

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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SP Names Its City Ticket

Thomas For Mayor But May Be Withdrawn In Pact To Help A.L.P.

At the meeting of its New York central committee last week, the Socialist Party adopted the following resolution dealing with the coming municipal elections:

"That we nominate a full socialist ticket for municipal offices, Assembly and Constitutional Convention, with the understanding, however, that on the basis of discussions with the American Labor Party we may withdraw candidates in order to cooperate with it and to make identical nominations with it. Such action will be on the following conditions:

"1. No endorsement will be made of candidates on any old party ticket.

"2. Our candidate for Mayor against LaGuardia may be withdrawn if, in the course of discussions with the A.L.P. and in the development of the campaign, it becomes apparent that such action will strengthen the labor movement and our hope of usefulness in building a national labor party.

"3. Any and all changes must be approved by the central committee."

Among the designations made were the following: for Mayor—Norman Thomas; for President of the Council—Murray Baron; for Controller—Frank R. Crosswaith. "We acknowledge that the La Guardia Administration has failures inherent in its relation to the La Guardia Administration has fought Tammany and many Tammany methods with energy and a certain degree of success. Its failures are inherent in its relations with the Republican Party and in its attempt to define good government without asking 'good for what?' and 'good for whom?'

"In that campaign it (the Socialist Party) will take account of the existence and wishes of the American Labor Party to which Mayor LaGuardia gave general allegiance in a speech in Madison Square Garden in the campaign of 1936. With this party the socialists are not in complete agreement chiefly because of its refusal hitherto to cut itself completely loose from the old parties and their candidates. But we do recognize the importance of the A.L.P. now and in the future in helping to build that nationwide labor party to which socialists are and long have been committed.

"Therefore, in presenting municipal issues and arranging the final personnel of our ticket, we shall seek the maximum amount of agreement with the A.L.P. consistent with the socialist position. We recognize the advantages of identical nominations wherever possible by the only two working class parties now on the New York State ballot. But our desire for cooperation with the A.L.P. does not extend to including among our candidates who are also on the old party tickets."

In a coming issue of the Workers Age, we shall discuss the position of the Socialist Party in the coming municipal elections in New York.

Powers Accept Plan to Recognize Franco

Non-Intervention Committee Approves British Scheme; Spanish Government Protests Aid To Rebels; Anglo-German Trade Pact With Franco

After weeks of behind-the-scenes negotiations, the Spanish Non-Intervention Committee at London finally adopted the British proposal to grant belligerent rights to Franco on the basis of some vague agreement for the withdrawal of foreign combatants from Spain. In this way British diplomacy has succeeded, for the time being, in preserving the sham of "non-intervention," in conciliating Nazi Germany and fascist Italy with the minimum of sacrifice on its own part, in damaging the cause of republican Spain just a little more without officially departing from its pretence of "neutrality" and in advancing its own interests all around.

The English proposals were accepted at a brief session of the Non-Intervention Committee on July 16. Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's ambassador, and Dino Grandi, Mussolini's envoy, led off the discussion by assenting in principle to the Eden plan and complimenting the British for having brought it forward. Both emphasized the necessity of a "very detailed discussion . . . of the form of execution and the timing" of the plan.

Ten representatives of smaller nations followed, all endorsing the plan. After consultation with his government, the French ambassador, Charles Corbin, accepted the plan in principle and agreed to refer it to a sub-committee for discussion. Ambassador Ivan M. Maisky, of the Soviet Union, then declared his acceptance of the scheme as a basis for discussion, giving notice that he would propose "certain important modifications at a later stage."

The action of the Non-Intervention Committee was immediately praised in highest terms by the Italian press, voicing the sentiments of the fascist dictatorship. At Salamanca, General Francisco Franco declared that his "government" was "dissatisfied" with the London decision and demanded full recognition outright. He recognized, however, he said, that the acceptance of the British proposal was a bad blow to the Valencia regime.

Spain Protests

The Spanish government at Valencia bitterly protested against the action of the London committee which, in the words of Claridad, a Madrid paper under communist influence, "places the Spanish government on the same level as that gang of men who, like true traitors, have not hesitated to hand over their country to ambitious foreigners."

The British Labor Party promptly raised an outcry against the whole scheme in the House of Commons. But the greatest political repercussions of the action of the London Non-Intervention Committee will undoubtedly be felt at Paris. The recent congress of the Socialist Party decided categorically against the extension of belligerent rights to Franco under any circumstances, while the opposition of the Communist Party to any

such course is well known. And yet the Chautemps People's Front government of France, supported by both the communists and the socialists, has given its endorsement to the Eden plan. It is reported that the Communist Party of France has issued a declaration denouncing this action of the French government as a virtual surrender to fascism. But what will the C.P.F. do now—will it continue to support the Chautemps cabinet? And what will it have to say about the action of the Soviet ambassador, Maisky, in accepting the Eden plan even as a "basis for discussion"?

* * *

British Supplies For Franco

All Madrid newspapers joined in ironically pointing out that, the very same day the text of the British proposals was issued, the first German ship bearing iron from the British-owned Basque mines left Bilbao for Hamburg. As a matter of fact, a definite commercial arrangement has already been worked out between England, Germany and the Franco clique along the following lines, as described by Frederick T. Birchall in the New York Times of July 16:

"An agreement is understood to have been made between an Anglo-Netherland financial group on the one hand and a syndicate of British exporting firms on the other to finance the export to General Franco of large quantities of industrial products not covered by the British ban on the export of arms and munitions but nevertheless badly needed by the Insurgents. One effect of the transaction will be to provide for Germany large quantities of iron ore, copper and other minerals she urgently needs but which Great Britain could also use to great advantage.

"The agreement apparently will work this way: The Franco regime will sell to Germany iron ore, copper and other raw materials against long-term bills. These bills will be taken over by the Anglo-Netherland syndicate, which will discount them and deposit the proceeds in British banks to the credit of the Franco regime, enabling the money to be used in payment for British exports. The initial sum thus provided is said to be \$10,000,000, but the provision has been made that as business develops this limit will be raised to \$50,000,000. The value of such aid to General Franco at this time would, of course, be enormous."

ATTENTION!

In the next issue:

"Significant Cross-Currents In American Politics"

by

JAY LOVESTONE



Anti-Union Mobs Meet

Johnstown Gathering Plans Open Violence Against Labor

A new, "respectable" company-mob outfit, carrying out the dictates of Republic Steel, held a convention in Johnstown, Pa. under the name of the National Citizens' Committee, to mobilize support for smashing the labor unions.

The convention was called by the Johnstown Citizens' Committee headed by the infamous Mayor Shields; representatives from the American Legion posts, chambers of commerce, and ministers attended.

Resolutions were adopted condemning the "lawlessness and violence which have marked the present wave of strikes," defending "the right to work", and demanding "responsibility" of labor unions.

The major feature of the conclave was the preamble to the resolutions, wherein it is stated that, since "certain public officials . . . have failed to use the authority given them . . . to protect American citizens in their inalienable constitutional right to work . . . therefore, as loyal American citizens we feel it is our patriotic duty to perfect a nation-wide organization whose function it shall be to restore and protect those constitutional rights that have been taken from American citizens by certain unworthy officials."

As dangerous as are all company mobs and vigilante movements for their immediate opposition to the labor movement, their potential fascist character is most clearly outlined in this organization. Here is developed the whole idea of "extra-legal" action—that is, that government no longer carries out law and order and therefore private organization is necessary for this function. Such organizations, which gain some support from sections of the workers not yet capable of realizing their own interests, can be smashed only by extension of the organization of the unorganized.

Japan Pushes War on China

Tokyo Demands "Local" Pact; U.S. "Neutrality" Policy Helps Japan

The Far-Eastern crisis reached a very acute stage last week as Japan massed some of the most powerful units of its army, navy and air force within striking distance of the most populous cities of South and Central China in a new effort to crush all opposition to its province begun nearly two weeks ago. At the same time, Japanese diplomatic officials warned the United States and other powers that the Sino-Japanese crisis was none of their business.

Fighting continued near Peiping in spite of a truce. Reports from Tientsin stated that a clash of major proportions was expected any day.

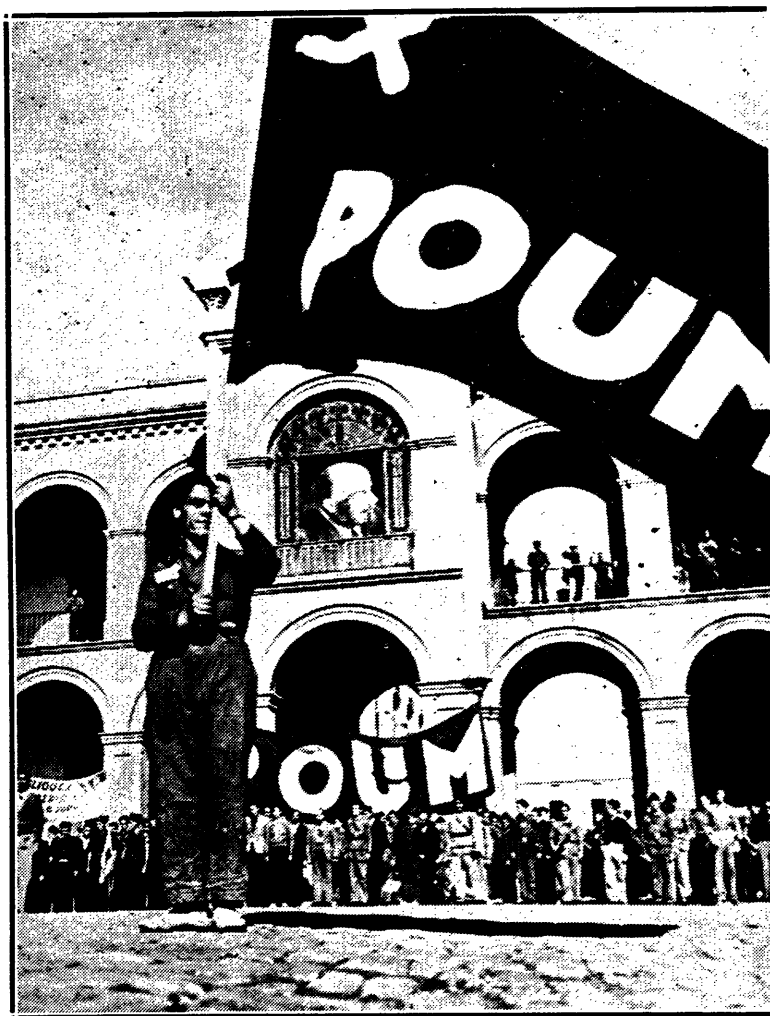
Japanese army and diplomatic spokesmen in North China insist that the conflict be "localised," that is, that Japan be left to deal with the local Chinese officials and that the central Chinese government not "interfere." The Japanese ambassador at Nanking has even "warned" the Chinese Minister of War that "Japan will not tolerate the entry of military or aviation units into Hopei Province" in North China! The Nanking authorities, on the other hand, with the support of the country and some foreign backing, have hitherto refused to yield, declaring that "any negotiations in North China are unauthorized and that the nation will fight any Japanese effort to enlarge their sphere of influence in North China by including Hopei and Chahar." Mobilization of Chinese military forces, especially aviation, is going rapidly forward.

Meanwhile, the North Chinese crisis shows quite plainly the real meaning of the "neutrality" policy recently adopted by the United States. Under this legislation, no arms or military supplies can be sold to the Spanish government engaged in suppressing a fascist rebellion; that would be a violation of "neutrality." But there are no restrictions at all on what can be shipped to Japan which is conducting a war of invasion against China in direct contravention of the Washington Conference treaties to which the United States is a signatory; to give Japan a free hand is obviously quite in the spirit of "neutrality." And, should the President declare that a state of war exists in China, thereby putting the neutrality law in operation, all trade would be placed on a cash-and-carry basis—which would mean that Japan, possessing sea-power in the Pacific, could get anything it wanted from this country but China nothing at all!

CIO TO ORGANIZE THE LOCAL GOV'T WORKERS

The Committee for Industrial Organization has moved into the field of state, county, and municipal government employees, appointing Abram Flaxer as directing head of the State, County and Municipal Workers of America during the provisional period of organization.

BANNER OF THE REVOLUTION



The Lenin Barracks of the P.O.U.M. in Barcelona. This picture and others of the P.O.U.M. were obtained by Bertram D. Wolfe from the Generalidad when he asked for photographs of the best battalions in Catalonia!

Paris Socialists Protest Persecution of POUM, CNT

On June 20, 1937 the conference of the Paris district (Federation of the Seine) of the French Socialist Party, the biggest and most important in the country, adopted by an overwhelming majority a strong resolution of protest against the persecution of the P.O.U.M. and other revolutionary working class organizations in Spain by the reactionary Negrin government. Similar protests have been voiced by the Comité de Vigilance des Intellectuels, a group embracing the most outstanding writers and intellectuals of France, as well as by the Comité pour la Revolution Espagnole, in which the left socialists, Zyromski and Pivert, are

active. The resolution of the Paris district follows:

Disturbed by the heavy accusations and persecutions against the leaders and militants of the P.O.U.M. and the C.N.T. in Catalonia, who have been fighting in the front line of the defence of the Spanish republic, and who have assisted the Spanish revolution in the difficult days of the fascist rebellion, this party conference, without taking the side of any of the various sections of the Spanish working class, preserves the Negrin government to preserve proletarian democracy under all circumstances and to the fullest extent, as the only guarantee for the success of the war and the revolution and not to settle political differences between the working class parties by the method of police suppression. The party conference demands from the Negrin government that it guarantees to the accused the most scrupulous democratic justice (public defense, freedom in the choice of lawyers, publication of all documents, etc.). This conference proposes to the government that an international working class committee be formed to examine the accusations made against the P.O.U.M.

Again the Spanish CP Exposes Itself

In the May 20, 1937 issue of Treball, official organ of the P.S.U.C. (the Comintern party in Spain), there is a report of the May 15 session of the Valencia cabinet. A good deal of this report we have already published in the July 10 issue of the Workers Age under the heading, "The Spanish C.P. Stands Self-Exposed." Here we want to add another section of this report casting a curious light on how charges of "espionage" and "relations with Franco" are manufactured:

"Therapeuta Federica Montseny (C.N.T.-F.A.I. Minister of Health in the Caballero cabinet—The Editor) produced a package of leaflets bearing the coat of arms of the monarchy. Some thousands of these leaflets had been found in the possession of members of the P.S.U.C. and the Estat Catala. These people admitted that they were supposed to smuggle these leaflets into the headquarters of the revolutionary organizations so as to be able to denounce them later on as allies of the monarchists."

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The Civil War in Spain

THE ROAD TO VICTORY

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

(This is the fifth article in the series by Bertram D. Wolfe on "Civil War in Spain." The sixth will appear in a future issue.—EDITOR.)

FIRST win the war; then make the revolution. The falsity and danger of this slogan becomes obvious as soon as we put the question practically: What is needed for the winning of the war?

To win the war, it will be generally admitted, the following measures are necessary:

- 1. The creation of a strong government.
2. A powerful, unified and politically reliable army.
3. A reliable safety corps for patrol behind the lines and the ferreting out of fascist nests and counter-revolutionary plots.
4. A unified economy completely subordinated to the winning of the war.
5. An effective appeal to the foreign troops invading the country and to the masses in the countries openly or covertly intriguing against Spain, an appeal which will mobilize them against the present policies of their governments and in favor of at least decent neutrality.
6. A national and colonial policy proper to a free people: autonomy and the right of self-determination and free cooperation for all the national regions of the Spanish peninsula—above all freedom for the Moors.

We have purposely stated these needs in a "neutral" form as possible. Except for points 5 and 6, they would be pretty universally accepted in governmental Spain. Yet every one of the above measures, upon closer analysis, reveals itself as requiring the extension of the revolution.

A STRONG GOVERNMENT

What is a strong government. One enjoying the full confidence of the masses! One able to mobilize to the maximum that amazing energy, that rich enthusiasm, that proud self-confidence and capacity for initiative that is characteristic of the masses in revolutionary times. Once aroused, it has the irresistible power of an avalanche. But such a government is not something external to the masses; it is the organization of the masses themselves: it is the Paris Commune; it is the faubourgs and club and committees of 1793; it is the Soviets of 1905 and 1917; it is the network of committees that sprang up all over loyal Spain on July 19, 1936. Under the leadership of this embryonic workers and peasants government, the Spanish people armed themselves, recaptured Barcelona, Madrid, Valencia, the whole of the provinces of Castille, Castillon, Catalonia, Aragon, Biscay, Asturias, Valencia, much of the rest of Spain. Though still virtually unarmed and entirely untrained, they actually assumed the offensive and defeated and rolled back the trained troops of the professional army in more than two-thirds of Spain! It is the only time, so far in the entire civil war, that the loyal side has been able to assume the offensive. Once the authority of the impotent, discredited, non-revolutionary Azaña government was restored and the overflowing tide of revolutionary enthusiasm channelized in the moldy ditches of bourgeois republicanism once more, neither arms nor training, nor the fashioning of a trained officers corps, has enabled the government side to assume the offensive again. The systematic sabotage of Catalonia by the Azaña government, precisely because it is the center of revolutionary energy as it is of large scale industry, has not a little to do with this. On the side of reaction is necessarily the superiority in training, equipment, professional officers, and support by foreign reaction. On the popular side, the only offset lies in numbers, in morale, in revolutionary enthusiasm, in the overwhelming tidal wave of the masses in motion that can dissolve opposing armies, create guerrilla support behind the enemy lines, stir up the masses to action in countries intriguing against them, make foreign powers afraid to intervene or paralyze their intervention because the "contagion" of the revolutionary morale "demoralizes" the armies of reaction.

It would have been only a short step from this network of committees and spontaneously created organs of the masses to the consolidation of delegates from factory, village, militia group, into a genuine workers and peasants government. Such governments represent the highest form of democracy the world has ever known (unless we except the primitive tribes). They spring from the masses, are directly responsive to their wishes, subject to direct instruction and instantaneous recall, are really the masses themselves giving expression to their aroused and all-powerful will in organized form. Such a government would have organized the "fifth column" overnight by nationalizing the land, the banks and the factories, the economic basis of fascism and reaction. Only such a government could have created a reliable army, not only worker and peasant in its social composition (all armies are that), but worker and peasant in its officers corps and control—which is decisive in determining the class nature of the army. The Durrutis and Ascasos and Grossis who led the attacks upon the barracks on the first days of the revolution would have become the high command, and such professional military men as might have been used because of their technical knowledge would have been put under the strict control of worker-officers or "commissars." The restoration of unreliable bourgeois officers to the supreme rank and the abolition of control by the workers organizations was to cost the government dear; the betrayal of Malaga, the breach in the impregnable "iron ring" around Bilbao, are only two of the most conspicuous examples of a whole series of betrayals that resulted from a failure to complete the revolutionary reorganization of the army.

THE NECESSARY POLICIES

A workers and peasants government would have freed the Moors, and by radio and proclamation in the Moorish tongue would have mobilized all North Africa in a wave of enthusiastic solidarity and revolutionary fervor against Franco and his little handful of foreign legionaries. Defeated in the main centers of Spain, he would never have been able to bring the Moors over from Africa. His revolt would have collapsed before a single black-shirt or brown-shirt could have arrived, and swift revolutionary justice would have ended the Spanish military menace forever. How clear it becomes as soon as we analyse the terms "war" and "revolution" instead of treating them as metaphysical abstractions, that to make the revolution (even in this respect alone) would have meant to win the war, and that "first win the war, then make the revolution," means to betray the revolution and to run the danger of losing the war. Indeed, if the Republic had made the agrarian revolution and freed the Moors, disarmed the fascist officers, reorganized the army basing it upon the armed masses, there would never have been any possibility of fascist revolt at all. But a bourgeois coalition government such as that of the People's Front by its very nature is a government of the curbing of the revolutionary will of the masses and a government of slow, concealed and inglorious surrender to fascism and reaction. Today, after more than a year of civil war, the People's Front government has still stubbornly refused to do elementary justice to the Moors and elementary benefit to its own cause by setting them free! By its nature it is a government bound hand and foot by the miserable ambitions of Spanish capitalism and imperialism and the voracious demands of British and French capital, though both former and latter have betrayed the cause of the Spanish people at every turn.

A revolutionary government would have sent the unreliable Azañas about their business, stripped them of their power and prerogatives, including their power to sabotage the will of the masses, to intrigue with foreign powers, to negotiate possible compromises at the expense of the workers and peasants; in short, it would have stripped them instantly, as the Russian workers did Kerensky in 1917, of all their power to harm. But while militiamen brave death in the trenches at 10 pesetas a (Continued on Page 6)

Disemployed Untouched By Capitalism's "Prosperity"

In the midst of the volumes of propaganda coming from various sources about the return of prosperity we are supposed to be enjoying, there comes a report published by the National Research Project of the W.P.A. on "Unemployment and Increasing Productivity" that sheds considerable light on what this prosperity really means to the masses of workers. The report traces in a clear and not too technical a manner the main tendencies in the relation between employment and production to be observed between 1920 and 1935. The authors, David Weintraub and Harold L. Posner, make no pretense at conclusiveness but the material they present is enough to show that the masses suffer by capitalist "prosperity" as well as by depression.

The Chief Problems

The first two problems dealt with are: (1) how has the volume of goods and services produced varied from year to year since 1920; and (2) how much hired labor was engaged in the creation of this annual product and how much of the labor available for employment remained unused? No absolute figures are given but, taking production and employment in 1920 to be 100 and correcting the figures for changes in prices, average hours per week, etc., we find:

Table with 3 columns: Year, Production, Employment. Data points range from 1920 to 1935, showing fluctuations in both production and employment levels.

What do these figures reveal? They show that, when the trend in production is downward (1920-1921, 1929-1933), employment drops even faster and lower than production and, when production increases (1922-1929, 1934-1935), employment lags far behind. This ever-widening gap, expressed in index numbers, would show the increase in productivity (production per employee) as follows:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Productivity Index. Shows a general upward trend in productivity from 1920 to 1935, with a notable dip in 1932.

What these figures spell in terms of speed-up and health-sapping "efficiency" is well known to every worker. At the same time, they show the ever-declining employment opportunities in American economic life.

"Basic" and "Service" Industries These figures are for all branches of production in general. The report gives only one clue to how these figures would be modified for different industries. In the study of trends in the "basic" industries (agriculture, mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation, communication and public utilities) and the "service" industries (trade, professional services, public service, personal and domestic service), they find that the 16% increase of employment from

1920 to 1929 was a result of an increase in only 3% of basic employment and of almost 50% in service employment. At the lowest point of the depression, "service" industries never fell to the 1920 level and stood 13% higher in 1935, while employment in the "basic" industries was, even in 1935, still 32% below 1920. Similarly, within each industry, the white-collar occupations suffered less in proportion than the manual occupations but recovery of the former lagged behind general recovery by one year.

The next problem undertaken by the two research workers is that "technological unemployment," that is: "How much of any year's unemployment can be ascribed to the difference between the total number of jobs available that year and the number which would have been required for the production of that year's total output had the over-all productivity remained at some previous level?"

This attempt to separate unemployment due to the introduction of new machinery from unemployment due to changes in managerial efficiency, hours of work, better utilization of existing machinery or other reasons, is a difficult process. The report gives only a general idea of the direction of movement. It discloses that, had productivity (i.e. production per employee) remained in 1921 at the level of 1920, the volume of output produced in 1921 might have required the employment of one-third of the



JOHN L. LEWIS

unemployed. In 1922, 50% of the unemployed could have been used if productivity had not increased within that year, while in 1933 there was 13% of this "unrealized employment." Thus we see that the continuous addition of new layers of the "technological unemployed" is one of the costs of technical progress under capitalism.

Fate of the Displaced Workers

And what happens to these displaced workers? No nation-wide or even industry-wide figures are given but, on the basis of limited studies made, the following tendencies appear: when workers are fired, it takes an increasingly longer time to find a new job; when a new job is found, it is increasingly likely to be in another industry, requiring less skill and at lower pay. Among technologically displaced workers, it was found (Continued on Page 5)

John L. Lewis Defines CIO-AFL Relationships

(We publish below the statement issued to the press by JOHN L. LEWIS on July 15, dealing with a number of important questions facing the labor movement—signed contracts, exclusive bargaining power, the closed shop and the check-off, and especially the relations between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L.—THE EDITOR.)

It is the opinion of the Committee for Industrial Organization that signed contracts are the essence of mutual goodwill between unions and employers expressed in collective bargaining. No verbal contract has any standing in business outside of those verbal contracts between individuals who have supreme confidence in each other.

Business men sign leases and papers of incorporation and sales contracts and it is regarded as good form to sign marriage contracts. Wills are signed. Finally, no treaty of peace, whether to end a war or threatened combat, is confirmed without being set down in writing. This is usually recognized as common sense proceeding.

Closed Shop Issue

In an employer-employee relationship, assuredly the most workable arrangement is one in which a union is recognized as the exclusive bargaining agent. Obviously, no employer could make a different kind of a contract with one group of employees than with another.

A union representing a majority of employees wants to be recognized exclusively by the management in order to insure its right to live and protect itself from the employer's act of organizing counter-agencies to supplant and displace it.

Again, in collective bargaining, it must be remembered that the check-off is not necessarily an essential but is merely a matter of convenience. It can be entered into by mutual agreement between employer and employees union.

This is also true of the closed shop. The closed shop is not fundamentally necessary. For example, all publishers and printing establishments have closed shop agreements with the printing trades unions. I assume this is because the contracting parties have mutually agreed upon such procedure.

Business Convenience

On the other hand, in the coal mining industry, contracts contain no closed shop verbiage. We don't quibble over it and yet an efficient union exists in the industry embracing all the men who work in the mines.

These two items—the closed shop and the check-off—are only incidental to the major problems of collective bargaining. Unfortunately, they are too frequently used as red herrings by the employers and are given a degree of consideration above their actual importance.

In many industries the workers will continue to demand a continuation of the check-off arrangement for collecting of dues merely as a matter of business expediency. Just so long as the employers operate their own check-off in deducting from the gross wages of workers all items of company charges—which in many industries is a formidable list—it seems logical that a similar convenience should be afforded the union.

It is only one more charge—one more deduction from the pay check. Some companies now make a practice of not only deducting fees for equipment—such as mining tools—and insurance but also have checked off for Liberty Loan bonds or church contributions. You ask me whether members of the Committee for Industrial Organization who locally support strikes called by the American Federation of Labor or other groups will be encouraged or punished or ignored for their sympathetic activities. This is my answer:—The C.I.O. has never opposed any strike on the part of the American Federation of Labor. It has cooperated everywhere. It is our policy to be friendly to other labor organizations and to assist and aid them in obtaining improvements in their wage structures and working conditions.

Finally, this is the situation regarding the prospects of "peace" between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor. Ten of the thirty or more international unions affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization were suspended from the American Federation of Labor.

They were on the receiving end of the act of ejection. They are the injured parties. Any talk of peace must come from the American Federation of Labor and any such talk of peace must be predicated upon the acceptance of the principles laid down in the minority report to the Federation convention in 1935 demanding the recognition of industrial unions in certain industries.

That is our position. Any talk (Continued on Page 6)

What Happened To The Wage-Hour Bill (Some Main Features Analyzed)

Table comparing provisions of the Original Bill with Labor Opinion (John L. Lewis, William Green) and Senate Committee Bill. Rows include provisions like 'oppressive labor conditions', 'child labor', 'WAGES minimum wage: lowest ("floor")', 'minimum wage: highest ("ceiling")', 'HOURS maximum workweek highest', 'maximum workweek lowest', 'WAGE-FIXING above minimum provisions', and 'geographical differentials'.

WAGES: The Board may fix minimum wages at 40c an hour or less—BUT NOT MORE. But, except for some sweat industries and the South, there are few industrial fields with wages less than 40c an hour. And the South is to escape even the 40c minimum thru a territorial differential. HOURS: The Board may fix the maximum workweek at 40 hours or more—BUT NOT LESS. But the average industrial work-week is already only slightly more than 40 hours. CHILD LABOR: Child labor is banned—except in the case of children working in agriculture

or for their own parents and except in periods and under conditions (as certified by the Children's Buro) which will not "interfere with schooling or health." EXCLUDED FROM ACT: Railroad workers (except maintenance-of-way men), seamen, farm workers, employees of retail stores. APPLICATION: The Board cannot impose even the reduced minimum standards by regulation. It must take up each and every trade and situation separately and, after a public hearing, set minimum standards within the statute limitations. This means virtual paralysis in the operations of the Board.

WORKERS AGE

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UNITY IN AND THRU THE C.I.O.

ONE aspect of the statements of John L. Lewis and William Green released simultaneously on July 15 by the United Press is of particularly vital interest at the moment—the views of these labor leaders on cooperation between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. in strikes as well as on the possibilities of "peace" at the present time.

Could anything be clearer than the words of John L. Lewis? "The C.I.O. has never opposed any strike on the part of the American Federation of Labor. It has cooperated everywhere. It is our policy to be friendly to other labor organizations and aid them in obtaining improvements in their wage structures and working conditions."

But William Green, can not find it in his heart to say more than this: "The American Federation of Labor has not disciplined or penalized the members of the A. F. of L. unions locally because of sympathy and cooperation extended to workers on strike, regardless of organization affiliation. Ordinarily, however, unions affiliated with the C.I.O. have no claims for support or assistance from the A. F. of L. . . . We desire the right . . . to determine what organizations we will help and what appeals for assistance and help will be refused."

TO win the war, to end this bloody conflict that is ruining our country with a complete and legitimate triumph of the people—that is the immediate aspiration of all anti-fascists, the objective upon which all the energies and all the wealth of the nation should be concentrated.

But merely to bring many forces into play and demand sacrifices of the people is not enough. All the factors of struggle must be put together so that they contribute to our goal, our triumph. The war is not only fought on the battle fields or with weapons. It is also fought with morale in the rear, with well-organized work, with the perfect coordination between the economic and the military forces.

These are the three essential factors for effectiveness in the war: a well-organized army; an efficient economy, at the service of the war; a healthy and united rear. Our army, which is being created in the clash and clamor of battle, has already demonstrated its ability to fight by grinding into dust the hosts commanded by the superior "technicians" of fascism.

The great masses of American workers will know which to choose!

ICO Demands Release Of German Comrades Arrested by Negrin

Paris, June 26th, 1937. We have received the news from Barcelona that Ewald Koenig and his wife, Hans Sittig and his wife, Karl Heidenreich, and Walter Schwarz have been arrested. They are accused of having committed high treason against the Spanish Revolution.

As they are all German emigrants who are well known to us and with whom we have entertained the closest political and personal relations during many years we raise the most serious protest against this accusation. Walter Schwarz and Karl Heidenreich, Ewald Koenig and his wife have been living in Barcelona for years, Hans Sittig and his wife went to Barcelona in the Autumn of 1936, in order to engage in the struggle against the Franco rebels.

We take upon ourselves any political and personal guarantee for our arrested comrades. They are antifascists and revolutionaries incapable of any action that could be construed as high treason against the Spanish Revolution.

We therefore request that these falsely arrested persons be released immediately.

August Thalheimer Heinrich Brandler

CNT Urges Revolutionary Policies To Win The War

(We publish below an article, "To Win The War," that appeared in the June 6, 1937 issue of Solidaridad Obrera, official organ of the C.N.T. [National Confederation of Labor in Spain]. This article outlines a course of revolutionary economic, social and political strategy necessary to win the war, as opposed to the reactionary course of the Negrin cabinet.)

—THE EDITOR.

TO win the war, to end this bloody conflict that is ruining our country with a complete and legitimate triumph of the people—that is the immediate aspiration of all anti-fascists, the objective upon which all the energies and all the wealth of the nation should be concentrated.

But merely to bring many forces into play and demand sacrifices of the people is not enough. All the factors of struggle must be put together so that they contribute to our goal, our triumph. The war is not only fought on the battle fields or with weapons. It is also fought with morale in the rear, with well-organized work, with the perfect coordination between the economic and the military forces.

These are the three essential factors for effectiveness in the war: a well-organized army; an efficient economy, at the service of the war; a healthy and united rear.

Our army, which is being created in the clash and clamor of battle, has already demonstrated its ability to fight by grinding into dust the hosts commanded by the superior "technicians" of fascism. Our army is not an ordinary army, in the old style, but a revolutionary army superior to all other armies because of the human factor that it embodies. It is a military organization of revolutionary workers who know why they are fighting, who have ideals, who are capable of great sacrifices. It is a proletarian army—and let no one forget it. And, in view of its effectiveness, it must never be organized or governed according to the old doctrines, with a purely hierarchical discipline, inherited from ancient monarchical eras.

The organization of our economy,

that is, making proper use of our productive forces for the purposes of war, is one of the most important factors in our triumph. To this end, we must plan on a really ample scale, eliminating all narrow, special interests; in other words, we must create collectivized foundations under the control of those who have the greatest interest in winning the war. Once again we must emphasize the essential character of our war, the social factors at play, to conclude that it is the workers, thru their own organizations, who must have the fundamental control of the economic order, in which, by the way, they have demonstrated such ability, just as an examination of the activities of the politicians and bureaucrats will offer such overwhelming proof of their stupidity.

It is, then, up to the workers organizations to carry out the concentration of industry, with all the official controls they may deem necessary, as the only method of securing an efficient war economy. Just as our army is not an ordinary army with a hierarchical basis, our economy cannot be that of the bourgeoisie in time of war.

Finally, morale, the atmosphere in the rear, is of great importance, since it not only has an influence upon the effectiveness of the necessary work in every field but it also inevitably has its repercussions on the battle-fronts. A healthy and united rear is, then, a factor of primary importance. How to secure it? We could say much in this respect but we will content ourselves with pointing out some negative aspects of the problem—that is, what must be eliminated in order to tend in that direction. And what must be eliminated are the intrigues, the disloyal polemics, the insolent incitations, the attempts to throw some sector of the anti-fascist camp against others.

When the history of our present struggle is written, the contribution of each organization toward unity at home will be discussed. And the work of those who collaborated with the enemy in this field will become clear—is already becoming clear now. And we have the satisfaction of knowing that no such work will be recorded in our ranks.

To sum up: a revolutionary army, an efficient economy on a collectivized base, and a healthy rear—these are the guarantee of victory!

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

By Lambda EUROPE TODAY Stalin's Removal Alone Can Erase Loss Of Prestige Suffered By USSR

London, June 30, 1937. IT IS quite impossible to even record the daily increasing number of arrests, demotions, etc., that occur in the Soviet Union. To give something of a general idea of what is going on it suffices to enumerate the following: the recently reported arrest of Comrade Michalski ("Lapinski"), one of the ablest Soviet publicists on the subject of foreign affairs, and the arrest of Bela Kun. So far as Bela Kun is concerned it is certain that he had been deprived of all his offices and privileges for quite some time and finally expelled from the party. Bela Kun was not an opponent of Stalin but one of his most ardent adherents and agitators. He was, however, with all his faults it must be conceded, an old-time communist. A son of Clara Zetkin, Maxim Zetkin, who was active in the Soviet Union as a physician for many years, has been arrested also.

The English Liberal paper "News Chronicle" published a statement, allegedly given out by Stalin for foreign consumption, according to which Tukhachevsky and the other generals had not surrendered military secrets to Germany but had entertained impermissible connections with the German General Staff and, opposed to the treaty policy with bourgeois states pursued by the U.S.S.R., had conspired to stir up hostilities between imperialist countries and had planned to take advantage of these hostilities by intervening in behalf of a world revolution as soon as the imperialist states had weakened each other sufficiently.

In the meantime this allegedly official statement by Stalin was officially denied by Soviet authorities. It was probably not genuine as quoted in the "Chronicle." Nevertheless it is not at all impossible that it was based on "information" from official Soviet sources who intended to alleviate the devastating effect of the Tukhachevsky incident in such bourgeois states as are on friendly terms or allied with the U.S.S.R., and to suggest a more favorable evaluation of the Red Army and the Soviet Union as factors of power.

This effect has nevertheless been created as a result of the deeds of the Stalin regime. And it cannot be neutralized with post-facto interpretations no matter what they may be, but only by an additional act—namely the removal of Stalin and his clique from the leadership of the Soviet Union.

AGGRAVATION OF THE SPANISH CRISIS

HITLER and Mussolini have now put their cards on the table as regards Spain. Hitler admitted that Germany needs a victory of the fascists in order to get at the ore deposits of Northern Spain. Mussolini openly announced Italy's intervention in Franco's favor and has thus registered his claim to the spoils of an eventual victory. Why this sudden display of candor? Because it has become necessary, after the fall of Bilbao, ruthlessly to stake all of Germany and Italy's resources on a quick and complete victory of Franco and to sweep aside the last, feeble obstacles still maintained by England, France and the U.S.S.R. The immediate objective is now a blockade of the loyalist coast to cut off all further importations of arms and ammunition for the Valencia Government. A new and re-enforced drive on Madrid is to be expected. The British and the French governments are yielding more and more to German-Italian pressure. The U.S.S.R. has to swallow being treated as of no importance. This is one of the results of the beheading of the Red Army. English and French propaganda is again panicking Europe with the bugbear that war or peace is at stake, a sure sign that a new, rotten, imperialist compromise at the expense of the Spanish Republic is in the making.

Neither Germany nor Italy is in a position to wage war on England and France for the sake of Spain, and the English-French bourgeoisie, of course, knows this. Eden declared in the House of Commons that neither England nor France will sell arms and munitions to Republican Spain in case the Non-Intervention Pact is scrapped. Meanwhile, however, German, and most probably, Italian, submarines are sniping at Soviet warships in the Mediterranean.

The counter-revolutionary activities in Catalonia, in Valencia and in the rest of Spain precipitated and carried out by representatives of the Soviet Union and of the C.I., constituted a rash maneuver to gain

(Continued on page 6)

NEW DEAL AIMS TOWARD UNION INCORPORATION

By WILL HERBERG

(Concluded from last week)

Such is the real nature of "N.R. A. unionism" as it was sponsored by General Johnson in the name of the New Deal and given "scientific" theorization by Dr. Lorwin? What does it mean, what are its implications? Dr. Lorwin himself gives us the clue by referring to this new type of "unionism" as existing in Germany and Italy. In all essentials, it is the "coordinated" "government unionism" of fascism; it is fascist "corporative unionism."

Completing the Circle

And so New Deal liberalism completes the circle and meets old-line reaction on its own ground; the New York Post and the State Chamber of Commerce are at last in agreement: the trade unions must be regulated, they must be made "responsible" by governmental supervision. The reactionaries want to cripple and destroy the trade union movement; the New Dealers want to tame and "domesticate" it—but the practical implications are substantially the same. The reactionary union-smashers understand very well that, altho it is the liberal Roosevelt administration that now fastens the yoke of governmental control upon the neck of labor, it will be a Republican-Liberty League regime that will exercise this control tomorrow. Nor is it the first time, by any means, that liberalism thus blazes the trail for reaction—with the best of intentions, of course. Let us recall that, as long ago as 1902, in an address at Boston, Justice Brandeis advocated trade union incorporation "as a step that would tend in some measure to prevent hasty, ill-considered or arbitrary action on the part of labor unions." And just about twenty years later, it was none other than Samuel Untermyer who strove very hard to get the New York State Legislature to adopt a bill drafted by himself restricting the rights and activities of unions and subjecting them to the rulings of a State Commission on Trade and Commerce.

Implications Of Policy

The guiding aim of New Deal labor policy has always been and remains today to incorporate the trade unions as an integral element into a governmental structure as a vehicle for an official capital-labor-government "partnership." As an ultimate ideal, it is not, as we have seen, fully realizable within the limits of the New Deal. Yet its pursuit, as a part of the New Deal labor policy, must necessarily result in certain direct and immediate consequences of a very grave character. For one thing, it must obviously bring with it a strong tendency towards the imposition of some sort of governmental control over the trade unions. And, even more immediately, it implies an effort to place governmental limitations upon essential activities, to restrict the more militant forms of trade union struggle. This aspect of the New Deal, existing for several years merely as a dangerous possibility, now seems to be becoming a practical reality. It is only necessary to refer to the new Michigan Labor Relations Act, blessed by Governor Frank Murphy, or to Secretary of Commerce Roper's indication that the administration is now "receptive" to plans for holding organized labor "responsible." But perhaps most significant is the editorial "Words of Advice to Labor" that appeared in the July 2, 1937, issue of the New York Post, the semi-official organ of the New Deal:

(4) See "Responsibility of Labor Unions" by Buel E. Patch (Editorial Research Reports No. 3), p. 56.

(5) See Morris Hillquit and Samuel Untermyer: "Shall Trade Unions Be Regulated by Law?" (1923).

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(2) For a fuller discussion of the question, see my article, "The Real Meaning of N.R.A. Unionism," in the Workers Age of October 1, 1933.

(3) See his article on "National Economic Planning and the Liberals," in The Modern Quarterly (1931).

BOOKS of the AGE

THE LETTERS OF LENIN, translated and edited by Doris Modie and Elizabeth Hill. New York, Harcourt Brace and Company, 1937.

From every viewpoint, this edition of Lenin's letters is a total loss. Because of careless, stupid and utterly factional selection and editing, no just or adequate idea can be obtained from this book of Lenin's personal life, party policies or political activities. If an estimate of the man had to be formed on the basis of what is to be found within the covers of this volume, it would be just too bad!

Professor Frederick L. Schuman, reviewing "The Letters of Lenin" in the New Republic (June 9, 1937), found it possible, in his enthusiasm, to refer to the "honesty and accuracy" of the editors and to venture the assurance that "their work rings true and will properly stand up well under the test of time and textual criticism." As a matter of fact, it would be very hard indeed to find an example of greater carelessness and downright ignorance in editing than is provided in this book. It is plain that, whatever their knowledge of the Russian tongue may be, neither of the two editors has the slightest acquaintance with the subject-matter of Lenin's letters—the international socialist movement, its institutions and personages. This can best be seen from the incredible way in which they transliterate widely known names from the Russian— they do so phonetically without manifesting any acquaintance at all with the actual names of these people.

A few examples will illustrate what I mean: For Abraham Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward, they write—Kagan (page 324). For Troelstra—Trul'stra (342). For Guesde—Hyde (345). This is indeed a miracle! For Scheidemann—Scheiderman (371).

For Hilquit, the well-known American socialist—Hilkvit (381). For Zeller—Zeller (461). These are only some of the more horrible examples scattered thruout the book!

To illustrate the general ignorance the editors exhibit of their subject-matter, it is only necessary to call attention to their astounding definition of the Economists, actually reformistic syndicalists of a sort, as "the Trade Unionist wing of Russian Marxists" (18). I may mention also that, on page 467 and elsewhere, we meet the absurd and misleading term "Council of National Commissioners," altho on page 459 it is correctly given as "Council of People's Commissars." Besides this, such blunders in translation as "professional periodicals" (254) for "trade union periodicals" or party "Soviet" (184) for party "council" pale into insignificance.

For the last, I reserve two absolutely hair-raising specimens. On page 246, we find a letter dated "Stirsudden, June-July 1917," in which Lenin declares that he is "against the boycott of the Third Duma," which subject he says he is going to "develop in print." Now, in June-July 1917, the Third Duma was long a thing of the past and Lenin was certainly not thinking of discussing any policy in connection with it. The mystery is solved by simply correcting the date line to "June-July 1907." By turning to page 247, Letter No. 145, it can be seen that Lenin did, indeed, spend parts of June-July 1907 taking a rest at Stirsudden, whence this letter is dated; at that time, the question of boycotting the Third Duma was being vigorously discussed in Russian social-democratic circles. That this is no mere typographical error can be seen from the fact that the alleged 1917, but really 1907, letter is placed

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

MOUNTAINS of evidence, piled up in the course of the National Labor Relations Board hearings on Ford's labor policy, are all wrong according to an article in the Ford Almanac, issued last week.

To the superficial observer the accumulated evidence, indicating slugging of union organizers, firing of workers interested in unionism and the extension of the service-men system, since the General Motors strike, might seem adequate proof of Ford's anti-labor policies. But in reality nothing could be further from the truth. According to Ford, He is not really fighting against labor at all but against a gang of lower wages in Ford factories in order that they may not have to pay such high minimum scales.

The article expands on this theme in the following manner: "If Ford should lower wages—or should any law or agreement restrict his freedom to raise wages—wages would go down all over the country."

"With Ford paying \$6 a day, the financiers also are forced to pay high wages in their plants, to attract labor. They want that stopped!"

"That's why they are again trying right now to force Ford to do business their way. "That is the true meaning of this drive to force Ford to accept an outside party as a wage dictatorial Ford employees when, for many years, Ford voluntarily has paid his employees the highest industrial wages in the world."

In other words: you are asked to believe that Ford, in all the kindness of his heart, is resisting unionism in order to maintain the "high" wage level. And when he's got you believing that, he'll think up another one.

A strange event took place in Philadelphia a couple of weeks ago. About 25,000 union teamsters declared a holiday and succeeded pretty thoroly in paralyzing transportation. Nor was this an outlay strike. It had the full sanction of

among the other 1917 letters and is given a consecutive number with them. Evidently the editors could see nothing incongruous in including in Lenin's 1917 correspondence a letter discussing the boycott of the Third Duma!

On page 228, in the editorial "summary" preceding the new section, we are informed that: "Oct. 13-Dec. 3. . . . Formation of Executive Committee of the Social Revolutionary Democrats. The S.R.D. paper 'Izvestia' is published."

An, on page 229, this bit of information is added: "Trotsky at head of S.R.D."

Now, anyone who knows anything at all about Russian revolutionary history, knows that there never was any such monstrosity as "Social Revolutionary Democrats" and that Trotsky was certainly not at the head of it. What is the key to this curious mystery? The Izvestia was published by, and Trotsky was at the head of—the Soviet of Workers Deputies. In Russian, the initial letters of the mythical "Social Revolutionary Democrats" and the very real "Soviet of Workers Deputies" are the same. Evidently the editors met these strange letters in the Russian original but, knowing nothing at all of the subject-matter of the work they were translating and "editing," not even enough to know that Trotsky was at the head of the Petersburg Soviet, they very ingeniously invented "Social Revolutionary Democrats" to meet the emergency!

By this time it should be clear that the present edition of Lenin's letters is nothing short of a calamity. Let us hope that something tolerable will be forthcoming soon.

Apex

President Daniel Tobin, which, in itself, is quite an historic event. What was the cause of the strike? Was it a strike for better conditions, union recognition or enforcement of contract? Was it a sympathetic strike in solidarity with the embattled steel workers? But the strike was called for no such worthy cause. Instead, this display of militancy has been placed in the service of the craft unionists in their fight against the organizing efforts of the C.I.T.

This is characteristic of the A. F. of L. today. In decay, even such militant acts as the sympathetic strike are placed at the service of reaction. Incidentally, what becomes of the cries of "responsibility" leveled at the C.I.O. by Wm. Green? Did he not encourage "irresponsibility" by sanctioning or tolerating a "holiday" in an industry where contractual relations with the teamsters is a matter of long standing? Or are all methods fair where the C.I.O. is concerned?

Unionists flirting with the idea of "independent" unionism (independent of the A. F. of L. or the C.I.O.) would do well to read the opinion given on this question by Dr. David J. Saposs, the well-known labor economist.

Questioned on this topic during the Inland Steel hearings, Dr. Saposs stated that these "independents" have neither strength nor resources to withstand boss pressure. Unless they affiliate with some national or international union, they wind up "at the mercy of the employer."

In case you haven't noticed it, the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), meeting in Spokane, Washington, decided to go out and organize all American workers. Apparently an anti-CIO move, the convention was, nevertheless, thrown into a panic by a resolution abusing John L. Lewis. Fists flew eyes were blackened and noses reddened—and the resolution was not voted on.

Prosperity and Unemployed

(Continued from Page 3)

that women and young workers were reabsorbed into industry sooner than older workers.

This, then, is the story of the much heralded American economic system—a system which, during periods of "prosperity," provides the masses with only the crumbs from the table of the capitalists—while, in depression (really the "normal" period) it denies them even that!

ANNUAL PICNIC Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund - Greater Detroit will be held at A. B. C. SUMMER HOME (near Mt. Clemens) Sunday, Aug. 1, 1937 Good Music - Dancing Refreshments - Sports ALL KINDS OF GAMES FOR YOUNG AND OLD Directions—Follow Schoenherr Rd. to Moravian Drive, just before Bridge—crossing Clinton River—on Graton Ave. to Mt. Clemens City Hall, west about two miles on Cass Ave. Watch for signs. Admission 15c Free Parking

Farm and Cannery Workers Form New Union, Join CIO

One hundred delegates from 22 states, representing 56 different groups with a collective membership of 100,000, attended the first national convention of the Agricultural, Cannery, and Fruit and Vegetable Packinghouse unions, held in Denver, July 9-12.

The two main objectives of the convention—formation of an international union and affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization—were achieved practically unanimously.

"I want to make it clear that in undertaking the organization of agriculture and cannery workers the Committee for Industrial Organization hopes and expects to cooperate with the organized working farmers," John Brophy, C.I.O. director, declared in his speech delivered after the convention had voted to affiliate with his organization.

"The agricultural workers and the farmers have many problems and interests in common. The farmer cannot pay decent wages to the men who pick lettuce or fruit unless he gets enough money himself for his crop. Both the working farmer and laborer alike must be concerned with improving the whole agricultural situation," Brophy said.

The resolution in favor of affiliation with the C.I.O., passed 93 to 1, with two delegates not voting, stated:

"Resolved that this first national convention of cannery, agricultural, packing shed and allied workers apply to the Committee for Industrial Organization for an international charter covering our field."

Delegates to the convention, represented fruit, vegetable and cannery workers from New Jersey; citrus and packing house workers from Florida; cotton field laborers and share croppers from Alabama; cannery workers from Maryland; cotton field laborers, share croppers and cannery workers from Arkansas, Tennessee and Missouri.

From the west and middle west came representatives of sugar beet and other agricultural workers in

A. F. L. TRIES TO BREAK N. Y. STRIKE

The Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union sent a letter to the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York and Local 20728, A. F. of L., denouncing their activities in attempting to organize a union dual to theirs and presenting lower terms to the employers of the Consolidated Trimming Company to gain a contract.

According to the letter, signed by Manager Louis Nelson, the A. F. of L. local offered a forty-hour week to the bosses although the thirty-five hour week is prevalent in the industry here, and attempted to discredit the C.I.O. The Knitgoods Union declared that through the I.L.G.W.U., affiliated with the C.I.O., 250,000 workers had won closed-shop conditions, and that it would call upon the workers "not to be intimidated or terrorized" by the A. F. of L. union and the Central Trades and Labor Council, "acting as strikebreakers and dual unionists."

JOHN L. LEWIS ON CIO - AFL RELATIONS

(Continued from Page 3)

without this basis is merely futile waste of time.

Of course, if the American Federation of Labor should desire to join the Committee for Industrial Organization, we would be glad to make known to them the terms upon which they could enter.

Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Texas, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Minnesota; and fruit and vegetable packers from Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington.

Dairy, greenhouse, landscape, nursery and horticultural workers will also be included in the new international union, Henderson said.

Officers elected at the convention in addition to President Henderson were: J. D. Butler, vice president, and Conrad Espe, secretary-treasurer.

Temporary headquarters of the new union, to be known as the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers of America, will be in the Heurich Bldg., 1627 K St., N. W., Washington, O. C.

EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 4)

the good-will of the English-French bourgeoisie. By now it has become quite clear, however, that this was a failure and that it achieved the opposite effect. The betrayal of the Spanish revolution has grown into something which looks very much like a betrayal of the bourgeois republic.

The counter-revolution in Spain is gaining ground every day. Its latest manifestation is the formation of a new Catalan Government which is composed entirely of members of the Esquerra, the P.S.U.C., the Rabassaires and the Estat Catala ("republican" reactionaries)—with exclusion of the C.N.T. The C. N.T. at first, expressed its willingness to participate but later it withdrew—obviously under pressure of its own members in view of the participation of the Estat Catala. Thus the Catalan government is a replica of, and of one mind with, that of Valencia. But in Catalonia as well as in the rest of Spain the resistance of the working-class against the counter-revolutionary course of the government is on the increase. The vicious assault on the P.O.U.M. has not succeeded in crippling its activity and has caused additional resentment among the workers. Under pressure of popular sentiment Companys saw himself obliged to demand that Nin, the leader of the P.O.U.M. must be brought back to Barcelona. Grave misgivings, however, persist and are justified, because it is not at all unlikely that Nin was summarily shot in the meantime. Militant action to check the counter-revolutionary terror, unleashed against the P.O.U.M., is involving ever wider circles internationally. It appears that the Stalinist methods, when sprung on the international working-class, are not swallowed hook, line and sinker without a protest. It looks very much as though the counter-revolutionary bowstring were strained to the breaking point. Although the same people who organized the campaign to exterminate the P.O.U.M. also had contrived and even announced a similar drive against Caballero, Araquistain and Llopis, the leaders of the left-wing Social Democrats in Spain, they deemed it wiser to renounce carrying out their threat.

It is necessary to continue and to intensify with all the might at our disposal the international action for the defence of the P.O.U.M. and for the suppression of the counter-revolutionary terror in Spain.

The advancing counter-revolution in Spain under the guidance of Stalin and his henchmen entails grave peril from a military angle. But it may happen that this very circumstance will give a new impulse to the revolutionary forces in Spain.

Pocketbook Union Wins New Contract

A new collective agreement between Toronto, Canada, pocketbook manufacturers and the International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union, providing for an average eight per cent wage increase for all workers, was made public this week.

Terms formerly contained in the old agreement which expired the first of this month, including the maintenance of the closed union shop, are renewed under the new contract. In addition, wage increases up to 10% are granted and the employers agree to the establishment of minimum wage scales in the trade.

DRIVE TO ORGANIZE 100,000 TOY WORKERS BEGUN BY CIO

WASHINGTON (UNS)—Union organization of toy and novelty workers throughout the country is to be undertaken by the Committee for Industrial Organization, through an organizing committee appointed by Chairman John L. Lewis, following a conference in Washington with Allen S. Haywood, C.I.O. Regional Director from New York City, and Alexander Ravitch, secretary-treasurer of the Doll and Toy Workers Union of New York City.

Representing the C.I.O. on the committee are Haywood, Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, and a representative to be selected by the International Ladies' Gar-

ment Workers' Union. Representing the workers in the industry on the committee are A. Esposito and Alexander Ravitch, of New York; Morris Malgimatti, Trenton, N. J.; and Fred Fulford, South Bend, Ind.

The purpose of the committee is to organize the 100,000 toy and novelty workers of the country, under the guidance of the C.I.O., with the object of establishing an international union when a substantial number are organized.

Already organized are four federal locals, with a membership of 4,000, which left the American Federation of Labor in June and joined the C.I.O.

Civil War In Spain

(Continued from Page 2)

day, and workers behind the lines are paid less for their herculean efforts to organize a supply service for the war, Azaña still draws his 1,000,000 pesetas a year in wages and an additional equal sum for expenses, while a horde of budget-hungry officials and deputies continue to drain huge sums needed for the conduct of the war, and Negrin threatens to revive the Chamber of Deputies whose discreditable past should have been sufficient to bury it forever.

A revolutionary government would have nationalized the banking system, thus stopping the flight of capital and devoting all economic resources as well as human to the winning of the war. The present government, despite the pusillanimity of its petty-capitalist soul, is a veritable lion in the persecution of those who would take such revolutionary measures.

A workers and peasants government would have devoted all the economic resources of the land to the winning of the war. It would have socialized and centralized under its control the whole of industry. Even bourgeois nations establish state capitalism and centralized economic control when they are engaged in life and death struggles—witness the "state socialism" of the world war. Louis Fischer, who cannot be suspected of partisanship in favor of a revolutionary policy in Spain since he has not even hesitated to invent "facts" and slanders against it, was forced to admit that "the stores in Madrid still have heavy stocks of winter underwear, warm blankets, and flannel garments while four kilometers away the men who are defending the city sleep lightly clothed in frozen trenches" (The Nation, December 12, 1936). Even a capitalist government with a bit of energy would have seized "everything for the boys at the front" and not let the militiamen in the snow-covered Guadarrama mountains spend the winter in the same overalls in which they had seized the strategic mountain range during the previous July.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT

But all these revolutionary policies and others which will suggest themselves to the reader if he peruses again the six-point program at the head of this article, require for their conception and execution a revolutionary government with revolutionary policies. As we have seen, it was but a little step from the network of committees, to a permanent government based upon those committees, a workers and peasants government. But this was not done because the syndicalist and anarchist organizations were prevented by their anarchist prejudices, the socialist and official communist parties by their reformist theories, from taking that next step. The syndicalist workers and peasants were hindered by anarchist training from even contemplating the problem of proletarian power. As usual, "no politics" in working class theory means bourgeois politics in practice. Only proletarian politics (in the revolutionary, not the reformist sense) can prevent the proletariat from being dragged in the political train of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the socialist workers were hindered from understanding the needs of proletarian government by decades of social-democratic teachings in favor of bourgeois coalition government. The left wing of the Spanish Socialist Party was just beginning to approach a commun-

ist position on the question of class struggle and state power, when it was suddenly confused, demoralized and debauched by an aggressive attack on communist principles, made by the Communist Party itself, which had abandoned them in favor of class-collaboration under the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie, and the disastrous theory of the People's Front government. The Communist Party was the main driving force both in 1935 and in 1936 to rehabilitate the discredited Azaña.

Only the Workers Party of Marxist Unity (the P.O.U.M.) remained true to communist principles and clearly placed the problem of proletarian power and program. It was not strong enough at this stage to swing it alone but by that single act it made itself the revolutionary leader of the Spanish working class, a position that it has brilliantly maintained despite slander, provocation and persecution by the Republican-Communist Party coalition and it has manifested the requisite revolutionary realism and flexibility to give concrete expression to the needs of the Spanish civil war and revolution at every turn in the complicated events. Slowly it wins ground for this program among the syndicalist, anarchist and socialist workers and the communist youth. We can fittingly close this article by reprinting the program which it offered in April 1937 during the Catalan cabinet crisis of that month. That it should have had to advance such a program almost a year after the civil war and revolution began, indicates how the People's Front government and its supporters, by sabotaging the revolution have hindered and imperilled the winning of the civil war.

THE P.O.U.M.'S PROGRAM FOR THE APRIL CRISIS

1. Socialization of heavy industry and transport.
2. Nationalization of banking.
3. Municipalization of real estate.
4. Building of an army controlled by the working class.
5. Constitution of a single Interior Security Corps, based on the Guard Patrols and the Investigation Corps, created by the revolution and incorporating the old police organizations that have demonstrated their loyalty to the working class.
6. Immediate offensive on the Aragon front.
7. Reduction of high salaries.
8. Monopoly of foreign trade.
9. Creation of a powerful war industry, socialized and rigorously centralized.
10. Nationalization of the land, insuring the product to those who work it and granting them the necessary credits. Collective cultivation of large estates and economic aid for those collective farms created during the course of the revolution which have demonstrated their vitality.
11. Implacable fight against monopolists and profiteers by means of a rigorous direct control of the distribution and price of food-stuffs.
12. Rapid and efficient organization of aerial and naval defense of all our territory.
13. Convocation of a congress of delegates of workers' and peasants' unions and soldiers to lay the fundamental bases of the new regime and from which would arise a workers' and peasants' government—a government which would be the most democratic possible, which would express unequivocally the will of the great majority of the people, and which would have complete authority to ensure the new revolutionary order.