Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 25.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JUNE 19, 1937.

5 Cents a Copy

Lansing Labor Shows Power

"Holiday" Releases Eight Jailed Pickets; Unions Gain Many Members

LANSING, Mich. — In a most amazing display of labor's new strength and militancy, the local union of the United Automobile workers of America: responded to the arrest of eight pickets by declaring a "labor holiday" to com-memorate the "bravery" of the local sheriff who had dragged the wife of the union president, Lester A. Washburn, to jail at two in the morning of June 7th. Seven others, including Vera Christians, wife of a UAWA organizer, were "visited" around that time and dragged to

Washburn, who had been at the conference of the workers of General Motors to draw up a list of demands to be presented when the present agreement expires, returned to Lansing at 2.30 A. M. the same night.

So great is the spirit, the solidarity, and the strength of the union movement here, that, altho the workers had no foreknowledge of these events, yet, by 8:30 A. M. the major auto plants were shut down completely. The response of other workers was also striking; busses, restaurants, everything was closed down in short time, including smaller auto plants, so that by noon all business was at a stand-

From then on, until the company which had been picketed, the Capitol Machine Wrecking Company, capitulated to the demands of the union, the town of Lansing was run in orderly but determined fashion, by the workers themselves. Until the arrested eight were released, the union refused to negotiate. This demand was acceded than on any other day in its hisand the eight were received by a tory.

STRIKERS PRESS FOR SIGNED CONTRACT



huge demonstration on the grounds of the capitol—over which flew the POUM Hits Slanderers flag of the union!

The main center of the town was 'barricaded" by thousands of auto workers and their autos, traffic control being completely in their hands. Special union permits were necessary for any activity. The halting of traffic, objected to by Governor Murphy, was ended only when the union said it wouldafter the pickets had been released.

In addition to the tremendous wave of confidence that has swept over the workers, who, for the first time, really understand their own power, great strides forward were made in organization by various smaller groups, while the local UAWA proper took in more dues

Lewis Favors Wage and Hour Bill; Hits Board's Powers

Hearings before the joint Con-, gressional committee on the new Black-Connery Wages and Hours Bill included the favorable testimony of John L. Lewis and the outraged opposition of the National among others.

Both groups aligned themselves thru. in accord with the general political and therefore economic outlooks which divide them, the N.A.M. declaring the proposal would straitjacket American industry, without offering it anything in return. What was needed, the representatives of this exploiting combine of vested interests declared, was "protection (sic) from labor combinations in the field of commerce."

John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O., saw the basic positive feature of the law as expressive of the new needs of labor, bringing "at last a glimmer of sunlight to millions of economic workers who now live in despair," while however hitting hard at the proposed powers to be vested in the Board of three or five as endangering the collective bargaining rights and contracts of the trade unions, the very independence of labor. He urged that the hours be specified at thirty to forty per week, according to the Sunday session.

the conditions in the industry.

as the "epitome of legislative tragedy," and within the Congressional committee sentiment has been expressed that its powers are wider Association of Manufacturers, than those of the NRA. It is expected, however, that it will go

The bill is already being attacked

The effect of this move will undoubtedly be to the advantage of the strikers, and once again displays the great new spirit that pervades the American labor move-

Of Barcelona Workers

Reveals Solidarity of All Workers In May Days; Acceptance of "Revolutionary Front" Slogan By Masses Increases Party's Leading Role

analysis of and position on the May events in Catalonia, under the heading of "The Barricades of May 3-7." It declares that militant actions of the workers were not the result of "fascist provocateurs" but, rather, "the responsibility, as is well known, falls directly upon the agents of Stalinism, the protectors of reformism and counterrevolution."

Highly significant is the description given of the uprising wherein it is made clear that "the P. S.U.C. (Communist Party of Catalonia) did not succeed in facing the workers of the U.G.T. against those of the C.N.T."

The statement, shows that the action of the workers was primari-

The Workers Party of Marxist | ly a defensive one, and the task of Unity (POUM) has made public the POUM as a party of the workthru its English organ, The Span- | ing-class was to be on the side of ish Revolution, issue of May 19, its that class, to guide it in a strategic and orderly retreat.

of the U.M.W. will not load that

CAPTIVE MINES

STRUCK TO AID

Agreement With Railroad Brotherhoods Made By CIO; Huge Mass Meeting At Monroe Cheers

Decisions To Re-Form Picket Lines

and for signed contracts in these mines. Seventeen mines, sup-

plying coal to the steel mills, are affected by this militant strategy. "Any attempt to fill the orders of the steel companies,"

Lewis stated "will be resisted by the U.M.W. and members

EN thousand miners in the captive mines of the Bethlehem

Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube companies were called out on strike by John L. Lewis as president of the United Mine Workers, in solidarity with the striking steel workers

STEEL WORKERS

"The May Days," the statement concludes, "showed that the only way out of the present situation is for the working class to take power. To arrive at this, it is necessary to coordinate the revolutionary action of the masses by building the Revolutionary Workers Front, gathering in all the organizations determined to completely crush fascism—a work which can only be realized with a military victory at the front and the triumph of the revolution behind the lines.'

We present highlights of the tatement of the POUM below:

The Workers Hold the Streets

Barcelona, the workers' city, has just lived through glorious days. Just as the working class of Barcelona rose in arms against the fascist uprising of July 19th, from the 3rd to the 7th of May the workers showed that they would not allow Stalinism and reformism to snatch away their revolutionary conquests, won at the price of their blood.

Everywhere abroad, an attempt is being made to throw the responsibility for the bloody events of the May days upon the imaginary 'provocateurs" in the pay of Trotskyism and therefore of international fascism. The revolutionary workers of Red Barcelona resist this slander. The Spanish Revolution, dedicated to their cause, must explain the fighting in Barcelona to the workers of the world.

The Forces in the Field

The coup had been prepared and carried out by the P.S.U.C. and the Esquerra. The members of not the shock troops of the Gen-(Continued on Page 5)

ment thru the C.I.O. The close bond of economic interest between the miners and steel workers, the interdependence of their organization, one of the basic factors that made for the C.I.O., is continued.

The extension of the steel strike to the Bethlehem plant at Cambria, Pa., brought 12,000 more workers into the movement. Of great significance is the announcement made by Lewis that the C.I.O. had "entered into an entente cordiale to fight Bethlehem at Johnstown, Pa." with two railroad rotherhoods. The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen have called strikes on the Bethlehem-owned Conemaugh and Black Lick Railway.

Demanding that the government intervene to "disarm Tom Girdler" (president of Republic Steel) Lewis declared that: "Too much gas is being bought and used and labor is not going to swallow it with impunity.'

On Sunday, in answer to the gassing of women by town vigilantes organized by Mayor Knaggs of Monroe, without disapproval of Governor Murphy, thousands upon thousands of workers from the auto and other industries converged on the town of Monroe to declare their solidarity with the strikers of Newton Steel, which supplies many auto firms, and their vigorous protests against the vigilante violence of the company's town mayor.

Homer Martin, president of the UAWA, stated that all the power of the union would be used to prevent auto companies from buying steel from the struck Newton

Van A. Bittner, regional SWOC lirector announced the definite intentions of reforming the picketlines, tear-gassed into temporary retreat by a combination of the town's "respectable" business and professional men marching side by side with local and imported hoodlums and thugs. Behind the terror, he said, was the heart of the openshoppers, Republic Steel, who mobilized this drive against the SWOC. "There isn't a woman in the United States that six Monroe men with tear-gas guns can't lick," he sarcastically told the enthusiastic workers assembled.

In Youngstown, feeling against the open-company role of the Mayor and the city council is so great that not only has the Labor Congress declared itself ready for a general strike should the huge supply of ammunitions recently purchased by the town be used against the steel strikers, but the town's only newspaper is now urging Republic Steel to sign up.

Trade Unions Send Representatives To American Labor Party Convention

Approximately 300 delegates, 150 representing the affiliated trade unions and 150 representing the Assembly District organizations will attend the first convention of the American Labor Party to be held June 19 and 20 in the Sun Room of the Hotel Edison. One of the major questions likely to come before the convention will be drafting plans for an intensive campaign in the forthcoming municipal election.

Gov. Elmer A. Benson, Farmer-Laborite, Chief Executive of Minnesota, will be the principal speaker. Gov. Benson will speak during

Walter Brower, Chairman of the Law Committee of the Labor Party will make the keynote speech when the convention gathers Saturday. Among the business to be transacted the first day will be the election of the credentials and resolutions committee, and the reports of

The sending of delegates directly from the trade unions marks a stage in the consolidation of the American aLwbor Party, for it is these labor organizations that must be the very heart of the movement | these organizations, however, were which has reached its most advanced expression in this State.

Teachers' Needs Endangered By People's Front Policy | approach of the Rank-and-File was that LaGuardia should not be asked to sever his connection with the Republican Party as this would mean to lose the votes of all the By People's Front Policy

By JIM CORK

that opportunism on the political in opportunistic trade union policies and practices. Here the opportunist line has developed at such a dizzy tempo as to leave far behind even those other unions where the lefts have sufficient weight to determine policy. It can rightfully claim for itself the title "Standard-Bearer of People's Front Opportun-

The CIO

The whole development of the vacillating line of the Rank-and-File tendency (Lefts) on the CIO can be understood only in the light ests) and even the American of the false "unity" attitude was Everywhere the argument is the discernible in the Rank-and-File same. We must not antagonize any- labor politics. group from the very beginning. body, or any organization, no mat-At the last national convention of ter how reactionary. There are the American Federation of Teach- good "people" (the new class ers (August, 1936), when the split term) in the rank and file of every proposal to engage in united front American workingmen are wrong cago, Frankensteen in Detroit forced upon the labor movement by the A. F. of L. was in its early That the Guild, and the American merce! As a leading executive the lesson need not be written in crime of distributing a leaflet to stages, the Rank-and-File took a temporizing and "impartial" posi- offers with scorn only makes mat- said: "We are prepared to unite tion as between the A. F. of L. and ters worse. The union was left in a with any organization no matter General Motors sit-downs in mind. the C.I.O. Unity at all costs was ridiculous and impossible position. how reactionary on any concrete their cry. One of their leading people went so far as to say that Lewis and Green were equally responsible for the split in the labor movement. During all the stirring months since, when the American such a filthy, contradictory mess as labor movement literally has been in the attitude the administration born anew, the Rank-and-File has taken toward capitalist poligroup, the Administration of Local ticians. After all the broader the 5, found it possible to remain silent front of the "people" the better, on the question. It absolutely dis- and capitalist politicians are also regarded the repeated efforts of the "people." So we have the engaging very roots of accepted trade union its face to the blood-soaked prairie Progressive Group to get the union spectacle of the Teachers' Union principles and practices will be in front of Republic Steel to learn legislature was roundly condemned On April 17th, the Administration June 5,—"to honor legislators who this, in fighting to restore a sane that the striking steel workers Auto Workers Union, as a bill deto take a stand on the question, giving a luncheon, on Saturday, helped launch a conference of have supported their bills..." And trade union class line to the Teach- have met is the "peace" of the white-collar workers in answer to who are these legislators? Tam- ers Union, the Progressives face a eight who were killed by the ema call which asked it to "seriously many Hall politicians, of the ilk of serious and difficult task, but one ployers who still believe that labor consider the possible assistance it Steingut, minority leader of the which must be pursued with maxiprestige and strength of the A. F. led the Tammany forces in the principles.

In May the line was still laid Amendment, to squash the cam-

down as follows: "It is gratifying that the American Federation of Teachers has teachers), to sponsor the vicious taken a position as one of the most progressive unions. It is supporting many other progressive measures altho it is not affiliated to the CIO. in order that it may more effectively ment and the Teachers Union! And fight for the unity of the American trade union movement, one or two labor movement. It has correctly taken a stand against any act which might help to cause a split. . . ." (my emphasis—J.C.) the split caused by the A. F. of L. was so obviously wide and irrevoc-

quish its mischievous "peace and unity" position.

Co-Operation With Dual-Union

The ravages of the people's front the attitude of the Rank-and-File towards the dual union in the teachers' field. This dual organiza-

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progressives (sic!) within the Retion, the Teachers Guild, was formthe hands of Tammany! (These illustration of the simple truth only purpose is to attack and un- hand know what their left hand is dermine the union in the eyes of doing). field inevitably finds its reflection the teachers. Yet, despite the At the last presidential elections, vigorous opposition of the progres- the Republican Party, remember, sives, the administration passed a was the main basis for fascism in motion to co-operate with the the U. S. By some miracle, on a are he would not have written it. discussing the problems of the auto Teachers Guild—an unheard of pro- local scale, the leopard automatical- Here are a few citations from the industry. "I have watched Mr.

organization who must be reached.

Attitude Towards Capitalist

Politicians

movement to kill the Child Labor

paign for the repeal of the Ives

Law (the muzzling loyalty oath for

teachers), to sponsor the vicious

American Labor Party, and to kill

advocated by the trade union move-

because, thru the pressure of the

capitalist class is forgotten by the

Stifling The Labor Party

Nowhere has the line produced

cedure, even for a conservative ly loses its spots, and in New York article: union, but possible in a "progresthe party becomes a potential resive" union, thru the deadly logic servoir for progressivism. And supof the people's front which sees port of LaGuardia (which was imfriends and progressives every- plied) was given exactly at a time when he was directly responsible for defeat of legislation to benefit The same logic leads our Rankthe substitutes, economically the and-File administration to invite most oppressed category of the the Citizens Budget Commission teachers. (class-conscious stooge for New York financial and industrial inter-

publican Party and its supposed sequences could easily have followof the people's front. The position Legion to speak at union forums. progressive satellites represents a ed the use of troops. Bear in mind and Edsel build up a service de

rotten mess of the people's front, were American workingmen and found anywhere; has seen its oractivity with the Chamber of Com- they can be taught the right and beaten and mangled for the great Legion, turned down these polite board member of the Rank-and-File blood." measure'

further, but it is unnecessary. "My experience in the recent strike Flirting with dual unions, capitalist politicians, city budget commis- that peace is ahead was that I dissions, American Legion, Chambers covered a tendency of the employer of Commerce—this is the basic to a progressive outlook, a discardclass collaboration policy of the ing of the idea of suppressing just where labor is concerned, has purpeople's front line.

The great danger exists that the poppycock. Labor has but to turn to the interests of labor. His recent poisoned. In seeking to counter-act that it is not true. The only peace may render toward increasing the New York State Assembly, who mum energies and uncompromising

The N. Y. Times and WPA

By EDWARD SMITH

This week our proletarian heart oleeds at every pore for Simeon Strunsky and Topics of The Times. It seems that he smokes a pack of (non-union) cigarettes a day and crumbs have been throw our way for this privelege must pay \$21 a by these capitalist politicians in an year stamp taxes to support the effort to allay dissatisfaction and "WPA worker doing what the Long This was writter precisely when corral votes for themselves, their Island farmers call 'sitting down whole record of service to their, laying sidewalks'."

the Rank-and-File tendency came out for the affiliation of the A. F. of T. to the C.I.O., a position which the Progressives had pressed for the Progressive had pressed for the Progres

candidates who are members of the cigarettes at all. around LaGuardia of course. The Strunskys and WPA loafers all the working class.

smoke cigarettes and no WPA worker is exempt from \$21 a year tax for the privilege of inhaling a pack of butts a day. We WPA loafers exercise American choice in the matter of puffing and, if we so choose, we do not whine. OUR patriotism rises above our thin pocketbooks. Likewise we pay city relief taxes on our gas and electric bills and rubber balls for our babies-all the hidden imposts-We are glad that Topics of The much on merchandise advertised in Rank-and-File administration. The Times has condescended to notice The Times. Kill this WPA purchasargument of cheap practicalism the WPA worker. That worker is ing power in New York and The Yet on May 21, a few days later, ("we must work with them at Al- the man who is ripping up obsolete Times will observe plenty of form-

L.,—"reward our friends and owning boss. Far be it from us to We always have assumed that

TRADE UNION NOTES

progressives (sic!) within the Republican Party, and would play into the hands of Tammany! (These Covernor as an able negotiator during the memorable days The Teachers Union, Local 5, It is a red-baiting outfit whose New York offers a particularly fine only named is to attack and the strike in Chrysler.

Heroes who give dinners to Tamber of the General Motors strike and later the strike in Chrysler. But when it comes to estimating labor's position in the present situation or the possibility for "lasting industrial peace" he just isn't there.

The Governor has an article in the June 19 issue of 'Liberty," entitled "What's Ahead For American Labor?" Had

Ford and his son Edsel for eight

years," says the Governor. "I have

has always been far ahead of the

settlement of any difficulties which

pany and its vast army of employ-

And labor has watched Henry

his "vast army of employees"; has

heard Henry's open-shop Fordism

dinned into the ears of his slaves;

has been corraled into the Ford

 ${f Brotherhood}$ —the new streamlined

company union built to suit the re-

quirements of the Wagner Act.

Verily an enlightened potentate is

But the Governor himself, despite

his condescending paternalism

labor-relations bill in the Michigan

signed to enslave labor. A modified

oill, now before the legislature and

inderstood to have his support,

seriously restricts the right to

picket and is bound to arouse the

ire of the labor movement. The di-

rection in which Murphy is moving

this Henry Ford!

he waited a few days the chances!

"I believe that we have peace

ahead because we all seemed to noted that they have been forward agree that we are in a new day of looking business men.... Mr. Ford industrial fair play; that the rules and viewpoints of the past are not average thinking in industry, and I adequate for the future. The day is am expecting to see an amicable past when enlightened executives want to use the military power of may arise between the Ford Comthe of state or nation in suppres-Such an attitude toward the Re- sing disturbances. Ghastly conbetrayal of genuine independent that this was no handful of men partment under Bennett, second to inside the plants. There were 6,000 none—as choice a collection of The quintessence of the whole of them. And right or wrong they thugs and cut-throats as can be is given in the most recent gem—a they believed they were right. If ganizers—Brown and Kain in Chi-

This is of course written with the But is this condition characteristic of the situation in the country gen-One could extend the sorry tale erally? Yes, says the Governor. settlements which gives me faith objectives of labor. . . ." That's sued, in practice, a policy inimical must be taught its lesson in its own

Equally wrong is the Governor in

n the field of labor legislation becomes clear from the following exerpt from the Liberty article: "Legislation should elevate public rights above those of either contestant, minimize strikes and lockouts, including the new sit-down strike, without ENTIRELY out-

lawing the right to strike. . . ." Disregarding the fraudulent argument about the possibility of the law standing above classes (contestants) in a class society, we would like to ask-why the term 'entirely" in discussing the outlawing of strikes? If the Governor is opposed to restricting the right to strike why does he not say so in so many words? His article proves conclusively that the Governor is not "entirely" opposed to restricting the right to strike. In that at-

The Union thus took its place punish our enemies." Such a policy mention The Times bathetic (and editorial writers had at least a ranks of American labor many politogether with the Furriers and the can only serve to enhance the circulation building) appeals for grammar school education in the ticians saw fit, for their own aims, BS&AU, as another example of prestige of these capitalist poli- the "100 Neediest Cases" and the principles of taxation. We would to assume an attitude of friendship political somersault completed vir- ticians, to create illusions that the right of every human to work in like to know who, this side of hell, for labor. For this the politicians tually overnight. Not until the re- capitalist parties can be gotten to spite of synthetic Long Island told The Times that cigarette taxes were more than repaid by inactionary, strike-breaking, boss- fight for the interests of labor, and farmers, but we must call The are used to operate the WPA? creased popularity among the helping role of the A. F. of L. had deals a solar plexus punch to the Times' attention, among other Wasn't that tax in existence long workers. The Democratic Party become clear even to the wilfully movement for genuine independent things, to the elimination, by WPA before the depression? Would could hardly have expected to make hands, of hundreds of stinking Strunsky's cigarette tax be less if the showing it did in the recent tenements that most certainly must the WPA were murdered? Doesn't state elections, were it not for have offended the delicate olfactory he know that only specific levies Murphy's cashing in on the labor When the progressive group sensibilities of Times editorial are used for relief and that this vote. Isn't it time now, in the light made a motion that, in the interests peons and serfs. Furthermore this WPA, even by The Times' dis- of Murphy's recent legislative of developing genuine independent WPA has absorbed hundreds of honest characterization, is the only antics, to realize that he has been are even more clearly apparent in political action, the Teachers newspaper workers who, otherwise, form of "relief" yielding new eco- leaning too far to the right? A Union, Local 5, as an affiliate of the might flood The Times, underbid- nomic wealth to the country? quarter of a million auto workers American Labor Party, urge upon ding the Strunskys, resulting in the Yeah. The Times knows these and other friendly trade unions in the latter support only of those latter being unable to smoke any things but the kept little minds of the state of Michigan, organized newspapers chant only those lita- into a labor party, could be of ALP and no capitalist political It might interest The Times to nies taught them. Strunsky has tremendous importance in advancparty, it was voted down, with know that, unlike J. P. Morgan, former editions of his career by ing on the political field the cause hands raised in horror by the ad- WPA workers must pay income which he could measure the WPA of labor whose economic phase is ministration. The discussion hinged | taxes on their relief salaries. We | and any other question affecting | so well guarded by the Committee

The New Wages and Hours Bill by George F. Miles

By WILL HERBERG

would be easy to dismiss the project embodied in the proposed Black-Connery Labor Standbecause the United States is so the basis of this investigation, iscomprehensive, thorogoing and sig- "maximum reasonable work-week." exist, seem to be due to the annificant than similar ventures else- But the "minimum fair wage" may xiety of its framers to make it where. Nor can we ignore the not be more than \$1,200 a year, or constitutionally fool-proof by dedecisive fact that the scope of so- 80c an hour, and the "maximum fining and redefining the various cial and labor legislation is being reasonable work-week" may not be thus greatly broadened in the less than a period that, it is gen- almost every type of industrial United States precisely at a time erally believed, will be fixed at 30 activity to interstate commerce, so when, in other capitalist countries, hours. It is of great importance to that, directly or indirectly, it may even in People's Front France, note that the Board is given an ab- be made to cover as broad a field hard-won gains of former years solutely free hand in establishing as possible. It would be out of are being systematically under- differential standards on the basis place to examine this aspect of the hand of the C.P. caucus was felt. to the Financial-Secretary for a mined, and the very range of such of "localities, the population of legislation drastically narrowed the communities . . ., the number down. There can be little doubt of employees employed, the nature that the Black-Connery bill marks and volume of goods produced and a deeply significant event in American social and political development, laden with far-reaching con- tain number of workers, to be fixed sequences for the organized labor

Banning "Oppressive Labor

The keystone of the whole system contemplated in the Black-Connery measure is the Labor Standards Board, a five-member at the rate of time-and-a-half; as body appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, employment in periods of seasonal due consideration being given to or peak activity may be permitted the varous industrial and geogra- under special regulations." Furphical sections of the country. As- thermore, except for child labor sisted by mixed employer-worker- and the "oppressive labor practises" government advisory committees of its own selection, this Board seems the Board is empowered at will to be endowed with the widest and to make any exceptions or exmost plenary powers. After preli- emptions it may deem proper; it minary hearings, it is authorized to declare a trade, industry or em- ards upward or downward, . . ployment — technically resumed to the extent that (it) finds a variunder the general designation of "occupation"—subject to the provisions of the Act. Only occupation the Board is empowered to "modify, tions in interstate commerce or those directly or indirectly af- the light of the circumstances then fecting interstate commerce are involved but the terms are so broadly defined that they seem to include practically everything except strictly local service trades; agriculture is specifically excluded but even here the decisive interpretation is left to the Board. Once an occupation is declared subject to the Act, certain "oppressive" labor conditions are immediately banned. Wage-rates must not fall below the minimum standard of a certain sum per hour, left blank in the bill as drafted to be filled in some time before final passage; the general opinion seems to be that the minimum will be set at 40c | Whatever may be the standards and upon such terms as to the court that, "faced with similar formid- will inevitably lead to an unhealthy an hour Nor must the work-week exceed a maximum of so many to "supersede or justify non-com- are final, subject to appeal to the C.I.O. (in the steel and textile in- Merrill intends to introduce hours -40 or perhaps even 35, as pliance with" any federal or state Supreme Court. Even a cursory ex- dustries) found it advisable to set worst features of A. F. of L. Congress will decide. Strike-break- law prescribing higher levels. Nor amination of these sections of the up organizing committees, through bureaucracy into the International ing, defined in a rather dubious may anything in the Act, or in any Act gives the impression that, which were provided the finances Union. Even as a Federal Union, way, is outlawed and so is labor regulation or order under it, be so despite all precautions, there still and the able leadership essential to the BS&AU enjoyed more autoespionage, both as "oppressive" labor practises. "Oppressive child tract, understanding or collective- loopholes and technical ambiguities This resolution was first opposed seems prepared to grant Locals of labor," defined as either the emlabor, defined as either the emlabor, and finally referred to the General the new International Union. So ployment of children below sixteen for better conditions; but on the ployer could frequently find it posyears of age under any circum- other hand, "any (such) contract, sible to evade or obstruct com stances, or the employment of agreement or understanding," even pliance with the regulations laid timate concern to all sections of argued against a resident Exthose between sixteen and eighteen a collective labor agreement, bedown by the Labor Standards the population. It is probably true ecutive Board and against more in "hazardous" or "detrimental" comes null and void if the condi- Board. occupations, is also specifically tions contained therein are inferior prohibited. All of these regulations to the standards set by the Board. to be within the scope of the Act. Collective Bargaining And "Minimum Fair" Standards

* The relation between the Black-Connery Act and the NRA, which in some sense might be considered a forerunner, will be discussed in a future article.

Article I in the Series: "The Black-| supposed to be rock-bottom mini-| tary establishment of appropriate Connery Bill And The Labor Move- mums. By implication, it is left differentials and higher standards to trade union action to raise wages for other employees." In fact, there and reduce hours beyond these is a specific provision empowerng limits. But, should the Board feel the Board to take any measures that, "owing to the inadequacy or necessary to "prevent the estabineffectiveness of the facilities for lished minimum wage becoming collective bargaining" in a certain the maximum wage and to prevent to be gauged by the 8,615 persons ards Act with the ironical remark field, wages lower than a "mini- the discharge or reduction in wages for whom membership was claimthat at last "backward" America mum fair wage"—defined as a of employees receiving more than ed in these locals. The true import is beginning to catch up with the wage "fairly and reasonably com- the established minimum wage." of the convention can be judged British Trade Boards Act of 1909 mensurate with the value of the These few words, vague and un-only on the basis of its affiliation or the French laws of 1915 and service or class of service ren- certain as they are, are packed with the C.I.O. The C.I.O. made 1922. But such a half-truth would dered"—are being paid, then it may with tremendous significance for possible the holding of the convenbe wholly misleading. Precisely "conduct an investigation" and, on the labor movement. belated in this field, its first* real sue a labor-standard order establement on the complexity and voattempt at federal wage-and-hour lishing such a "minimum fair luminousness of the bill. These legislation is bound to be far more wage." And the same applies to a defects, insofar as they really

> .. other ... circumstances." Conerns employing less than a cerlater, are altogether exempt from the provisions affecting hours and wages, unless the Board decides ficult problem. It is made unlaw-

otherwise. At the discretion of the Board and under such rules as it may prescribe, overtime may be allowed a general rule, in fact, "overtime of strike-breaking and espionage, may "vary . . . (minimum) standation necessary or appropriate ... ? Indeed, by a sweeping provision extend or rescind at any time, in prevailing, a labor-standard order previously made."

Again, the Board may issue orders permitting substandard wages and hours under special cirumstances — lower wages for learners and apprentices;** inferior conditions for "persons whose earning capacity is impaired by age, . . . or deficiency or injury"; as well as "deductions for food, lodging and other facilities if the nature of the work" makes the latter necessary.

Validity Of Labor Agreements

set up by the Board, they are not may seem proper." Court decisions able tasks of organization, the situation. It seems that Brother construed as to invalidate any "con- remain a number of important carry them through to success."

come into effect automatically as It is the plainly declared pur mechanism thru which the declared will not become altogether clear soon as an occupation is declared pose of the Black-Connery bill to aim of the Black-Connery Act—to until it is put into effect so that its three members were originally opset up minimum conditions "as prevent the "spread and perpetu- practical consequences may be posed to the 50% tax. The reprewill affect only those employees ation among the workers of the studied concretely. Nevertheless, it in need of legislative protection several states of conditions detri- is even now possible to make a

There has been widespread comconcepts, by attempting to relate question here but it may be suggested that not a little trouble is

Compliance And Enforcement Compliance and enforcement probably constitute the most dif-

ful to produce, transport or sell "unfair" goods, that is, goods produced at substandard conditions, and, more directly, to employ workers at such conditions. The penalty, to be inflicted separately for each worker employed in violation of the Act, is a maximum fine of \$500 or a maximum prison term of six months or both. with the proviso that imprison for the production of records which if it so desires. On the other hand,

The standards thus set up are without interfering with the volun- mental to the physical and eco- general estimate of its social and 40 cents per capita to the Internanomic health, efficiency and well- economic significance as well as tional. But the bureaucratic pres-** As a matter of fact, the powers being of such workers"—is to be of the opportunities and dangers sure was too much for them. Deleof the Board are so broad that it realized. It is a imposing and it holds out for the labor movemay be said to have the complete far-reaching piece of legislative ment of this country. This is what fight the battle alone in the comregulation of apprenticeship in its machinery and its operations are I propose to do in subsequent arcertain to prove of the most in- ticles of this series.

Progressives Fight "Left" Burocracy at BS&AU Meet

The strength of the first con-

May 30 and 31, is not to be of an O.W.O.C.? Why did they dismeasured by the 23 locals repre- regard the position of the Exsented there. Its significance is not ecutive Board of the BS&AU? tion and the formation of the United Office and Professional Workers of America. For 15 years progressives in the A. F. of L. had fought in vain for the establishment of an International Union of have to be coaxed into granting a filiation with the C.I.O.

opened, the heavy bureaucratic Workers of America, by applying Their first act was to present the charter. For some reason, Lewis likely to spring from this direction credentials committee in which no yielded only after considerable minority opinion at the convention was represented. The chairman did not even bother to seek the approval of the delegates. When Al bert Epstein of the New York delegation, backed by Leonard Bright of New York and Clara Handelman of Newark, objected to this undemocratic procedure, they were accused of "bickering." But the "bickering" at least forced the inclusion of minority representation on the resolution and constitution

OWOC The completely factional approach of the C.P. to trade unions ment is possible only upon a second was most clearly expressed in its The autonomy of the Local Union, offense. The Board itself is given attitude to an Office Workers Or- however, has been destroyed by great deal of power in compel- ganizing Committee. On May 25, the provision in the constitution ling obedience to its orders. It may the Executive Board of the BS&AU requiring the payment of 50% of conduct any investigation it finds of New York unanimously adopted all local dues to the international necessary; it may administer the motion of Albert Epstein in office, which in no case can amount oaths, subpena witnesses and call favor of requesting the C.I.O. to less that 40 cents. The attempts set up an Office Workers Organizthe employers are legally bound ing Committee. At the convention a flat monthly rate of 40 cents (35 to keep; it may even require the this motion was embodied in a cents for the international union labelling of goods if such a resolution introduced by Leonard and 5 cents for the C.I.O.) were measure is deemed necessary for Bright of New York. This resolueffective enforcement. Any em- tion pointed out that speed was assure autonomy for the Local ployee compelled to work at sub- essential in the organization of the Unions were defeated in spite of standard conditions is entitled to hundreds of thousands of office and the fact that in this period every "reparation" from his employer professional workers in view of the equal to his loss, and he may re- prediction by leading economists of velop initiative in organizing the cover it thru civil action, to which the coming of an economic crisis the Board may give its assistance within the next two years. The resolution went on to say: "It is obemployers feeling themselves ag- vious that the resources of the exgrieved may appeal to the courts sting office and professional workfor a review of the legal validity ers unions represented in this conof any labor-standard order. Court vention are insufficient to conduct review is limited to questions of the kind of an organization camlaw but the court may order "ad- paign . . . which would capture ditional evidence to be taken be- the imagination of these employfore the Board and to be adduced ees. . . " In the same resolution, upon the hearing in such manner attention was called to the fact rill. The provisions of this clause Executive Board, without permit- bent was he upon having complete

measure now being discussed in Executive Board in a year. Such, in bare outline, is the the joint Congressional committee

ting any amendments from the floor and without allowing adequate vention of Office and Professional discussion. Why did Merrill and Workers, held in Philadelphia on his clique oppose the establishment Were they more concerned with keeping tight control over the new International than with organizing the unorganized office workers?

That the convention was merely a rubber stamp for the C.P. caucus was made most evident in the course of the adoption of the constitution. After Lewis Merrill, as chairman of the Constitution Committee, had reported to the convention, Albert Epstein requested Office Workers. The C.I.O. did not port. Merril, however, insisted that he make the amendments separatecharter. It did so willingly and ly for each section. The first eagerly. The convention was unani- amendment provided that a local ous in favoring the formation of union may be formed by 15 or more an International Union and its af- persons working within the jurisdiction of the International Union, From the moment the convention United Office and Professional convention with a hand-picked Merrill fought against it and struggle. Why did Merrill oppose this amendment? What schemes did he have in mind?

Local Autonomy The power of an international

union is derived from the local unions. In order to succeed, a local union must have a self-reliant militant membership and an independent aggressive leadership. To accomplish its tasks, a local must be granted freedom of action. Such autonomy is impossible unless the local union is assured the opportunity of sufficient income to enable it to maintain its own organization, including paid organizers. of several delegates to establish unsuccessful. Thus, all efforts to local must be encouraged to deoffice workers.

We are told that the International will assign organizers to the npoverished locals. Is it then the neaning of the above provision to make it possible for Brother Merrill and his G.E.B. to impose organizers upon the Locals? Such a procedure can only result in the establishment of a bureaucratic machine under the thumb of Mernomy than President Merrill now control of the Union that he that the full meaning of the than one meeting of the General

It should be noted that in the Constitution Committee itself, sentatives from Hartford and Philadelphia timidly favored a flat gate Albert Epstein was left to

(Continued on Page 6)

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League. 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishing Association. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$.60 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00; Canada

Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: BRyant 9-0127

Vol. 6, No. 25.

Saturday, June 19, 1937.

WE LEARN FROM LANSING

EVENTS on the labor horizon are moving with more than lightning speed. It is difficult to appraise this or that strike, one or another contest with the bosses. Yet, in the great upsurge of the laboring masses there are certain events. some experiences that tower above others, that are peaks from which it is easier not only to observe history in-the-making but also to look at the class struggle in retrospect and prospect. Here we have the quintessence of importance or greatness featuring some particular vent in the whole myriad of incidents now making up the glorious pages of American labor hisstory. It is in this sense that America's first "Labor Holiday" which recently occurred at Lansing, Michigan, must be recognized as an event of primary import in the life of our whole labor movement.

And why? Of course, it is a glowing tribute to the United Automobile Workers of Lansing, led by Lester Washburn, to be able to marshall at a moment's notice such strength of organization as to have 12,000 auto workers shut the plants tight in order to beat back an assault on the most elementary rights of labor. Indeed, the workers of more than one town or city—and for that matter of the whole country—can learn from the Lansing auto union how to win over large sections of the middle class population to the side of labor against arrogant and brutal capitalist authority. Nor do we challenge the fact that it would be difficult to exaggerate the significance of labor in the U.S., or for that matter in any other country, striking nowadays for the enforcement of basic political rights.

But it is for even more than these very potent reasons that we turn the search ight on the Lansing "labor holiday" and hail it as an event of mighty inspiration and profound enlightenment. With a suddenness that paralyzed the enemy-class agents of "law and order" who had dragged defenseless injunction victims out of their beds, all Lansing workers stopped production and commerce. Here was working class solidarity both spontaneous and magnificent. More than that. Here was working class discipline rooted in the conviction that a grave wrong had been inflicted on front-line fighters for labor's cause and that this wrong could be undone only by labor's own supreme power-complete unity of action against the boss class and all its lackeys and petty agents.

Add to this the calmness, the dignity, the thoroness with which the local union leadership went about mobilizing the forces of the labor movement to secure the release of the pickets and you have a glimpse of the working class of tomorrow clinching its victory, defending and extending it to the point of the establishment of a new social system. Here was no cheap sensationalism, no shoddy spectacular stunts, no synthetic drama which upon examination revealed itself as crude farce. Here was substance good-humored in form and serious in purpose. In

lusty young giant just growing conscious of his latent strength, the Committee for Industrial Organization this week demonstrated in Michigan its power to halt at will the normal life of whole communities." Obviously, by "normal life of whole communities" the Scripps-Howard daily means the conduct of business on the capitalist or private profit basis. Yes, "the lusty young giant," the American worker, has only begun to take the sand out of his eyes. He is still far from fully awake. Once American labor is completely aroused it will wake up to its dynamic powers, to its incalculable strength for social progress. Then and then only will the days of capitalist iniquity in this country and elsewhere be numbered.

It is on these scores that we say proudly: We learn from Lansing-not only for today, and tomorrow but also for the day after tomorrow. The labor holiday happenings in Michigan's capital are a mighty testimonial to the great capacities which America's working class can develop and display in brilliant strategy, in efficient organization, in the will to fight and in the ability to fight to win.

Communist Youth Join POUM

WE are glad to inform our readers of the following significant developments in the workers' youth movement of Spain, symbolic of the general leftward trend among the masses of workers, and the increasing triumphs of the Leninist policy of

At Pozuelo, a battalion of the J.S.U. was fighting along side a P.O.U.M. battalion. Upon reading in their paper, "Ahora," the lies and insults against the P.O.U.M. comrades, whom they saw fighting and falling everyday in defense of the working class and socialist victory, they collected the lying papers and publicly burned them.

Near Teruel, a whole J.S.U. battalion joined the Iberian Communist Youth in a body.

In Catalonia, in one of the most "loyal" Federations, local sections signed the pact of the Revolutionary Youth Front with the POUM and Anarchist Youth, and were immediately expelled.

Asturian Youth Break With YCL Reformism

and daughters of the heroic miners printed in the Syndicalist, Anarwho created the Asturian Soviet in chist and POUMist press, has given he 1934 revolution, comes the fol- voice to the suppressed indignaowing indictment of the methods tion of thousands of revolutionary and policies of the United Socialist young workers and has caused a Youth. This is taken from the profound sensation in Spain. We POUM's English organ, The reprint the letter from El Comu-Spanish Revolution, issue of May nista of Valencia, issue of May 15:

After Fernandez, secretary of the Asturian Youth had resigned, silent nor permit that my comrade his organization signed the bases of a Revolutionary Youth Front main ignorant of my disagreemen with the Anarchist Libertarian Youth, running counter to the since the rebellion of the fascist policy of the United Socialist Youth, of course. The bases of this revolutionary Youth Front closely resemble those signed in Catalonia the organization to be led along by the Libertarian Youth and the Iberian Communist Youth of the tionary road which Carrillo* wishes

The excerpts from Fernandez's wo letters to Carrillo dated March

"Upon my arrival in Valencia from Gijon, I learned that I had been named by the National Conerence of the J.S.U. as a member of the National Committee.

"Such a decision of the Conference, naming members of the Committee without taking the opinions of the sections of the Conference into account, does not oblige me to accept the position, unless the Asturian Youth should make a ecision on the case. I consider that lack the necessary authority to epresent sections of the Federaion which were not consulted. and therefore I am presenting my esignation from this seat."

To this letter was attached the other one addressed to Carillo personally, which said essentially: The Asturias, not just their executive, but the whole membership of the province, should soon pronounce on the 'new line' followed summary, here was model working class action not only for today but also for tomorrow.

That is why the New York World Telegram was quick (and correct) to arrive at this conclusion, on the basis of the Lansing "labor holiday": "Like a lusty young girnt into the property of the control of the property of the property of the control of the property of the national Federation of the accomplices and betrayed the revolution; the revolution for which they gave their lives. Only one that the National Executive will explain to us the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of their betrayers who call themselves the militants of the property of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of their betrayers who call themselves the militants of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of their betrayers who call themselves the militants of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of their betrayers who call themselves the militants of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of their betrayers who call themselves the militants of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes are the faces of the causes and the lusty young girnt into the faces of the causes are following. reasons why it placed the stamp of the Young Communist International in the membership cards and on the poster announcing the meeting of April, thereby making it appear that we belong to a communist internationa, while at the same time an appeal is made to all

> "It is regrettable that the into a policy of absorption and confusion.

youth, without any ideological dis-

tinction, to join our ranks.

leaving the path of Marxism, I Spain the exploitation of man by shall use all of my time working man. with the Asturian Youth."

From the Jarama front comes a burning challenge to the anti-revo- April 4, 1937. lutionary policies of the leadership of the official communist youth or- * Carillo is general-secretary of the ganization, the United Socialist

From the Asturian Youth, sons | Youth of Spain. This letter, re-

I am no longer able to keep of the United Socialist Youth rewith the orientation of the U.S.Y dogs against the people started. As a member of the U.S.Y. of Gerena (Seville) I cannot permi the tortuous and counter-revoluto follow.

I cannot permit myself to be made an accomplice without raising my voice in public protest that such a course is betraying the revolution, which has cost the Spanish people so much blood.

I have read several times in dif

ferent newspapers the speeche Carrillo has made in various cities in which we now hold power, that the United Socialist Youth is fighting for a parliamentary, democratic republic. I think that Carrillo is altogether mistaken. I, a young Socialist and revolutionary. am fighting for the collectivization of the land, the factories; that all the wealth and industries of Spain be for the common good of all human being and of Humanity.

Does Carrillo and all those who try to lead us along that counterrevolutionary road think that we of the U.S.Y. are sheep? No we are not sheep. We are revolution-

What would our fallen comrades say if they came to life and saw that we of the U.S.Y. had become the U.S.Y. and who have betrayed

Comrade Carrillo: How can we permit, after so many lives have been sacrificed for the revolution, those to rule the destinies of Spain who were unable to put down the movement which has cost us so many tears? No, Santiago Carrillo. Those who ran like cowards when the danger came to the very Party and Youth should be turned gates of Madrid, can no longer direct the destinies of our future

society. Comrade Carrillo, do not forget ". . . from now on, in order to this. The United Socialist Youth is prevent our organization from fighting now to eliminate from

> Nothing more for today. (Signed) Jose Leal Panduro Sector of the Jarama front,

United Socialist Youth .-- EDITOR.

By Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Formation of Negrin Cabinet Spurs British-French Plans for Mediation

London, May 25, 1937.

The Drive for Mediation in Spain

FOLLOWING close on the heels of the May-Events in Catalonia and the cabinet shake-up in Valencia came the launching of the English-French drive for mediation in Spain. The causal correlation leaps to the eye. Besides, the more-or-less official newsorgan of the French Foreign Office, "Le Temps," stated this correlation as explicitly as can be desired. Writes the "Temps" in a semi-official editorial on May 22nd:

"In every respect and despite the cross-currents which generate at times within the pale of the Leftist groups, the recent cabinet revision indicates an important phase of development in republican politics. . . . The concentration of all branches of national defense . . . which in the interest of efficient warfare cannot be minimized. There is no reason, however, to assume that such measures for effective continuation of the war are blocking with finality all gateways to a policy of conciliation which is being recommended incessantly by the powers most vitally interested in preventing the Spanish War from growing into a European War. Obviously it is premature to exepct mediations—regardless of how much skill (!) might be lavished on broaching them—to show any concrete results under the present circumstances. No desire for mediation has as yet been openly admitted by either side—government or the nationalists. It is no less true, however, that the desire exists and that, should neither one of the belligerent parties succeed in winning a decisive military victory then, an opportune moment will doubtlessly arrive, at which the terms for a direct arbitration must be examined. When that contingency arises, negotiating, although of a delicate nature in any event, would nevertheless be easier with a republican power which represents, first and foremost, the political parties of the Left, than with a government controlled and dominated by extremists."

Next day the Temps, on the same page and commenting on the conference of the French Foreign Minister Delbos in Brussels, said the following:

"It is not at all surprising that the question of the Spanish crisis should have monopolized the undivided attention of the Messrs. Van Zeeland, Delbos and Spaak in their discussions during the past two days. From a general viewpoint it is imperative that nothing be left undone to hasten the end of the Civil War on the other side of the Pyrenees. England. France and Belgium are the more concerned since, obviously, negotiating in behalf of a Western Power-Pact cannot really progress until internal peace in Spain is re-established and. as a consequence, Italy and Germany are in a position again to cooperate, unhampered.'

Thus, the garroting of the Spanish Revolution is to serve as a link between France-England on the one side and Germany-Italy on the other.

A DDITIONAL light is thrown on the above mentioned correlations in an interview of Mr. Klaus Mann with the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic, Mr. Benes, excerpts of which were published in the Neue Tagebuch of May 22nd, 1937, No.

"An Hour With Benes-Benes made the following statement on the Spanish situation: 'The horrible affair in Spain will be sufficiently liquidated in the fall of the current year to enable the Great Powers to withdraw from it; neither of the two belligerent parties in Spain is capable of outlasting another winter of war. A temporary settlement will be reached to start with; most probably resulting in division of the country. Naturally the civil war will continue latently and underground for a long time, perhaps for decades to come. Spain has to make up for three revolutions, that of 1789, that of 1848, that of 1917-a task which cannot be accomplished overnight...'"

THE mediation drive is now being launched under the pretext, first of all, of declaring either a general, or a series of local, armistices for the purpose of evacuating all volunteers. A transparent pretext. The pretext of withdrawing the volunteers would make it easier for the Valencia Government as well as the French People's Front Government, the British Government and, last but not least, the Soviet Union, to squelch suspicions of treason in (Continued on Page 6)

Books of the Age

The Majesty of Reaction

By LYMAN FRASER

own face; it disguises itself in ary struggle of the working class. the face of something that is calculated to impress the victims of reaction. At this moment in hisunclean purposes wrapped in the preventing a rational approach to ed originally to prevent news majestic trappings of a monarchy that is becoming increasingly awesome and sanctified, thrust always further heyond the level of the multitude. Criticism of the king is discouraged and there is practically none of it. No antimonarchical sentiment is evident, which acquired its awesome characat least none that is vocal, not ter only after the Civil War, its where the editorials and leading even in the Labor Party. The only increasing power correlating pergood form is to sing: God bless fectly with the increasing power sive days they try in vain to pub

But this contrasts strongly with the situation a century ago. Then, of reaction, but probably more created by the Jacobin revolution. When George IV died, abuse of the cries of "Long live the king!" Wilscribed in the press as "weak, There ignorant, commonplace." was bitter criticism, too, of Queen Victoria, so bitter that the ladv threatened in 1854, as Kingsley Martin* relates, to resign "and retire to private life." Much republican sentiment existed in later to the Labor Party and the workvears: many of Swinburne's poems monarchical spirit, while the imperialist conservative Joseph Chamberlain speculated on abolition of the monarchy. The early labor movement was republican and shortly before the World War the king was characterized by Keir Hardie in parliament as a man who might have been a loafer if not born within the royal purple.

Why the change? Kingsley Martin toys with a number of answers but nowhere makes the "why" clear. He sees vaguely that imperialism was a factor but does not realize that it is the basic factor, involving a fundamental change in capitalism.

One hundred years ago Britain was still in the stage of competitive industrial capitalism. The bourliberal revolution. Britain was still a colonial power but colonial possessions were condemned by many people, among them the future imperialist Disraeli, who described nation's neck. By 1870-80 Britain finance capitalism and imperialism, and the sanctification of the monarchy began and steadily grew. tion against liberalism, the financame the mystical symbol of empire used to awe the Indians and other subject peoples. The monarch perialist diplomacy—King Edward VII, who apparently reigned but did not govern, has been revealed in recent historical literature as a potent factor in forging the prewar imperialist alliance of Britain, France and Russia against Ger-

The irrational majesty of monarchy was rationally conceived to serve the purposes of reaction.

That is all the more necessary today as British capitalism and imperialism are definitely in decline. Britain is economically shrinking, but it would shrink still more if not for the imperialist profits of overseas exploitation. and the shrinkage objectively prepares revolution. A struggle against the monarchy, which serves

* The Magic of Monarchy, by Kingsley Martin. New York, Alfred A Knopf, \$1.25.

I the imperialist bourgeois, might Reaction seldom appears in its permit an independent revolution-Under the Negrin government As capitalism declines it em-

phasizes the irrational, and the irrational majesty and sanctity of accident that fascism, the final expression of declining capitalism, erects the irrational into a system in all realms of social life.

We, too, have the irrational majesty of the Supreme Court, of American finance capital. . . .

majesty and awe created around and Catalonia. They are forced to too, the monarchy was the centre the monarchy in psychological develop new ways of hinting to terms—providing the masses with their readers that the editorials people damned the king than blest splendor and color to "compensate" they publish do not represent their him. There was violent criticism them for their drab lives and a full position. One of the devices them for their drab lives and a full position. One of the devices REVOLUTION!" of the monarchy and much remain- chance to indulge the "natural meant to warn the reader, which ed of the republican sentiment capacity for devotion to an ideal finally got by the censor largely personality." What that means, in because it was addressed to him simple words, is that the monarchy dead monarch overwhelmed the is opium for the masses who are tempered with personal chivalry, is ricades. The P.S.U.C. did not sucrobbed by those who profit from liam IV was contemptuously de- the system that uses the monarchy ican reader some slight idea of ceed in facing the U.G.T. workers the lead. to promote their interests.

Nor is that the only way, however, in which the monarchy serves reaction against the people. The royal family had much to do with Mr. Censor: seducing Ramsay Macdonald and his associates from their allegiance ing class, in forming the "nationthrobblingly expressed the anti- al" government that struck such a severe blow at the political pro- was established in Barcelona and gress and power of the working especially for the last three days, But like all good British liberals

archy while urging people to be "sensible" about it. And he justifies that acceptance by arguing that the monarchy is a bulwark against fascism-"if we drop the trappings of monarchy in the gutter, as one radical put it. Germany has taught us that some guttersnipe (or house painter with a mission) may pick them up." There is liberalism in all its glory today! Observe the contempt for the masses: they need and must have the irrational majesty of monarchy or of a substitute, children who geoisie had not completed its can never grow up. Observe the dangerous illusion (which the Comcome to share, as it now shares in be defended against the threat of they did not have before? colonies as "millstones" around the the imperialism of fascist Germany) that the monarchy is a this. We know that it is absolutely was definitely in the stage of progressive force that may save uscless to indulge in such pro- and it immediately denounced the the people against fascism. On the contrary, when the situation make this observation. becomes tense, the monarchy may There was constantly more reac- itself aid the coming of fascism tion it gives to an undemocratic (as in Italy) or it will be brushed cial oligarchy identified itself with aside by the very reaction it serves and crash when the British workthe aristocracy, and the Crown beif a new face is needed to disguise ing class begins its final struggle It was the P.O.U.M.'s duty to the struggle, remaining alert, howreaction.

Censor Stifles **Workers Press**

eaction grows apace in Loyalist Spain. We have before us the issues of La Batalla for the week of the monarchy becomes a means of mutilated by the censor. Establishsocial problems. It is no historical stories from revealing military Guards were reluctant to fire upon secrets, the censorship has been extended to politics. The degree to which labor and revolutionary papers meet with political censorship is a measure of the growing reaction in Spain. On one day La all smashed in, blanks and blurs lish a restrained editorial analyz-Kingsley Martin explains the ing the May clashes in Barcelona and in Spain even ruthlessness is printed below. It gives the Amerwhat La Batalla is up against: It is taken from La Batalla of May

Will you permit us a few brief observations? We do not know the ideas you profess. We do not wish to know them. We know only one thing: that since the censorship all the newspapers of Barcelona have been able to publish articles (and, unfortunately, laborites) and political manifestos concern-Kingsley Martin accepts the mon- ing the actual political situation newspapers have been able to ex- guez Sala and the annulling of the press their opinions on the recent Public Order Decree. It proposed government crisis in Valencia and the immediate formation of the Re-

La Batalla has not been permit ted to do so. The two editorials | Committees for the Defence of the written on the subject, in the most | Revolution. These slogans echoed restrained manner, were not per- among the masses and accentuated mitted publication. We venture to the cooperation between the workformulate a question: Are you ers behind their barricades or in making an exception of the POUM their organization headquarters, and its central organ?

Furthermore: Even when we wise threw up barricades or shot publish extracts from other news- from the P.S.U.C. buildings (Hotel papers, sections are crossed out. Colon, Karl Marx House) or those munist Party of Britain may yet Is it that the very act of our re- of the Esquerra and Estat Catala. printing them gives them a specialthe illusion that the Empire must ly subversive importance which

We do not protest against all tests. We only permit ourselves to Assault Guard's attack on the

spirit of caste. They will all totter for power, For in the rational stand actively with the workers ever, and keeping their arms. The There are other reactionary world of socialism there are no who were spontaneously and role of the P.O.U.M. grew with the aspects to the British monarchy, reactionary interests which must heroically defending the threatened experience in revolutionary strug-

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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POUM Hits Slanderers Of Barcelona Workers

(Continued from Page 1) rality. It had at its command the Assault Guards, the Civil Guards and the Mozos d'Escuadra—per-May 16 to 22. They are pitifully sonal guards to the President. All these Generality forces did not show the same fight. The assault the working class, as were even part of the Civil Guard. Many cases of insubordination arose, and some guards turned their arms over to he workers. The most reactionary of the anti-fascist forces turned out Batalla appears with its front page to be the most violent. Groups from the Estat Catala and the P.S.U.C., which held a few positions, were

> ery aggressive. On the workers' side were united the workers of the POUM and those of the CNT and the FAI. They stood united throughout the fight, and the street fighting was organized in common. The passord was "CNT, FAI, POUM-

In general the workers of the U.G.T. did not take part in the fight, though many of them joined against those of the C.N.T. Thus it is false to present the fight as a fratricidal struggle between the C.N.T. and the U.G.T., as has been stated in the press. It was nothing other than the struggle of the revolutionary workers against the counter-revolutionary forces of re- consequences. pression of the Generality—composed only of the Guards corrupted Stalinism and reformism.

The Street Fighting On May 4th, La Batalla, the P.O. .M.'s newspaper, issued the slogan of "permanent mobilization of the volutionary Workers' Front and the organization in all districts of and the police force, which like-

The Action of the P.O.U.M.

For months the P.O.U.M. had been denouncing the continual provocations of the counter-revolution. Telephone Building as the decisive provocation of the reactionary sectors of the anti-fascist front. It upheld the armed protest of the

conquests of the Revolution with gle. The workers, who were deeply the general strike and barricades. wounded by the capitulation of The P.O.U.M. fulfilled its duty and their trade unions federation, are met its responsibilities. Through- now looking for a new lead in out this struggle it played its part other directions. The P.O.U.M. as a revolutionary Marxist party, should provide it for them. organizing the workers and attempting to bring them the leader- only way out of the present situship which they lacked.

The P.O.U.M. insisted upon the take power. To arrive at this, it is formation of the "Revolutionary Workers' Front," which now has taken hold of the imagination of building the Revolutionary Workthe working class. The P.O.U.M. ers' Front, gathering in all the ordemanded the immediate organization of "Revolutionary Defense pletely crush fascism-a work Committees." These Committees which can only be realized with a were set up in some districts and military victory at the front and the Anarcho-Syndicalist workers the triumph of the revolution of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T. were behind the lines. seen rubbing elbows with the Marx- Thus the P.O.U.M.. the revoluists of the P.O.U.M.

only Party of the Revolution, and end.

I its members quickly rose to the task before them.

The Bourgeoisie Regain the Power The likely desire of the working class to put an end to the power of reformism was not crowned with success. however. For four days, the workers stood ready, vigilant, awaiting the C.N.T.'s order to attack. The order never came. In fact the struggle was little more than passive siege of the bourgeois forces. The National Confederation of Labour, held by the workers as the mass organization of the Revolution, recoiled before the question of workers' power. Caught up in the reins of the government, it tried to straddle the fence with a "union" of the opposing forces. That is why the revolutionary workers' fight of May 3 of 7 was

The attitude of the C.N.T. did not fail to bring forth resistence and protests. The "Friends of Durruti" group brought the unanimous desire of the C.N.T. masses to the surface, but it was not able to take

essentially defensive instead of of-

The workers were fighting in the street without any definite goal or responsible leadership. The P.O. U.M. could only order and organize strategic retreat. It helped the working class to avoid a desperate action which could have had sad

> The Partial Victory of the Bourgeoisie

The Generality of Catalonia, ealizing that it was not able to throw off the force of the working class of all Catalonia, had to give up its police power to the Valencia Fovernment, Five thousand Assault Guards from Madrid descended upon the city of Barcelona. At the same time the Central Government of the Republic obtained the complete transfer of the Aragon Army to its command. It is now no more than the Army of the East.

"A provisional Minister" was set up with one representative each from the U.G.T., C.N.T., Esquerra and Peasants' Union.

The working class, although not getting their objectives, by this struggle obtained the discharge of hose who were directly guilty, that s, Rodriguez Sala (P.S.U.C.) and Artemi Agude (Esquerra). By its action in the street, by its energetic struggle, it likewise forced the Stalinist and counter-revolutionaries to recoil. The working class vithdrew in order and showed that it was ready for the new struggle, which would be necessary to achieve its goal—the freedom of the working class.

The Lesson of This Struggle

Friday the workers abandoned

The May days showed that the ation is for the working class to necessary to coordinate the revolutionary action of the masses by ganizations determined to com-

tionary party, although attacked. During the week of fighting, the slandered and threatened by the P.O.U.M. showed itself to be the bourgeoisie, forges ahead to the

Philadelphia Hospital Tries To Bar Physicians' Union

By MEDICUS

There is a very curious fact about hospitals. Everybody employed in a hospital beginnig with the scrub women and orderlies, up to nurses, social workers, bookkeepers, assistant superintendents and Superintendent, all get paid, more or less, for their work except those who are of the most importance to the existence of a hospital-I mean the physicians.

When one consider that the majority of our physicians only make enough to keep their heads above water, it is a real sacrifice on their part to spend three or four hours every day in a hospital. However, the physician does it cheerfully as his contribution to the thousands of poverty-stricken people who, thru no fault of their own, can't afford to pay for their necessary medical care.

Capitalist And Physicians

For a long time, the physicians of Mount Sinai Hospital suffered humiliation from the lay board, consisting of manufacturers and real estatemen, apparently as compensation for their unselfish work for that institution. To enumerate only a few instances:

Clinic hours had been changed to the detriment of the physicians who must make a living, without so much as consulting them.

A sort of "Punch clock" system

had been established whereby every doctor must sign his name and time of his arrival, and also the time of leaving. Should a doctor be unavoidably detained by an emergency case, he will be politely told to watch his time or resign.

Lately, they have instituted a spying system whereby doctors are investigated at the expense, of course, of the hospital. Two cases in point are these: One young struggling physician was refused appointment, because the investigator's report noted, "poor residential environments." Another was refused because he read "radical literature." There have been cases where doctors who spent 10-15 years in the hospitals had been dropped with no explanation

The Physicians Organize

Some seven months ago the doctors of the above mentioned hospital organized into a "Junior Staff of Mt. Sinai Hospital of Philadelphia." This organization included all doctors on the staff below the rank of chiefs. Of the 160 on the staff about 80% joined. What were the demands? Very

modest ones indeed!

First: a voice on the medical board to adjust medical matters, like clinic hours, etc. Second: that no doctor be discharged without a hearing before a board of 3 consisting of one from the medical board, one from the Junior Staff and a third to be elected by these two.

Let the reader judge whether

these demands were preposterous. The answer of Mr. Wurtzel, the president of the lay board was that since we had not asked for his permission to organize, we must immediately disband. If not, everyone of us was to be fired! But in order to show us that his heart was in the right place, he offered us a new Junior staff organization, formed under his auspices, the bylaws of which should be approved by him. The open shopper Mr. Ford can take a lesson from our Mr. Wurtzel in company unionism and despotism.

However, not yet ready to bring our just cause into the open, we disbanded our organization. But the president of the hospital, in spite of our submission, started on a course of reprisals. The first thing he did was to take away our staff room—where the doctors take their hats and coats off and discuss their Brooklyn.

grievances. Then, not satisfied with this, he worked out a list of sixty to eighty doctors to be fired.

We felt that it would be a crime to wait much longer and we immediately organized again to stir up Philadelphia against this nefari-

When the matter leaked out in the Philadelphia press, the first thing the President of Mt. Sinai did was to call up on the tele-phone all our officers and fire them. We responded by sending him a list of 100 signatures of our members, condemning his summary discharge of our officers and demanding their immediate reinstate-

The president of the hospital then told the press that the sixty and more doctors were scheduled for discharge not because of organization activities, but because they are incapable. But that statement is a double-edged sword. These doctors have worked in a hospital for long years, and if they incapable, they must have killed many a patient, which would ruin the hospital. So he changed his alibi by stating later to the Press that the hospital is overstaffed-too many doctors, and that is why he is going to fire them.

Labor Supports Physicians

But every body asks: why was it suddenly discovered that the hospital staff has double the needed number of physicians, and, what does it matter, since the doctors work gratuitously? It is plain as day that the contemplated mass discharge is a cruel attempt to check our organization. The former banker and real estateman, the president of our hospital, is simply mad with fear at the very thought of the men organizing.

Meanwhile, we have stirred up Philadelphia. We are mobilizing the entire labor movement and public opinion of Philadelphia on our side. The hospital is flooded with telegrams and letters of protest against our dismissals. Even Judge Glass, Mr. Wolf and Mr. Waber, all three members of the Board of Trustees of Mt. Sinai Hospital protested against it.

We will see whether the president of the hospital, the little saw dust Caesar can stand up against an enraged Philadelphia. We have just begun to fight.

Union Drive In Knitwear

With a series of meetings of active Union members held in Williamsburg, Brownsville and New York, the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union is initiating a drive against the sweatshop conditions existing in the non-union shops. This action is a direct follow-up of the decision of the recent I.L.G. W.U. convention to give full support to the organization of the knitgoods and miscellaneous trades. A simultaneous drive will be made in New York as well as out of

In waging this struggle, the Union has to pit itself against the reactionary, labor-baiting Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce that has already instigated, through the complacent Police Department and District Attorney's Office, an investigation of Union records, and the arrest of Union officials on trumped-up charges. Impotent against real racketeers and in cahoots with tax-dodging racketeers they are trying to show signs of activity by talking of labor racketeers. But what they really want and mean is the smashing of labor unions in

(Continued from Page 4)

their own camps and to facilitate the betrayal of the masses of the people. All this is part of the 'skill" and the "delicacy" mentioned by the Temps. The game is obviously planned in such a manner that, after an armistice is once declared at various fronts, the side which demands a resumption of hostilities shall be branded and hounded down as an "instigator of

Hitler Germany, at first, accepted the basic principle of the properal with several specified amendments. The situation is such that German as well as Italian military circles realize they cannot pin garlands of victory to their standards with the number of soldiers (about 100,000 men) and the amount of material thus far staked; that, for victory, a multiple of the manpower supplied by them up to date is required and that they cannot afford such a high stake for a number of good reasons. On pressure from Italy Hitler later withdrew his acceptance again. One need not draw the conclusion that Italy is able to muster the forces necessary for a complete victory. It is the policy of fascist Italy to take a chance and, by bluffing, perhaps extort more advantageous terms from France and England.

No answer has yet been received from the Soviet Union.

IN THE LEFT Radical Socialist paper l'Oeuvre a left Radical Socialist politician, Archimbaud, voices a protest against France's playing the stooge for Britain's policy. But this voice is certainly an exception among Radical Socialists. The majority of Radical Socialist leaders, headed by the Radical Socialist Cabinet Ministers, have co-operated all along in bringing about the compromise which guarantees to strangle the Spanish Revolution and to protect the general class-interest of the French-English bourgeoisie and especially the interests of the English-French capital invested in Spain.

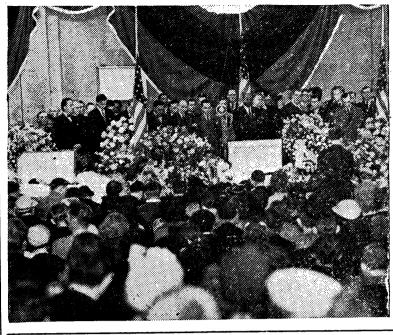
THE VATICAN, in its reply to the British proposal, approved of it. Considering the close relationship that exists between the Vatican and the militarist-fascist camp in Spain this is a sure sign that the fascists are eagerly at work to bring about the compromise because they no longer count on a

The London Times and the Paris Temps, the two leading news-organs of English and French finance capital, expressed simultaneously, and almost in the same words, their opinion that instantaneous success for the consummation of such a compromise is not very probable. But they are preparing the ground for future events.

THE INTERNATIONAL working class, therefore, must not relax its vigilance if the current drive should not reach its objective at once or if it should be even dropped altogether for a while. The imperialist powers are working incessantly and tenaciously towards this goal and the cabinet revision in Valencia has re-enforced the support of this policy within the Spanish Government. The drive for mediation launched by England and France is patently designed to back the forces in the Valencia Government who are sponsoring a compromise.

The international working class, in its turn, must do everything in its power to mobilize the broad masses of the people in all countries against this attempt to garrot the Spanish Revolution. The workers must, in their turn, powerfully back the revolutionary forces of

EUROPE TODAY | Impressive Demonstration At Funeral Of Eight Martyrs of Republic Steel Massacre



Office Workers Convention

(Continued from Page 3) 50% tax will grow as the Locals begin their organizing drives. And there can be no doubt that this will be changed at the next convention.

The truly factional character of the convention showed itself most clearly when it came to the election of the General Executive Board. Here all pretense was dropped and a straight Merrillcaucus slate was elected. A proposal to leave a place open for a representative from the Chicago STB&AU, the second largest local of office workers in the country which was represented through observers, was turned down. A General Executive Board was set up without a single representative allowed to any minority opinion at the convention. At a membership meeting of the BS&AU Merrill admitted that representation would have been given to the minority had they "behaved properly."

In the course of the nomination and election of the Executive Board, a very significant event occurred. One of the Hartford delegates seconded the nomination of Albert Epstein. Morris Yanoff was so startled by this act that he arose and shouted, "Who seconded that nomination?"

In a speech, severely condemning the bureaucratic conduct of driven from the unions. Rathborne convention, Albert Epstein

a real mass organization of office workers, once leaders rose from the ranks, the C.P. would be unable to pack conventions and run them to ruin. The worshippers of Merrill, (the hero cult has reached the BS&AU, two songs about Merrill have already been distributed) looked upon Albert Epstein's criticism of Merrill as nothing short of lese-majeste.

But we want to see the complete unionization of the office workers. We want to see a powerful International Union. Only a democratic union can be a strong union. The membership must be inspired with self-confidence and militancy. Unity must be established in the Union through the cooperation of all constructive tendencies. This unity will not be achieved by stifling minority opinion or by depriving them of representation on leading committees. Such methods can only lead to internal strife. The danger of factional control was shown clearly at the last membership meeting of the BS&AU in N. Y. The shameful speech of Mervyn Rathborne can mean but one thing: The C.P. looks upon the trade unions it controls ac Communist Party organizations. Whoever disagrees with the C.P. is an agent of the bosses and must be said it in so many words. What is pointed out that once there was this but disruption from within?

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