

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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5 Cents a Copy

NLRB Orders Ford Hearing

U.A.W. Rushes Big Drive To Organize Plants; Spread Union Paper

The National Labor Relations Board, charging the Ford Motor Company with responsibility for "malicious and brutal assaults" on organizers of the United Automobile Workers, issued a complaint against the company on June 26 and set July 6 for a hearing.

The complaint accuses the Ford company of "interfering with, restraining and coercing" its workers in order to prevent their unionization. These charges were made specially in connection with the beating of union organizers outside the Ford River Rouge plant on May 26.

* * *

Detroit, Mich.

Mass distribution of the first Ford edition of the United Automobile Worker was carried out successfully last week under threat of armed servicemen in the area around the River Rouge plant.

Circulation of the paper, which is devoted to the problems of the Ford worker, marked the intensification of the U.A.W. campaign to organize the only remaining major shop in the industry as the Ford organizing committee announced a steadily increasing influx into the union and a private investigation of Ford's latest company union.

The edition of 50,000 copies, which was divided among U.A.W. distributors at River Rouge, C.I.O. newsboys in the downtown section and various other union channels, went at the rate of fifty a minute.

Eagerness of the men to get the paper was evidenced when, in spite of the prevalence of servicemen, they took bundles from the hands of distributors and helped spread them in street cars and automobiles. Propaganda that Ford's employees are prejudiced against the union was definitely given the lie by these developments.

The Ford edition will appear regularly every Wednesday.

C. I. O. SHOE UNION MAKES GAINS

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Among the first of the CIO unions in Los Angeles to negotiate a closed shop and thereby crack the scab conditions heretofore existing in this notoriously scab town, is the United Shoe Workers of America, Local 122, which last week negotiated an agreement with the Fern Shoe Company, largest manufacturer in Los Angeles. William Seligman, who organized and led the drive for the union stated that there were also included in the agreement provisions for the 40-hour week, equal division of work, time and a half for overtime, wage increase, etc.

The signing of the agreement is significant insofar as it is the first step in the eventual unionization of the shoe manufacturing trade in Los Angeles. To progressives in the labor movement of the southwest it is especially encouraging in that it has been done in the face of the usual bog of tricks employed by the stooges for the local Merchants and Manufacturers Association, that bulwark of reaction whose motto seems to be "Thou shalt not work for a decent wage in Los Angeles."

I.C.L.L. IN PROTEST AGAINST ATTACKS ON P.O.U.M.

THE Independent Communist Labor League cabled its protest against the arrest of Andres Nin, leader of the P.O.U.M., to the Valencia and Barcelona governments. The I.C.L.L. had taken similar action upon learning of the suppression of the P.O.U.M.'s paper, La Batalla, and the arrest of its editor Gorkin.

The cable, addressed to Negrin and Companys, follows: "We supporters of Spanish struggle against fascism protest arrest of Andres Nin, and attempt to lump together in a single trial revolutionary workingclass leaders of the P.O.U.M. with spies and fascists.

Independent Communist Labor League
Jay Lovestone, Secretary

* * *

In reply to this, the following cable was received from the Valencia government on June 25, pledging legal guarantees to the leaders of the P.O.U.M. and disclaiming any direct responsibility for the arrests. The cable reads:

"Valencia. President and with him Ministers in Cabinet session to Jay Lovestone, Secretary of the Independent Communist Labor League:

"Replying to your telegram concerning suspension campaign P.O.U.M., I inform you that the Government of the Republic has not slightest intervention in those measures taken of a judicial character in connection with criminal acts and that arrested will be given all guarantees of regular procedure.

(Signed)
VAZQUEZ,
Secretary of the Presidency."

Liberal Heads New French Cabinet

Within a few hours after the resignation of the Blum government, a new People's Front cabinet was formed under the direction of Camille Chautemps, Radical leader. In the new cabinet, Leon Blum occupies the post of vice-premier; as for the rest, there are few significant changes, the general party composition remaining essentially the same.

With the aid of Leon Blum and Leon Jouhaux, head of the C.G.T., it proved possible to allay the resentment of the working masses at the elevation of the bourgeois Radicals to open control of the People's Front government. Nevertheless, at the Socialist Party national council, held on June 22, the proposal to participate in the new government was carried against the opposition of over a quarter of the representatives, the vote being 3,972 to 1,369. The French Communist Party, on the other hand, not only decided to support the Chautemps cabinet but even demanded direct representation in it, which was refused by the Radicals.

Chautemps, it will be remembered, was the head of the Radical cabinet during the Stavisky affair in 1935; he was forced to resign because of the resulting scandal. The general tendency of the new regime will undoubtedly be to steer to the right at an even faster pace

SWOC STRENGTHENS BATTLE LINES AS MEDIATION FAILS

LAUGH THIS OFF, TOM GIRDLER!



Rally of steel workers at gates of Republic mills at Warren, O.

Fascist Powers Prepare New Aggressions Against Spain

Twenty-three thousand Italian troops landed at Cadiz and Malaga in the last few days, the Spanish embassy in London announced. In addition, 10,000 more Moors and legionaries were brought to Spain by the insurgents.

In an address at Wurzburg, Bavaria, on June 27, Chancellor Hitler publicly admitted that the Nazi regime was striving for the victory of the Spanish rebels because it expected, as a result, to obtain iron ore from Spain.

The capture of Bilbao by General Franco's Italian forces, after an eighty-day siege, became the occasion for a sudden shift in European politics last week.

Apparently feeling that it was now possible to throw off a little more of the mask of "non-intervention" with which the fascist powers had disguised their pro-

than characterized Leon Blum's period of power.

On the whole, it appears that the present cabinet will play a transitional role. Should the Radicals feel in the coming months, that conditions are favorable from their own party standpoint, it is not altogether out of the question that the Chamber may be dissolved and new elections held. Otherwise, Chautemps will very likely give way to a third People's Front cabinet, again under Leon Blum, for it does not seem probable that, even with the support promised him by the socialist and communist leaders, a bourgeois liberal politician such as Chautemps will be able to last very long in the present tense state of class relations in France.

insurgent activities, Germany and Italy withdrew from the Spanish patrol blockade system, officially in protest over an alleged attack on the Nazi cruiser, Leipzig, and announced themselves prepared to rush open aid to the rebels. Indeed, on June 26, an unsigned article by Mussolini in the Popolo d'Italia flatly declared that Italy was going to see Franco thru to victory and share considerably in the "fruits" of this achievement. A renewed drive against Madrid was outlined in this article.

Within a few days after the taking of Bilbao, German technicians began to arrive in great numbers to take over the rich mining region and large smelting works seized by the rebel armies along the West banks of the Nervion River. Other groups of German engineers were engaged in Bilbao in taking over the telephone and transportation services.

While the fascist powers were thus at work, the British Foreign Office was busy in two directions. In the first place, it was continuing its old "conciliatory" policy, trying to placate Germany especially by yielding bit by bit to their political blackmail. In an address on June 27, Hitler expressed open contempt for these advances and demanded greater concessions.

On the other hand, the British were engaged in efforts to keep their hold upon the natural resources and industrial enterprises in the Basque country. This, of course, means reaching a "satisfactory agreement" with the Burgos clique. Franco's headquarters at Salamanca indicated that it would use Bilbao's mineral riches to force recognition from Europe's

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Republic Co. Defies Wagner Act

Gov. Davey Sends Troops To Protect Strikebreakers In Johnstown

With the collapse of the efforts of the Federal Mediation Board because of the stubborn refusal of the "independent" steel concerns to enter into any sort of conferences with the S.W.O.C., the battle-lines in the big steel organization drive reformed and got into action again last week. The Steel Mediation Board had proposed that the S.W.O.C. and the company heads bargain collectively, reach an agreement and sign a contract; then, after the strike had been called off and men returned to work, an election under the auspices of the N.L.R.B. be held; so that, if the C.I.O. steel union would win a majority, the contract would become effective, otherwise it would lapse. The S.W.O.C. was reported to have accepted this proposal in some form but Tom Girdler and the other executives of "little steel" rejected it offhand. Indeed, at a Senate committee hearing in Washington, Tom Girdler openly declared that Republic Steel would not, under any circumstances, enter into any collective bargaining conferences with the S.W.O.C. and would not reach any agreement, oral or written. The same attitude, in flat violation of the Wagner Act, has been adopted by the other steel companies involved.

S.W.O.C. Mobilizes Forces

Meanwhile, the S.W.O.C., under the leadership of Phillip Murray, has resumed the fight and mobilized over greater forces. A one-day "labor holiday" and the threat of a general strike at Warren, Ohio., forced the company to agree not to increase the number of men now at work in the steel plants there. In Youngstown, Ohio, the strikers picket lines are holding firm despite the assistance given by Governor Davey to the companies in opening their mills with scabs and strikebreakers. After a day or two of uncertainty, this "liberal" governor of Ohio began to follow true to form. Altho he lifted martial law from Youngstown and other steel centers, he sent in state troops and even an aircraft force to help Republic Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube break the strike and open the mills by smashing the strikers picket lines. The C.I.O. has sent a sharp protest to Washington against Governor Davey's actions.

In Johnstown, Pa., as news came that the steel mills were contemplating to reopen, thousands of steel workers, aided by miners from the neighboring territory, organized powerful picket lines to meet the new offensive of the companies.

A stir was created in Washington by the attack of Governor Davey upon Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins for her proposal that the governor use his subpoena power to get the steel operators to come to a conference with the S.W.O.C. and discuss the matters at issue. This very reasonable proposal was stigmatized by the reactionary

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The Civil War in Spain

How Azana Prepared the Rebellion

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(This is the second article in the series, "The Civil War in Spain," by Bertram D. Wolfe. The third article will appear in the next issue.—The Editor)

MANUEL AZANA is today the People's Front President of Spain. During the first days of the Spanish Republic he was its War Minister; in fact he assumed that post on the very day of the Republic's birth, April 14, 1931. His conduct in that key post teaches the Spanish masses what they can expect from the Republican leaders of the People's Front.

In periods of sharp class struggle and social revolution, the armed forces become openly the key to political power. They are the ultimate basis on which rests the rule of any dominant class; hence every revolution in history has found its ultimate decision in the reorganizing of the armed forces: in the disarming of the reactionary class and the arming of the revolutionaries. Cromwell's Ironsides, France's National Guard, Ireland's Republican Army, America's Minute Men and Continental Army, Russia's Red Guard and Red Army, are all evidences of this truism.

But the Spanish Republican bourgeoisie is far more afraid of the proletariat than it is of the landowners. More than it fears feudalism, clericalism and monarchism, it fears socialism; more than the armed reaction, the armed masses. It is a coward class afraid of its own destiny. Therefore it dared not overthrow Primo de Rivera, dared not overthrow Alfonso. When at last the masses took things into their own hands, drove out dictator and monarch, and handed the power to the trembling "Republicans," the latter, with Azana at their head, made no move to disarm the feudal-monarchist military apparatus. Rather did they seek to "restore discipline," keep the military machine intact, render it more "efficient."

THE SPANISH ARMY

The war machine that Azana took over was one of the worst and most reactionary in Europe. It had three times as many officers as the mighty French military mechanism! They had been recruited by the monarchism from the sons of the feudal landowning families. They were monarchists to their manicured finger tips. They had secured advancement by court intrigue and military coups and replenished their purses by notorious graft and corruption. The army had been for decades a magnificent tax-eating machine, utterly incompetent for national defense or imperialist aggression, with a long and inglorious record of defeats in Cuba, the Philippines and Morocco. It was skilled only in military pronunciamientos (the very word has passed into international speech) and in fire at close range upon Spanish peasants and workers. In this it was supplemented by the hated Civil Guard with a record of half a century of petty and brutal tyranny, and the frontier and treasury guards known as the carabineros. Azana increased the army from 105,000 men to 130,000, the Civil Guard and police force from 32,000 to 64,000; and the carabineros have recently been increased under Negrin (as head of the Treasury) from 4,000 to 40,000. To these, the Republic added an entirely new military formation, the Assault Guards, who were supposed to be pledged to loyalty to the Republic. Naturally, nothing was said about loyalty to the workers and peasants.

AZANA'S MILITARY REFORMS

The republican War Minister did try to reduce the excessive number of officers. Naturally, he did not propose to use "revolutionary" means like the dismissal of monarchist generals and the appointment of republicans, nor the court-martial of those whose hands were stained with the blood of Spanish workers and peasants and republican revolutionaries. That would be too much like "confiscation without compensation," and these bourgeois republicans had a deep-going sympathy with the protection of all vested interests against "lawless expropriation." To induce a few generals to re-

sign, Azana offered them retirement with full pay, free passage on the railroads, preference in government and professional employment. Only a few officers took advantage of the offer, and they were the best of them, men who hated the corrupt atmosphere of army life or whose lives were made miserable by their reactionary fellow officers because they dared to sympathize with the Republic! But the hard-boiled reactionaries, the adepts of conspiracy and pronunciamiento, the realists who recognized that the army was the key to political power and to the maintenance of the privileges of their class, remained at their posts and began to plot for military dictatorship, monarchist restoration and counter-revolution.

THE CASE OF GENERAL MOLA

General Emilio Mola had been one of the most hated of the monarchist generals. When Primo de Rivera fell and the throne itself was shaking, military-dictator Berenguer had appointed him as Director of Public Safety in Madrid, rightly judging him to be a ruthless defender of the status quo against the aroused people. His bloody rule made him more hated even than Alfonso and when the King fled, the people went up and down the streets of Madrid shouting: "Abajo Mola" (Down with Mola)! He himself thought that his days were numbered. "I left police headquarters," he writes in his memoirs, "by a service stairway, alone, as a private citizen, and grabbing the first taxi that I found on the street, I went to hid myself in the house of a friend." But Azana took him, trembling, out of his hiding place and restored the "butcher of the Battle of San Carlos" (where a few days earlier his troops had fired on and killed a number of demonstrating students) to his post as a general in the army. Recognizing this as *carte blanche* to continue his political activities, he immediately began to conspire with his fellow generals against the Republic. When Gil Robles became War Minister in 1934, General Mola was sent to Morocco where he completed his plans for the mutiny of the Foreign Legion. When Azana became President in February 1936, he was removed from Morocco and sent to that center of feudal reaction, Navarre, where in the garrison fortress of Pamplona, he openly received emissaries from other parts of the army and completed his conspiracy.

The cases of General Franco, of General Sanjurjo, of General Goded, of General Queipo de Llano, are dishearteningly similar. The last named married the daughter of the first President of the Republic, Alcalá Zamora, and actually became Chief of the Presidential Military Staff! General Sanjurjo, Alfonso's head of the hated Civil Guard, was continued in his post as "protector of the Republic" until, on August 10, 1932, he led an uprising for the restoration of the monarchy. His uprising failed thanks to a prompt and united general strike of the anarchists, socialists and communists and unaffiliated workers of Seville, where the coup was attempted. Condemned to death, Sanjurjo was soon pardoned and released and died in a plane accident in July 1936 returning from Germany, after a conference with Hitler, to take charge of the military rebellion.

THE STRANGE CASE OF COLONEL MANGADA

Illustrated on this page is the facsimile of an amazing document. It is entitled, "Fascism in the Army or the Union of Spanish Military Men." Its author is Colonel Julio Mangada, retired; its date of issue March 28, 1936, that is, before the uprising of July of last year; and I purchased it at an ordinary bookstore in Madrid.

The pamphlet tells how Colonel Mangada was court-martialed, jailed, driven out of the army, for the sole crime of loyalty to the Republic. It reveals that the military conspiracy which brought about the rebellion of July 1936 had been going on since April 1931, throughout the existence of the Republic. It shows Mangada repeatedly warning his superiors, War Minister Azana and the latter's successors, Martinez Barrio and Hidalgo, of the plot against the Republic. It gives details of the conspiracy, names, dates, plans, documents, (Continued on Page 7)

THE WARNING THAT WAS IGNORED

El fascio en el Ejército

o la Unión de Militares Españoles

(U. M. E.)



JULIO MANGADA ROSENÖRN Precio 40 cts.

Cover of Col. Julio Mangada's pamphlet, "Fascism in the Army or the Union of Spanish Military Men."—In this document, published March 28, 1936, Col. Mangada exposed the plans of revolt of the fascist generals.

S.P. Urged to Protest Against Persecution of P.O.U.M.

The following letter was sent to the Socialist Party by the I.C.L.L. concerning the arrest of Andres Nin, leader of the P.O.U.M., by the Negrin government of Spain.

Letter to the Socialist Party National Executive Committee Socialist Party New York City

June 19, 1937.

Dear Comrades,

In today's New York Times, the arrest of Andres Nin is publicly and officially confirmed. According to private advices we have received from Barcelona, 'La Batalla' has been completely suppressed. A number of other leaders of the P.O.U.M. have been arrested, including Andrade and Gorkin. The Times dispatch indicates an attempt to lump together, in a single trial, spies, fascists, and the leaders of the P.O.U.M.

SWOC STRENGTHENS PICKET LINES

(Continued from Page 1)

"New Deal" governor of Ohio as virtually amounting to "kidnaping." It is, of course quite another matter to dispatch troops to Ohio's steel centers to aid the companies break the strike.

The struggle with the four big "independents" in the steel industry, producing nearly 27% of the industry's output, is now about reaching its most acute stage. In this struggle, in which the steel workers are backed up by the labor movement and progressive public opinion thruout the country, there can be no other outcome but victory. The Tom Girdlers of steel will, in the end, be forced to recognize labor's right of collective bargaining!

attempt to lump together, in a single trial, spies, fascists, and the leaders of the P.O.U.M.

Your previous cable on working class democracy had a very valuable and powerful effect in the incidents arising earlier. We urge you to cable now to Negrin, Companys, and to the Socialist Party of Spain asking for the restoration of the circulation privileges of 'La Batalla' and the release of the leaders of the P.O.U.M. We are also cabling, and ask you to urge other working class organizations to do the same. An appeal from you to the Labor and Socialist International would be very worthwhile.

Please let us know what action you are taking in this matter. We suggest the consideration of joint public meetings and actions of our two organizations and others and would be very glad to meet with you on this matter.

Fraternaly yours, Jay Lovestone, Secretary

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NEWS GUILD PREPARES TO RESIST PUBLISHERS

By D. S. COLLAPSE of Hearst's New York American on June 25 and the impending suicide of more units in the publishing empire of the Lord of San Simeon, leave the American Newspaper Guild facing the tensesst situation in its three years of existence. For forty-two years under Hearst's ownership the American has been the brightest light in his newspaper constellation altho it never made money. It will continue to publish a Sunday edition, its various features and press association franchises being distributed to the Mirror and the Journal. Fourteen hundred employees in the business and editorial departments are threatened with discharge.

More Hearst Papers Going Other Hearst papers slated to die are the Chicago Examiner, the San Francisco Examiner, Hearst's original sheet, and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. The Washington Herald will be leased to Eleanor Patterson, thus adding it to the Chicago Tribune-New York News group. In brief, the "Hearst Empire" is to become a petty kingdom behind this lies the financial crisis which has assailed Hearst ever since S.E.C. rules made it impossible for him to foist stock on the public and his employees. A recent request for a debenture issue of \$35,200,000, fled with the S.E.C., brought violent protests against the notorious financial jugglery by which Hearst's personal expenses became inextricably confused with the business costs of his papers. By junking his money-losing papers, the publisher expects to leave a compact group for his amiable but characterless son to conduct—without, it must be noted, the benefits of Hearst's one-man brain trust, the late Arthur Brisbane.

Undoubtedly supplied with advance information of Hearst's drastic slash, the American Newspaper Publishers Association and nine other publishers and editors groups, representing a vast majority of America's 1900 papers, called an extraordinary convention in Chicago for June 29. Only one order of business was to be considered—how to crush the growing power of the Newspaper Guild. The call to this open-shop forum stated: "The Publishers Mobilize "The American Newspaper Guild at its convention voted to leave the ranks of the A. F. of L. and to affiliate with the C.I.O. In addition, the Guild is demanding closed shop contracts. The issue is whether or not the newspapers of this country should submit to the Guild's demand for a closed shop. This is a most serious threat to a free press and consequently to the liberties of a free people. These noble defenders of the free press were far too busy dancing around the Liberty Pole to note that the Guild convention did not ask for a closed shop. It demanded only the "Guild" or preferential shop but made that mandatory in all contracts so as to prevent recurrence of such agreements as the recent Scripps-Howard pacts which permitted a wide open shop. The press freedom publishers want is best revealed in the following comment of Editor & Publisher: "Added poignancy to the feeling of peril thru the closed Guild shop is given by the Guild's championship of the C.I.O. Deliberations of the convention left no doubt that the American Newspaper Guild is first and last a labor union. . . . The publishers efforts to make the Guild a tame housecat have failed completely. They tried to prevent it from becoming an economic organization, tried to keep it out of the A. F. of L., tried to check C.I.O. affiliation. Despite blandishments and threats, the Guild has grown to a membership

Farm Unions Plan National Body

Officials of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union have endorsed a call for a national convention of all agricultural workers to be held at Denver, Colorado on July 9th, 10th and 11th. This endorsement was given in response to a telegram from Donald Henderson, chairman of the National Committee for Organization of Agricultural and Rural Workers, addressed to J. R. Butler, President of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union. According to the telegram the National Convention will establish an International Union of Agricultural Workers and will decide whether to affiliate with the C.I.O. The message stated that over fifty local unions, representing some 75,000 workers had already signed the call. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union is favorably inclined toward affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization, and expects that the union might become an affiliate of an international union provided it was given autonomy and jurisdiction over the cotton field workers of the mid-south and southwestern states and was also allowed to retain its name. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union has an enrolled membership of approximately 35,000 members and constitutes the largest single group of organized farm labor.

Most immediate is the task of combating Hearst's curtailments. Tho that astute publisher has equivocated and squirmed when the Guild demanded a clear statement of policy, he cannot permanently avoid making a commitment. A united strike of mechanical, editorial and business workers on the Mirror and the Journal (and possibly on many other Hearst papers) will be the most effective defense not only against firings but against the general publishers offensive.

WHAT IS THE NEW DEAL LABOR POLICY?

By WILL HERBERG

IN their recent activities in the steel and automobile situations, President Roosevelt and such New Deal governors as Murphy and Earle have exhibited, by and large, an attitude towards labor that could probably stand comparison with that of some of the much-advertised socialist or socialist-coalition governments of Europe. This fact may appear puzzling in view of the political class composition of the Roosevelt administration, but a fact it is. It would be easy to wave the whole question aside with glib references to demagoguery or political strategy; these factors undoubtedly play a big role but they are not, by any means all there is to it. And if our Marxism is to be more than a sterile, scholastic formula, it cannot refuse to look facts in the face; it must be ready to approach them and the problems that arise from them in a realistic manner, free from abstract dogma or preconceptions that will not stand the test of experience.

The Economic Crisis And The New Deal

The fatal defects of the capitalist system as a going concern are both economic and social in character—the inherent disproportion between society's capacities of production and consumption under the given circumstances as well as the social unrest of the producing masses. What happens when the mechanism of capitalist production breaks down under the impact of its own inner contradictions we had a good opportunity of witnessing in the years following 1929. The ever worsening economic crisis, the spreading social chaos and confusion, presented a serious problem to the dominant capitalist interests of the country and to the federal government. Complete economic collapse seemed to be staring the nation in the face. Deep discontent, a mood of aching dissatisfaction and unrest, was sweeping the land. For the first time, fear and uncertainty began to grip the ruling classes, fear not so much of revolution, altho that was there too, but of the imminent collapse of the whole capitalist structure about their ears. The old, time-dishonored methods of Harding-Coolidge-Hoover "normalcy" proved completely ineffective in the crisis and even Hoover began to abandon them towards the end of his term. More or less spontaneously, from every direction, from among future brain trusters and from Chamber of Commerce committees, arose a new gospel of governmental action calculated to do something about putting the capitalist system on its feet again. This new gospel soon began to take on body and form in a plan of action designed not only to meet the immediate emergency but also to effect a long-range stabilization of the economic and social structure. In the program thus developed, the chief points bearing directly upon labor were the following:

- 1. economic rehabilitation thru the organizational rationalization of business enterprise (cartelization) under governmental control and supervision. 2. economic revival thru governmental spending (relief, public works), thru increasing the purchasing power of the masses, reducing hours, etc. 3. social order and peace thru a careful policy of reforms and concessions (social security legislation, encouragement of collective bargaining), thru the governmental supervision and control of unionism, etc.

Unity Of Aim—Difference As To Methods

It was over this program that the elections of 1932 and especially those of 1936 were fought. In his efforts to put a New Deal of this sort into operation, Roosevelt has met tremendous and increasing resistance in the ranks of big business. And yet, between the President and such opponents, there are not now any differences of fundamental aim or purpose. Both stand on the basis of the capitalist system and both want to stabilize and perpetuate it. But they disagree basically as to ways and means and these differences go deep and far. Both agree that labor should not be allowed to get out of hand and to challenge, directly or indirectly, basic business interests. Neither has any use for working class independence or militancy. But the reactionaries want to accomplish their ends by what they regard as the old, reliable, tried-and-true methods of cracking down hard and ruthlessly. Roosevelt would achieve the same ends thru the "domestication" of labor—which, in its immediate and short-range consequences, obviously implies a far different attitude to the labor movement.

Against this background, it should not be difficult to understand the real nature of the New Deal (Continued on Page 8)

John L. Lewis Presents Views of Labor on The Black-Connery Wages-Hours Bill

On June 7, 1937, John L. Lewis, representing the United Mine Workers and the C.I.O., testified at the hearings of the joint Congressional committee on the Black-Connery Wages-and-Hours Bill. Important parts of President Lewis' testimony, including his objections to the wage-fixing provisions of Section 5, are presented below:

TESTIMONY OF PRESIDENT JOHN L. LEWIS

We, of the United Mine Workers of America and the Committee for Industrial Organization, wish to pledge our general support to the principle of the minimum wage and maximum work-week as contained in the legislation which your committee now has under consideration. In commenting on the bill, I shall have some constructive changes and suggestions which I deem vitally important and which I wish to place before you. . . . It is unnecessary to state that, before its enactment, definite standards as to minimum rates of pay and maximum hours of work should be incorporated in the present bill. My recommendation as to rates of pay is a minimum of 40¢ per hour. As to hours of work, the standard, in my opinion, should be five days of seven hours each, or 35 hours per week, with authority granted to the Board to extend to a 40-hour maximum or to reduce to a 30-hour maximum, when the Board's investigation reveals that a 30-hour maximum work-week in specific industries is practicable or, on the other hand, where a 40-hour work-week would appear to be temporarily necessary.

Under these conditions, the standard weekly wage, regardless of sex, would be \$14, which should also obtain for the 30-hour week and be increased to \$16 for the 40-hour weekly maximum. Personally, I am a firm believer in the practicability, under proper industrial policy and control, of a 30-hour work-week. . . .

Against Wage Differentials

I am firmly opposed to wage differentials based on geography. Usually, this is no more than a plea for the continuance of low living standards in the Southern

states. Such a differential has absolutely no justification. . . .

As to changes in the bill, I wish to say that, in my judgment, the pending legislation would be greatly simplified and more satisfactory if Section 5 of the bill and other provisions connected therewith should be eliminated. . . . Unfortunately, the pending bill, instead of setting up one "standard" or "right" as to minimum wages, provides for two standards or, in other words, it provides for two methods of establishing minimum wage rates, designated respectively as the "minimum wage standard" and the "minimum fair wage," the first being 40¢ an hour, or approximately \$800 an annum (50 weeks of 40 hours each), and the second covering a range, subject to the Labor Standards Board, from 40¢ to 60¢ an hour or maximum yearly earnings of \$1,200.

The first, or real minimum is based on a straightforward declaration that no employer in industries engaged in interstate commerce shall pay any employee less than 40¢ per hour. Such a standard is simple, clear and easy of application by an administrative board.

Section 5 Is Wage-Fixing

The second standard set forth in this bill, the "minimum fair wages," is defined as "a wage fairly and reasonably commensurate with the value of the service or class of service rendered." It must needs be fixed by exhaustive investigation and administrative or judicial determination and after the Board has been advised by the parties in interest. It was perhaps intended to be a step forward from the "minimum wage standard" in order to cover up semi-skilled or skilled workers but unfortunately it sets up standards that disclose it to be a wage-fixing measure.

The worker does not receive such a wage as a fundamental right is to say, a minimum income upon which he can maintain himself and his family at the level of healthy and decent living. The skilled worker, should, of course, receive a higher wage in accordance with his skill and training. But every worker, no matter how humble his wage are paid to employees in any

occupation. . . . It amounts to wage-fixing by a governmental agency made in consideration of all the equities involved. . . .

I, therefore, recommend that Section 5, relative to "a minimum fair wage" and related sections, be dropped from the Act. Furthermore, as a representative of the United Mine Workers and the C.I.O., I wish to say that we are willing to stand, as a beginning, upon the "minimum wage standard" of 40¢ per hour. We should adhere, I am convinced, to the minimum basic wage as a fundamental right of employees, and not confuse or impede progress by such experiments in wage-fixing and such.

It is necessary for me to add further that it is my conviction also that any sanction for action by the Labor Standards Board such as "the inadequacy or the ineffectiveness of the facilities for collective bargaining," as set forth in Section 5 as a basis for establishing a "minimum fair wage" would be futile. Moreover, in my judgment, it would inevitably bring the administration of the bill into an unfortunate conflict with the Wagner Labor Relations Act and, in this connection, I suggest that there should be an express provision in the bill that nothing therein contained shall be held to repeal, amend or modify the National Labor Relations Act or any of its provisions.

Minimum Wage No Living Wage

It is a rather sad commentary on American wage rates to say that, no matter how low a minimum wage be established, it would benefit great numbers of workers. . . . But I should think it would be a calamity that such a wage minimum as that referred to should in any way be construed as a living wage. The labor movement with which I am associated is interested in securing for every American unskilled worker a living wage—that is to say, a minimum income upon which he can maintain himself and his family at the level of healthy and decent living. The skilled worker, should, of course, receive a higher wage in accordance with his skill and training. But every worker, no matter how humble his wage are paid to employees in any

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THE NEW FRENCH CABINET

THE replacement of the cabinet of the socialist, Leon Blum, by the cabinet of the liberal, Camille Chautemps, represents a significant shift in the internal relations of the People's Front as well as in the relations between the People's Front regime and the French masses. For it must be understood that the Blum government did not "fall" in the usual sense of the word, in the sense that it could not have continued in office had it wanted to. Faced with the increasing hostility of the die-hard right wing faction of the Radicals and an unmistakable lack of enthusiasm among the more moderate elements of that party, yet unwilling to rally to his support the laboring masses with whom his relations had become rather strained, Leon Blum felt the time had come for him to retire to the background and allow the Radicals to come to the fore in their own right. In this maneuver he showed his usual keen understanding of how the game of bourgeois parliamentary politics is played in a country like France.

The new cabinet is headed by Camille Chautemps, the Radical premier of Stavisky fame, and includes all of the elements in the previous government in a slightly different proportion. The chief significance of the change is that now the real political masters of the People's Front, the bourgeois liberals, have taken over personal direction of affairs instead of confining themselves, as they had done in the recent past, to "exerting pressure" upon (read: giving orders to) the socialist premier. Thereby the People's Front, as the political coalition of proletarian and liberal bourgeois parties, assumes its natural and proper form, in which the appearance is in consonance with the reality. French capital will continue to "put thru the policies of the right with the men of the left," but now it will be able to work more directly thru its own trusted representatives.

The course of the new People's Front cabinet is not hard to chart—it will continue and speed up Leon Blum's drive to the right. Its financial policy will be somewhat more cautious but therefore even more reactionary. In foreign or Spanish affairs, there will be no change; the French Foreign Office will remain a continental agency of Downing Street. And, of course, the "pause," the breathing-spell in initiating new reforms and carrying out old ones, will become even more than ever the sacred touchstone of People's Front politics!

But apparently things are not quite so simple as far as the masses of the workers are concerned. Resentment among the socialists seems to be mounting. Over a quarter of the votes at the recent national council of the S.F.I.O. were cast against participation in the new government, and this despite Leon Blum's personal plea for "sharing power" with the Radicals. In the C.G.T., it proved difficult for Jouhaux to clamp the lid down under a socialist premier; is he likely to be any more successful with the Radicals openly running the government? Only in the Communist Party are things quiet—on the surface, at least. As the special champion of the People's Front idea, the C.P. naturally declared itself ready to support Chautemps. It even went so far as to demand representation in the coalition cabinet; fortunately this piece of foolhardy opportunism was frustrated by the quite intelligible opposition of the Radicals. But in the Communist Party there are proletarians and upon them too the inevitable course of events will leave its mark.

The People's Front "experiment"—really no experiment at all but merely a somewhat revamped version of the old and discredited Left Block—thus enters upon a new stage of its development. If, as is only too obvious, it will not bring the French masses any special boons in the way of social welfare or security against fascism, then it may at least contribute to their political clarification and to their eventual turn towards tactics of effective class struggle.

GERMAN WORKERS SPREAD LEWIS'S ANTI-FASCIST ADDRESS

Sammlung Göschen

Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch

Von Dr. Rudolf Kleinpell

Zweite, verbesserte Auflage

Leipzig G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagsanstalt

John L. Lewis's attack on Hitler fascism, secretly printed and distributed in Germany, disguised as a work on linguistics

HAS THOMAS JOINED THE CHORUS OF SLANDER?

NO ONE had any reason to expect that Norman Thomas would come back from Spain a thoroughgoing Marxist or convinced that along the revolutionary socialist road alone lies the salvation of the Spanish masses in their life-and-death struggle against the forces of fascism, domestic and foreign. For Thomas has always been a moderate, reformist socialist and such he remains today, even tho the political fates have made him head of a party that pretends to be both Marxist and revolutionary. It was quite in the nature of things, therefore, that Thomas should return to this country full of praise for the reactionary Negrin-Prieto cabinet and full of reproof for the course followed by the P.O.U.M. and the left elements of the C.N.T. In praising Negrin, Norman Thomas simply lauds his own reformism; in reproving the P.O.U.M., he merely reproves his own critics from the left.

But one thing we had a right to expect of Norman Thomas and that is political honesty, a frank and candid presentation of the facts. Can we say that he has lived up to these expectations? Let the reader judge!

In the June 19 issue of the Socialist Call, Thomas discusses what he calls the "revolt of the Anarchists." And he goes on to say: "Bilbao need never have been so sorely pressed if a proper offensive could have been begun in time on the Aragon front. There were many factors in preventing or delaying that offensive and no individual or group can take all the blame. Nevertheless, one factor in the delay was the rising in Catalonia for which the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. were responsible..."

"The rising in Catalonia for which the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M. were responsible..." How can Comrade Thomas repeat these monstrous words with any regard for common decency? There is the most abundant evidence at hand—and Comrade Thomas is surely well acquainted with this material—to prove irrefutably that the May events in Barcelona were the direct result of the deliberate provocations of the P.S.U.C. (the Communist party in Catalonia), that the disturbances began when the unspeakable P.S.U.C. official, Salas, made a wanton and unprovoked attack upon the C.N.T. telephone exchange building and that the fighting continued as a measure of elementary self-defense on the part of the advanced sections of the Barcelona proletariat. Consult the documents presented in the May 12 issue of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. Boletín de Informacion. Consult the May 4 and May 11 issues of Adelante, the paper of the U.G.T. and of

Largo Caballero. Consult the reports of Fenner Brockway, John McNair and others I.L.P. leaders. Specifically, point by point, on the basis of facts established beyond challenge, the responsibility for the May events is placed at the door of the P.S.U.C. provocateurs. But Norman Thomas can still permit himself to declare that the "rising" was started by the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M.! It is an old trick to throw all the blame for an outrageous attack upon the victims themselves!

"Nevertheless, one factor in the delay (on the Aragon front) was the rising in Catalonia..." But, Comrade Thomas, your so-called "rising" began on May 3. How about the "delay" for weeks and months before? Also the responsibility of the Anarchists and the P.O.U.M.? Perhaps you might be interested in the testimony of Liston Oak, until recently an official communist journalist working for the Valencia government. In an article in the May 15 issue of the New Statesman and Nation (London), he charges:

"All has been quiet on the Aragon front, key to winning the war, because the government dared not give the Anarchist and P.O.U.M. militiamen too many machine-guns." How does that sound, Comrade Thomas? Apparently, the government at Valencia stood more in fear of the "internal enemy," the revolutionary sections of the proletariat, than of the "foreign enemy," France and his fascist hordes! Apparently this miserable regime was quite ready to sacrifice the most strategic battle-front out of fear of putting arms in the hands of the revolutionary workers of Catalonia! Why don't you look in this direction for the "delay" on the Aragon front, Comrade Thomas?

As a matter of fact, the C.N.T. and the P.O.U.M. proved far more concerned about the fate of the Aragon front than the Valencia government. As soon as the fighting broke out in Barcelona, the leadership of the C.N.T. sent special emissaries to the C.N.T. battalions on the Aragon front to persuade their followers not to leave the front for the purpose of intervening in the struggle at home. Is this not a fact worthy of mention, Comrade Thomas?

Are we to believe that Norman Thomas has, deliberately and with the full knowledge of all that it implies, joined the band of howling derisives of slander that are now trying to overwhelm the revolutionary proletarian organizations of Spain with the same unscrupulous calumny that their forerunners in the Russia of twenty years ago heaped upon the Bolsheviks in July 1917?

By Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Blum Regime Failed In Fields Of Domestic and Foreign Policy

(The following article by Lambda, our foreign correspondent, evaluating the record of the first year of the Blum government, was written before the fall of that government.—The Editor)

A YEAR OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

WHEN the People's Front experiment was initiated in France in June 1936, we were assured that it would be quite different from the familiar coalition politics which had brought such disastrous results in Germany and elsewhere. The difference lay, it was alleged, in the fact that, in Popular Front politics, the working class would determine the policy, would "lead" the bourgeoisie, while in reformist coalition politics with bourgeois parties, the bourgeoisie had always been the leader. We do not intend here to examine the political logic on which this assertion was based. Let us test the facts.

In June 1936, there took place a great and spontaneous strike movement in France. At that time it was still possible to credit the People's Front with the results of this strike wave. Today, every French worker realizes that these results arose solely out of the action of the masses and that the role of the Blum government was something quite different.

What is the situation today? ECONOMIC CONDITIONS UNDER THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The carrying out of the 40-hour week law has been systematically delayed and sabotaged so that today, nearly twelve months after the law was enacted, it has not yet been generally put into force. The increases in wages, obtained during the June days, have been cancelled with one stroke by the depreciation of the franc and by an unprecedented rise in prices. The proposal to compensate the workers for depreciation by means of a sliding wage scale was rejected. Prices are still rising and further depreciation of the franc is expected. Under pressure of the Radical-Socialists, both the French Communist Party and the French Socialist Party agreed to the depreciation proposal in parliament and thereby took responsibility for all of its consequences.

Following the wave of strikes, the workers streamed into the unions wholesale. The C.G.T. swelled to five million members. Meanwhile, however, the employers began dismissing workers because of their trade union membership. They deliberately set to work building up "yellow" (company) unions from among the fascist elements in the factories. Factory delegates were dismissed to make room for known fascists. When, after the blood-bath at Clichy, the workers in many plants wanted to throw out the fascists, the union officialdom indignantly repudiated these measures of self-protection and the employers answered with a series of dismissals. At the same time, the employers openly took measures to evade their obligations under the new social legislation by replacing factory work with home work. But neither the government nor the trade union officials have done anything about it. The old reformist trade unions of pre-Hitler Germany never permitted such widespread and brazen violations of collective agreements as are taking place today under the People's Front regime.

HOW THE PEOPLE'S FRONT WORKS

How are such things possible? Very simply! The People's Front government, the trade unions, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party have worked together according to plan to obstruct every advance of the class struggle—first, the occupation of the factories, then the strikes themselves, then all militant trade union action—"in the interests of economic reconstruction." The socialist and communist papers boast daily that France is today the country with the least social unrest! The workers are told that they should keep in mind the need for "peace" during the International Exposition, that they should remember that any signs of social unrest would be exploited by Hitler. In this way, the People's Front and all its parties have functioned to dampen the class struggle and to obstruct it in every way. To the degree, however, that the mass action of the workers began to die down, the employers felt free to launch their counter-offensive and to deprive the masses of the gains won during the June days.

(Continued on Page 7)

THE MEANING OF THE SOVIET 'PURGES'

By Jay Lovestone

EVEN the most obedient and devout of official communists must be somewhat bewildered by the latest events in the U.S.S.R., and we, who have been for years in opposition to the Stalin regime in the Comintern and to the entire hero-cult theory and practice that has afflicted the C.P.S.U., do not hesitate to declare that we are profoundly disturbed by these events.

It is most unfortunate that there is so little objective material at hand and that one is, therefore, much handicapped in arriving at definite conclusions about a whole chain of incidents—beginning with the Zinoviev execution and so painfully dramatized a few days ago when seven generals and a marshal of the Red Army fell before a firing squad. The end is still not in sight.

We of the International Communist Opposition, we of its American affiliate, the Independent Communist Labor League, will officially evaluate the latest trend of developments in the U.S.S.R. as soon as additional factual material is at hand. To attempt to arrive at a conclusion in the present frantic atmosphere and on the basis of the deliberate flight from reality

Great Discontent in the Soviet Union

There is great discontent in the U.S.S.R. This is not occasioned by the ambitions of an individual seeking an outlet. Nor are we dealing here with a clique conspiracy or with a handful of disappointed plotters who happened to have sneaked into the highest ranks of leadership. It is certain that the discontent has widespread ramifications. There is not an agency of Soviet economy, political, cultural, or military life that is not affected, that has not been seriously permeated with this dissatisfaction.

It is with the deepest regret that I must admit that there is an acute crisis in the regime, in the inner life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Tho the Gamarnik and other recent suicides and disappearances, tho the execution of Tukhachevsky and his aides cannot be altogether separated from the Zinoviev and Radek trials, yet a sharp line of differentiation must be drawn between the two sets of events.

In the case of Zinoviev, Kame-nev, Radek, Piatakov, etc., we are dealing with veteran party political leaders who, at one time or another, were in active opposition to Stalin and his general party line. For reasons of factional convenience rather than political conviction, they latter switched political positions to become, at least outwardly, sycophantic supporters of Stalin and vile calumniators of any and all people even mildly critical of Stalin. It is at least as little a tribute to Stalin, as to these culprits themselves, that party morality had sunk so low that men of their calibre and careers could be forced to fall to such a level that they could outwardly worship at the Stalin shrine while they were inwardly completely opposed to their own words and deeds, and

Stalin Confronted with a Double Dilemma

I personally reject the explanation of all these events given by Stalin and his supporters. This explanation is unacceptable to me on the ground that it is too simple and much too sordid. It does not account for the profound transformation of individuals on which it is based. Certainly, if we assume, for the sake of argument only, that the transition from Bolshevism to fascism could possibly constitute so vital a part of his leadership? Would he be prepared to confess that his regime was of a kind that could so easily harbor, nurse and proclaim such leaders as demagogues? Or, would Stalin confess

that his regime is of the kind that puts forward individuals who can suddenly leap from communism to fascism? Frankly, even if Stalin were to make such confessions, I would not believe them. With all my criticism of Stalin's regime, I do not think it ever was, or is today, of a sort that could, gradually or suddenly, produce the transformation of old Bolsheviks into Nazis. That there are lots of spies of foreign governments in the U.S.S.R. must be taken for granted. That there are more of them today than in the past because of the explosive international situation must likewise be taken for granted. These facts in themselves do not prove that Stalin's closest collaborators and his most confidential secretaries, all with years and years of unquestionable service, have become, overnight, thru some alchemist's magic, Hitler spies.

If we cast a retrospective glance at Russian party developments, we will find that it was entirely natural and understandable—especially under the circumstances of the stifling inner party regime headed by Stalin—that the logic of the political positions of Trotsky or of Zinoviev, Radek and Kame-nev, should lead them to an out-and-out anti-Soviet course. However, it is obviously absurd to ask us to believe that suddenly, mysteriously, Yagoda, Tukhachevsky, Gamarnik and Rudzutak became degenerates, became mortal foes of the Soviet Union, became agents of German and Japanese imperialism. Only two days before Gamarnik committed suicide, he was elected to the executive of the Moscow party committee—the second highest committee in the party. What ever complaint one may lodge against Stalin, certainly it is not one of such lowness, incompetence and dereliction in ferreting out enemies of socialist Russia or of his own regime.

Self-Indicting Accusers

If even one-tenth of the accusations and indictments leveled against these men were true, the situation would then have within it a much more grave indictment of Stalin and his system of leadership than that now hurled at the accused. There would have to be something very foul in the Soviet situation if the men who have for years given their all to the proletariat, who have for years, under the eagle eye and direct supervision of Stalin himself, directed the most responsible work, changed, as if at one stroke, from servants of the cause of the world revolution into agents of the fascist scourge.

We have been critical of Stalin and his regime. Today I am still more critical of him. Yet, in the light of his great contributions to the growth and progress of the U.S.S.R. and to the cause of the international labor movement, I cannot conceive of him as primarily responsible for the generation of so monstrous a situation—a situation in which those in charge of the Bolshevik education of the Red Army are really the tools of the Nazi hangmen. I refuse to conclude that Stalin can be so obtuse in his judgment of people, so bankrupt in his choice of those worthy of trust. I say this despite the character of the leadership he has imposed on the various sections of the C.I. and despite his elevation to very high posts of such people as Yezhov and Agronov.

Far be it from me to assume at any time even the slightest responsibility for the past, present or future of any individual in any Russian party factional struggle. All of them, of every faction, have persistently, systematically and

scrupulously kept in the dark or even misinformed the members of the other sections of the Comintern about issues and figures in the various inner party struggles since the death of Lenin. Still, it must be said that even weirdest fantasy is defied by the charge that Yagoda, Gamarnik, Tukhachevsky and their colleagues, occupying key positions in the Red Army's line of defense, became Hitler and Japanese agents. I reject as generally untrue and as largely unfounded the accusations against these people. In doing so, I am not assuming any responsibility for what they ever did or failed to do. Likewise, in doing so, I am paying no tribute to Stalin. I am facing to face with the Hobson's choice. I pick only the lesser of two very serious evils. That Stalin is an

expert at trumping up charges against opponents or potential opponents is not new to us. Nevertheless, here I must stress we deal with a more flagrant type of frameup than has ever been perpetrated in factional struggle. To me the recent demotions, arrests, accusations, suicides and executions mark the low point of the Stalin hero-cult. To me, they emphasize that the so-called or culprit cult is but an inevitable and inseparable phase—only the reverse side of the hero-cult.

Background and Basis of Recent Events

There has been a decisive improvement in the economic conditions of the U.S.S.R., the socialist base of Soviet economy has been strengthened tremendously. The immediate situation, in so far as availability and quality of consumers' goods go, has improved vastly for the great mass of the Soviet population. Despite all reports of widespread breakdown and calamity now being spread in the columns of the Soviet press, one must register great satisfaction at the constant progress which has been made by Soviet heavy industry. In underscoring these trends, I do not for a moment want to give the impression that Soviet economy is already completely socialist in character, that the problems of productivity, efficiency, skill, quality and quantity have already been solved.

Without in the least challenging the fundamental socialist character and health of Soviet economy and while definitely underscoring our continued conviction that regardless of the great cost, stress and strain, the first and second Five-Year Plans were historically necessary and we great boons not only to the Russians but also to the entire international proletariat, I am prepared to recognize the fact that Soviet economy still has, in many respects, much to learn from the technique of the most efficient capitalist countries. Just as it was imperative to accept with reserve and considerable scrutiny the paens of praise sung by the Stalinist press over the unattained achievements in the heroic days of the first Five-Year Plan, so it is necessary today to accept the latest alarm and panic cries of Stalin about the disastrous results of criminal Trotskyist saboteurs with more than a grain of salt.

Precisely this great economic progress has led loose social forces making for dissatisfaction with and opposition to some of the worst and most undesirable features of the Stalin regime in the party. Here it cannot be overemphasized that, in a land of the proletarian dictatorship where there is only one political party in legal existence, it is unavoidable that these new strivings, that this discontent, among the masses should serve as sources of pressure on the Communist Party and should manifest themselves also inside and thruout the life of the party itself.

New Moods in Masses and Party Members

The same party members and functionaries, the same non-party workers and farmers who were ready, even if not always enthusiastically, to accept the hard and narrow party regime of Stalin and even bureaucracy in the Soviet regime—all in the interest of assuring the speediest realization of an adequate socialist base for Soviet economy so as to guarantee the victorious defense of the U.S.S.R.—are now, after the achievement of their goal, anxious to discard these restraints, eager to clear out of their way such ugly obstacles, yearning to make an end to such sacrifices which they no longer consider necessary.

Moreover, without distracting one bit from Stalin's dynamic leadership in the course of the application of his generally correct line of economic policy, it must be said

most undesirable features of the Stalin regime in the party. Here it cannot be overemphasized that, in a land of the proletarian dictatorship where there is only one political party in legal existence, it is unavoidable that these new strivings, that this discontent, among the masses should serve as sources of pressure on the Communist Party and should manifest themselves also inside and thruout the life of the party itself.

But at this point we must reckon with the dialectics of Soviet economic and social progress itself, of the very Soviet economic policy for which Stalin was so largely and creditably responsible. The very success of the two Five-Year Plans has aroused among the Soviet masses and the C.P.S.U. membership a greater desire for higher standards—political, cultural and spiritual as well as material. The adoption of the new Soviet constitution, with its provisions for a further enlargement of genuine Soviet democracy, was but a reflection of the successes of socialist economy, of the resultant new moods, new wants, new standards of freedom and new demands for self-expression among the masses.

That his regime has been characterized by utterly unnecessary and grossly impermissible features. These grew largely out of his method of applying factional strategy and hero-cult technique to economic policy. Corruption and unprincipled factionalism, incompetence, favoritism and callous bureaucracy began to permeate the entire Stalin system at an alarming tempo under these circumstances. These dangerous conditions were tolerated and even accepted by the party masses and workers in general in the days of economic strain and hardship, in the early stages of the first Five-Year Plan. The crudest and costliest errors resulting from the narrow and rigid party regime were often corrected only by the "scapegoat" method, only by Stalin turning hard on the

(Continued on Page 6)

The Meaning of the "Purges" In the Soviet Union

(Continued from Page 5)

most enthusiastically energetic exponents of his policy on the ground of "excesses." The total incapacity of Stalin for Bolshevik self-criticism was painfully revealed in the early days of the Five-Year Plan when he, with sudden fury, launched a campaign against those "dizzy with success."

As the U.S.S.R. emerged from the woods—economically speaking—there developed a marked demand for the dropping of restraints, for the easing of inner party relations, for a decrease of bureaucracy, for an end to corruption, for the abolition of which was even the most loyal followers. At first, Stalin encouraged these moves. For a short while, even the hero-cult was soft-pedaled. The birth rate of busts declined; the size of pictures diminished; the multiplication of Stalin icons decreased. Soon the columns of the Soviet press were crowded with criticism of these evils, which but yesterday had been demanded and welcomed by the Stalin leadership itself as signs and evidence of healthy party loyalty.

Here lies the reason for the Stalin regime returning to the party members (without ever telling them that it had ever been taken from them) the right to direct election of unit functionaries instead of appointment from above. Here is the explanation of the latest C.P.S.U. elections manifesting a trend in which an extremely high proportion of the incumbent party functionaries were not returned to office.

Stalin's Faction Strategy Falls Short

Thus, for a while, Stalin played with these moods, even encouraging them. It is becoming increasingly evident to me that Stalin did not harness the new forces for the purpose of preserving his leadership and regime. For a while, he employed a certain modicum of honest, genuine cleansing, sacrificing factional lieutenants. He even made efforts to clip the bureaucrats.

However, these secondary concessions did not serve to allay the dissatisfaction which was becoming more rampant. The discontent in the country was more widespread. The dissatisfaction in the party with the anti-critical, stifling atmosphere of the Stalin regime was more deepening and could not be handled or overcome by the usual factional strategy of Stalin. This discontent with Stalin's system of party leadership, and perhaps also with certain phases of his foreign and Comintern policy, seeped into and began to grip certain layers of the party leadership itself—the uppermost strata of the party and the Red Army not excluded. About the methods and maneuvers resorted to by the latter, we know very little. With long years in the factional schools of Trotsky and Stalin and without the watchful eye, skilled hand and brilliant mind of Lenin, some of these men may have harbored ideas or even resorted to impermissible measures in order to overthrow completely, instead of merely overhauling, the Stalin party regime. I repeat: we must take no responsibility for and refuse to condone or condemn the specific actions of these people, whose general political line had been identical with Stalin's, unless we are given an opportunity to get at the facts.

Stalin, discovering this extensive conspiracy and being what Lenin characterized him to be, apparently then turned with such brutal force, as only he is capable of displaying, on his concealed as well as open opponents. Instead of taking steps to create a freer and cleaner party atmosphere, instead of making

moves to end the atmosphere of paralyzing fear, stultifying suspicion and devastating distrust, instead of resorting to more party democracy, instead of seeking to secure a genuine party discussion of the kind the Bolshevik party could afford under Lenin's leadership even at the very moment when Yudenich was menacing Leningrad, when Kolchak was threatening Moscow, when the Soviets faced White Guard and foreign interventionist armies on more than twenty fronts, Stalin moved brutally and with terrific speed in the very opposite and suicidal direction. More than ever before, this time Stalin moved to extremes—with wild and overbearing force, with more untrammelled fury than intelligence and studied caution.

Errors That Are Terrifically Costly

The cost of these errors made by both sides in the newest conflict rendering the regime of the C.P.S.U. is terrific. It is incalculably heavy. For the moment, Soviet might in the realm of foreign policy is well-nigh impotent. For the moment, the cause of proletarian Spain is most seriously imperiled. Momentarily, the well-deserved glamor of the Old Bolsheviks has been further diminished and the prestige of the C.P.S.U. and of the U.S.S.R. itself in the ranks of the international working class has suffered heavily. Just now, only capitalist reaction in general and fascist reaction in particular are the gainers. We can easily perceive, under these circumstances, why particularly the warmest champions of the Soviet Union should stand agnost at the latest events.

Time and again, I have defended some of Stalin's policies against the onslaughts of the Trotskyites, against the "blessings" of such bourgeois admirers of his as Duranty, and against the insipid and harmful defense of his program for the U.S.S.R. made by his hand-picked party bureaucrats in this country and elsewhere. Despite all provocations, I have sought to be objective in my critical evaluation of Stalin and his contributions. It is on this score that I have often been called Stalin's attorney by Trotskyites and by disillusioned, despairing, Communist Party members. It is with the same objectively critical attitude that I have sought to evaluate Stalin's latest moves. Exactly for this reason do I condemn the way in which he has handled the latest manifestations of discontent in the Soviet Union.

I do not do so for any factional reasons. Our organization at its very inception declared its complete independence of Soviet party factions and personages. It has been fundamental with us not to transfer mechanically Russian tactics, factions or factionalism to the other sections of the C.I. Besides, the latest victims of Stalin's heavy hand were never tied up in the least with any associations I had in the years in which I occupied a leading position in the Comintern. They never participated in the life of the C.I. I am paying no debts when I express deepest concern and horror—as do millions of workers throughout all countries—at the Gamarnik, Tukhachevsky, Rudzutak, Yagoda and Umschlicht developments.

Darkness Before the Dawn

Despite it all, I see not only cause for concern but also some redeeming features in the whole difficult and disturbing situation. I have a growing conviction that the Stalin system of leadership has about run its course in the C.P.S.U. and, therefore, in the Comintern. I set no dates for improvement or vital change, but I think that the full logic of his ruinous

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regime is about to appear. I do not think there is much worse that the Stalin system can bring into the life of the C.P.S.U. and, therefore, into the life of the Comintern. I do not think there is a much lower point to which the Stalin regime can sink.

Let anyone think I am whistling in the dark, let me say further that, while I see a very grave crisis in the party regime, I do not see at this writing a really insoluble crisis in the Soviet regime itself. Had even an infinitesimal fraction of the charges levelled against Tukhachevsky and his aides been true, then Germany and Japan could have, some time ago, dealt most fatal blows to the U.S.S.R. These blows would, of course, have dealt with the lavish aid of democratic England and republican France. We have not forgotten how the liberal Lloyd George and his French democratic partners allied themselves with the Japanese invaders of Siberia and the Kaiser's picked troops in attacking Soviet Russia's western frontier.

Again I am confident that, if imperialist intrigue should lead to an attack on the U.S.S.R., the Soviet masses would rally as one to an invincible defense and that there would be generated in the Soviet Union, as well as in the party, a new, higher and far healthier unity than has prevailed at any time since the death of Lenin. Why do I say this? Because I am aware of the fact that the economic base of the U.S.S.R. is socialist, that it is becoming increasingly stronger and healthier despite mistakes, shortcomings, and even sabotage—often undoubtedly perpetrated by agents of imperialist powers. That is why I see no really irreparable crisis in the Soviet system today despite the gravity of the crisis in the C.P.S.U. regime.

In short, the crisis in the C.P.S.U., serious as it is, is not a crisis of decay or decline of the Soviet system as such; far more is it a crisis growing out of the tragic and costly inability of the party leadership to meet the new situation in which the wants, standards and demands—material, political, moral and cultural—of the Soviet masses have risen to new heights, have grown to new proportions. Before this developing maze of powerful social forces, forces revealing the imperishable vitality of the Soviet system, the Stalin regime—with all its impermissibility and with its anti-Bolshevik brutality—is bound to give way.

What's To Be Done

Finally, despite the loss of prestige suffered by the C.P.S.U. thru recent events, I am sure that in case there should by any attempt against the U.S.S.R. by the fascist and democratic imperialist powers, the workers movement in the capitalist countries would respond ef-

Canada Faces Rising Menace Of Clerical Fascism

WHILE the communist youth scamper about trying to win over the Church with those oily speeches previously reserved for Methodist and Baptist clergy, the Canadian Catholic machinery is being oiled for the coming bloody struggle." Writing in the current (June, 1937) issue of The Canadian Forum, Mr. Eugene Forsey lays bare the calculated plans to destroy international labor unions in Canada.

"Quebec has been for some time the scene of a formidable, carefully organized campaign to transform the province into a clerical fascist state. A little over a year ago the St. Jean Baptiste Society set up a Committee of Economic Defense. The members of this committee had already decided that, if the French-Canadians were to become masters of their own economic fate . . . they must 'group themselves together' by creating social corporations." Then it would be possible "to keep their capital for ourselves."

Mr. Forsey elaborates on the program of the Society to spread its work. New headquarters in the workingclass districts, lectures arranged by the Alliance of Catholic Teachers of Montreal, contacts with business organizations. He reveals the extent of the campaign: its opening of "zone" headquarters the arrangement of widespread lectures on "Social Corporatism"; and all attention especially to a speech by a Victor Barbeau, a professor at the University of Montreal and an initiator of the Committee of Economic Defense, made to the Junior Chamber of Commerce, at which were present some of the important bigwigs of that organization. Barbeau described existing society as being "from the political point of view a mass of bragbags, and from the national point of view a body without a soul." . . . "We must drown Communism in the flood of our speeches. . . Liberalism and conservatism embrace beliefs which render impossible the solution of our grave problems."

What is the remedy for the ills from which we suffer if it is not professional organization, or in other words, corporatism?" Excerpts from Mr. Forsey's article follow:

CLERICAL FASCISM IN QUEBEC

Far more significant than any of this is the fact that the Cardinal (who, Mr. Duplessis tells us, inspired the Padlock Act) has now placed himself openly at the head of the "corporatist" campaign. On April 17, at a dinner of the A.C.

fectively to the call for aid from the Soviet Union. If there had not been very great likelihood of such international aid being rendered to the U.S.S.R. by the international labor movement, then Germany, Japan, Italy and the "great democracies" would not have feared or hesitated so long in transforming their hatred of Socialist Russia into a first class "war for civilization" against the Soviet Union.

In the meanwhile, we, in the capitalist countries, can and should do one thing above all else in behalf and defense of the U.S.S.R. This is: build ever stronger, ever more militant labor movements rooted in the soil of their respective countries. Only the rise of such powerful labor movements and only the development of communist forces which are not mere echoes of Russian faction struggles, but which develop their own initiative and self-reliance in the realm of theory and practice, can today truly serve our Russian comrades in helping them overcome their tremendous difficulties and march on to better days.

June 18, 1937

J.C. (Association Canadienne de la Jeunesse Catholique), the federation of French-Canadian Catholic Youth organizations, he lamented at some length the rise of anti-clericalism and the growing lack of respect for the directions of the bishops, and demanded "full corporatism." This is to be the anti-doctrine to "Communism," which, as the church well knows, is of negligible importance in Canada, and to anti-clericalism, which, on the contrary, has become strong enough to frighten the hierarchy nearly out of its wits.

The spearhead of the clerical-fascist attack, however, is not speeches or lectures. It is the organization of "Catholic trade unions." These, which claim about 38,000 members in Quebec, which already count more members in Quebec than any other type of union, "answer exactly," says Father Archambault, "to the desires of the Sovereign Pontiff." Small wonder! they are completely under the control of the clergy. By a happy coincidence they also answer very nicely to the desires of the employers. Again small wonder, for they are based on the proposition that workers should "love and agree with" their employers and should strike only as a last resort (whatever that may mean), and never in public services or public utilities. (See the Dominion Department of Labor's Report on Labor Organization, 1932, and other years. Some recent issues of the report omit this interesting information.) Father Archambault also speaks of "collective labor agreements" (i.e., those made binding in law) as a "stage in the establishment of the corporative system."

The technique is to organize a Catholic union (numbers unspecified), make an "agreement" with the employers, and have this made binding under the Collective Labor Agreements Extension Act. Any international union is then faced with a fait accompli. The industry has a union (and a Canadian one at that; no foreign "agitators"!); the employers have recognized it and bargained collectively with it, reaching an agreement with which they are perfectly satisfied (like a shark with a herring); and wages and hours are fixed by law for a definite period, often several years. Any attempt to organize a genuine union is represented as at best superfluous; a strike becomes of doubtful legality.

Recent events in the dress industry in Montreal exhibit an improved version of this technique. On April 10 the Quebec Official Gazette published an agreement between the Dress Manufacturers' Guild and La Ligue Catholique des Ouvriers de l'Industrie de laiguille de la Province de Quebec and La Federation Nationale du Vetement. On April 15 the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union called a strike. The Dress Manufacturers' Guild promptly burst into the usual hysterics about the C.I.O. and "foreign agitators," and made clear its preference for the Catholic piety in such a quarter (most of the dress manufacturers are Jewish), could not go unwarded.

Church authorities intervened publicly to give their support to the Catholic unions, suggesting that the international unions are hostile to Catholicism and that the I.L.G.W.U. has communistic tendencies. They appear to have overlooked the trifling fact that the Catholic unions had made an agreement which violated the law of the province. Order Number 10a of the Minimum Wage Commission decreed for the whole province minimum wages of \$7 a week for

(Continued on Page 7)

BOOKS of the AGE

THREE COMRADES. By Erich Maria Remarque. Little Brown & Company, Boston. \$2.75.

This third novel by the celebrated German exile deals with the helplessness and bewilderment of three young German veterans of the World War, Koester, Gottfried and Robert. They are all in the neighborhood of thirty years of age, heavy laden with the horrible memories of what they had seen and done on the battlefield, reckless of the future, without trades and not caring to learn any. The year is 1923-1929. The politico-economic condition of Germany is desperate, the land is teeming with all sorts of saviors, and starvation is on every hand. The three comrades of the story manage to make a living by repairing old cars, garage tending, and cabbieing. They work day and night, they drink day and night, and they whore day and night. A beautiful and very sensitive tubercular girl comes in love, and the other two do all in their power to make their romance a happy one. They steal flowers and "borrow" cars for them, and when the girl, Pat, suffers a serious hemorrhage while away in the country with Robert, they kidnap a doctor to treat her. In the end, one of the comrades is killed in a street brawl, Pat dies, and Robert and Gottfried return to a loneliness that apparently is boundless.

There are several moving sections in the book, especially those dealing with the comrades encounters with the Berlin prostitutes, and the love story of Pat and Robert reaches moments of supreme tenderness. But the rest of the book is sloppily put together and full of sheer verbiage. Above all, the volume lacks size and significance. The bewilderment of the three comrades is stated rather than delineated. Their gropings for intellectual equilibrium and emotional stability seldom rise above the level of hobo wistfulness. Even the love between Pat and Robert, for all its beauty, somehow never quite gets rid of its dillyish character. It seems so local in the milieu of the whole book that the reader almost resents the space the author gives it.

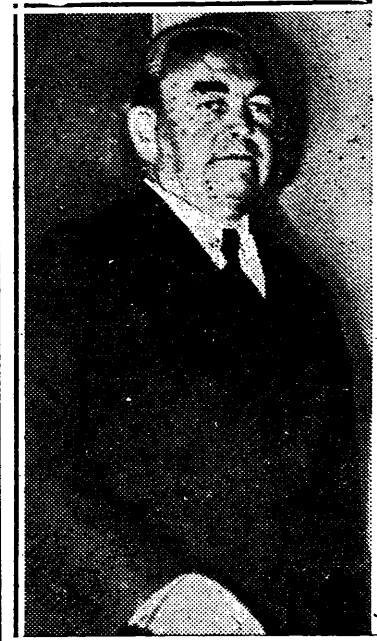
"Three Comrades," in short, is a very feeble performance beside the same author's "All Quiet on the Western Front" and especially "The Road Back," his best book to date. It is impossible, of course, to state definitely whether Remarque temporarily we hope, has lost his grasp. But one plausible reason comes to mind: his exile. Being away from a country one is writing about is dangerous to an author of less than great size. Silone, it is true, wrote the excellent "Bread and Wine" after many years' absence from Italy, but Remarque is no Silone.

MENACE OF CLERICAL FASCISM IN CANADA

(Continued from page 6)

15 per cent of the employees, \$10 for 20 per cent, and \$12.50 for 65 per cent. The agreement between the employers and the Catholic union (Quebec Official Gazette, April 10, 1937, p. 1410) sets, in the Montreal district, wages of \$8 for 20 per cent of the workers, \$10.50 for 20 per cent, \$12.50 for 30 per cent, and \$14 for 30 per cent; in the rest of the province \$7.20 for 20 per cent, \$9.45 for 20 per cent, \$11.25 for 30 per cent, and \$12.50 for 30 per cent. Press statements add that where the Catholic unions ask \$8 to \$14, the I.L.G.W.U. asks \$12.50 to \$30. This is the "efficacious protection" of the workers' "material interests" which Cardinal Villeneuve approves!

TOM MOONEY



A Year of People's Front in France

(Continued from Page 4)

The next step was a "pause" ("breathing-spell") in social legislation as announced by the Blum government. This hit particularly the proposals for old-age insurance and the regulations dealing with unemployment relief. Everything is now postponed.

With the approval of the communists and socialists, France is now pushing forward a vast armaments and militarization program. In order to obtain the necessary financial means, the government has handed over control to a group of people highly trusted in upper financial circles. In this way, the financiers assumed supreme control and supervision of the People's Front government. Naturally, the war loan guarantees bondholders more enormous profit than has ever been heard of in the past.

The Foreign Policy of the People's Front

The foreign policy of the Blum government is characterized chiefly by the "non-intervention" fraud, that is, by the actual blockade of republican Spain. The Spanish policy of this government is obviously the policy of French imperialism, which is intent on defending its huge investments in Spain against the "Red menace." The government is carrying thru this policy under orders of the Radical Socialists, the senior partners in the People's Front.

At the beginning of the Spanish civil war, the French workers frequently voiced their angry demands for "airplanes and guns for Spain." Today this cry is no longer heard. The People's Front parties have reduced the masses to silence!

Then came the blood-bath at Clichy. The police kept firing for hours at the workers who were demonstrating against a fascist meeting. The Radical-Socialists saw to it that the officers responsible for this massacre were not punished. In the Chamber, Premier Blum could announce to the overjoyed bourgeoisie that this was the first instance in modern French history of a government whose agents had fired upon the workers and yet was not held responsible by them. Clichy proved that the police and the Mobile Guards are permeated with fascists. But nothing whatever has been done about it.

At the same session of the Chamber, Blum denounced the demonstration against the fascists as a mistake. The workers organizations were asked by the government and by the Socialist Party to refrain from meetings and demonstrations as much as possible. Thus voluntary renunciation has become the means of destroying democracy. Everybody knows that the fascist organizations not only continue to exist but are more consolidated

Mooney Sent Back To San Quentin

Tom Mooney, world famous labor prisoner, was released from the hospital to which he had been confined by severe stomach ailments, and immediately transferred to San Quentin prison, last week. He had been in the Frisco county jail for twenty-one months, pending determination of his petition for a writ of habeas corpus.

Mooney issued the following statement on his reincarceration.

"In going back to San Quentin for a crime of which I am entirely innocent, I am certain that it will not be for long.

"I sincerely wish that the California Supreme Court would consider my case fearlessly and impartially, for then I would be freed by it. That would only be agreeing with Judge Franklin Griffin, who is originally sentenced me and then became one of the strongest advocates of my pardon when the perjured and fabricated case against me was exposed. It would also be agreeing with the United States Government, which three times investigated the Mooney case, and three times concluded I was the victim of perjury, hysteria, and was denied a fair trial.

"But if we are required to, we will go to the nation's highest court. I firmly expect the United States Supreme Court will find all my charges of frame-up are true, and will free me to enjoy the few years remaining to me. The labor movement is pushing forward with renewed vigor on all sides. That is the token that will mark and insure my freedom."

and better armed than they were a year ago. The domination and control of the government by the powers of high finance, the rising cost of living and the deteriorating position of the petty bourgeoisie, always tend to create conditions favorable for fascism getting its grip upon the lower middle classes and sections of the working class. And so it is in France!

The general results of the foreign policy of the People's Front government are in themselves a severe indictment of this regime. What are these results? The sabotage of the Franco-Soviet pact and the refusal of the French government to implement the Soviet alliance in an effective way. The break-up of the Little Entente and the extension of fascist influence in those regions. The withdrawal of Belgium from the Locarno pact. The "non-intervention" blockade of Spain. Such are the fruits of the foreign policy of the People's Front.

In politics, leadership means the determination of the content of a policy. The experiences of the past year are enough to prove that, under the People's Front, it is not the working class which leads the bourgeoisie but rather the bourgeoisie leading the working class. That is the political meaning of the People's Front.

FASCIST COUNTRIES AGAINST SPAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

major powers, starting with Great Britain. Spanish rebels said that Bilbao's mines can furnish England with two-thirds of the ore it needs for its vast rearmament program and added: "Now Franco can dictate his own terms." Negotiations are already reported to have begun between British agents and representatives of General Franco.

France has continued trailing in the wake of Downing Street. With the Radicals now in open control of the French People's Front government, its subservience to Tory diplomacy will be even more complete.

At Valencia, the loyalist government of Spain expressed great concern at the new threats of the fascist powers and, at the same

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

Detroit, Michigan

It looks as if the revised Murphy Bill to regulate employer-employee relations will not be passed at this session of the Michigan state legislature. Inflamed by the bitter resistance being offered to unionization in the steel industry and goaded on by United States Chamber of Commerce and National Manufacturers Association drive against the pro-labor features of the Wagner Act, an unofficial committee of six (three Republicans and three Democrats) have drafted a new document which might quite accurately be called an Anti-Labor Relations Bill.

This new bill provides for a three-man Labor Relations Board; calls for 15 days notice of intended changes in conditions and five days during which the Board must render a verdict. During these 20 days, strikes are prohibited. If the Board should go into a protracted study of the problems involved, strikes would also be prohibited during the given period. Picketing is permitted but it is confined to those who had actually worked in the plant. It prohibits such picketing as blocks the public highway and make it difficult to enter or leave company property. It is also prohibited to picket in such a manner "as to lead to a breach of the peace."

The bill does not approve of the formula for collective bargaining as incorporated in the Wagner Act. A majority vote for any agency for collective bargaining does not restrict the Board. It can hear and give recognition to any one or more agencies which in its opinion represent groups of workers.

The bill also carries severe penalties for violations. There appears to be not the slightest doubt of its openly anti-union character. Labor organizations which resented the revised Murphy Bill are aroused over this proposed action which limits and destroys every single right of labor won during decades of struggle. Although its passage is being hailed as certain, it is equally sure that the trade union movement of Michigan—especially the United Auto Workers—would have to smash it in the course of its work of improving labor standards and conditions.

Michigan open shoppers seem not have learned that repressive laws never pacify labor. On the contrary, such laws lay the basis for broad and bitter struggles. They time, deplored the "attitude of Britain and France, which is considered to be helping General Franco enormously while hindering the loyalists in a like degree." The feeling was expressed in Valencia government circles that "Britain is ready to allow Germany and Italy to go as far as they please, while France is too weak internally to act on her own behalf." For this desperate plight, the Spanish bourgeois People's Front government has itself to blame to a considerable degree, especially because of its suicidal reliance upon the "great democracies," to please whom it was ready to suppress the socialist strivings of the masses at home and to withhold any direct appeal to the French and English labor movements over the head of their governments. It is to be hoped that the anti-fascist forces of Spain will now turn to more effective political tactics, for there is still time to save the situation.

South Chicago, Youngstown, Warren, Johnstown—these are but a few of the places where the forces of "law and order" have been let loose upon the defenseless workers fighting under the banner of the C.I.O. Revolvers, billies, tear gas and machine guns have cut a bloody swathe but still the blood-lust of the employers is unsated. They want a huge blood-bath—in the vain hope that thus can they deliver a crushing blow and disperse the marching hosts of labor.

To accomplish this end, they must wrap around labor a veritable cobweb of legal restrictions, of which the break of any strand would be sufficient to bring down the ever-ready and well-armed hand of the law. This is the essence of the widespread campaign of the employers to limit picketing, prohibit strikes, wear out labor with interminable inquiry boards and strain its patience to the breaking point.

The full sweep of the boss offensive becomes evident from the recent action of the United States Chamber of Commerce which has gone on record "for outlawing every form of force and coercion and intimidation in labor relations, for outlawing strikes when brought to coerce the public authorities, and for public registration of all labor organizations and of those who seek to form them."

Since recent investigations have illustrated clearly the close relations between the "government authorities" and the employers, especially in the smaller industrial communities, the result of the Chamber of Commerce proposal would be to place supervision of the organizations of labor into the hands of the employers.

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Knitgoods Union Hits Dualism Conducts Widespread Strikes

The Joint Council of Knitgoods Workers, under the signature of Louis Nelson, manager, sent letters to William Green and Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L., protesting the actions of that organization in Cleveland. The letter declared that in mills of that city, now struck by the Joint Council, the workers are being called on "to break away from our International Union and join some dual organization organized by your subordinates."

Describing the great difficulties involved in organizing the mills of this open-shop center of the trade, the letter characterized the activities of the A. F. of L. as "attempting to break these strikes."

Hope was expressed that this would be stopped.

The decision by the Regional Labor Board in the State of New York that Louis Hornick & Co., 22 West 21 Street, New York City, must reinstate a number of workers and must pay back wages and deal collectively with the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union was approved by the National Labor Board in Washington.

The strikes conducted against Louis Hornick & Co. are notable for the frame-ups and arrests of the manager of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union, Louis Nelson, as well as Joe Rapoport and several other workers.

The organization of knitgoods sanctioned by the Atlantic City convention of the I.L.G.W.U. is fully under way throughout the country. Organizers have been sent as far as the Pacific Coast. Strikes

are already going on in the following centers: Malden, Mass.: Malden Knitting Mills, 400 workers on strike; Lowell, Mass.: Wolff Brothers, 300 workers on strike; East Boston, Mass.: Harbor Ktg. Mills, 350 workers on strike; Cleveland, Ohio: Federal Ktg. Mills, 600 workers on strike; Stone Ktg. Mills, 500 workers on strike; Bamberger & Reinthal, 350 workers on strike.

Workers in several mills in Philadelphia are staging sit-in strikes and demanding Union recognition.

TRANSPORT UNION WINS BUS VOTE

The Transport Workers Union increased its gains in the organizational drive which followed upon its affiliation to the C.I.O., when it won a referendum held among the employes of the New York City Omnibus Corporation, by a vote of 1,249 to 356. This company operates most of the new bus lines.

Michael J. Quill, president of the union, announced that negotiations would begin immediately with the company. Demands are expected to include a general pay rise of 25%, two weeks vacation with pay. He also stated that an election will be sought on the lines of the Fifth Avenue Coach Company, as soon as possible.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

John L. Lewis on Wage Bill

(Continued from Page 3)

job, should be able to secure at least the essentials of what, for lack of a better term, we may call an American standard of living.

Nor should this wage be set by the standard in those industries in which a "family wage" prevails. . . . Normally, a husband and father should be able to earn enough to support his family. This does not mean, of course, that I am opposed to the employment of women or even wives, when this is the result of their own free choice. But I am violently opposed to the system which, by degrading the earnings of adult males, makes it economically necessary for wives and children to become supplementary wage-earners and then says: "See the nice income of this family! . . ."

I also wish to say that Secretary Perkins, in her testimony, suggested a further industrial right, which I believe the committee should add to this bill, namely, that women doing the same work as men should receive the same pay as men. . . .

I have emphasized the matter of a living wage and the elimination of Section 5 and related sections because I think it is essential that the bill now being considered be looked at not as an isolated piece of legislation but as one item in a much larger program being developed in this country, partly thru legislation, partly thru a developing social consciousness and partly thru the activities of organized labor itself. . . .

What Is the Labor Policy of the New Deal?

(Continued from Page 3)

labor policy in the present industrial conflict. What Roosevelt and Murphy and Earle are out for is to safeguard the foundations of the existing economic and social system, which the President himself once declared to be "eternal"—and this they are determined to do even tho they have to sacrifice the special interests of individual capitalists or capitalist groups in the process. In class politics too, the whole is greater than any of its parts! The welfare of the country demands that trade unionism be given proper "recognition" so that it can be integrated into a smoothly functioning "partnership" of capital, labor and government—and Tom Girdler's narrow, selfish obstinacy cannot be allowed to stand in the way. The capitalist system must be preserved and stabilized in spite of the fatal blindness of individual reactionary capitalists. Such is the general attitude of the New Deal.

In adopting and pursuing such a policy against the increasing resistance of the reactionaries, the Roosevelt administration is really fulfilling to the highest degree its function as the "administrative committee for the collective interests of the capitalist class as a whole" (Marx). For, at bottom, the New Deal is, especially in its labor aspects, a new and really modern method of achieving the common aim of all bourgeois governments—the consolidation and perpetuation of the underlying institutions of capitalist civilization. It is the method of latter-day liberalism*—what used to be known in European socialist circles as "bourgeois reformism."

Capitalism And The New Deal

All that I have just said finds most authoritative confirmation in an interesting editorial that appeared a few days ago (June 23) in the New York Post, the semi-official organ of the New Deal. Under the very significant title, "The Tom Girdlers Are Capitalism's Worst Enemies," the Post declares:

"American liberalism has a program. It is a practical program—a program of saving capitalism by making it work. That program calls for strengthening the profit system by giving a fair break to the workers. . . . That program calls for collaboration between employers and employees thru responsible unionism. . . . The enemies of our system are the Girdlers. . . . It is Tom Girdler who educates labor to a belief in the hopelessness of collaboration with capital. . . . It is Tom Girdler who draws the battle line between classes, makes labor as desperate and reckless as himself. . . . No action was ever more firmly in defense of business, in defense of the profit system than that of Roosevelt, Earle and Davey. . . ."

However politically naive these words may see in assuming that the class struggle is the special creation of Tom Girdler, their point is sufficiently clear.

The social and labor policy of the New Deal makes such a striking impression today primarily because traditional American liberalism has always been so incredibly shallow and anemic. In a certain sense, Theodore Roosevelt may be taken as a liberal forerunner of his kinsman now in the White House

* The limitations of Rooseveltian liberalism can best be seen in fields more remote from social and labor questions, altho even on relief the picture is far from bright. Surely these are nothing very liberal in the administration's monstrous program of armaments and militarism, in its reactionary foreign policy, in its oppressive imperialism in Latin America.

but, for a really close analogy, we must go back to the Lloyd George period in the pre-war history of England. Like Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Welsh Liberal leader had to wage a desperate battle against the Tory die-hards for the sake of a program of capitalist reform and stabilization, a program aiming at the elimination of the very worst abuses of capitalism. If we keep in mind the vast differences of time and circumstance, an instructive parallel, even to details, might be drawn between the New Deal reformism of today and the Lloyd George "radicalism" of a quarter of a century ago.

I think it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, from the long-range social viewpoint, Roosevelt is certainly a better, more far-sighted and more effective champion of the fundamental interests of capitalism than Tom Girdler or any of the other loud-mouthed political business men who rave and rant at him so recklessly. Elihu Root—we are told—once passed the following very significant judgment upon Theodore Roosevelt, the New Dealer of yesterday: "Where should we now be if Theodore Roosevelt had not restored to the plain people of the United States confidence in our institutions?" It is not altogether impossible that a future Elihu Root, perhaps a John P. Davis of today, may yet come to pass a similar judgment upon Franklin D. Roosevelt!

The New Deal And The Labor Movement

For labor, the liberalism of the Roosevelt administration is of vast significance. For the objective consequences of any course of action are not always necessarily in line with the original motives or intentions behind it, and this is all the more true of so contradictory a system as the New Deal labor policy. Plainly intended to allay industrial discord, to "domesticate" labor and tame its militancy, it has actually served to let loose the greatest wave of labor activity in recent history. The problem for the labor movement is to find a way of taking advantage of the unusual friendliness in New Deal circles—as long as it lasts—without in the least compromising its own independence or freedom of action.

And this brings us to another and darker side of the picture. Inherent in the New Deal labor policy is the idea of subjecting the trade unions to some sort of governmental supervision or control with the ultimate purpose of making them a more or less recognized part of the governmental machinery—somewhat along the lines of Lewis Lorwin's so-called "quasi-public unionism." What this would mean to the labor movement it is not necessary to emphasize—emasculatation, strangulation, the extinction of all independence and militancy. Here is a danger point for the future; here is where labor must stand vigilantly on guard.**

** There is still another angle of direct interest to us. In the Democratic party there is widespread dissatisfaction with the labor policy of the administration and, increasingly, even outright opposition. Thereby certain external limitations seem to be put to the sweep of Roosevelt's liberalism. At the same time, this turn of events appears to foreshadow the possibility of a fundamental political realignment in the not too distant future, involving the emergence of a liberal party (either a new organization or a reborn Democratic party) with broad labor support standing opposed to a conservative party of old-line Democrats and Republicans. Such a development would have profound implications for the prospects of a labor party in this country.

Civil War In Spain

(Continued from Page 2)

and extracts of his repeated reports to the government. It gives proof that Azaña's assistant, the Sub-Secretary of War, was a monarchist conspirator, that officers who were friendly to the Republic were forced to resign or be court-martialled. Mangada himself was tried and imprisoned in 1931; released after the Sanjurjo revolt (which his warnings, had they been heeded, might have forestalled), then jailed again and finally forced to resign from the army. It proves that President Azaña knew exact details of the impending rebellion when on March 18, 1936, on a secret ultimatum from the fascist general staff, Azaña's War Minister issued the following communication:

"It has come to the knowledge of the Minister of War that certain rumors are insistently circulating concerning the state of mind of the officers and sub-officials of the army.

"These rumors which can immediately be qualified as false and without foundation, tend without doubt to maintain public disquiet, sow animosities against the military men and undermine, if not destroy, discipline, the fundamental basis of the army.

"The Minister of War has the honor of making public the fact that all the officers' staff and petty officers of the Spanish Army, from the highest posts to the most modest, maintains itself within the limits of the most strict discipline, disposed at any moment to an exact fulfillment of its duties—and needless to say—obedience to the order of the legally constituted Government.

"What is true, and the Minister of War wants to certify to it, is that the Government of the Republic has learned, with sorrow and indignation, of the unjust attacks to which the officers of the Army have been subjected.

"The Spanish military men, models of self-denial and loyalty, merit from all their fellow-citizens the respect, the affection and the gratitude which is due to those who have made, in the service and defense of the Fatherland and of the Republic, the sacrifice of their own lives, if national safety or national honor requires it.

"Remote from all political struggle, faithful servitors of the constituted power and guarantee of obedience to the popular will, all the component

part of the armed forces of the nation ought to be considered by their fellow citizens as the strongest support of the Republican State, and only a criminal and tortuous desire to undermine it can explain the insults and the verbal and written attacks which have been directed against it.

"The Government of the Republic applies and will apply the law against any one who persists in such an unpatriotic attitude. . . ."

At that moment, Azaña and his War Minister had in their possession an ultimatum from the fascist Union of Spanish Military Men demanding that they make such a statement, a copy of a subversive appeal of the same group to the Civil and Assault Guards to support the army in its coming uprising, and a statement of the same Military Union proposing to crush the People's Front government "with bullets" and to wipe out the following organizations and their principal leaders: The Republican Union, the Republican Left, the Catalan Esquerra, the Socialist Party and U.G.T., the Syndicalist Party, the Libertarian Socialist Federation, the P.O.U.M., the C.G.T.U., the C. N.T. and the F.A.I. The following names were specifically mentioned: Martínez Barrio, Azaña, Companys, Largo Caballero, Andrés Nin, Galán. The Communist Party (no doubt through an oversight, though one can imagine the vile factional misuse that would have been made if the name of the P.O.U.M. had been omitted!) is not included in the list, nor are any of its leaders.

"Engrave these names well in your memory," reads the fascist military manifesto. "Neither under legal mask nor illegally, will the way be smoothed for what they intend. The bases of the People's Front can only be imposed on Spain in the streets. With bullets! Before the army consents to the triumph of communism, it will crush the revolution forever. The revolutionary leaders will not again save themselves under the mantle of impunity with which they are covered by the fear of politicians and rulers. They will not escape from our hands without paying for their tremendous crimes!"

When the War Department endorsed the officers who had issued that circular, Colonel Mangada's patience was exhausted, and on March 28, he issued to the people his report in the form of the pamphlet from which I have been quoting.

Next week: THE UPRISING.