working class movement in loyalist territory, these people are to be found!

The issue in Spain is nothing less than the very future of the Spanish people and, to a degree, of the labor and anti-fascist movements throuth the world. If the Spanish Stalinists and their socialist-liberal partners are allowed to continue in their present reactionary course, they will not only hopelessly disrupt and demoralize the anti-fascist front in Spain—they will not only make impossible any really effective struggle against fascism and thus materially aid Franco's chances—but they will actually help usher in an outright bourgeois military dictatorship under the patronage of Anglo-French imperialism. And, when their dirty job is done, when they have broken down all real bulwarks against reaction by their crusade against the left, they will be contemptuously thrown aside by the Spanish bourgeoisie, backed by English and French gunboats, just as were the German socialists by the German bourgeoisie after Noske and Scheidemann had done what was expected of them in the way of reestablishing the power of capital.

These people—the Stalinists and their socialist-liberal accomplices—are digging the grave of working class hopes in Spain.

They are undermining the struggle against Franco—they are preparing the way for a "compromise" settlement thru the establishment of a mock-"democratic" regime resting on mercenary bayonets and foreign aid—they are persecuting and exterminating every one who dares say a word against their nefarious course. And then, with characteristic impudence, these same people complain that their victims are "disrupters," that we, who raise the voice of protest and warning, are breaking the "unity of the anti-fascist front!"

Should these people succeed in carrying their policies to the logical conclusion, the labor and anti-fascist movements everywhere would receive a staggering blow. Capitalist reaction, whether in its fascist or "democratic" form, would be the only gainer. It would, indeed, be a great victory for reaction!

But they must not be allowed to succeed! In Spain, the forces of revolutionary socialism are growing, despite all persecution. All over the world, whatever is at all sound, whatever is genuinely socialist in the working class movement, is making itself heard in protest against the abominable repressions and in support of the revolutionary line of the P.O.U.M. as the road to victory over Franco. And, in the official communist parties, too, among the more sincere, communist elements, there is beginning to take place a profound searching of hearts. Have we come to this—they are asking themselves—that we should play the role of Noske and Scheidemann, that we should follow in the footsteps of the murderers of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. . . .

Andres Nin has not died in vain!