

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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UAW Acts in GM Crisis

Pontiac Sit-Down Ended; Union Locals Back Board Action

Detroit, Mich.

With the union administration clarifying its policy and strengthening its leadership, the critical situation that developed last week in relation to General Motors showed definite signs of improvement, following the meeting of the International Executive Board of the Untied Automobile Workers on Sunday. General Motors had taken advantage of the deep economic recession to exert pressure on the auto workers thru intensified speed-up and lay-offs. At the same time, the so-called "unity" group, the Stalinist-socialist combination, began a series of demagogic provocations for the purpose of embarrassing the union administration, thereby playing directly into the hands of General Motors. The result was that the conference of G.M. locals held by the union on Sunday, November 14, was stamped into making a number of serious errors in handling the amendments to the collective-bargaining agreement tentatively agreed upon by the union negotiating committee and the corporation. Immediately afterwards—and, to a large extent, as a consequence—an unauthorized sit-down strike broke out in Pontiac and the danger of similar outbursts appeared elsewhere. The very existence of the union as a responsible organization as well as the stability of its industrial relations, was seriously menaced by these developments. Meanwhile, Governor Murphy, under pressure from Washington, threatened to call out the troops against the auto workers should the sit-downs continue.

As a result of vigorous action by the union administration, the situation is now beginning to clear up. After an appeal by President Martin, the sit-downers at the Pontiac Fisher body plant ended their unauthorized strike so that their grievances could go thru the regular machinery. This followed the action of the Pontiac local, at a membership meeting last Sunday, overwhelmingly endorsing the International Executive Board stand in favor of union discipline and responsibility. The "unity"-group leaders, Wyndham Mortimer and Walter Reuther, had not hesitated to call upon the Board to sanction the sit-down, well knowing to what disastrous consequences such an irresponsible move would lead!

The statement of the International Executive Board on the Pontiac situation, issued last Monday while the sit-down was still in progress, praised the Pontiac local for its disciplined and responsible conduct despite G.M. provocations, emphasized the need for relying on the regular machinery of the union for handling grievances, declared the sit-down strike to be unauthorized and unofficial, and appealed to the 100 workers in the plant not to jeopardize the position of the whole auto workers union by their irresponsible behavior and to end the sit-down without delay.

At Lansing, under the influence of President Martin, Richard T. Frankenstein and Lester Washburn, the leader of the local organization, the auto workers repudiated the "unity"-group manipulations and decided to stand by union principles against unauthorized strike movements. At the Cadillac plant in Detroit, a member-

U. S. TO RECOGNIZE FRANCO CLIQUE

According to a United Press report, State Department officials indicated last week that they were considering the idea of following Great Britain's lead in indirectly recognizing the fascist regime of General Franco in Spain.

They indicated this with the admission that Secretary of State Cordell Hull has decided to reopen the American consulate at Bilbao. Consul W. E. Chapman has been designated to reopen the consulate, officials admitted after first denying the report. Great Britain had taken similar action the week before, despite bitter protests from Labor and Liberal elements in Parliament.

POSTPONE UNION TALKS AGAIN

Upon request of the A. F. of L. the "peace" conferences between the Federation and the C.I.O., originally scheduled to resume at Washington on November 18, have been postponed to November 29.

USSR Yields To Britain

Agrees To Recognition Of Franco On Demand Of Imperialist Block

The Soviet government agreed last week to associate itself with the other "non-intervention" powers in granting recognition to the Franco fascist regime in Spain as a belligerent on condition that a "substantial" withdrawal of "volunteers" takes place. This act marked the utter capitulation of the U.S.S.R. to Anglo-French diplomacy after a long behind-the-scenes struggle to resist the pressure from London and Paris.

The proposal to grant Franco belligerent rights was originally advanced by the Italian representative in the London Non-Intervention Committee who made it contingent upon a "token" withdrawal of "volunteers". This was promptly accepted by England and France as a magnanimous "concession" on the part of Mussolini. But it was opposed by the Soviet

Reaction Strong In New Congress

Big Business Spokesmen Demand Tax Revision And Killing Of Wage-Hour Law; Relief Slash Is Threatened; Labor Must Act Promptly

As Congress opened last week in special session, it became clear that the reactionaries, encouraged by the growing economic depression, were on the war-path and were determined to force thru a program of "helping business" thru tax revision and other means while scuttling every effort at progressive

legislation. President Roosevelt's message to the Congress, in essence a peace-offering to big business, convinced them that they have little to worry about from the White House. Even the very mild program enunciated in the President's recent fireside talk and watered down still more in his message, will probably be sidetracked in great part.

The tone of the new session, which will be dominated by a block of reactionary Democrats and Republicans, was set on the second day by Senator J. W. Bailey, Democrat, of South Carolina, in a harangue demanding that the government give "proper protection" to big business, cease its "encouragement" of the C.I.O. and stop the N.L.R.B. from "meddling." He called upon the Senate to take a stand in favor of repealing the undistributed-profits tax.

The first few days of the Senate proceedings were tied up with a filibuster engineered by Southern Democrats against the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill. In the House, those who favored wage-hour legislation were attempting to collect the 218 signatures required to bring the wage-hour bill from the Rules Committee to the floor of the House. A group of progressives, headed by Maury Maverick, were also active in the House trying to build up a force to head off the reactionary offensive.

For the working people of this country, the present special session is likely to turn out to be a grave menace. Under big-business pressure, exerted particularly during the recess while the legislators were back home, Congress is beginning to swing heavily towards reaction. Wage-hour legislation as well as relief are particularly in danger—perhaps even the Wagner Act, thru anti-labor amendments or thru crippling the N.L.R.B. In this emergency, it is necessary for labor to mobilize all its forces and exert the utmost pressure upon Congress and the administration as well. The trade unions, Labor's Non-Partisan League and the various labor parties, should act now.

(Read the editorial on page 2.—Ed.)

Consequently, the forces for turning the Second World War into such a civil war as gives some hope for a progressive outcome are far weaker than they were in 1914.

A.L.P. HITS SCHEME TO HAMPER UNIONS

The recommendations of the April Grand Jury of Kings County in favor of governmental supervision of trade unions, were sharply denounced last week by Luigi Antonini, state chairman of the American Labor Party. He demanded that the Grand Jury cite specific instances of the "abuses" it alleges are part of trade-union practice, instead of limiting itself to general terms. "The labor movement," he declared, "has always shown a desire to clean house . . . where racketeering has invaded the union field. . . . The Grand Jury is obviously more interested in besmirching the name of the labor movement than in obtaining the results it professes to desire. If there is any evidence of criminal conditions, then its duty would have been to return indictments."

WAR AND WORLD LABOR

By Bertram D. Wolfe

(The article below is the second of a series of three articles which together constitute, in abridged form, the report on the war situation delivered by Bertram D. Wolfe at a recent membership meeting of the I.C.L.L. in New York.—THE EDITOR.)

ARE we prepared for the situation which is dramatized by the Chicago speech? Answering first from a world standpoint, we must say that the world is far less able to stand the Second World War than it was the First. If that imperiled the very existence of our civilization then surely that civilization is in far greater danger from the blows that will be delivered to it by a second world conflagration.

The preparations for the Second World War are much grander in scale than were the preparations for the First. Budgets are bigger; armed forces are greater; plans more elaborate, weapons larger, more varied, more effective, more destructive. What was but rehearsal in the last world war—the bombing of cities, the use of chemicals and new mechanical apparatus—will, in this war, start on a scale that the military authorities could not even dream of in 1914.

War Morale

The war morale, too, is at a

ship meeting of record attendance supported the appeal of Stuart Strachan and overwhelmingly approved a resolution endorsing the Board's position on union responsibility.

As far as the General Motors situation as a whole is concerned, the union is now making every effort to undo the effects of the serious errors committed at the November 14 conference and to clear the ground for a resumption of negotiations.

more advanced stage than it was in 1914. In the fascist countries, it is safe to say that, in essentials, they have reached a stage before war begins that it took the various nations more than a year to reach after war began in 1914. That is to say: centralized, unified industry focused upon war; the destruction of any political and union organizations which might resist entrance into or the conduct of the war; the establishment of a wild jingoistic mood and the development of the war machine in the direct sense of that term.

But make no mistake about it! The difference in war morale as between the fascist and non-fascist capitalistic powers is but a difference in degree and road of approach. The organization of the fascist state is the war organization of every imperialist power in the world. The last war proved it. This war will be no exception.

The difference between the non-fascist imperialist powers and the fascist imperialist powers is in the road used prior to war to mobilize the masses for the development of a totalitarian state, a military dictatorship, during the war.

On the road to class peace, class collaboration, the road to development of national defensism in the labor movement, the road to fanning of the flames of rabid nationalism, the non-fascist powers are also far in advance of the analogous situations in 1914. Please remember that the slogans "Make the world safe for democracy," "War to end war," and the like, did not enter into the last world war until the year 1917 when the Russian masses overthrew the Czar and when the United States entered the war and brought with it the slogans meant to mobilize its own people and to keep the Russian masses still fighting, even

without their Czar. Today, similar slogans are fully current in advance of war.

Furthermore, there are no forces in the world today that are capable of resisting the outbreak of war even as well as or as long as did the Socialist (Second) International prior to 1914. Bear in mind that, from 1911 to 1913 and even earlier than 1911, the pressure of the Second International and the fear of the ruling powers of what the proletariat might do, was a factor delaying war and giving more time for mobilizing anti-war and revolutionary forces. The Kaiser did not dare take the final, decisive step until he had gotten private assurances from the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party that they would vote the war credits and support the war. Today, these assurances do not wait until the eve of war. These assurances are being given unasked to the non-fascist imperialist powers by those sectors of the labor movement which should be mobilizing for the revolutionary struggle against war.

Consequently, the forces for turning the Second World War into such a civil war as gives some hope for a progressive outcome are far weaker than they were in 1914.

The Socialist International

Let us examine those forces for a moment. What can we hope of the Socialist International when its symbol is a Leon Blum, leader of the government that betrayed its "People's Front" ally in Spain, leader of the government of war preparation in France? Or that other leading party of the Socialist International, the British Labor Party? The British trade-union movement held a congress this summer at Norwich. Here is

(Continued on Page 2)

WILL HERBERG

On "Prospects for Labor Unity"

SUNDAY, NOV. 28

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THE PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

THE President's message to Congress fully bears out the significant indications contained in Secretary Morgenthau's recent speech that met with such enthusiastic response in the reactionary press.

The background of the President's new departure is, of course, the new depression in the grip of which the country finds itself today. Altho he seems to blame this unfavorable turn in the economic tide upon unwise "business policies," his whole approach is strongly reminiscent of the old Hooverian attitude of attempting to stem depression by appealing to big business for "cooperation" and by promising it tax reductions and other favors in return.

In order to encourage efforts to "increase the use of private capital to create employment," which he regards as "obviously an immediate task," the President promises "modifications (in the tax structure) adequate to encourage productive enterprise" by the "elimination of any injustices in our tax laws."

The labor section of the message is well worth close attention since it seems to point to a virtually complete repudiation of New Deal pledges both before and after elections. The program outlined is vague and indefinite, if, indeed, it is a program at all.

In fact, the impression left by Roosevelt's remarks on labor seems to be that he will largely limit himself to barring the products of child labor from interstate commerce, very much in line with the New York Times's recent suggestions on that head.

So infatuate have the Stalinists become in their recently acquired enthusiasm for the New Deal that the Daily Worker can actually hail the Presidential message with a big headline: "ROOSEVELT ASKS CONGRESS TO ENACT PAY-HOURS BILL, FARM AID AND TO FIGHT SLUMP—Lighten Tax Burden on Small Business Men, He Tells Session,"

THE NAZIS KNOW THEIR FOES!

FROM an official Nazi indictment against a group of German communists, including Communist Party and Communist Party (Opposition) members, before a Nuremberg "People's Court": "The C.P.G.—Opposition—came into existence in 1927-1928. . . . In its strivings and aims, the C.P.O. is far more radical than the C.P. It opposes the People's Front policy of the C.P. and declares plainly that the fascist regime can be overthrown only by violent revolution, only by insurrection. It strives for this aim in the most uncompromising way and approves the use of terror of every sort.

WAR AND WORLD LABOR

(Continued from Page 1) how the London Times summarizes the Trade Union Congress: "There is no longer even the appearance of disagreement between the government and the opposition on the need for the rearmament that is in progress. . . . All the shallow pacifism of a few years ago is cast aside like a wornout garment. . . . blown away by the gale of anti-fascism. The government that labor formerly stigmatized as war-minded and reckless are now taken to task for not having stood boldly enough against the powers which to labor are both national enemies and enemies of democracy."

In the resolutions of the Trade Union Congress, we read: "A labor-government council"—that is, when "we" become the government, says the trade union leadership—"a labor-government council must be in a position to make a powerful appeal to fascist states to agree to the abandonment of the arms race. "It must also. . . be strongly equipped to defend this country, play its full part in collective security and resist intimidation by fascist powers designed to frustrate the fulfillment of British obligations."

Consequently, the British Trade Union Congress votes to support against fascism the imperialist government which has been supporting Franco! So the British trade-union movement refuses to pay attention to rising prices in Britain, refuses to pay attention to the armament boom where labor can recoup its broken forces; it calls off strikes and declares them outlawed when intolerable conditions make strikes necessary; it has actually expelled local leaderships for indulging in strikes at this time. And it supports that government which began pillaging China before Japan even dreamed of it and, in a certain sense, showed the way to Japan in pillaging China. The instigator of the Opium War, than which there is no more despicable war in the history of imperialist aggression, the British government, which bombs Indian villages at this moment, receives defense from labor on the ground that, thru it, China is to be defended!

Those are the two leading parties in the Socialist (Second) International—the French Socialist Party and the British Labor Party. And what shall we say of the Third International, the Communist International? The Third International has entered into an unsocialistic competition with the Second International. It has equalled and surpassed the social-democratic parties in the rapidity with which it has taken the path once peculiar to renegade social-democracy, the path of social-chauvinism. It engages in the active mobilization of the masses for the coming war. It invents a pink haze of radical slogans with which the imperialist objectives in the non-fascist countries are enveloped. It votes the war credits in France long before war, whereas the Kaiser "socialists" of 1914 did not vote the war credits until

By Lambda WORLD TODAY Thalheimer Writes On Twenty Years Of The Russian Revolution

(We publish in this column an article written by August Thalheimer on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Russian revolution. Thalheimer—who is now an outstanding leader of the International Communist Opposition—was associated with Liebknecht and Luxemburg in the famous Spartacus League, which held aloft the banner of socialist internationalism in Germany during the war. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party of Germany in which, together with Brandler and others, he occupied positions of leadership until 1924 when, with the help of Zinoviev and Stalin, the ultra-left clique of Ruth Fischer and Maslow took control of the German C.P. Thalheimer was one of the reporters—the other was Bukharin—on the program of the C.I. at the fourth world congress in 1922. This article first appeared in the British New Leader of November 5, 1937.—THE EDITOR.)

CONTEMPORARY opinion was sharply divided over the great French Revolution of 1789, the classical bourgeois revolution. No thinking man—politician, soldier, philosopher or poet—could ignore this, the greatest historical event of the times. He supported or he opposed. In any case, he learned.

Many, who were at first enthusiastic, changed their attitude as the years went by. Some, like the great German poet Schiller, were horrified by the revolutionary terror, the execution of the king, the rule of the Jacobins—in fact, by the events in which the revolution reached its highest point. Herein, they showed the backwardness of the bourgeois movement of that day.

Others, like Beethoven, separated themselves from the revolutionary movement when Napoleon put on the imperial mantle and repressed the revolution at home in order to carry it abroad at the point of the sword. To remain true to their own ideas, these men rejected the revolution as it developed.

The Russian revolution of 1917 is an event of far greater and more decisive historic importance. Tho it may be not be the classical proletarian or socialist revolution, it is the first to succeed in any large country. Why is its significance greater than that of the French revolution? Because the French revolution, a bourgeois revolution, replaced the out-of-date feudal system of exploitation of capitalist exploitation. But the October revolution marks the transition from the long historical period of exploitation of man by man, based thruout on the private ownership of the means of production, to the period in which exploitation ends with the common ownership of the means of production and the advance of socialism.

For this reason, every thinking man is compelled to make up his mind on the subject.

Today, twenty years after the October revolution, we can see that, as in the case of the French revolution, many have changed their attitude towards it. And once again from different motives. Some there are whose early enthusiasm was only the superficial excitement of youth, which shrinks from the stern realities of revolution. This rejection of reality shows poverty of understanding.

Perhaps the real significance of what is happening today is shown most clearly in the attitude of the parties in a land where the proletarian revolution is taking the sharpest form of class struggle, civil war and terror—Spain. There we see right wing social-democrats and bourgeois republicans in alliance with the Communist Party. On the other hand we see a Marxist party, the P.O.U.M., which, in the interests of the struggle against fascism, fights for the proletarian revolution, and thereby becomes an object of party and governmental terror. And we also see a mass of revolutionary workers adhering to anarcho-sindicalism.

Thirty thousand revolutionary workers are in the prisons of republican Spain, the policy of which is strongly influenced by the Communist Party of Spain, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union itself, the Old Guard of Bolsheviks has been swept away. The most prominent military leaders of the civil war have been shot as alleged traitors.

Is it possible to draw a parallel between the course of the bourgeois revolution of 1789 in France and that of the October revolution in Russia? Can we say that the October revolution is now in the descending phase of development? Must the interna-

A.F.L. and Independent Labor Politics

SINCE the formation of the American Federation of Labor, its leadership has played the game of "non-partisan-politics." Arising out of the position of skilled workers in industry, highly paid, organized, job-conscious, willing that industry should proceed in its own way so long as his craft receives its crumbs, this attitude hid its capitalist-party politics behind the mask of "no politics." Under Gompers and Green, the Executive Council has worked for various capitalist-party candidates in the elections. Some of the leaders of the powerful craft unions who were worth the while of the capitalist politicians were placed in the high councils of the either the Republican or Democratic parties. Locally, the craft union bureaucrats became, in many instances, part and parcel of the corrupt city machines. By and large, then, the economic position of the craft unionists combined with the self-interest of the bureaucrats to form a solid wall against independent labor politics.

But Partisan Against Labor Parties The craft unionists argued that to engage in politics was futile since the workers had a very limited and primarily a negative interest in government anyway. They were against the use of the injunction, court interference with picketing, the use of troops in strikes, Federal or state legislation which involved minimum wages, social insurance or the like was—and, in some quarters, still is—looked upon askance, as the entering wedge of government into the trade unions, as an inevitable threat to the freedom of the trade unions.

However "militant" such sentiments may sound, the practice following from these ideas show them to be an actual obstruction to the welfare of the working class. So long as the main body of organized labor repudiated the idea of unemployment insurance as an "un-American" dodge, what need for the employing class to worry about the unemployed who filled the streets of the cities in the various pre-war and post-war crises? (Not until 1932 did the A.F. of L. endorse a system of compulsory insurance, old-age pensions and the like!)

Further, when the trades unions actually entered the field of politics, as in the labor-party movement of 1918, Gompers set up a special committee to fight members of his own organization engaged in independent politics. Gompers was tied up with Wilson—"non-partisan" placed the leaders of the A.F. of L. in direct opposition to labor candidates. In 1924, when the A.F. of L. was forced into an endorsement of La Follette by tremendous pressure from the ranks, it did so with a special statement denouncing and separating itself from any third-party movement, just as it had feared and sabotaged the struggle of the railway unions for the nationalization of the railways thru the Conference for Progressive Political Action.

Industrial Unionism and Politics Not only did the long tradition of "anti-politics" render the working class apathetic but the very source of new energy was left untouched—the many millions in the mass-production industries. The development of American capitalism, which occurred by and large without proportionate gains to the vast masses of the workers, had reached such a peak of industrial and political strength that, by the twenties, it was clear that mere economic action was not enough even to organize the un-



JOHN P. FREY

Party. Altho heaven and earth were undoubtedly moved to achieve this goal (while declarations to the contrary were made hourly, of course!), the only achievement was to pry Joe Ryan, of the longshoremen, loose from his moorings and send him back to Tammany. Fortunately, the Federation leaders in the A.F. of L. Non-Partisan Committee for LaGuardia thought it wiser, for various reasons, not to follow Ryan.

In Detroit, however, there was a different story. Here the independent political action of labor was of much more recent origin. Here, too, the unions involved, primarily the United Automobile Workers, were new unions busily engaged in organizational work and in stabilizing their ranks and therefore, obviously not prepared to give such time and energy to political activity as the well-established New York unions were able to give to the A.L.P.

In this situation, where the political campaign against the labor slate was carried on as a campaign against open-shopism, the A.F. of L. against the desires of A.F. membership and their delegated representatives, railroaded thru a resolution supporting the reactionary candidate of the auto magnates! Thus, did the craft leadership of the A.F. of L. sink to a new low in its efforts to obstruct and drive back the rising wave of independent political action, arising out of the needs of all the workers, not merely those in the industrial unions.

In this period of declining capitalism, the skilled workers no longer enjoy their privileged position in industry. They are replaced by a combination of machine operators and semi-skilled workers and they themselves find new employment in such positions, if at all. Organized by craft, or by industry, the problems of all workers tend to assume the same character and the independent political action of labor, initiated by the industrial unionists, must include the members of the craft unions to defend their interests.

Thru its recent actions, the craft leadership of the A.F. of L. has placed itself further than ever from the real needs of American labor. It stands as the opponent not merely of the C.I.O., on the economic and political fields but of the interests of its own membership as well.

Is the U.S.A. Facing a New Depression?

By JAY LOVESTONE (concluded from last week)

IT is our opinion that the present economic depression will not assume the proportions of the 1929 crisis. We hold that, in many ways, the present depression is to the next crisis what the decline of 1927 was to the 1929 collapse. We believe that this depression is more serious and is more deeply rooted than was the collapse of the first Rooseveltian prosperity bubble, the post-NRA decline. We are further convinced that this depression lends additional heavy weight to our evaluation that, in a very great measure, the entire recovery experienced by the United States in the last five years was artificial, was the result of government stimulus rather than actual recovery and revival of the economic organism. The overdevelopment of productive capacities, the growing gap between them and the possibilities for consumption by the great mass of the population, the resulting stagnation of private-individual capitalist enterprise constitute the soil in which crises are rooted and flourish. The remedies applied by the capitalist class thru its administrative committee, the federal government, have only served at best to alleviate momentarily or provide threadbare patches. Actually, these remedies, in quicker time than people realize, serve but to aggravate the ailments and to provide new sources of chronic infection in the economic body.

Let us look into this a bit more. In 1932, the government resorted to what is called "pump-priming," that is, throwing money into the economic life of the country in order to spur private business, to the extent of \$1,646,000,000. This was in Hoover's days! At that time, the Roosevelt crowd talked loudly about the virtues of a balanced budget; in 1935, the Roosevelt administration turned banker, investor, manufacturer, big businessman, state capitalist—all in the interest of reviving private capitalism and its economic life—to the extent of \$3,154,000,000. By 1936, such investments by the government gave us \$4,025,000,000 of pump-priming.

Up went the cries for government curtailment of spending because the big fellows had to pay more in taxes to help strengthen and stabilize the economic system. Political pressure became heavy. Hence, for the year 1937 such pump priming of the economic life of the country was reduced to \$972,000,000. In reality this is only a bookkeeping figure. When one reduces the actual withdrawal of purchasing power found in the vast sums being taken in by the government thru the Social-Security funds tax and withdrawn from purchasing power, it becomes clear that federal pump-priming is today close to the vanishing point. Right now, it is going on at a rate of less than \$50,000,000 a month in comparison with a quarter of a billion dollars monthly rate in 1934 and 1935 and a third of a billion dollars monthly rate in 1936. Government stimulation to private business has practically ceased. The

We must never lose sight of the fact that it is the new money borrowing rather than the refunding which is decisive. It is new issues that are used for plant additions, expansion and enlarged enterprise. Huge government expenditures can replace private flotation of capital but cannot really stimulate its revival and continuity in the present stage of American capitalist development. Nor is the curtailment of such government expenditures a remedy because it only tends to aggravate and precipitate the condition and growth of stagnation in the private capital market. No matter how many pleas the Bittelsums may make in behalf of Roosevelt, no matter how many appeals the Communist Party may make to "less-big-business," "the-less-reactionary-monopolists," to invest their capital in plant expansion, they will all be futile so long as these capitalists, regardless of how much they may be for "American democracy and civilization," cannot be sure of getting what they call a continuous, reasonable profit. Here again we turn to the insoluble contradiction of American capitalism today—the gap between the productive capacities and the possibilities for consumption.

A very competent economist sized up this stagnation curse in the field of private capital investment as follows: "In the period of prosperity and activity in the 1920's, new financing, the proceeds of which were used not for refunding but for expansion aggregated around \$600,000,000 a month. This was the new financing in Wall Street as distinguished from the new financing of homes and residential building. In the recovery in business activity thus far, there has been a mild and totally inadequate increase in this financing so that, when the government stops spending money, there is no spending by business of comparable magnitude to take its place.

"We need about \$600,000,000 or perhaps \$700,000,000 now each month to take the place of the government expenditures and in order to maintain business activity on something like the levels which we were used to between 1924 and 1930. Recently, we have been having about \$200,000,000 a month. In August, that total dropped to \$70,000,000—or, for practical purposes, it disappeared." It is unnecessary for us to spend much time answering the argument that the present economic depression

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(Continued on Page 4)

AFL ADOPTS BLUE-CARD 'UNION'

By B. M.

Joplin, Mo.

The Blue-Card company union of Galena, Kansas, fame, has now become a "bona-fide" labor union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and is being used by it in its struggle against the C.I.O.!

Here in Joplin (Missouri), the Labor Board has issued a complaint against this company outfit on the basis of its coercive campaign to terrorize the metal miners of the district and keep them under the control of the companies. And Bill Green, President of the A. F. of L. is raising his wailing voice, crying out against "interference" by the Board because it is trying to prevent his company union with an A. F. of L. label from obstructing the way for a real union, International Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, affiliated with the C.I.O.

The Blue-Card "union" was organized by the companies in May 1935 when the International first called its strike in the region. (The International was then affiliated with the A. F. of L.) The companies closed down their mines until they thought the Blue-Carders were well under way and then reopened them with a "closed-shop" agreement—and the help of the state police. The miners were forced to give up their International cards before the companies and their Blue-Card stooges would permit them to work.

In the Spring of this year, the Blue-Card outfit made a savage attack upon the C.I.O. headquarters in Galena, Kansas, posing as anti-C.I.O. workers but actually being nothing but thugs for the zinc and lead mining companies. After this great display of valor in behalf of the bosses, they became eligible for membership in the A. F. of L.—and the Executive Council lost no time in taking them in to help fight the C.I.O. The last convention of the Federation at Denver OK'd them and gave them a charter.

What the Blue-Carders are doing to fight the miners out here and prevent the Union from growing is pretty well described by the Board in its complaint:

"The companies continue to employ armed force against members of the International Union and have induced law-enforcement agencies to violate their oaths of office by withholding protection from and unlawfully arresting International Union members. Immunity from arrest was granted by the law-enforcement agencies to persons acting unlawfully against members of the International Union."

Labor Board hearings will begin shortly. They would have begun earlier but the companies stepped in with an injunction which had to be appealed. After a hard battle, the court order was reversed.

Lovestone at Big Meeting

Philadelphia, Pa.

A capacity audience of nearly 400 people in which standing-room only could be had, filled the auditorium of the Brith-Achim Hall on Sunday evening, November 14, to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "The Soviet Purge." The type of questions following the lecture revealed two things: that the talk had provoked a great deal of thought and that all shades of political opinion were present to hear what Lovestone had to say.

Lovestone pointed out that the present period of unrest in the Soviet Union resulting in the purges and executions was directly traceable to the attempt of Stalin and his clique to maintain power over a people who were in the midst of an economic, political and cultural uplift. He described the degrading effects that the Stalin leadership was having on the official communist movements in other countries, especially in the United States. He also analyzed the present chauvinistic approach to the war question taken by the Comintern and its affiliates and showed how the official communist parties are preparing the working class to support the coming imperialist war and thus commit class suicide. He concluded on the hopeful note that there were still healthy elements in the parties who would yet come out on top. He

Who Is Margaret Nelkin?

MARGARET NELKIN, Stalinist member of the Spanish Cortes, was in Paris some weeks ago. In an interview, she called Gorkin, one of the arrested P.O. U.M. leaders, a "fascist" spy and repeated all of the other slanderous lies that are being spread about the Spanish revolutionary Marxists.

And who is this Margaret Nelkin? By what special right does she take the field against veteran and tested revolutionists?

During the war, Margaret Nelkin was in the service of the German espionage in Spain.

During the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera she was in close personal contact with the dictator and was entrusted with a number of important missions by him. She was a monarchist by conviction and profession.

Today, the same Margaret Nelkin is a "communist" spokesman, a Stalinist deputy—calling Nin, Gorkin and others "traitors" and "fascists"!

called upon them and upon all class conscious workers to rally to the program of the I.C.L.L. and to fight for revolutionary socialism.

USA Faces a New Crisis

(Continued from Page 3)

sion is due to the fact that "too much money has gone into speculation." Where shall the people with capital put it if the likelihood of decent profits is even more uncertain in industry than on the speculation market? No capitalist government, no administration in this country, whether it be People's Front or not, can today present an effective program for any kind of stimulation to and expansion of the market for private capital issues.

Likewise, all the noise that is being made in denunciation of the corporate-surplus tax, that is, the tax on the undistributed portion of corporation earnings, has basically nothing to do with the fundamentals of the economic situation. This tax, which in a measure, tends to prevent the unnecessary withholding of dividends, actually serves to make more money available for the capital-issues market. But tho it does not restrict such issues, it cannot help guarantee a profit for the investor. To some extent, this tax even tends to check what is called "unwarranted" expansion and adds to certain limited types of "consumers purchasing power." Yet, it does not really bridge the gap mentioned above. Much as big business, for certain reasons, is against this tax, it in reality serves to encourage and increase a greater reliance and dependence on banks and capital markets, and increases the flow and volume of dividends.

The tax "burden" on the rich may be decreased. It may, and very probably will, be shifted to the lower brackets but this will not change the basic economic trend. It is precisely the ones who have been yelling so much against the huge government deficit that will now cry for more government spending. Very probably, this time the government spending will be increasingly in the field of giant rearmament and for a so-called housing program. This we will examine a little later. In the meanwhile, before we pose a number of problems faced by the organized and unorganized workers, by the trade union movement, in the depression, before we make any suggestion as to the strategy labor should pursue in the depression, it is important to note the conclusion arrived at by George Wanders, financial writer, in the Herald-Tribune of November 8: "Wall Street, in its sober and chastened mood, is well aware that the steps it now advocates would not solve the economic problem."

What Wall Street is really trying to do is to shift the burdens and hardships of the increasingly acute economic depression onto the backs of the workers in the city and on the land.

NOTICE

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The War and World Labor

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and the Kellogg Pact is all that is needed to convert this groping sentiment into active support of collective measures to quarantine the aggressors."

But the gem of the Daily Worker article is its boast of the conversion of the Tory press. I quote: "Even the Tory press in Minnesota has sensed which way the wind is blowing. . . . Thus, the Minneapolis Tribune. . . . on October 12. . . declared: 'We admit that our neutrality policy is a farce but we waver between it and concerted action against aggressors. The most important task that our political leadership has is to reconcile our general desire to remain out of foreign disputes (that is, the desire of the masses—B.D.W.) with our far-flung economic interests. We cannot arrive at such a policy without assuming some responsibility for the maintenance of international law.'"

When the Tory papers state the problem so cynically and the Daily Worker hails them as blood-brothers and converts, it is time for members of the C.P. to ask what role their party is playing!

The Daily Worker ends with a warning to Lundeen "Senator Lundeen. . . is already being repudiated by the American people. Senator Lundeen should hurry back to Minnesota and find out what the home folks are thinking."

I hold no brief for Lundeen. Under Communist Party tutelage, he has lost some of his uncompromising way. But if I have to choose between his hatred of war and the Daily Worker's new tenderness for the steps leading to it, or between him and the Minneapolis Tribune that tried to hound him to death in 1917, I should still expect more of Lundeen than of the new C.P.-Tory alliance.

Finally, I appeal to that "revolutionary" organ, the New Masses, for light on the situation in the Far East. In an article by Theodore Draper, one of the editors of the Daily Worker, we read:

"We have continually postponed coming to grips with the real issues." "We"! And here are the real issues: "It is good business for the United States to keep

Union Holds Forum on War

The Educational Department of the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union is conducting a series of forums and symposia on different problems facing the working class movement.

The first symposium will be held on Thursday, December 2, at 7:00 p.m., at the Brooklyn union headquarters, 765 Broadway, Brooklyn. The subject will be "What should be the attitude of the American workers toward the coming war?" Speakers from the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Independent Communist Labor League have been invited. The speaker from the Socialist Party will be Gus Tyler; for the Independent Communist Labor League, Jim Cork. The spokesman for the official communist point of view has not yet been designated.

In addition the union is also planning a symposium on Spain. Bertram D. Wolfe, noted lecturer and writer who has been in Spain and is a close student of Spanish affairs, has been invited to speak at this meeting together with a representative of the Communist Party.

These forums are a part of a general program of recreational and educational activities conducted by the union for its members.

China's vast but undeveloped resources out of Japanese control, despite the short-sighted attitude from the viewpoint of their own self-interest, of some big businessmen in this country."

This is written to convince the short-sighted big business men to join the long-sighted ones.

"Secondly, China remains the greatest potential market and source of capital investment in the world. . . . Our present stake in China is but a tiny fraction of our potential stake in a unified and revived China. Political friendship would be a first-rate business asset."

This is sufficient to characterize the role of the Communist International and its American section in the Second World War.

(The third article will appear in the next issue.—THE EDITOR.)

THE WORLD TODAY

(Continued from Page 2)

tional working class today rule out the land of the October revolution as a revolutionary force?

Here we can only answer briefly. The following seems to us the essence of the matter.

There can be no comparison between the course of the bourgeois

U.S.S.R. YIELDS TO GREAT BRITAIN

(Continued from Page 1)

game as a belligerent would, indeed, be a serious blow to the Spanish republic for, among other things, it would give the fascist clique the right, with the blessings of the big powers, to establish a naval blockade of loyalist Spain, a blockade that could be made effective by the submarines and warships supplied by Italy and Germany.

The capitulation of the Soviet Union is a striking indication of how completely it has lost its power of independent action as a result of its recent diplomatic policy which has converted it into an auxiliary of Anglo-French diplomacy

* * *

Japan will formally recognize the Franco regime in Spain on November 25, it was announced in Tokyo last week.

Detroit Meeting

with

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revolution and that of the socialist revolution. All parallels between one and the other are misleading.

In the Soviet Union, the socialist revolution is not declining. It is far from being "liquidated." But it is in a serious crisis, a crisis of growing pains. Socialist economy has developed and grown up at terrific speed. What Marx called the economic basis—in this case, a socialist basis—has been built. But the "political superstructure," the forms and methods of Soviet government, have not grown with it. They have remained backward. Why?

Because in the most critical period, the period when sacrifices were demanded—the most dangerous time for the security of the workers state, internally and externally—the building up of a socialist economy had to be carried thru by methods which have now become unnecessary. But these methods are still being used today, and therefore they meet with increasing opposition from the masses. The masses have advanced culturally, with the development of a socialist economy and are now demanding of the ruling bureaucracy more independence, in accordance with what the socialist economy has already won.

These masses are becoming articulate. The bureaucratic leading strings have become a strait-jacket. It seems to be a law of nature that organs which obstruct the further growth of an organism, decay and grow rotten before they can be got rid of. The crisis of growth in which the Soviet Union now finds itself indicates such decay and rottenness which obstructs a forward development. This crisis finds expression in the Stalinist counter-revolutionary terror within and without the Soviet Union.

For the sake of the October revolution, we do not stand with the official chorus, which, inside and outside the Soviet Union, celebrates the twentieth anniversary with unqualified praise of the Stalinist regime. We celebrate this famous anniversary by fighting for the advance of Soviet democracy on socialist principles. We fight for the next stage of the Soviet state and we prepare for the proletarian revolution thruout the world.