

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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SPAIN THREATENED WITH IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

A. F. of L. Executive Council Splits Trade Union Movement

GREEN BECLOUDS REAL ISSUES

Suspended Unions Stand Firm; Plan Struggle At AFL Convention

Detroit.—Shortly after receiving the news of the suspension of the C.I.O. Unions from A. F. of L., the Trades and Labor Council of Detroit at its meeting here on August 5th passed a unanimous vote of protest against the action of the Executive Council. Craft and industrial unionists alike deplored the hasty action of the Council and expressed the view that such action should have been deferred to the 1936 Convention of the A. F. of L.

The long threatened suspension of the unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization has at last occurred, bringing the American Federation of Labor to the brink of bitter civil war. Throwing discretion to the winds the Executive Council, meeting in Washington this past week, "decided that the Committee for Industrial Organization is a dual organization and that its originator and leader is John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America." Having thus placed itself in the position of prosecutor and jury the Council also assumed the role of judge and decided "to suspend these organizations from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor which hold membership in the dual organization (Committee for Industrial Organization) within thirty days unless they withdraw therefrom . . ."

In its official statement the Council continues to mouthe meaningless arguments to the effect that industrial unionism is not the issue; that the real issues are "dual unionism," "minority rule" and "ambitious men." Thus does the Council attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the mass of America's trade unionists.

Informed of the suspension, John L. Lewis, leader of the industrial union forces declared that it is "An act of incredible and crass stupidity. An act dictated by personal selfishness and frantic fear. It indicates a total absence of consideration for the well-being of the nation's workers and the requirements of an effective movement of labor."

David Dubinsky, the lone industrial unionist in the Executive Council, who made a determined fight against suspension, had the following to say:

"The council members are unwilling to adapt themselves to the needs of the times merely because they fear losing power. The dispute is not, as they contend, a matter of personalities, but actually a question of fundamental policy.

"The council is unwilling to real-
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Women Fight Heroically Against Spanish Fascists



USA THREATENS MADRID GOV'T

Mediterranean Control By Fascists Bothers European Powers

Led by the Fascist dictatorships, one by one, the various capitalist governments have fallen into line to aid directly or indirectly the Fascist butchers of Spain. The uneasiness among the capitalist powers and the threat of intervention in Spain—against the liberal and labor forces—have become especially grave because of the heavy losses suffered by the Fascist forces at the hands of the workers and peasants in Spain.

Fascist Italy continues to rush planes and bombs to Franco and Mola. Nazi Germany is doing a thriving business in arming the Fascists by huge shipments thru Portugal, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, and directly from its own ports. "Democratic" Britain, agreeing in general to the principle of non-intervention, insists on the right to sell airplanes "for commercial use" to all factions in Spain. Roosevelt's State Department has seen fit to forward the Madrid government a vigorous note of protest threatening to hold it responsible for all damages to property and life which may ensue from the various self-defense measures which are being taken by the People's Front Government. This ultimatum comes on the heels of huge shipments of oil supplies by the Standard Oil interests to the Fascists battling against a government with which the Washington government is at peace and which Washington recognizes as the legitimate authority in Spain.

And "in the interest of general peace" and cowed by the bulldozing Hitler-Mussolini entente, as well as scared out of its wits by the pressure from the Fascist and Rightist forces in its own country, the People's Government of France continues to play a "strictly neutral" role. Pursuing this course, the Blum government has allowed Juan March, multi-millionaire financier of the Spanish Fascist insurrection, and, until recently, Gil Robles, the brains of the Fascist-Monarchist crew, to plot in France against the liberal and labor forces desperately struggling against Clerico-Fascism. And while Blum, in order to put thru a general neutrality pact has decreed that no war supplies of any sort are to be sold to the legitimate, constitutional government of Spain—a government which has received a bigger proportion of the popular vote than any of the so-called democratic governments of the powerful countries—the big French firm Renault has been liberally supplying the Spanish Fascists with material out of its stores in Morocco. This has been established by L'Humanite, central organ of the Communist Party of France, and the most influential organ of
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Trade Unions and the Labor Party

(AN EDITORIAL)

THE formation of the American Labor Party in the state of New York, upon which we commented at length in the August 1 issue of the Workers Age, is rapidly creating a new situation for the class conscious groups in the labor movement, a situation bristling with new problems and new tasks. It is upon their ability to adjust themselves to the new situation and to effect a reorientation so as to meet the new problems and tasks, that these groups will be tested in their practical ability to give leadership in the working class movement at its present

stage of development. The main problem, of course, is what attitude to take in the trade unions, for it is in the trade unions primarily that our views on the question can have any practical significance for ourselves as well as for the labor party.

Nature Of New Party

There are a number of guiding ideas which we must keep always before us if we are to steer our way safely thru the present difficult situation. The American Labor Party—let it be clear from the beginning—is a genuine labor party in its formative stages; it thus

represents a big advance over the Labor Non-Partisan League, which is merely an independent labor committee for Roosevelt. That the group of powerful unions have banded together into an independent political federation, with its own ticket, name and emblem, is a distinct step forward; it means organizational independence—a rift, a break, in the two-party system. That they will put forward a whole series of genuine labor candidates on their ticket, is of even greater significance; it points to a degree of political independence. But that this labor party will head its ticket with Roosevelt and Lehman, the Democratic banner-bearers in nation and state, must also be emphasized; it shows how limited, how primitive, the political independence of the new party still is. All sides of this complex situation must be taken into careful consideration but it is impossible to overlook the paramount fact that the American Labor Party, with all its shortcomings, represents a first step in the right direction, away from the old parties—a first step towards independent working class political action.

Conservative Unions And Labor Party

Viewing the matter in this realistic light, what attitude shall class conscious workers take in their unions on the issue of affiliating to the American Labor Party? As far as the general run of conser-
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General Strike Called In Knitgoods Industry

A general strike in the Knitgood industry of the metropolitan area was declared on Tuesday August 11, 1936, 8 A. M., all efforts for a peaceful settlement having been rejected by the Association.

Since the expiration of the agreement on July 15 the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union repeatedly attempted to enter into negotiations for a new agreement. However, the Association, attempting to smash the union thru constant delays succeeded merely in destroying itself.

The strike is being called not merely to enforce conditions in the union shops but also to organize the unorganized sections of the industry.

Mass meetings will be held daily in the strike halls. President Dubinsky of the ILGWU, President McMahon of the UTW and vice-presidents Zimmerman, Antonini and Hochman of the ILGWU, will be among the outstanding labor leaders to address the strikers.

THE FASCIST PUTSCH IN SPAIN By LEO

Spain is still in the throes of civil war. The news that reaches us is very fragmentary. One thing, however, seems to be sure. The reactionary putschists have met with strong resistance by the Spanish working class and there is hope that the workers will succeed in preventing a Fascist coup d'etat.

As news is sparse, it is impossible at present to give an accurate account of the Spanish events. But the chief events of this last phase of the class struggle in Spain stand out very clearly. An analysis of these events may prove to be useful in view of the fact that the program of the People's Front was carried out in Spain to a much greater extent than in any other country.

In the face of the present struggle, each worker will ask himself the question: How is it that the Fascists could become so strong and so impudent again, that they attempted to seize power shortly after the great leftist victory in the elections? The sponsors of the People's Front claim that their policy provides the only effective method of fighting Fascism. When the government of the People's Front entered into office, the Fascists and other reactionaries were so scared by the militancy of the workers and peasants that they hid in their rat holes. The government of the People's Front had been in power for a few months only, when the Fascists thought that their time had come again. This seems to be proof enough that the People's Front policy did not help to crush Fascism. On the contrary, it has become evident that collaboration with the bourgeoisie, even when it goes under the name of the People's Front, strengthens and encourages Fascism.

An Indictment

The Basle Rundschau recently carried a short report on conditions in Spain by Paul Nizan, co-editor of *Humanite*. In its descriptive part this report is a terrible indictment of the People's Front policy which Nizan himself advocates. Nizan had plenty of material to show that the Fascists had spun their web in the state administration and in the army.

The present putsch confirms the correctness of Nizan's account of what was going on in the Spanish army. The Fascists could never have used the army for preparing the coup d'etat if the People's Front policy had not paved the way for it. This policy advocates the republicanization and the democratization of the bourgeoisie army as a means of crushing Fascist influence. But they succeeded as little to republicanize the army as the German Social-Democrats succeeded in democratizing the Reichswehr. Only a few Fascist officers were dismissed.

The exile of Fascist generals and officers only provided them with an opportunity to organize the Fascist forces in Morocco, while the officers who took the place of the dismissed or exiled gentlemen proved to be Republicans of a very doubtful kind. General Godel, the successor of the ill-reputed General Bate, took part in the Fascist putsch. Events in Spain show clearly that in insisting upon the dismissal of Fascist officers and officials, the working class should not cherish the illusion that the bourgeois state can be transformed into an instrument for fighting Fascism. Workers must set themselves the aim of destroying the bourgeois state machine. Where the People's Front government exists, it is not possible to destroy the bourgeois state because some of the partners in the People's Front have Fascist leanings. The People's Front policy implies collaboration with the republican bourgeoisie and the support of bourgeois state power, a fact which leads inevitably to the weakening of all strong measures against Fascist conspirators in the army and among the officials.

A Break On Masses

The People's Front policy in Spain served as a brake on the granting of the social demands of the workers and peasants. Instead of organizing the peasants for an agrarian revolution, that is instead of expropriating the big landowners and transferring their estates to the peasants and farm laborers, the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties tried to induce the peasants to content themselves with the half-measures of bourgeois-reformism. The Socialist and

Communist leaders also attempted to halt the big strike wave of the workers. The policy of the People's Front, of collaboration with the Republican bourgeoisie, is responsible for the split in the working class between the Socialist and Communist workers on the one hand, and the anarchists and the syndicalists on the other, and for the sharpening of proletarian antagonisms.

All attempts of the government and the Parties of the People's Front to stop the extra-parliamentary action of working men and to get them off the streets only encouraged the Fascists to go out into the streets themselves and start the putsch. The generals thought they could take advantage of the fact that a state of alarm existed. This state of alarm came close to a state of martial law, which was presumably placed upon the country in order to ward off the Fascists. In reality, however, it was an effective measure against the working class press, and helped the putschists whose purpose was set upon establishing a military dictatorship.

Compromises or Resistance?

In answer to our statement that the People's Front policy did not prevent the rise of Fascism, the advocates of that policy may reply that it has assumed a different character after the Putsch, and that the People's Front today is the coalition of Left bourgeois and working class people who fight the reactionary mutineers. Such an answer, however, would be very superficial and erroneous. Even the sparse news that we receive from Spain shows that the intensification of the class struggle in Spain has sharpened the antagonism between the workers and the bourgeoisie, and that the contradictions inherent in the policy of the People's Front have become glaringly evident.

The reaction of the Republican bourgeoisie and the reaction of the workers toward the Fascist uprising were in no way the same. The Republican bourgeoisie first attempted to compromise with the putschists and the reactionary forces that backed them. The peasants and the President of the Chamber, Martinez Barrio, tried to

form a Cabinet which tended to the right. Martinez Barrio wanted to include in his Cabinet bourgeois Republicans who did not belong to the People's Front. If he had been able to carry out his plans, the bourgeois Republicans would have loosened the ties that bound them to the working class parties and opened the gates to clerico-fascist and monarchist reaction. The reason why Martinez Barrio did not succeed in forming his Cabinet and why a government of the People's Front still exists is that the Fascists refused to accept such compromise and the Spanish workers did not capitulate before the Fascists but resorted to independent action and, wherever it was possible, to armed insurrection. Socialists, communists, anarchists and syndicalists jointly fought against the Fascists, a fact which confirms the old truth again that timid retreat before the class enemy weakens the solidarity of the workers, but that bold aggressiveness strengthens it.

Soviets Set Up

The Spanish government had no other choice but to legalize the organized arming of the workers. The leaders of the Socialists and Communists did not voice the demands of the toiling masses, but continued to agitate for the People's Front. They should have acted as Lenin did at the time of the Korniloff putsch, when he urged the workers to take up arms, not for the preservation of the bourgeois republic, but in their own class interests. The vigorous activity of the workers and peasants is the driving force in the present struggle. The army sides with the Fascists, with the exception of detachments where the soldiers have mutinied against their superiors. Frequent government appeals to the loyalty of the police seem to indicate that the police force is not dependable. Government officials are not very reliable either. Many high dignitaries, governors, etc., escaped across the French border, while the workers fought heroically against the Fascist bandits. Although their leaders preach loyalty to the government, the workers judge by their own experience in the struggle and act accordingly. The correspondent of *Le Populaire*, chief

organ of the French Socialist Party, who managed to get into Spain, reports that the workers have seized political power in the whole province of Catalonia with the exception of Barcelona, and have established revolutionary committees, that is, their own class organs that function as soviets.

The Spanish events definitely prove that the historic alternative the working class faces today is not one between bourgeois democracy and fascism, as the C.I. proclaims, but between fascism and the intensification of the class struggle, armed insurrection, formation of soviets, destruction of the bourgeois state power, in short, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When the final victory is won, the Spanish workers will have to decide whether they should seize power and crush reaction forever, or permit the Republican bourgeoisie to disarm them. The latter would provide a breathing spell for the Fascists. It would enable them to organize and unify their forces. It is up to the Spanish workers to decide whether they will follow the example of the Russian workers, who after the Korniloff putsch chose the road to Bolshevism, or the German workers, who permitted the bourgeoisie, after the Kapp putsch in 1920, to deprive them of the fruits of their victory. The continuation of the People's Front policy after the victory over the Fascists would be fatal, for it would lead to the disarming of the workers and the preservation of bourgeois rule.

Note: *Humanite* of July 23rd ran a headline which read: "The Unity of the Spanish People Will Crush the Fascist Movement." We do not think the Spanish workers waited for this clever advice, but it shows how the Spanish events are presented when viewed in the light of the People's Front policy. The National Committee of the French People's Front published a resolution wherein it expresses hope that the defeat of the Fascists in Spain will mean "the final triumph over all dictatorships." The People's Front Committee, of which the Communist Party of France as a partner, thus helps to prejudice the workers against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

TRADE UNIONS AND LABOR PARTY

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vative unions are concerned, it seems that there can hardly be any dispute. For these unions have hitherto been either absolutely passive and unconscious politically or else mere appendages to Tammany Hall or similar machines. To get such unions to affiliate to the American Labor Party, even with all its grave political defects, is surely a great step forward in their development towards class consciousness and class independence. In such unions it is plainly the duty of the class conscious elements to strive with all their might for affiliation and to make clear the political significance of this step to the masses of the membership.

Progressive Unions And Labor Party

But how about the progressive unions, those unions that broke with the old parties long ago, those unions that have for years urged a labor party completely distinct and independent of the old parties? For them, too, affiliation is necessary, although on different grounds. It is necessary for such unions to join because, if the possibilities of the new labor party in the way of independent class politics are to be realized to the full, it will be thru the patient and per-

sistent efforts of the progressives. It would surely be somewhat absurd, moreover, for the progressives to urge the conservative unions to affiliate but to refuse to go along themselves. Once admitted that the American Labor Party is a genuine labor party, the only in its formative stages, it plainly follows that it would be nothing short of sectarian isolation for the progressive unions to stay out; on the contrary, just because the new organization is still in its formative stages, is it necessary for the progressive elements to be in on the inside so as to be in a position to influence the future course of development along lines of class independence.

But would it not be a step backward, a retreat, for the progressive unions to join a labor party that heads its ticket with Democratic candidates? If it is a step backward or a retreat, it is a "retreat in order to advance." It is a step taken in order to remain in touch with the mass of politically awakening workers, the immaturity of whose political consciousness is reflected in the very incomplete political independence of the American Labor Party. It is all very well to declare, as does Norman Thomas in the "Socialist Call" of August 1, that "if, in spite of this unpromising start, this new

party should some time break away from its Democratic moorings, nobody will be gladder than we." But how is the labor party ever going to "break away from its Democratic moorings" if there are progressive unions are not there to drive in that direction? And does it not seem probable, too, that, if we adopt a sectarian, stay-away attitude today, when things are still in a formative state, we will not be exactly welcomed with open arms when the labor party finally turns out to our liking?

Affiliation—On What Grounds?

The duty of the class conscious elements in the unions, conservative and progressive alike, is plain—to work for the affiliation of their organizations to the American Labor Party. But we should make perfectly clear on what grounds and with what purpose we urge such affiliation. We do not do so because we are for Roosevelt, either openly or covertly, or because we regard Roosevelt as the "lesser evil". On the contrary, we believe that it was a grave mistake for the American Labor Party to have headed its ticket with old-party candidates. But for us the paramount consideration is that a labor party is being born, even though it is as yet very imperfectly formed and still weighed down with the heavy heritage of the discredited bourgeois "labor politics" of the past. For us the

paramount consideration is that an opportunity is now being presented to the progressive and class-conscious elements in the labor movement to contribute towards building and strengthening this labor party; to help lift the crushing burden of old-party connections that now hamper its development; to aid, stimulate and encour-

age its growth as a genuinely independent organization, standing on its own feet politically, completely free from all entangling alliances with old-party politics. It is from this standpoint that we believe that all unions in New York State should promptly affiliate with the new American Labor Party.

RIVERA GREET'S TOM MOONEY

The twentieth anniversary of the jailing of Mooney and Billings has aroused a response in many countries throuth the world. Just recovered from a serious illness, the world famous Mexican mural artist Diego Rivera sent his greetings to these labor prisoners.

"In attacking and torturing you and in keeping you in prison," said Rivera in his letter to Tom Mooney, "the bourgeoisie is attacking, torturing and imprisoning the entire working class of which you are the personification. I shall try to do the best I can within my possibilities for you and for the comrades who are struggling to compel the bourgeoisie to release its prey."

Rivera has also pledged to paint a portrait of Tom Mooney, just as soon as his health will permit.

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CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN By WILL HERBERG

THE eyes of the whole world are turned upon Spain. There, an important battle in the great war of the twentieth century is being fought, the duel to the death between socialism and fascism. That the course of this struggle will influence the fate not merely of the people of that country but of all mankind, is obvious; be the outcome what it may, it will certainly bring a significant shift in the relation of forces of progress and reaction on a world scale. At the same time, the Spanish crisis is already beginning to have serious international repercussions; whatever may be the case with the so-called "democracies," the fascist powers, on their side, have been mighty quick to grasp the full implications of the situation and are straining every effort to speed the triumph of reaction and to carve off a slice of the Spanish possessions for themselves into the bargain. For the moment, Spain is the key to the international situation!

ROOTS OF FASCIST REVOLT

The fascist counter-revolution that raised its head in Spain on July 17 was by no means an accident nor did it result simply from the reckless adventurism of a few desperate generals; it came as the logical culmination of the whole course of development of Spain under the liberal bourgeois regime, called the People's Front government, and stands as a crushing historical condemnation of that regime. The revolt broke out when the reactionary monarchist-fascist clique had gathered enough political and military strength to pass over to the offensive and this it was able to do only because the republican regime, though backed up by the workers parties, could not and would not make a serious effort to solve the great fundamental problems of the Spanish revolution. The fascist counter-revolution is therefore the natural though monstrous offspring of the liberal regime!

The military question is the life and death question of any revolution; if the new order is to survive, the military supports and reserves of reaction must be destroyed, and a new politically reliable military force, inspired with unshakable loyalty to the revolution, must be built up. But what did the republican regime do in Spain, not only in 1931 but even in 1936, after five years of bitter experience? It made not the slightest serious effort to reorganize the armed forces on a republican basis. It left the old officers corps, the very bulwark of reaction, virtually intact, limiting itself to a few feeble gestures in transferring some of the more obnoxious generals. But these very measures, conceived and executed in the most incredibly stupid manner, actually aided the counter-revolution, for they provided it with one base after another from which it could prepare and launch the fascist offensive.

General Franco, now leading the rebellion, was sent to the Canary Islands in command of the forces there; General Godel was transferred to the Balearic Islands and other officers to Morocco and Spanish Africa—all in the way of "punishment", of course! Spain itself was dotted with garrisons in which the officers were openly and blatantly anti-republican—but nothing was done. For weeks the counter-revolutionary insurrection was being prepared virtually in the open—but the government looked on, helpless, paralyzed, incapable even of preserving itself. Is it any wonder, then, that when the rebellion broke out almost the entire army followed the command of the fascist leaders? A regime that leaves the armed forces in the hands of the enemy, that harbors and protects its own assassins, is a regime that has no claim to life!

AGRARIAN QUESTION—HEART OF REVOLUTION

Together with the military question, the agrarian question is fundamental to a revolution such as is taking place in Spain. For, basically, the new order has revolutionary meaning only in so far as it brings with it an agrarian transformation—the confiscation of the great estates and the division of the land among the peasants and farm laborers. If this task is not accomplished, the revolution is falsified and strangled at the very outset. But what did the new republican regime do, in 1931 and then in 1936? A number of grandiose projects were framed in the most "scientific" manner; some land distribution on an infinitesimal scale was carried out; a few minor reforms were instituted; great promises were made for the future. But otherwise everything remained basically the same. When peasant masses in Andalusia and elsewhere attempted to appropriate and divide the land themselves—essentially the only way a real agrarian revolution has ever been carried out—the government suddenly swung into action, sending troops and police to disperse them and suppress "excesses". The disillusionment, discontent and apathy that began to spread among certain sections of the peasantry provided a happy hunting ground for fascist demagoguery and created some sort of mass base for the gathering counter-revolution. The fact that the fascist forces seem to control not only the Vendee of Navarre but even Andalusia, where landlordism runs rife and the condition of the peasants is most wretched, should make us stop and think. The reactionary agrarian policy of the liberal regime unquestionably served as one of the great sources of strength of the fascist counter-revolution!

Altho claiming to be the very last word in democracy and liberalism, the republican regime refused to recognize that there was any such thing as a colonial question. The Spanish colonies in Africa remained subject to the same imperialist oppression as in the days of Alfonso. And in order to bolster up the system, such inherently reactionary formations as the Foreign Legion and the colonial

Moroccan troops which General Franco is frantically landing in Southern Spain to bolster his fascist army, crumbling before proletarian and peasant resistance.



troops, composed or officered by mercenaries and adventurers completely out of sympathy with the people, had to be maintained intact. What matter if they constituted an ever-present dagger at the throat of the republic? What matter if they had already shown their eager ferocity in massacring the Asturian miners in the 1934 revolt? They were necessary in order to keep hold of Spanish Africa and so they could not be touched! Thus, in its colonial policy, too, the liberal regime played right into the hands of the counter-revolution; it not only allowed the fascist leaders to take advantage of the discontent of the oppressed native masses against the republic but it also provided the reactionary conspirators with powerful bodies of armed forces, trained in repression and ready for anything!

PARALYSIS OF LIBERAL REGIME

But what possessed the republican regime that it stood by helplessly watching the fascist counter-revolution whetting its sword and making ready to strike? What possessed it that it could not take the measures upon which alone its safety plainly depended? The truth is that the liberal regime fell victim to the fatal limitations of its own class character. Fascism and reaction can be uprooted and the great social and economic problems facing Spain solved only by measures fundamentally revolutionary. Being in their economic essence transitional steps to socialism, such measures would necessarily involve a radical invasion of the rights of property, especially of semi-feudal landed property. Nor could they be carried out effectively except by means of organized mass action violating at every point the legality of the bourgeois regime, mass action undertaken and carried out by proletarian and peasant organs of power, the Spanish equivalent of soviets. But of such a program and of such measures the present republican regime has always been and is today inherently incapable because of its class character, because it is a bourgeois regime inflexibly committed to the preservation of private property and law and order. As one acute observer, Leland Stowe, writing in the New York Herald-Tribune of July 26, put it, the liberals "tried to lift Spain from the sixteenth into the twentieth century without hurting anybody's feelings". Such an attempt is worse than futile; it is a type of criminal imbecility that history always punishes with ignominy and contempt. That is why the liberal regime stood helpless and impotent in the face of the gathering counter-revolution, as if paralyzed by its own malignant doom!

CIVIL WAR TRANSFORMS SITUATION

But the moment the civil war actually broke out, everything changed; the entire aspect of affairs underwent a startling transformation. The liberal government—but yesterday so imposing in its sovereign majesty—virtually collapsed under the impact, revealing itself as a hollow pretence, a mere shadow. The military defense of the republic, the administration of the country, in the throes of so acute a crisis, fell almost automatically into the hands of the organized workers and peasants, led by the various proletarian parties and groups. The pompous liberal "statesman" began to ease himself gradually into the background, eager to give way to the trade union secretary, peasant leader and party spokesman!

In the twinkling of an eye, the relation of forces underwent a radical change. The confidence of the working masses in themselves and in their class power began to rise by leaps and bounds. The very government had to depend upon them and to appeal for their help in the most humble tones. A workers' militia, embracing scores of thousands of armed proletarians and peasants, sprang up almost overnight; at last the workers were armed!

In this atmosphere of revolutionary crisis, many reforms, long overdue, were finally initiated—the confiscation of church property; the liberation of all political prisoners confined by earlier reactionary regimes; the purging of the armed forces and governmental bureaucracy of all fascist and monarchist elements; even the first hesitant beginnings, here and there, of agrarian revolution and workers' control of production. It is the most damning indictment of the liberal regime that it required a week or two of civil war to bring it to the point of consenting to these indispensable measures, upon which the very existence of the republican revolution depended!

A situation of dual power soon arose. In Barcelona and other centers, even Madrid, and in numberless smaller towns and villages, the actual political power fell into the hands of committees of workers and peasants. "Virtual control of Barcelona," runs the report in the New York Times of July 28, "is in the hands of the antifascist militiamen, headed by a military committee, including delegates from the proletarian parties. They are acting in conjunction with the Catalanian government. The public utilities are operated by workers committees. The local transportation services display the insignia of the unions controlling the transport workers. The railways are in control of committees of workers. . . ." In other words, the form of power remains with the official government; its substance has passed to the workers' committees.

The two powers—the liberal bourgeois power de-jure and the proletarian-peasant power de-facto—still exist more or less amicably side by side, first, because the official regime is not unwilling, in moments of acute danger, to have the masses bear the responsibility of meeting the crisis and, secondly, because the workers, following the directives of their parties, are still ready to let their committees serve merely as an auxiliary to the official government, as a mass base for it. But the clash between the two is inevitable; it is inherent in the relation of class forces. The two cannot continue to exist peacefully side by side forever; one will have to give way to the other. Here is the great question on which the whole future of Spain may be said to depend: After the fascist insurrection is suppressed, which will prevail—the liberal bourgeois power or the proletarian-peasant power?

LESSONS OF KORNILOFF PUTSCH

The striking analogy between the events now taking place in Spain and the stage of development thru which the Russian revolution passed in August and September of 1917, is surely apparent to every thoughtful observer. It is no mere superficial resemblance; the similarity is real and reaches down to the fundamental aspects of the situation. In Russia, too, there was a counter-revolutionary, monarchist attempt against the republic, and in Russia, too, this counter-revolutionary outbreak was the logical result of the hopeless political impotence of the liberal regime. The analogy continues. When Korniloff, a monarchist Cossack general, who had been retained as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, raised the banner of revolt, the official government of Kerensky virtually collapsed and had to appeal to the workers' organizations for help. The workers arose to the occasion: a Committee of Defense Against the Counter-Revolution was set up, embracing all the socialist parties and the leading workers organizations; Red Guard detachments were recruited and a workers' militia set up and armed. Confronted not with Kerensky and his shadow government but with the armed workers, the Korniloff movement collapsed. Two months later came the great November revolution, in which the proletariat and peasantry took power.

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CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

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In Russia, too, there was a "People's Front" backing up the liberal regime and to this People's Front adhered the "conciliatory" (opportunist) socialist parties, the Menshevik social-democrats and the Social-Revolutionists, together with a section of the democratic bourgeoisie.

POLICY OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

So far the analogy is perfect—but there is a great and decisive difference. In Russia there was one proletarian party that rejected the whole strategy of the People's Front, lock, stock and barrel, that refused any support to or confidence in the liberal regime, that called for transfer of all state power to the committees of workers, soldiers and peasants—the soviets.

On August 31, 1917, when rumors of the impending Korniloff conspiracy began to spread, Lenin wrote, in a letter of advice to the party:

"Even under such conditions (a reactionary revolt against the Kerensky government.—W.H.), this is what a Bolshevik would say: 'Our workers and soldiers will fight against the counter-revolutionary troops if they start an offensive against the Provisional Government; they will NOT defend this government . . . but they will independently defend the revolution while pursuing their own aims. . . .'"

On September 12, the Bolshevik central committee published a manifesto including the following estimation of the situation:

"Counter-revolution advances on Petrograd . . . The Provisional Government fell to pieces at the very beginning of Korniloff's counter-revolution. This government, in whom a part of the democracy (i.e., the democratic masses.—W. H.) repeatedly expressed its confidence, whom it entrusted with all the power, this government proved unable to accomplish its first and immediate task: to suppress at the very root the counter-revolution of the generals, and the bourgeoisie.

"The salvation of the people, the salvation of the revolution, lies in the revolutionary energy of the masses of the proletarians and soldiers themselves. We can trust only to our own strength, our own discipline, our own organized power."

On the very same day, Lenin wrote another letter to the central committee:

"It is my conviction that those who . . . roll down . . . to SUPPORTING the Provisional Government are unprincipled . . . EVEN NOW we must not support Kerensky's government. This is unprincipled. One may ask: Must we not fight against Korniloff? Of course we must! But this is not the same thing; there is a dividing line here; it is being stepped over by some Bolsheviks who fall into 'conciliation', who allow themselves to be CARRIED AWAY by the flow of events. . . ."

"We will fight, we are fighting against Korniloff, even as Kerensky's troops do, but we do not support Kerensky. ON THE CONTRARY, we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is a rather subtle difference but it is highly essential and one must not forget it.

"Wherein, then, consists the change of our tactics after Korniloff's revolt? In that we are changing the FORM of our struggle against Kerensky. Without in the least relaxing our hostility towards him, without taking back a single word said against him, without renouncing the task of overthrowing Kerensky, we say: We must TAKE INTO ACCOUNT the present moment; we shall not overthrow Kerensky RIGHT NOW; we shall approach the task of struggling against him in a DIFFERENT WAY. . . . The change for, then consists in this, that the main thing now is to intensify our propaganda in favor of some kind of 'partial demands' to be presented to Kerensky, demands saying: Arrest Milyukoff; arm the Petro-

grad workers; disperse the State Duma; legalize the transfer of landowners' lands to the peasants; introduce workers control over bread and factories, etc., etc. . . ."

The line is clear: independent defense against the counter-revolution; no support of, no confidence in the liberal regime even in this crisis; on the contrary, the utilization of the crisis to destroy the confidence of the masses in this regime, thus opening the way for its overthrow and replacement by the rule of the workers and peasants. The line now being followed by the official socialist and communist organizations in Spain, on the other hand, is manifestly the exact opposite: "voluntary, complete support" of the liberal government; the curtailment of the activities of the workers within the limits of auxiliary service to the regime; the repudiation as "premature" of all talk of soviets and proletarian-peasant dictatorship.

In Russia, as Lenin pointed out, the "conciliatory" socialist parties, thru the support they gave to the Provisional Government, made themselves politically responsible for the increasing consolidation of the reaction which thrived on the impotence and cowardice of the liberal regime. The same is true in Spain today.

It is surely unnecessary to add a single word to this brilliant analysis except to recast it in contemporary Spanish terms. In the three short weeks of civil war and under the impact of the revolutionary crisis, great, even historical advances have been made in the economic and social life of the country—the worker and peasant masses have been armed; a virtual dual power has been set up; the beginnings of workers control of production have been made. But this situation is a transitional situation, without balance or equilibrium. It is clear: as soon as the crisis is over, the liberal bourgeoisie will demand a return to the status-quo; it will issue the command "backwards, march"! But to execute such a maneuver means, in class-political terms, to disarm the working masses and disperse the workers militia; to liquidate the dual power and reassert the sole supremacy of the official regime; to nullify any step towards socialism already taken. And, since the workers have arms in their hands and a new consciousness of power, these things could never be accomplished without bitter and violent class struggles, without a crusade of repression against the proletarian and peasant masses, without the establishment of a ruthless bourgeois dictatorship.

REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES IN SPAIN

It is difficult to tell whether there is any truly revolutionary socialist force in Spain today, whether there is any tendency that really champions the tested principles of Marxism so brilliantly applied by Lenin in the course of the Russian revolution. All indications would go to show that the Maurin-Nin party (the Workers Party of Marxist Unity, with its base in Catalonia) is approaching such a position; perhaps, too, the left wing of the Socialist Party, altho here radical phrases and slogans must not be taken too literally, as sad experience has shown. But wherever such tendencies are to be found, it must be recognized that they are as yet very weak. In the heat of the civil war, they will undoubtedly grow stronger but they are still far from having the predominant influence in the situation that the Bolsheviks had in September 1917. This, indeed, is the decisive negative factor that one must take into full account in attempting to forecast Spanish events on the Russian model!

The civil war in Spain is bound to be long and drawn out, altho, barring external interference, there is no reason to doubt the outcome. The military defeat of the fascist forces and the suppression of the counter-revolution seem to be fairly certain in the present situation.* But what then? It is idle to prate, as does the Daily Worker (August 5, 1936), that "the issue in Spain is not the dictatorship of the proletariat against fascism. The fight of the Spanish republic . . . is that of: democracy vs. fascism." Even the liberal philistines are coming to realize that, in the Spanish situation at least, "democracy" is nothing but an empty and outworn phrase, swept away in the heat of the civil war and never to be taken up again except as camouflage for a reactionary dictatorship. Only two courses will be open to the Spanish people: either a reactionary return to the status-quo-ante, to the liberal regime and to the old setup out of which the fascist revolt grew—or else—a progressive

* It is to be expected, of course, that the advocates of the People's Front will attempt to present the defeat of the fascist revolt as some sort of vindication of their policy. It should be pointed out to them that, whereas it was the People's Front policy that made so obstinate an insurrection of the fascist-monarchist forces possible, it was the independent might of the workers and peasants, and not the shadow People's Front regime, that smashed it. To justify the People's Front policy by the defeat of Franco and Godea, is equivalent to justifying the Menshevik-S.R. policy during 1917 by the defeat of Korniloff.

A.F.L. SUSPENDS CIO UNIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

ize or to admit that the trend of the times is toward industrial unionism with its great possibilities of organizing millions of workers. The council does know, however, that the more people come into the A. F. of L. the less power the present leadership will

have. Therefore they are satisfied to go on with a few members merely to retain their control of the federation."

Local labor leaders such as George Meany of the State Federation of Labor and Joseph P. Ryan of the Central Trades and Labor Union have placed themselves behind Green and support the suspension policy. They declared that the organizations which fail to withdraw from the CIO will probably be ordered expelled from the city and state organization of the A. F. of L. Ryan admitted that the

L.L.G.W.U. and A.C.W. alone represent some 200,000 workers in the city of New York.

No sooner had the Council ordered suspension than the strategy staff went into a huddle to map a campaign against the CIO unions. The very fact that the first discussion revolved around the setting up of an organization dual to the United Mine Workers and that the Progressive Miners of America (a split-off from the U.M.W.A.) was being considered as the nucleus, is in itself an indication of the bitterness which developments are like-

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ly to take. Altho Lewis' first reaction was against court action to enjoin the A. F. of L. from keeping these unions out of the A. F. of L. convention, the CIO has not yet considered the matter.

advance towards socialism and a proletarian-peasant regime! Exactly the same alternative faced the Russian people after the suppression of the Korniloff attempt and it was Lenin who issued the call to go forward:

"Either you are a revolutionary democrat in deeds," he wrote towards the end of September, 1917, "and then you do not have to be afraid of steps leading to socialism—or you are afraid of steps leading towards socialism. . . . then you must unavoidably sink to the level of Kerensky, Milyukoff, i.e., to the position of suppressing in a REACTIONARY-BUROCRATIC manner the revolutionary-democratic tendencies of the worker and peasant masses.

"There is no middle course. And therein lies the fundamental contradiction of our revolution. It is impossible to stand still in history generally, in wartime particularly. One must either go forward or backward. It is impossible to go forward in the Russia of the twentieth century, a Russia that has won a republic and a democracy in a revolutionary way, without GOING towards socialism, without taking STEPS towards it. . . . And, if you are afraid to go forward, that means you are going backward, which is exactly what the Kerenskys are doing, to the delight of the Milyukoffs and Plekhanoffs and with the foolish aid of the Tseretellis and Cherr-offs."

LENIN SHOWS WAY FOR SPAIN

It is surely unnecessary to add a single word to this brilliant analysis except to recast it in contemporary Spanish terms. In the three short weeks of civil war and under the impact of the revolutionary crisis, great, even historical advances have been made in the economic and social life of the country—the worker and peasant masses have been armed; a virtual dual power has been set up; the beginnings of workers control of production have been made. But this situation is a transitional situation, without balance or equilibrium. It is clear: as soon as the crisis is over, the liberal bourgeoisie will demand a return to the status-quo; it will issue the command "backwards, march"! But to execute such a maneuver means, in class-political terms, to disarm the working masses and disperse the workers militia; to liquidate the dual power and reassert the sole supremacy of the official regime; to nullify any step towards socialism already taken. And, since the workers have arms in their hands and a new consciousness of power, these things could never be accomplished without bitter and violent class struggles, without a crusade of repression against the proletarian and peasant masses, without the establishment of a ruthless bourgeois dictatorship.

This is the perspective of the Azanas and Girals, whether they know it or not! Once you insist that the liberal bourgeois regime must be restored, everything else follows with the inevitability of fate. And, if this road is taken, it means that the way will be opened for another, even more vicious and certainly more successful fascist counter-revolution!

The only other way is the way of Lenin, the way of "steps leading to socialism" for which Spain is now thoroughly ripe in every way. For, to paraphrase Lenin's remarks, it is impossible to go forward in Spain of the twentieth century, a Spain that has won a republic and a democracy in a revolutionary way, without going towards socialism, without taking steps towards it. . . . But, to "take steps towards socialism" means a radical break with the People's Front policy and a clash with the liberal regime. It means that the workers and peasants must never allow themselves to be disarmed or their grip on production and economic life weakened. It means that the proletarian-peasant dual power must be preserved and strengthened and finally made to displace the official regime. It means the slogan of "All power to the workers committees (soviets)!" Such was the course along which the Bolsheviks led the Russian masses in 1917 so that, after Korniloff, the proletarian revolution followed in two months. What will it be in Spain?

Is it possible that the socialist and communist leaderships have so far lost their Marxist sense and their proletarian instinct under the baleful influence of the People's Front bewitchment that they will actually rally behind the liberal bourgeoisie in the crusade to liquidate the revolutionary situation in the sacred name of Democracy? Is it possible that the anarcho-syndicalist leaders have so far succumbed to the abstract and threadbare dogmas of their anti-authoritarian creed that, thru political passivity and doctrinal opposition to the state, they will stand aside and allow the liberal bourgeoisie to regain the political power that has begun to slip thru its fingers? It is upon them, the leaderships of the workers organizations, more than upon any other single factor, that the future of the Spanish people now depends!

August 5, 1936.

Workers Must Resist Intervention In Spain

The proletariat of the whole world is aroused over the arrogant challenge of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy in flagrantly rendering military aid to the fascist cutthroats of Spain in whom they quickly recognized their own kind. To mobilize the masses for struggle against fascist intervention on the side of the Spanish military clique becomes therefore a primary duty.

But is it the fascist powers only which render such military assistance to the Spanish fascists? Is it not a fact that the "democratic monarchy" of Edward VIII has landed planes in Northern Spain, for use by the fascists and has explained that it is in no position to halt such private shipments to any part of Spain?

Also the United States is being involved on the side of the fascists. The "Daily Worker" of August 5, has the following to say in the course of an editorial:

"After declaring the biggest oil trusts in the world were involved, H. R. Knickerbocker, Hearst's publicity agent with the Spanish Fascists, admits this sensational fact:

"Among a party of visitors arriving in Bugos (Fascist headquarters in the

LABOR PLAYS TO GET BIG PRIZES

In an effort to create a vigorous, non-partisan labor theater the International Ladies Garment Workers Union is offering two prizes amounting to \$3000 for full-length plays dealing with social conflicts in contemporary American society. Julius Hochman, Chairman of the Labor Play Committee, announced at a luncheon for the press given by Labor Stage, Inc. This offer is the first of its kind in the annals of the trade union movement in the United States.

Mr. Hochman made only a few conditions. The plays submitted "must express the aspirations of the labor movement without, however, involving sectarian criticisms of any part of the labor movement." Originality in approach and technique should also be stressed. Labor Stage, Inc. will assume no responsibility for the production of the prize-winning plays but will insist upon its being credited with the sponsorship of the contest. Thus, plays reaching the production or publication stage through the agency of the L.L.G.W.U. competition will have to bear the inscription of the donors of the awards.

Although the main emphasis must be placed upon the hopes and dreams of the organized trade union movement, playwrights will not be limited in their choice of specific subjects. "No aspect of American life, no stratum or section of American society is barred." Established dramatists as well as ambitious amateurs are eligible to compete.

The contest closes December 15, 1936. If the plays submitted do not come up to professional standards, no prize will be awarded. If the best two scripts are of equal merit the prize money will be divided equally, and if one is clearly the superior of the other it will receive an even \$2000.

The judges will consist of Julius Hochman, Max Danish and Mark Starr, representing the L.L.G.W.U., and eight outstanding practitioners of the theater to be selected. Adaptations are "verboten."

North of Spain) by air is the Count de Sibours, a representative of STANDARD OIL INTERESTS."

"Knickerbocker shamelessly acknowledges that huge sums of money to help the Spanish Fascists buy bombing planes from Germany and Italy comes from the 'larger oil companies.'" And the same editorial continues:

"On the side of the Fascist butchers in Spain are not only Hitler and Mussolini—the criminals who are setting a new world war—but the STANDARD OIL CO. of the United States. Agents of the Hearst-Landon-Liberty League forces who spout "democracy", law and order in this country, are giving aid, comfort, guns and money to the Fascist murderers of the people's rights and democracy in Spain."

Since this is the case why in the world should the protest of the American workers be confined to the fascist powers in Europe? Why not do something right here in the United States where the Roosevelt administration, knowing these facts, has done absolutely nothing to curb these "agents of the Hearst-Landon-Liberty League" clique? Why not raise the cry also against American intervention?

Thruout the whole editorial there is not one word of advice on how we can help here in the United States. In addition we cannot forget that during the preparation of the Union Square demonstration for the support of the Spanish workers, Jack Stachel, of the Communist Party, sharply criticized those who proposed the slogan "AGAINST AMERICAN INTERVENTION TO HELP THE FASCISTS".

The Communist Party may desire to refrain from criticism of our American "democracy" since the formula is "democracy vs. fascism", may even fear to embarrass President Roosevelt and hurt his chances of reelection by demanding that Roosevelt stop STANDARD OIL from assisting the fascists, but by doing so it is hurting the cause of proletarian struggle against fascism in Spain.

This attitude of directing all fire against the foreign fascist powers while gingerly dodging the responsibility of struggle against our own imperialist government, against intervention in Spain on the side of the fascists, renders aid and comfort to the enemies of the Spanish toilers in the United States.

MEANY AND RYAN JOIN THE L. P.

New York, N. Y. — George Meany, president of the New York State Federation of Labor and Joseph P. Ryan, chairman of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York, have affiliated with the American Labor Party, according to a report by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick its State Campaign Director.

In joining the Labor Party both labor leaders stipulated that they are not committing their organizations which have not acted upon this matter. In addition it was stated that "they reserve to themselves the right as spokesmen for the State Federation of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Council, respectively, to endorse for their organizations any candidates for legislative offices whose

As U. S. Steel Sees Roosevelt

"An executive (Roosevelt) a little to the left of center," observes STEEL, (trade journal of the industry, "is preferable to one away out of the left, or perhaps one away over to the right. . . . More than publicly known, he has given assurances to business. Short of shouting it from the houstop, which would alienate such mildly radical support he so badly needs—he has certified to business that he will stand between it and extreme left wing proposals.

"Who will curb the radicals?" asked Steel on another occasion, "if faith in Roosevelt is unseated? The magnates knew that "by birth, training, and environment, the President is a patrician". He "would be much more at home with Myron Taylor or Eugene Grace than with Green or Lewis." Reviewing his achievements in 1933, Steel admits he had "quelled a social as well as a financial panic."

From Harvey O'Connor's book, Steel Dictator.

CANADIAN NEW DEAL MEETS SAME FATE AS IN U.S. COURTS

By LENA ZUCKER

Ex-Premier Bennett's "New Deal" legislation recently went through the mill of the Supreme Court of Canada and came out greatly emaciated. This legislation—consisting of eight acts—passed by the last government, was inspired in the main by Roosevelt's New Deal and met with very much the same fate.

It is interesting to note that, the present Liberal Government, which at the time the Bennett Legislation was passed was the Opposition, then questioned it's constitutionality; now, as the Dominion representative, it is forced to uphold these acts against the attacks of the Provinces.

The first of these "steps to recovery" is the Dominion Trades and Industry Commission Act, providing for government supervision over trade agreement. The second, Section 498A of the Criminal Code, supposedly supplies the teeth to the first Act by stipulating penalties for "unfair business practices."

The latter Act was declared valid, but the Trades and Industry Commission Act was badly demoralized, leaving only a couple of weak clauses dealing with regulation of commodity standards.

The Natural Products Marketing Act provides a government Commission with powers to supervise the marketing of agricultural products, designating the quantity to be placed on the market by individual producers and compensating producers for products they are forced to withhold. This Act was unanimously thrown out on the ground that it interferes with the rights of the individual Provinces to regulate their trade and commerce. And so the first gesture of the Canadian government to attempt Roosevelt's road to prosperity to direct interferences in industry and commerce, met with an early death.

The only one of the Acts to be treated kindly by the Supreme Court was the Farmer's Creditors Arrangements Act, of farmers' debts. This was declared legal.

The last four acts, comprising the labour legislation (whatever there is of it) of Canada's "New Deal", were left more or less hanging in the air.

The first, Employment and Social Insurance Act, is a very meagre attempt to supply a system of unemployment insurance on a contributory basis. Contributions from workers are compulsory, being taken by the employer from the workers' salary, thus throwing the main burden of aid-

record with regard to labor legislation merits the support of organized labor." * * * A city conference of Greater New York trade unions has been called by the American Labor Party. It will be held on Thursday August 13, 8 P. M. at the Hotel Claridge, 44th Street and Broadway.

ing the unemployed on the worker and still further depressing his already low standard of living. At the same time the benefits accruing to contributors are starvation rates of \$1.50 to \$6.00 per week and this only for an average of 78 days in a year of unemployment. Furthermore, no unemployed can receive benefits unless he has contributed over a period of 40 weeks. This completely cuts off the vast army of those unemployed at present. The Act further contains such discriminatory clauses which provide for cutting off from benefits a worker who loses his employment through a labour dispute (strike, lockouts, etc.) and also exclude a large section of workers from any participation in the insurance scheme (lumber workers, agricultural workers, longshoremen, etc.). Even this most unsatisfactory piece of legislation was rejected by the Supreme Court on the ground that it interferes with the sacred rights of the Provinces—to let their unemployed starve.

The remaining three gifts to the working class consist of the following:

1. A Minimum Wage Act, providing for the setting up of uniform minimum wage scales throughout Canada by collective agreements (at present each province has a different minimum wage scale and at that mostly for female employees only).

2. An act providing a forty-eight hour week, although, according to labour records, it appears that the principle of the eight hour day was accepted by Canada after the World War.

3. An act for one day's rest in seven.

On these last three acts the Court was tied and they will be again considered in the Autumn Sessions of the Supreme Court. In all probability the decisions will be appealed to the Privy Council in England (the highest authority on the affairs of the Dominion) and this undoubtedly will stretch into a matter of months if not years. The decision on contributory unemployment insurance makes the status of the other labour laws very doubtful. Even if these should be ratified, the enforcement of any beneficial elements it may contain will still depend on the organized strength of the workers. The workers cannot wait until the Canadian Federal and Provincial governments have decided who has the right to help them. The improvement of the conditions of the workers can only be won through the independent and united efforts of the working class—a Labour Party.

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Spanish Workers Do Most Fighting Says Eye Witness

"While the workers selflessly and heroically mixed it up with the fascist upstarts, the middle class stood on the sidelines watching the struggle for the retention of the Republican regime." Thus spoke Alf Chakin, trainer of the American labor delegation to the Barcelona Olympiad, upon his return to the United States. Mr. Chakin gave his interview to the press in the offices of the I.W.O.

"But how do you know," Mr. Calkin was asked, "that the middle class took the role of interested spectator? Did you get this impression merely by looking at the clothes which the champions of the Republic wore?"

"No," he answered, "I had more evidence than that. All of the fighters for the democratic government wore armbands which told the story of their working class origin. You see, it was the working class organizations, the Syndicalists, the Socialists and the Communists, who were given the duty of clearing the streets of the reactionary army elements."

"Can you say just how the army forces in Barcelona divided on the question of allegiance to the government? Were the workers left with the job of defending the regime all by themselves?"

"Well," declared Mr. Chakin, "I learnt later that the government ordered all those forces sympathetic to the regime to leave their barracks and go home."

"You mean then that the only men in uniform who put in an appearance on the streets were fascists?"

"Yes," was the answer. "The government apparently was afraid of the influence which the fascist officers would exert over the men and so sent them home. Thus for the first few days of the civil war the issue was fought out by fascist troops and the citizen or workmen militia. Later on, individual members of the army showed their loyalty to the government by taking their positions on the barricades. They were given rousing cheers of welcome then."

"How did the workers, whom you have described as ardent defenders of the regime, learn of the projected uprising?"

"The government broadcasted a warning the night before the coup was attempted. Thereupon the workers flooded the streets, the Avenida Ramblas in particular, surging back and forth restlessly until four and five o'clock in the morning. They were spoiling for a fight with the fascists. The minute the fascists showed a disposition to capture the three principle squares in Barcelona, the workers began throwing up barricades around these strategic points. They were going to hold them off at any cost."

"Did any of our athletes participate in the fighting?"

"No," Mr. Chakin returned "but some of us wandered out onto the streets while the fighting was going on. None of us was hurt, but a member of the French delegation was wounded seriously."

Mr. Chakin disclosed that two members of the team, Dorothy Tucker, sprint start of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U., and Eddie Krauss, Local 155, I.L.G.W.U., high jumper, accepted the invitation of the Czechoslovakian government to participate in a labor sports carnival which is taking place at present in Prague.

—L. M.

Baltimore Unions Back Steel Industry Drive

The Baltimore Federation of Labor at its regular meeting on Wednesday, July 29 has unanimously endorsed the steel organizing drive now being conducted by the Steel Workers Organizing Comm. The resolution of endorsement was presented by Michael Howard, delegate representing Lodge No. 13 of the Amalgamated Ass'n of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Introducing the resolution, Delegate Howard drew a graphic picture of the plight of the steel workers in the vicinity, emphasized the pressing need for organization, and eloquently appealed for the support of all labor.

Of particular interest was Delegate Howard's report that the steel companies, through their Company Union stooges, have been assiduously spreading the story of a split in the labor movement, trying thereby to discourage the workers from responding to the appeals of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. Delegate Howard reported that one Company Union agent of unsavory reputation has had a brain storm and let it be known that he is applying to the American Federation of Labor for a federal charter for his Company Union. This was reported as an indication of the manner in which the steel barons seek to utilize whatever differences may exist in the trade union movement.

The resolution adopted without a dissenting vote was intended therefore not only to enlist the support of labor in this drive, but also to crack down on and dissipate all such vicious, anti-labor, steel-master's propaganda. The resolution as adopted reads as follows:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, It will be to the everlasting benefit of all trade unions of Baltimore when the millions of yet unorganized workingmen and women take up the banner

UNION VICTORY IN DOLL TRADE

Complete victories on all fronts were announced today by the Doll and Toy Workers Union, Local 18230, A. F. of L., as the five-weeks strike of 600 stuffed toy workers ended with the signing of a new two-year agreement with the Stuffed Toy Manufacturers Association. This followed by only one day the ratification of a contract with the composition doll manufacturers reached after months of negotiation. The doll agreement covers 1500 hundred employees in the industry.

The stuffed toy workers contract, ratified by the strikers at a mass meeting in the Rand School, provides for a 5% increase in wages and places limitations on the use of cutting machines with a view to preventing the displacement of hand-cutters. The 40 hour week and all other provisions of the contract are retained.

The doll workers agreement is also to run for two years. It retains the wage scales of previous contracts but incorporates provisions regarding apprentices and learners which represent a victory for the union. In addition one clause guarantees that no manufacturer will purchase doll wigs from any wig-maker against whom the union is conducting a bona fide strike. Armed with this weapon the union looks forward to a speedy and successful settlement of the strike of 400 wigworkers which is now in its seventh week.

ner of the American Federation of Labor, and;

WHEREAS, The notorious labor-hating policy of the Iron and Steel Institute constitute a deadly menace to all of organized labor throughout the country, as well as to our most sacred traditions as Americans, and;

WHEREAS, The steel industry is one of the most important industries in Baltimore;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the Baltimore Federation of Labor endorses the efforts now being made to organize the steel workers of Baltimore.

BOOKS of the AGE

EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL CONFLICT. By Howard David Langford. New York. Macmillan Co. 1936.

This is a thought-provoking book which to a greater extent than any other, answers the educator's dilemma—"What Educational program will best meet the needs of our developing social and economic situation"?

Dr. Langford believes that education is concerned with three problems:

1. How to transmit the expanding stock of information about the world we live in.
2. How to secure the rounded development of the individual.
3. How to enlist the impoverished and exploited workers in an organized struggle for control of the means of satisfying their material and cultural needs.

The book demonstrates how illusory must be the first two objectives unless given body through the transformation of the social order.

The author takes issue with liberal educators of the Dewey persuasion who have made a great deal about the ideals an enlightened educational system is supposed to inculcate. How, he asks, are we to give substance to these ideals when the world from which the vast majority of students come (300,000 on relief in New York alone) is in such utter contradiction to the aims we wish to inculcate? In the final analysis, is it the school that makes the world, or the world that makes the school?

Much of the book is devoted to a consideration of the social conflict as reflected in educational theory and demonstrates by citations from Educational Frontier that theory which is intended to be progressive, but which fails to recognize the essential antagonism between the classes or seeks to reconcile their opposing interests, lends itself to the reactionary purposes of the present ruling class.

The concluding chapters are devoted to the problem of social transformation and the schools. Despite the many excellent features of Dr. Langford's discussion—the need of teachers and parents to organize, the duty to resist retrenchment in education, the desirability of student self-government, the right to insist on complete freedom in search of truth, etc., there are two criticisms which must be made.—In the first place the author creates the illusion that the existing school system can be used as effective instrument in the work of transforming society, and in the second place he fails to realize the importance of workers education,—education of, by and for the working class—that class upon whom Dr. Langford pins all his hopes for the reconstruction of society.

—Bern Brandon

INTERVENTION LOOMS IN SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

the French People's Front now running the government. In fact, the French Fascists now openly raise the question of Morocco playing a similar role in their own offensive plans against labor as it has played in the hands of General Franco.

Only the rising tide of international proletarian solidarity in the capitalist countries and the vigorous measures taken by the Soviet trade unions, which have already sent several million dollars to the Spanish workers, have so far chilled the ardor of Hitler and Mussolini for open large-scale military intervention in behalf of Franco and Mola. Enraged by the smashing victory of the rank and file sailors of Spain, running the JAIME I, in a battle off Gibraltar paralyzing the shipment of troops for Franco from Morocco and the destruction of the Fascist batteries at Algeciras, Hitler at first threatened to rush Nazi warships to Barcelona waters. Mussolini has been fuming about a similar course, as Mola's offensive against Madrid has degenerated into defeat and costly defensive actions of retreat.

In the face of the overwhelming heroic resistance by the Spanish proletariat and peasantry to the Fascist onslaught, General Franco himself has been compelled to come out with a statement "promising a liberal regime" and "to see that the long-needed social reforms are pushed forward in Spain." There is every reason to believe that this eleventh-hour transparent maneuver by the Fascist leader to "disavow" Fascism has been further dictated by his guiding partners, Hitler and Mussolini, who thus hope to undermine the mounting solidarity gripping the labor movements of the world. There is every likelihood

REMEMBER MOONEY ON LABOR DAY

Youth Congress Still Going To Right

By AL EPSTEIN

The story of the 3rd American Youth Congress has already been told in the columns of the Age. I wish to add a few remarks which will help the reader to understand the non-working class character of the Congress.

In the first place I wish to mention the speech of the Cuban delegate who delivered the only anti-imperialist speech at the Congress. So patriotic had the Y.C.L. become that not one word of condemnation was spoken against American imperialism. It remained for the Cuban delegate to chide the Congress for being content to attack every other imperialism but not saying a word against American imperialism. The Congress as a whole did not cheer his remarks. This job was left to the delegates and sympathizers of the C.P.O. who cheered and applauded every attack against America imperialism. The Yipsels joined in applause and the Y.C.L. remained silent. Could anything express the degradation of the Congress in a more glaring fashion?

Even a swamp can be swept by a fresh breeze. Such a refreshing breeze came from the young, progressive, and militant president of the United Automobile Workers of America—Homer Martin. His was a rousing class struggle speech. He spoke of classes. He showed that the needs of the toil-

ing youth was not the same as that of the younger Rockefellers and Morgans. He stressed the importance of trade union organization. Again the C.P.O. led in the applause and the Yipsels joined. But there was no general applause during the course of his speech. It was the writer who moved that Homer Martin's speech should be printed and distributed. When that is done we shall consider the printed speech as the one worthwhile product of the Congress.

The extremely dangerous nature of this People's Youth Congress was illustrated by their attitude to such potentially fascist organizations as the Huey Long Clubs, Coughlin Clubs, the Talmadge movement, and the Townsendites. In the course of a round table discussion on fascism and war, the writer said in substance the following: In order to fight fascism we must know who the fascists are. The Black Legion has been mentioned as a fascist organization. It is easy to recognize the fascist character of such a body. But there are numerous other organizations not openly terroristic in character but which must be classed as incipient fascist bodies. I need only mention Huey Long's Clubs and the Talmadge bands, who operate in the South where terror and lynching are long established customs. Then there are Coughlin and Townsend Clubs. I want to warn the Congress against

that Mussolini and Hitler will soon move that there be organized an "international army and navy" for the purpose of "safeguarding the lives and property of foreign citizens" in Spain" in order to save their agents Franco and Mola. The imperialists of the so-called democratic countries, as well as those of the Fascist countries, have been moving rather cautiously with their intervention plans on the following grounds: 1) contradictions and conflict of interests in their own ranks; 2) fear of the proletariat in their own countries. Thus, the New York Times London correspondent mimes no words: "Such a conflict, it is feared in London, would, because of its origin in a class struggle in Spain, rapidly transcend all merely national hatred and become the long-dreaded struggle of classes on the Continent. . . . But as soon as that war develops into a class struggle such as is going on now in Spain, Russia would probably be the only country immune to revolution within its own borders. There are hungry people in Germany and Italy, even if they do not care to complain. . . ." (August 9th).

But, stripping the situation clear of all the verbiage about strict neutrality and international law, one sees clearly the hypocrisy of the imperialists in Washington, London, Paris, Berlin and Rome. On the strictest basis of international law all of these countries have the fullest right to sell arms and war supplies of all sorts to the Madrid government which they all recognize as the de jure—the absolutely legal—government of Spain. In accordance with international law about which the imperialist diplomats and demagogues rave so much, these governments should not allow any one of their citizens to sell ammunition, airplanes, or any other war supplies to the Fascists attempting to overthrow the legal regime in Spain. Such acts are clearly acts hostile to the Spanish government with which all these and other countries are now at peace—ostensibly and legally.

But, fearing the consequences of a defeat of Spanish Fascism at the hands of the armed workers and peasants of Spain, the Roosevelt democratic government at Wash-

GREECE ENTERS FASCIST FRONT

Utilizing the "red menace" as an excuse and a threatened general strike as the immediate issue General John Metaxas overthrew parliamentary rule in Greece and established a dictatorship "under the king" but with himself as dictator. Greece is still under martial law, with armed force concentrated especially in the working class districts of the big cities.

With this coup d'etat Greece not only enters the ranks of the fascist and semi-fascist powers but also causes a reshuffling of the cards in the Balkans; it has definitely broken with Britain in whose orbit Greece moved and has entered the combination of Germany and Italy.

As early as July 15, our European correspondent, Lambda, wrote on "The Austro-German Pact": "An attempt will certainly be made (by Germany in alliance with Italy) to extend the bloc still further by means of the disruption of the little Entente and the Balkan alliance." (See Workers Age of August 8.)

ington, King Edward's democratic government at London, and, in a measure, Blum's Front government at Paris as well as the Fascist regimes of Berlin and Rome have resorted to this flagrant "departure from strict international usage" and have allowed aid to the Fascist putchists—in one form or another.

As the civil war in Spain continues and as the workers and peasants push back the Fascist armies the danger of foreign imperialist intervention remains and will continue to become ever more dangerous, regardless of general "neutrality and non-intervention" agreements that may be arrived by the big capitalist powers for sundry momentary reasons. It is not at all unlikely that the decisive force in the civil war in Spain will be the extent to which the workers of other countries will come to the aid of their Spanish brothers and stay the hands of the imperialists in the various countries.

including such elements.—Needless to say my remarks were not well received. Immediately a YCL'er disguised as a Townsendite was given the floor to reply. The Congress by its action has shown that it does not consider the above mentioned organization even as reactionary not to say potentially fascist.

Not so long ago every organization except the Communist Party and its auxiliaries was called fascist or social fascist. Now, there are no fascist organizations except Hearst and a few others. Thus the C.P. moves from color blindness to stark blindness. Both are dangerous and can lead only to the triumph of reaction and fascism.

The progressive degeneration of the A.Y.C. is epitomized in the evolution of its three declarations:

The first A.Y.C. called for a new social order, free from oppression of man by man, of production for use rather than profits.

The second A.Y.C. watered down the conception to the following: "Because we love it (America) so dearly, we demand that it be turned over to the working and farming people of America."

The third A.Y.C. eliminated all reference to a new social order or even to any radical changes in the social order.

Thus the circle is complete. At the fourth A.Y.C. Viola Ilma must be called back to claim her rightful heritage.