

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 45.

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## Court Denies Mooney Plea

### State High Court Calls Trial "Fair"; Mooney To Push Appeal

After nearly twenty years of struggle to establish his innocence and win freedom for himself and Warren Billings, Tom Mooney had the doors of the California courts slammed in his face last week, finally and definitely as far as the state is concerned. His only chance now lies in an appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

In a decision handed down on Friday, October 30, the State Supreme Court of California rejected, by a 5-to-1 decision, his plea for a writ of habeas corpus. The court, subservient to the same interests that had railroaded Mooney and Billings to jail for life over twenty-one years ago, refused to pay any attention whatever to the vast mass of evidence that has been accumulated in the last two decades proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that neither Mooney nor Billings could possibly have been guilty of the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing and that both were convicted on nothing but prejudice and perjured testimony. The California court actually had the brazen effrontery to declare that Mooney's original trial had been "fair," when the very prosecuting attorney has subsequently admitted that the whole thing was virtually nothing but a legal lynching-bee. Practically every intelligent man who has ever examined the case, practically every investigating commission that has made any study of it, has come away with the firm conviction that Mooney and Billings were deliberately framed on thoroughly discredited evidence. Perhaps most significant was the conclusion of the Wickersham law-enforcement committee appointed by President Hoover, which held that the persecution of the two men had included "flagrant violations of the statutory law of California" and that witnesses had been coached to the point of "subordination." Yet the California State Supreme Court, in a decision born of reactionary bias, holds the trial to have been "fair!"

According to Mooney's counsel, the next step will be an appeal to the United States Supreme Court which, last year, indicated that it could not hear the case until it had gone thru the state courts to the very end. In the United States Supreme Court, Mooney declared with unflinching courage, he had "every expectation of obtaining freedom."

Meanwhile, the Mooney defense movement is reported to be in desperate need of funds. Nearly \$50,000 had to be spent on getting the case thru the California Supreme Court and the expenses involved in the final round at Washington are likely to be even heavier. Every worker, every labor organization, every one who believes in freedom and justice, should rally to the support of the Free Mooney movement at this most critical hour. The example of the United Auto Workers, which voted a \$10,000 contribution at its convention recently, should be an inspiration to the whole labor movement.

## DEFEND REVOLUTIONARY SPAIN

—an editorial appeal—

**A**LARMING news comes from Spain that the P.O.U.M. leaders and other revolutionary workers under arrest are in the most imminent danger of being shot, without a hearing and without a trial. In its crusade of counter-revolution, the Negrin-Stalinist regime at Valencia is ready to trample on its own laws, on its own pledges of "adequate guarantees" given to so many foreign labor organizations and commissions. Additional reports indicate that another wave of arrests has begun; among the victims are Joseph Marti, secretary of the P.O.U.M. organization in Barcelona and municipal councillor of the same city; Wilebaldo Solano, general secretary of the Iberian Communist Youth (P.O.U.M.); and Juan Vila, member of the central committee of the P.O.U.M. and commissar of the Lenin (29th) Division before its dissolution.

### Why The New Outburst Of Terror?

But why this new outburst of reactionary fury against the P.O.U.M. at present moment? It is because all the warnings of the P.O.U.M. as to the disastrous consequences of the Negrin-Stalinist policies have been only too thoroughly justified by events! It is because the power and influence of the P.O.U.M. have been growing rapidly in the last few months despite all persecution. It is because the forces behind the Valencia government are now preparing a monstrous act of betrayal and they want to cover it up by an offensive against the left!

The reactionary policy of the Negrin-Stalinist regime inevitably leads to defeat and disaster in the struggle against Franco's fascist hordes. The loss of Gijon, largely the result of the treachery of those conservative elements upon whom the Valencia cabinet places all its reliance, only repeats the story of

Malaga, Toledo, Bilbao. The few months during which this combination of liberals, Stalinists and right-wing socialists has held power, has been marked by one calamity after another, at home, at the front and on the field of international diplomacy. These people once tried to justify their counter-revolutionary policies and practises on the ground that they were necessary for victory. The P.O.U.M. warned that they would leave a trail of disaster for Republican Spain, that only a determined revolutionary course could save the anti-fascist cause. For this, it was outlawed; for this, its papers were suppressed; for this, its leaders were arrested; for this, Andres Nin was murdered. Now the whole world is witness to the bankruptcy of the Negrin-Stalinist regime; now the whole world can see which policy and which leadership really represent victory in the war  
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## Union Parley Is Recessed

### A.F.L. Rejects Unity Plan Demands Smashing Of C.I.O. Movement

After three daily sessions in the early part of last week, the unity conference between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., meeting at Washington, reached a complete deadlock and recessed for eight days until November 4.

The first day was consumed with a discussion of procedure and formalities. It was decided that the joint committee of thirteen, three from the A. F. of L. and ten from the C.I.O., should stand for the time being and that each side should submit reports on its organizational status as well as proposals for unity.

On Tuesday, the second day, Philip Murray, chairman of the C.I.O. committee, placed before the conference a three-point program designed to achieve lasting unity and, at the same time, preserve intact the great gains made by the C.I.O. as well as continue the organization of the workers along industrial lines. Mr. Murray's proposals were:

"1. That the A. F. of L. shall declare as one of its basic policies that the organization of the workers in the mass-production, marine, public utilities, service and basic fabricating industries be effectuated only on an industrial basis.

"2. That there shall be created within the A. F. of L. a department to be known as the C.I.O. All of the national and international unions and local industrial unions, now affiliated with the C.I.O., shall be affiliated with such new department. This department shall have the complete and sole jurisdiction in regard to (a) the organization of the workers in the industries described by Point 1 above, and also (b) any matters affecting its affiliated organizations and their members.

"3. There shall be called, at such time and at such place as may be agreed upon between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., a national convention which shall be attended by all of the national and international unions and local industrial unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. This convention shall be called for the purpose of approving the foregoing agreement and for working out the necessary rules and regulations to effectuate the same and to guarantee the fulfillment of the program."

The A. F. of L. committee was taken completely by surprise by Murray's well-calculated move and it was also annoyed, but impressed despite itself, by the C.I.O.'s evidence of its big membership in the basic and most important industries. After some consultation, George Harrison, head of the Federation committee, came forward with a counter-proposal, essentially along the following lines:

1. The nine original C.I.O. unions shall return to the A. F. of L. under the old status.

2. As for the other C.I.O. unions, those that were established subsequently to the founding of the C.I.O. and including such important organizations as the United Transport Workers, the radio and electrical workers and the like, they shall be made the subject of immediate conferences between their representatives and the A. F. of L. unions in the same field for the purpose of bringing about a  
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## The Press Conspiracy Against the Auto Workers Union

REACTIONARIES AND STALINISTS UNITE AGAINST U.A.W.

**By ROBERT WALTERS**  
**I**N the gigantic effort to organize the basic and mass-production industries of the country, the automobile workers and their union, operating in the most mechanized of mechanized trades, are bound to play a central and decisive role. The founding of the United Automobile Workers of America and the establishment of contractual collective-bargaining relations with General Motors, Chrysler and virtually all other auto concerns, were steps of epoch-making significance in the development of the C.I.O. and the labor movement as a whole. And today, the U.A.W. remains more than ever the key union in the mass-production field.

### Struggle To Build Union

The establishment and consolidation of the U.A.W. have not taken place without bitter struggle. Let us recall the great sit-down strikes at the Chrysler and G.M. plants less than a year ago and let us not forget the numberless smaller strikes at dozens of points thruout the country, each with its own tale of heroism and solidarity. But there has been an internal struggle as well, a struggle against the dangerous tendencies of political factionalism, irresponsibility and decentralization, without overcoming which no union in the automobile industry could possibly exist. The climax of this internal struggle came at the recent convention of the U.A.W. at Milwaukee where the progressive leadership of Martin and Frankenstein, representing militancy, responsibility and disci-

pline, scored a decisive victory over the Stalinist "unity" caucus and received the overwhelming endorsement of the membership.

The enemies of the labor movement have not been slow to recognize the significance of this internal conflict and to realize that disorganization and irresponsibility within could destroy the auto workers union perhaps even more effectively than blows from without. With touching unanimity, they have, therefore, thrown their support, quite openly and brazenly, to the "unity" caucus, its program and its disruptive activities.

### The Herald-Tribune For The "Unity" Caucus

1. On August 26, during the Milwaukee convention, the New York Herald-Tribune, the banner-bearer of Liberty League reaction in the metropolis, came out with an editorial unreservedly supporting the "unity" caucus platform on every point. The first big issue at Milwaukee was organizational stabilization and responsibility, championed by the progressives and opposed by the "unityites." What does the Herald-Tribune say?

"From this distance it (the issue at Milwaukee) appears to concern the choice between an international union administered as a centralized autocracy, on the model of the United Mine Workers, and one whose local units retain some degree of autonomy. . . . A large proportion of the delegates object to his (Martin's) investiture with the powers that Lewis wields over the coal miners. The

slightest familiarity with the tyranny to which the United Mine Workers are subject will explain this objection. . . . Little wonder, then, that a large contingent of the automobile workers, represented, significantly, by the older men among their officers, would avoid a despotism of the sort. . . ."

And the Herald-Tribune concludes, naturally enough, with the demand for governmental regulation of unions to compel decentralization and lack of authority—a law, in other words, to carry out the "unity" caucus program!

The second big issue at Milwaukee was the question of leadership. The progressives called for the endorsement of the Martin administration and the strengthening of the union leadership with such people as stand for the progressive program. The "unity" caucus were out for a coup d'etat; they were ready to vote for Martin because they couldn't very well do anything else, but they strove to surround him with officers and an executive board that would paralyze his efforts and frustrate his policies. The delegates at Milwaukee were, therefore, confronted with two distinct groups representing two distinct types of leadership.

And the Herald-Tribune? In the above-mentioned editorial, it will be noted how approvingly "the older men among their officers", by which Mortimer and his friends of the "unity" caucus are meant, are referred to. On Sunday, September 5, there appeared in this same paper an article by a certain  
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# RUSH

Up to Nov. 10

## Greetings for the Special Anniversary Issue of the Age

WORKERS AGE

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PROSPECTS OF LABOR PEACE

THE three days of "peace" negotiations that ended so abruptly at Washington last week accomplished at least this much: they quickly brought to the surface the fundamental issues at the root of the division of the labor movement today and indicated with clarity and precision the only road along which American labor must travel if it is to realize its most immediate aims and aspirations.

The Washington conference showed, what should have been obvious these many months, that unity is no abstraction depending on good-will and a conciliatory temper. In the proposals of Philip Murray and George Harrison, we have two diametrically opposed plans for unity based upon two inherently irreconcilable outlooks and philosophies of the labor movement.

If adopted, the C.I.O. unity plan would—let us recognize it frankly—very soon convert the A. F. of L. into an industrial union organization and relegate the craft unions to that subsidiary position in the trade union movement which is granted them under the modern industrial scheme of things.

If adopted, the A. F. of L. proposal would—as it is obviously intended to do—demoralize and undermine the industrial union movement, dismember many of the existing C.I.O. affiliates, drive the rest into a dependent position and consolidate the grip of the craft-unionist clique over the Federation.

Then there is unity on the basis of industrial unionism as the standard system, on the basis of the organization of the mass-production and allied industries along industrial lines.

Between the two, can there be anything else? If there can, nearly two years of incessant discussion have not brought it forward.

Trade union unity is a most vital need of the moment. But it must be unity in reality and in fact not a mere phrase or a patched-up "compromise" that could not hold up for a moment under the impact of events.

The split in the A. F. of L. and the emergence of the C.I.O. were inevitable and historically progressive. The tremendous headway that the C.I.O. has made in the brief period of its existence, to the point where it has already become the main stream of the trade union movement, is its own full justification.

LENIN SPEAKS: On a Japanese-American War

WAR is brewing between Japan and America. They cannot live in peace on the shores of the Pacific. . . . The world has been divided up. Japan has seized a big number of colonies. Japan has a population of fifty million and she is comparatively weak economically.

V. I. LENIN, November 1920.

MADRID SOCIALISTS HIT C.P. ROLE

(We publish below some extracts from a declaration issued recently by the Socialist Party of Madrid in the form of an open letter to the executive of the party, which is at present in the hands of the Negrin-Prieto right wing.)

EITHER the Communist Party will change its policy of defeat or else it will be necessary to drive it out of public affairs as an enemy of the Spanish people!

A people is invincible on condition that it is not made to lose its faith in its aspirations for liberty, on condition that, out of its own body and from its collective sacrifices, there does not emerge a new tyrannical power, a new despotism, to chill its fighting spirit and ultimately to weaken it in the face of the foreign enemy. . . .

It is to the Spanish section of the Communist International that we refer. We hold this party chiefly responsible for the misfortunes that the republican cause has suffered during recent months and for the misfortunes yet to come if the situation is not promptly remedied.

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By Lambda WORLD TODAY P.O.U.M. Representatives Report To I.C.O. On Conditions In Spain

(We publish below the main paragraphs of a report given by two representatives of the P.O.U.M. to the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition at a conference held towards the beginning of September.—The Editor.)

THE P.O.U.M. has stood the transition to illegality very well from an organizational standpoint. It has lost only a few members and these few are from the elements that came to the party after July, 1936.

The first illegal leaflet appeared four days after the outlawing of the party. Ten days later took place a plenary session of the central committee of the P.O.U.M. in which thirty comrades participated.

Because of the motives of the employers in the union-incorporation publicity drive, it is entirely natural that they should have omitted to make any mention of the main feature of British trade union legislation—which is that its very existence was a big victory for labor.

To clear up the confusion created by the employing-class press, it is necessary to present the historical development of the British legislation, its origin and function in the class struggle and its connection with the growth of the trade unions and the Labor Party.

Development Of British Legislation There are two things that must be brought out first: what British union legislation is not and then what it is and why.

Contrary to the implications of capitalist propaganda, the law of 1927 is not the basic law that controls the actions of the unions. It is a limit mainly placed on the use of the general strike, and not on principle of the right to strike as such.

Since the May Days, there has existed a very good relationship between the P.O.U.M. and the anarchist workers. During the struggles in the early part of May, many anarchist workers even went to the point of burning copies of the Solidaridad Obrera (the official C.N.T. paper which adopted an uncertain and hesitating attitude in the crisis.—The Editor) on the barricades, simultaneously greeting the attitude of the P.O.U.M.

As against the slogan of the formation of an "anti-fascist" front, put forward by the leadership of the C.N.T., the P.O.U.M. raises the slogan of a "revolutionary front." The P.O.U.M. is quite ready to cooperate in a military-technical sense with all elements in the struggle against Franco.

The leaders of the C.N.T.-F.A.I., who have great influence, support the viewpoint that the revolution is to be prepared for the occasion of the end of the war. They would like to work as closely as possible with the government, meanwhile "preparing" the revolution "in secret" for the day after the conclusion of the war!

It would, however, hardly be just to lay all the blame upon the Communist Party for what is taking place. As we said at the beginning, it is the biggest culprit but it is not the only one. There is another party that docilely seconds the splitting campaigns of the Communist Party, even against its own affiliates.

Among the protests against the persecution of the P.O.U.M. it is worth noting that, in Mataro, the local C.N.T. raised the threat of a general strike upon the arrest of some P.O.U.M. members. In the municipal councils of the smaller towns, even the P.S.U.C. representatives join in protests against the P.O.U.M. arrests!

The P.O.U.M. is making an especial effort to bring about a differentiation in the Catalanian U.G.T. Originally, Caballero did not want any conflict with the P.S.U.C. leaders of the Catalanian U.G.T. but now that he is no longer in the government, his

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British Trade Union Law and American Labor

By ANNE LAURIER

IN the present drive by employers for the incorporation of unions, much attention has been given to British trade union legislation, particularly to the Trades Disputes Act of 1927, pushed thru parliament after the great general strike of 1926.

The two features of this body of legislation that get the most notice are: registration of union funds, which, it is assumed, prevents racketeering; and the strike and picketing restrictions of the Act of 1927, which is supposed to "define clearly the rights and restrictions of both parties" and thereby prevent violence and irresponsibility on the part of labor.

Because of the motives of the employers in the union-incorporation publicity drive, it is entirely natural that they should have omitted to make any mention of the main feature of British trade union legislation—which is that its very existence was a big victory for labor.

To clear up the confusion created by the employing-class press, it is necessary to present the historical development of the British legislation, its origin and function in the class struggle and its connection with the growth of the trade unions and the Labor Party.

Development Of British Legislation

There are two things that must be brought out first: what British union legislation is not and then what it is and why.

Contrary to the implications of capitalist propaganda, the law of 1927 is not the basic law that controls the actions of the unions. It is a limit mainly placed on the use of the general strike, and not on principle of the right to strike as such. Sympathetic strikers are only banned when they are not carried on for the purposes of a trade dispute or by workers in a sane trade. This is a very different proposition from attacks on all strikes or even those enumerated by Nicholas Murray Butler.

Nor are unions incorporated; registration is not the same thing as incorporation; it is voluntary and revocable at will and, as a result, union funds may not be "controlled for the good of the public."

There is no compulsory arbitration of the type the N.A.M. has suggested "to protect the working man." The trade boards and arbitration machinery compare on a larger scale to the impartial chairman methods of settling disputes in the garment trades and, just like the I.L.G.W.U., when the time comes for the renewal of the contract, the British unions are free to strike.

British labor legislation developed out of a fight against both economic and political restrictions placed upon the workers by the rising industrial-capitalist class. It takes on two phases: the fight for the right to organize (1770-1871) and, secondly, the fight against the attempt to curb the functioning of unions by incorporation.

The government of the capitalist class passed the Combination Law making organization a criminal conspiracy and a positive felony. The working class had no franchise and, even after the repeal of the Combination Law, the government and the courts continued to suppress labor organization drastically. It was not until the unions had gained the right to vote for the workers that they were able to put pressure on Parliament and pass the Trade Union Act of 1871. This act is the basis of all subsequent law. It has two functions: First,

to establish the legalization of trade unionism: unions can no longer be prosecuted for criminal conspiracy and, as a result, their agreements with employers become valid. The second side of this act is concerned with the registration of union funds. A union that wishes to get legal protection for its funds may file an annual statement with the Registrar of Friendly Societies (a government official). This, however, is entirely voluntary and was mandated by trade union leaders only on condition that it would not make trade unions subservient to any outside agency and that registration would leave union organization and functioning untouched. It was definitely stated that, as a result of this, unions were not considered incorporated. Nor was registration of union funds a "compromise" forced on the unions by the Liberal Party to counteract legal recognition of unionism. The demand for registration, which is one that would not be duplicated by American labor, arose out of the structure of the trade union movement at that time. They were solely craft unions, consisting of highly skilled workers, with a protected standard of living. The dues were very high and the unions carried on a combination of friendly benefits and collective bargaining. Registration was regarded as a means of safeguarding their accumulated funds.

Rise Of The Labor Party

At the turn of the century, with the upsurge of the new unionism and the militant tactics for the organization of the unskilled, the capitalist class turned with new determination against the growing might of labor. As they could no longer use criminal law against the unions, they tried to see what they could get out of civil law. They brought in the injunction and demanded the incorporation of unions in order that the latter should be more easily controlled and broken by the courts. This culminated in the Taff Vale Case of 1901, where the employer gained a court order against a striking railway union

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Y.C.L. AGAINST COMMUNISM!

(We present below some extracts from the proceedings of the Massachusetts state legislative commission investigating communism and "other subversive movements." The questions were asked by Senator Burke and others for the commission and were answered by Dave Grant, state secretary of the Young Communist League. These answers are an eloquent indication of how low the Stalinists have sunk in their shameless renunciation of the most elementary ideas of communism.—THE EDITOR.)

Senator Burke: Do you believe in teaching boys they shouldn't be connected with the national defense of the country?

Dave Grant: I have never said anything of the sort. I don't believe it. Senator Burke: Do you believe in doing away with the National Guard, the C.M.T.C., the R.O.T.C. and turning any war into civil war according to the resolution of the 8th Congress of the C.P.?

Dave Grant: No.

Senator Burke: Do you support the resolution of the 8th Congress of the Communist Party calling for the abolition of R.O.T.C.?

Dave Grant: No.

Senator Burke: The resolution calling for the abolition of the National Guard and the C.M.T.C.?

Dave Grant: No.

Senator Grant: Do you believe in defending your country. In case of war, would you fight?

Dave Grant: Yes!

Groves: Do you know what the Oxford Pledge is?

Grant: Yes.

Groves: Do you know that young communists support the pledge which urges students to refuse to support the government in war?

Grant: No. We don't.

Groves: Do members of the Y.C.L. take the pledge in the American Student Union?

Grant: No they don't.

Haines: Do you differentiate as did your leader Lenin between "imperialist democracy and soviet democracy" as quoted by another member of the commission. (The commission had quoted a speech by Lenin to the C.P. of the Soviet Union).

Grant: No we don't differentiate.

Press Conspiracy Against the Auto Union

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Geoffrey Parsons, Jr., eulogizing the "unity" group without restraint or disguise. The tone is even more bitter and factional than the Daily Worker permits itself. In the past, Stalinist style, Parsons tells us that the Lovestonites—who, according to this "expert," are really behind the whole business—are engaged in "Trotsky-like sniping at the official Communist Party," that it was the "conciliatory willingness on the part of the 'unity' group to yield" that saved the convention, that the Communist Party members are the "most experienced" organizers and most of such garbage.

Time And Newsweek Too

2. In its issue of October 11, 1937, the Morgan-controlled, semi-fascist weekly, Time, carries an account of the disgraceful episode of the picketing of President Martin's hotel by some irresponsible union elements, led by the Stalinists. And, curiously enough, the report is savagely hostile to the union administration but more than friendly to the "unity" disrupters!

3. In its October 25, 1937 issue, the notorious sheet, Newsweek, includes a story about the Atlantic City conference of the C.I.O. Using every cheap, disreputable trick of innuendo, it attempts to defame and slander the leaders of the C.I.O.—first, John L. Lewis; then, a little more maliciously, David Dubinsky; but, most of all and with concentrated malice, Homer Martin of the U.A.W. In the November 1, 1937 issue of the same rag, there is an anonymous squib to the effect that "Homer Martin should and will be ousted as head of the United Auto workers," with Wyndham Mortimer, "unity caucus" leader, already slated to replace him!

Hearst To The Rescue!

4. But, of course, nothing would be complete without the Hearst press. And so we turn to the New York Mirror of October 15. In a feature article supposed to deal with the Atlantic City conference of the C.I.O., more than half of the

contents are devoted to some slurs upon Dubinsky, a most abusive attack on Homer Martin—with Jay Lovestone brought in on the side, as usual—and an unrestrained eulogy of the "old-timers among the automobile workers, . . . men who did the early organizing," etc., etc., that is, the "unity" caucus leaders. And, naturally, a Hearstian tear is dropped over the awful "persecution" that the "unity" leaders are supposed to be suffering at the hands of the administration!

William Green Chimes In

To this chorus of reaction is quite inevitably added the voice of William Green, whose hostility to the C.I.O. is hardly less intense. In an article on the sit-down strike in the October 16, 1937 issue of Liberty, the A. F. of L. president finds it necessary to discuss the recent convention of the U.A.W.:

"Another issue that arose during the automobile workers convention, which is also significant and alarming, was that of control. Should there be autonomy within the union or should it be controlled from the top? . . . One group was determined to control control in the officers, give them the sole power to determine the policies of the union. Another group would vest the power in the rank and file—as obtains in unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This latter group believes, as I do, that there should be a vote of the members before any important action is taken."

Of course, Green here distorts the issues more than a little, but the point is unmistakable. Deliberately and in so many words, he comes out against the program of centralization and union responsibility that was sponsored by the Martin-Frankenstein progressive majority at the auto workers convention. Deliberately and in so many words, he identifies himself with the "unity" group and its program of decentralization, irresponsibility and local autonomy-run-ram! Green's hypocrisy and bad nature are obvious but this only makes his publicly proclaimed sympathy for the "unity" group, the Stalinist agency in the U.A.W., the more significant.

Heywood Broun Contributes His Fifth!

But, surely, the chain leading from the Herald-Tribune and the Hearstian Mirror to William Green would not be complete without the Stalinites. And they have been at least as active in the lynch-campaign against the auto union leadership as any open-shop paper. From within the labor movement, the Stalinites are carrying on activities which, in their effect, are producing the demoralization and disruption that the Girdlers are striving for from the outside. In their own press, the Stalinites have to use a measure of discretion, if only for the sake of appearances; there they aim most of their fire at the "Lovestonites." But, thru their "People's Front" stooges, they can speak out more freely. Let us take the most disreputable among these unsavory creatures—Heywood Broun, whose grotesque antics during the last few years have placed him beneath contempt. In the New Republic of October 27, 1937, and in the New York World-Telegram of a few days before, this newly baked "labor leader" writes at some length on the C.I.O. conference at Atlantic City—with the sole purpose of reviling Homer Martin and undermining his authority as head of the U.A.W.

This curious united front in and (Continued on Page 4)

A READER WRITES FOR US...

By Jay Lovestone

WE cannot make an appeal nearly as effective as the one written out by two Canadian comrades in the spirit and fervor with which they have responded to our friends thruout the country. The brutalities imposed by the Stalin agents upon our comrades in Spain, the tortures inflicted by the Nazis upon our friends in Germany, the big jobs ahead of us in this country—what better reasons to emulate the answer of the readers who have written this week's appeal for the \$10,000 drive?

Our readers have the floor:

Dear Comrade:

On January 10, 1919, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. Scheidemann swore that he had saved the country: "The suppression of the Spartacists is an act of public safety that we ought to accomplish before our people and before history."

The bourgeois press was delirious with joy.

But Karl Liebknecht still lives in these last words he wrote for Rote Fahne: "Spartacus is crushed. Yes, they have been crushed, the revolutionary workers. Yes, a hundred of their best men have been massacred. A hundred of their

most faithful have been thrown into prison. . . . Yes, they have been crushed. . . . It was a historical necessity that they should be crushed. . . . The time was not yet ripe. . . . But there are defeats which are victories and there are victories more tragic than disaster. Those vanquished during the bloody week of January have fought for great things, for the noblest end of suffering humanity, for moral and material salvation. It is for holy things that their blood was shed which has become blood avengers will spring up. . . . The via dolorosa of the German working class is not yet at an end. But the day of redemption draws near—the day of universal judgment for Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and the magnates who hide themselves behind them. . . . If we are no longer alive when the goal is reached, our program will live. It will dominate the world of a humanity redeemed. In spite of everything. . . ."

In August 1937, Andres Nin was murdered in Spain. But Andres Nin still lives in his last thesis which points the road for true revolutionists to follow. . . . It is horrible to think what reaction can do when it tries with all its power to crush the revolution. But bloody

suppression will never stifle it. We can repeat now what Herzog wrote when Liebknecht was murdered: ". . . so remote from all human feeling that it looks upon this assassination as being equally just with the sinking of the Lusitania. . . . We have sought for the reconciliation of parties. The representatives of force have repulsed it as being dishonorable; they have become prisoners of their own system. . . . We had thought that this revolution would lead to the achievement of the great ideals of humanity, that we could stretch out our hands to our brothers of other nations. . . . The men who have striven to their utmost to lift up the people are denounced as the enemy of the people. Because they are in the way. . . ."

Two Faithful Comrades Montreal, October 22, 1937

## A MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM THE POUM

Dear Comrades:

We have just received \$75 from your organization for the aid of our party. This has not surprised us. We know how much you are doing in the United States to help us. We know how much you have done till now to make the working class of your country acquainted with the situation of the Spanish revolution, endangered by the counter-revolution organized by Stalinism and reformism at the service of the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Quite as much as your material aid, we appreciate the great service of the moral and political aid that you have been giving our party and the Spanish revolution. We

expect, we are sure, that in the future, you will not fail us.

The two things become more necessary for us every day. The defense of our comrades and the aid to the fallen occasion enormous expenses for us and no less great are the expenses of the underground work which we find ourselves obliged to carry on. I suppose you know that we are at present publishing two underground papers, *La Batalla* and *Juventud Obrero*, organ of the Young Communist League of Spain (*Juventud Comunista Iberica*). At the same time, we are issuing a great number of leaflets and manifestos, also illegal, on every point and

problem which the Spanish revolution and the party must meet. Till now, we have already issued in total more than a million copies of such leaflets.

All this, dear comrades, is necessary both to maintain the life of the party in its illegality and to defend the lives of our comrades in danger. Only vigorous action inside the country carried on by us, coordinated with the action which you are carrying on outside as you have done until now, can really save our comrades, the party, and the Spanish revolution.

With communist greetings,

(signed) N. Molins

Int'l Secretary of the P.O.U.M.

## Lincoln Battalion Boy Tells of Experience

For some time there have been signs that all is not well in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion of the International Brigade. The Lincoln Battalion, composed of more than a thousand American anti-fascist fighters recruited by the Communist Party, has been on the front lines in loyalist Spain for a year. During this time the Battalion has participated in most of the major loyalist military operations and has given yeoman service to Spanish "democracy."

One of the members of the Battalion, recently returned from Spain, has conveyed his impressions and his questions to the *Workers Age*. He reports that, in the early days of the war, the militiamen were told by their "political responsables" that "we're fighting for democracy, but . . ." and a position of defeating Franco first and winning the revolution afterward was outlined. But now, "we're fighting for democracy"—with no buts. Even the politicals in the International Brigade say the same things that the Communist Party leaders say publicly and refuse to allow any discussion whatsoever at the front, even on such non-political questions as to who shall peel the potatoes. Seriously, one militiaman was denounced for "Trotskyism" for raising questions concerning the division of responsibility for preparing food! The discontent within the ranks became so acute in the early summer that individual militiamen in the Battalion went to the headquarters of the C.P. in Madrid and asked if discussion were allowed in the military rank and file of the Spanish party. At another time, the discontent became so acute that the militiamen stoned G. Marion, correspondent of the *Daily Worker*, when he tried to give them a pep talk on "democracy" at the front.

Instances of disciplinary action for political views against determined independents in the International Brigade, were mentioned by our informant. The members of the various units in the International Brigade were instructed at the beginning of their service not to fraternize with loyalist Spanish militiamen. An Italian anti-fascist named Ferreri, assistant in command at Villanueva, defied these instructions to the extent of going out one night on a secret raiding party with some Spaniards to ferret out Franco spies in a neighboring village. He was dismissed from his post the following day and has not been heard from since, altho he was rumored seen working on a road gang by one of his former comrades. The increasing loss of morale in the ranks of the militiamen due to the stifling of the political life of the International fighters, was described by our informant with considerable feeling. He recounted a recent conversation with one of his comrades who had said: "What's there to keep us in-

spired if we can't figure out, ourselves, what we're fighting for?"

It is remarkable how little the fighters at the front know about the total situation in Spain. Such little information as they receive comes thru talks by their politicals, appointed from above, or from the official government communiques which grandiloquently tell less than nothing. They heard only rumors about the Barcelona events and these were that the P.O.U.M. had organized a putsch in collaboration with Franco! Serious information about the P.O.U.M. they had none—only that it was a "Trotskyite" organization. Individuals who pointed out that Nin had long since broken with Trotsky were effectively silenced. Despite this, P.O.U.M. slogans mysteriously appeared on buildings at the front. At Figueras, the letters P.O.U.M. were seen one morning painted above the barracks door.

Systematic falsification on the part of the Communist Party all over Spain was exposed by the comrade of the Lincoln Battalion. He said that one after another C.P. officials go over to Franco—but the C.P. pretends it has nothing to do with them. For example, the C.P. general who turned Malaga over to Franco was denounced by the party as a "traitorous Caballero socialist." At times when, despite attempts to silence, the party line is openly criticized, the C.P. manages to furnish a few individuals as scapegoats for any situation so as to leave the line immaculately validated. Nevertheless, one of the more frequent exhortations of the rank and file is: "Oh, if only Nicky (Lenin) were living!"

About the general economic situation, a period of relative activity exists behind the lines. Factories and fields collectivized at the beginning of the war have been turned over to their original capitalist proprietors who do business very much as usual.

The foregoing represent the casual and unsorted opinions of a Communist Party member who has been under fire. Yet, together, they fit into the total picture of the political and organizational degeneration of the official communist movement. They show that under fire there is a strong will for revolutionary action and workers democracy inside the C.P., that the repressive tactics of the leadership cannot forever be successful and that there are many elements inside the party who can be rewon for communist principles.

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Wednesday Evenings:  
*History of American Labor.*  
*Current Events*  
Friday Evenings:  
*Marxian Economics, The State*

## POUM Report About Spain

(Continued from Page 2)

position on this question has become more uncertain. Wherever the P.O.U.M. has strong influence in the U.G.T., the Stalinists have expelled entire organizations and have established dual unions. A stronghold of the P.S.U.C. is the G.E.P.C.I., the federation of small merchants, business men and manufacturers, which is affiliated to the Catalan U.G.T. as an autonomous organization. It includes not merely small merchants and artisans but also fairly big capitalists. Thus, the U.G.T. recently demanded the return of a collectivized factory in the wood industry, employing 80 workers, on the ground that its owner belonged to the G.E.P.C.I. and was therefore a member of the U.G.T.!

In the Valencia Province, the C.P. organized a "peasants union" to which belong all the reactionary elements in the village as well as the capitalists dealing in agricultural products. This organization is greatly favored by the government while the genuine collective farms are discriminated against with the purpose of ruining them.

The government is now making every effort to oust the factory committees from any part in the management of the plants and to convert them into what the factory committees were under the Weimar Republic in Germany. The Stalinists now demand the "militarization" of industry and the complete suppression of the factory committees.

Caballero has come out for the defense of the achievements of the revolution but he declares that the time has not yet come for an agreement with the P.O.U.M.

## PRESS CONSPIRACY AGAINST U.A.W.

(Continued from Page 3)

around the "unity" caucus in the U.A.W., a united front embracing the aggressively reactionary *Herald-Tribune*, the pro-fascist *Time*, the Hearstian *Mirror*, *William Green* and *Heywood Brown*, is no accident. It is the united front of all those forces that, for one reason or another, are implacably hostile to the auto workers union and its leadership and that are out to do as much harm to the U.A.W. as possible. It is a united front of reaction directed against unionism in the automobile industry and against the C.I.O.!

Fortunately, this united front is so brazen and so self-discrediting that it can only work its own destruction. The workers in the automobile industry and outside know who are their friends and who are their enemies. They will judge the leaders of the Stalinist "unity" caucus not only by their misdeeds in the union but also by the kind of allies they have managed to pick up outside!

## IN DEFENSE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

(Continued from Page 1)  
against the fascist hordes on Spanish soil!

### The Negrin Regime Tries To Save Itself

Mass discontent with the Negrin-Stalinist regime is rapidly mounting among the Spanish workers, especially the trade unionists of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. In a panic, the ruling group has therefore decided to initiate a new offensive against the revolutionary sections of the working class with the aim of evading responsibility for its own misdeeds by making a scapegoat out of the P.O.U.M. Thus the Negrin-Stalinist clique has already come to the point where it turns to the last resort of all discredited regimes—an attempt to divert attention from their own crimes by launching an attack upon the radicals!

### Another Monstrous Betrayal Is Being Prepared!

But that is not all! Under pressure of the so-called "liberals" at home and Anglo-French diplomacy abroad—the two great pillars upon which the Valencia cabinet rests—preparations are under way behind the scenes for a "compromise" with Franco to culminate in some sort of "national concentration" government, tricked out in "democratic" trappings, perhaps, but really resting on foreign bayonets. The reactionary intriguers, busy with their plans of capitulation and betrayal, have good reason to fear the P.O.U.M., the left socialists, the revolutionary anarcho-syndicalists, for they well know that it

would be these elements who would ruthlessly tear away the hypocritical phrases disguising the treacherous "compromise" scheme and rally the masses to resistance and revolt. In order to pave the way for capitulation, the P.O.U.M. and its revolutionary allies must be eliminated. This is the meaning of the intensification of the counter-revolutionary terror in Spain. This is the reason that P.O.U.M. leaders are being menaced with instant execution, against and outside of the law!

The attack upon the P.O.U.M. is, just as directly, an attack upon the Spanish workers and peasants, upon the Spanish anti-fascist cause. If the conspirators at Valencia succeed in paralyzing the revolutionary workers movement by physically annihilating its leadership, the way will be opened for the most calamitous surrender to the forces of native reaction and foreign imperialism. If the Stalinists, with their "liberal" and right-wing socialist accomplices, are allowed to continue their nefarious course unchecked, anti-fascist Spain is lost!

### In Defense Of The P.O.U.M.!

The class-conscious workers of this country understand very well what an awful disaster to the labor movement of the whole world a victory for fascism in Spain would be. We can not stand idly by and see the Spanish anti-fascist cause undermined and led to betrayal and destruction. We must let our voices be heard!

To the defense of P.O.U.M.!  
Save the Spanish revolution!

## Union Parley British Trade Union Law

(Continued from Page 1)

"mutually agreeable" adjustment. 3. "Organization and administration policies not mutually agreed to shall be referred to the next convention of the A. F. of L. for final decision. Meanwhile, an aggressive organizing campaign shall be continued and carried forward along both industrial and craft lines, as conditions and circumstances may warrant."

4. "The C.I.O. shall be immediately dissolved."

Philip Murray was not slow in branding these proposals as equivalent to "abject surrender and dissolution of the C.I.O." and "desertion and betrayal" of the twenty-three new industrial unions in the C.I.O. If carried out—the C.I.O. leader declared—the A. F. of L. plan would drive or keep millions out of the trade union movement because no place for them could be found under the setup indicated by the A. F. of L. "The proposal offered by the A. F. of L.," Murray concluded, "is merely a reaffirmation of its former policy and certainly does not contemplate the organization of the unorganized into strong unions. Their proposal, as we understand it, constitutes a rejection of the principle of industrial organization in mass-production and other basic industries. . . . Our interpretation of their proposal is that they would split up the existing C.I.O. unions. This is no departure from previous A. F. of L. policy."

Having reached this point, an obvious deadlock the joint committee decided to recess until November 4 so as to avoid the complete collapse of negotiations at so early a stage.

(Read the editorial on page 2. —The Editor.)

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(Continued from Page 3)  
for £23,000 (\$115,000) damages as well as an injunction against all picketing. The same thing happened in the Danbury Hatters and the Coronado Coal cases in the United States but, instead of injunctions becoming the rule, as has occurred over here, the entire labor movement rallied to fight this attack. They organized independently of both capitalist parties. Trade unionists blocked to the Labor Party—launched in 1903, with a membership of 375,930 and 41 affiliated unions, which by 1903 had grown to a membership of 969,800 and 165 affiliated unions.

After the general elections, they forced the Liberal dominated Parliament to outlaw further cases of the Taff Vale type by the Trades Disputes Act of 1906. This act repeated in more emphatic language than the Act of 1871 that a union is not incorporated and therefore may not be sued by any court, either for damages caused by a strike, or for any legal offense alleged to have been committed by the trade union in furtherance of a trade dispute or for breach of contract. Picketing rights were also broadly extended and no injunction was ever granted after this act.

The employing class then followed by challenging with a court decision the right of the unions to contribute money to the Labor Party. By pressing their campaign for political independence, the unions gained a reversal of this decision and wrote into statute law their right to donate funds to their party, with the reservation that any member of the union who did not wish to join could contract out of the Labor Party altho his union was affiliated.

Aided by the development of this trade union legislation, the organized labor movement reached a peak, in 1920, of 8,328,000 members in trades unions, and 4,359,800 in the Labor Party.

(Concluded next week)