Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Against Spain

The Fall of Bilbao Spurs **British Moves For Block With Nazis**

The fall of Bilbao, after a desperate nine-months struggle, has apparently become the occasion for the beginning of a realignment of forces in international politics to the great disadvantage of the Spanish anti-fascist cause. Even before Franco's Italian auxiliaries had entered the Basque capital, the head of the Burgos clique had formally requested Great Britain to grant him recognition as a beiligerent with all belligerent rights. While no action on this request has been taken as yet, observers feel that, in view of heavy British investments in the Basque country, the insurgents will now be treated by the Foreign Office at London with even greater favor than in the past. A marked shift of British sentiment in this direction is emphasized in an Associated Press dispatch of June 18. "Competent observers have noted a change in the British government attitude towards Franco," reads the report. "Government spokesmen, who used to speak of 'the Spanish government' and of the 'rebels', now say 'the two parties in Spain'."

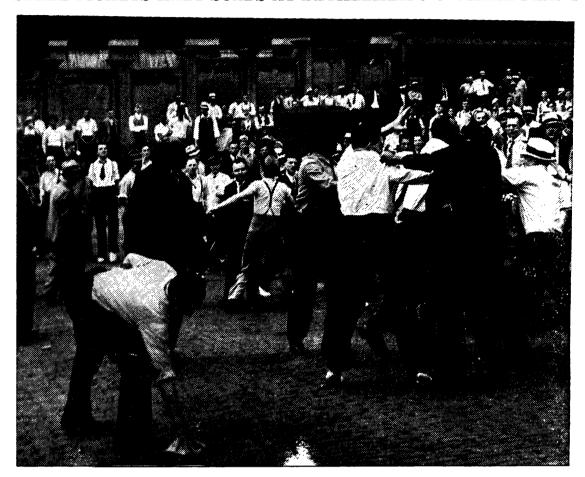
A new diplomatic offensive against the Valencia government has also been initiated by Germany. Claiming that attempts had been made to torpedo the Nazi cruiser Leipzig, Hitler promptly convoked a meeting of representatives of England, France, Italy and Germany under the agreement entered into two weeks ago and demanded quick action against the loyalist government. The protests of the Soviet Union at this entire procedure were disregarded and the four consultants undertook to communicate with their respective governments and reassemble in a few

The whole strategy of the fascist powers, Germany and Italy, is to isolate the Soviet Union and to form a working agreement with the "great democracies," England and France, in the form of a fourpower pact on Spain and other West European affairs. Such an agreement would obviously be based upon common hostility to the present republican regime in Spain and upon a common determination to replace it by either a about the Constitution. An attempt fascist dictatorship or a semi-fas- is made to show that previous cist "national concentration" government or even by a divided and dismembered country. The transition to such an outcome would naturally be some scheme of "mediation" and "arbitration."

The campaign to isolate the Soviet Union and eliminate it from West European affairs is now in full swing and has been considerably facilitated by the ineffective foreign policy of the Soviet gov ernment in recent months and by the diminution of its diplomatic prestige due to the impression of widespread confusion and chaos in its governmental and military apparatus. In the New York Times of June 18, Augur, the semi-official spokesman of the British Foreign Office, makes it quite plain that England is turning towards a pact with Germany and Italy. "Today Geneva is temporarily impotent,' he writes, "and Russia by her own act is reduced to the rank of a second-rate power. . . . For practi-

Powers Move | MARTIAL LAW CLOSES STEEL PLANTS; FEDERAL BOARD BEGINS CONFABS

STEEL PICKETS HALT SCABS AT BETHLEHEM'S CAMBRIA PLANT



Court Bill Veto Asked in Senate

In bitter political opposition to the proposal for Supreme Court reform, the Senate Judiciary Committee presented a majority report full of legal rhetoric recommending rejection of the plan. The chief argument was that while Roosevelt talked of facilitating the work of the courts and of "infusing new blood" into the Supreme Court. actually he had a political purpose —namely, to get decisions favorable to his program. This astounding discovery by the great legal minds of that august body is, of course, breath-taking news for all

The Judiciary Committee report, is shot thru with contradictions clumsily hidden under phrases changes in the numbers of justices on the Supreme Court were not made for political purposes but because the country was expanding. The fact that this expansion coincided with great social and political class battles does not disturb the obscurantism of these gentlemen. The changes in the court structure came in the days of Jeffersonian agrarianism, Jacksonian frontier democracy, and especially during

cal purposes Russia is out of the council of the great powers of Europe. . . . The British government is obliged to consider the possibility of international action thru agree ment of Britain, France. Germany and Italy." And whatever London does, so does Paris-for, under the People's Front cabinet of Leon Blum, the French Foreign Office is no more than a continental agency of Downing Street.

In Spain, the domestic political (Continued on Page 2)

Blum's Cabinet Overthrown By Vote In French Senate

C.P.'s Support of Blum's Emergency Decree Powers In Tax Crisis Fails To Stave Off **Defeat Of Popular Front**

Badly defeated in the Senate after a tenure of a year and sixteen which refused to grant it the financial emergency powers it desired, the Blum People's Front Cabinet resigned on Monday, June 21,

and after the great war between northern capitalism and the southern slave-holding oligarchy changes which, labor is asked to believe, had nothing to do with

But the Senate Committee argues anyhow that, even if there Chamber has given it, the resignawere some political aspects in the tion of the cabinet is somewhat of SWOC Appeals Jailing Of past, it is the future that gives us real cause to do nothing in the present. "Manifestly, if we may force the hand of the court to secure our interpretation of the Constitution, then some suceeding Congress may repeat the process to secure another and different interpretation and one which may not so pleasing in our ears as that for which we know contend." Thus, if labor now supports the proposed changes because it expects satisfactory legislation affecting wages and hours, it should keep in mind that in the future this may give Congress the right to create unsatisfactory legislation along these lines. Such nonsense is topped off by the admission that this bill does not ask the right to pass social legislation for Congress.

Labor supports the bill to facilitate wage and hours laws now, and depends upon its own strength and militancy to maintain its gains in

The week before the cabinet had emerged victorious from the Chamber of Deputies which, after a sudden, last-minute shift of the communists, voted it the power to issue emergency decrees "in order to save the franc," including the power to increase the levies on tobacco, electric light and postal services as well as other indirect taxes. In view of the solid backing the a puzzle.

Should the cabinet be reconstituted along People's Front lines, Blum will probably remain as premier but the Communist Party will gain the direct representation it has hitherto lacked. Otherwise, it is probable that a new cabinet will be formed under Radical-Socialist

JAY LOVESTONE

writes on

"The Situation in the Soviet Union"

in next week's **WORKERS AGE**

SWOC Fights For Contract

Earle Orders Disarming Of Johnstown's **Vigilantes**

Governor Earle of Pennsylvania has declared Johnstown, home of Bethlehem Steel's Cambria plant, under martial law, sending in over 500 state police. A police cordon was thrown around the plant and announcement was made that absolutely no supplies or persons would be permitted to enter the mills. In addition, the Pennsylvania Railroad was ordered to permit no trains or cars to pass to company property. (Scabs had been housed in Pullman cars in some of the struck mills).

Disarming of the vigilante organizations was also ordered by the Governor in a direct communication to Mayor Shields, who has been responsible for organizing these terror bands for Bethlehem Steel. The character of this company-controlled town with its stooge mayor is adequately revealed by the fact that the Mayor, after organizing armed strikebreaker gangs, is now sitting as magistrate to pass sentence on strikers "guilty of violence."

Governor Earle's measures came in response to the pressure of the miners, who had announced that they would march 40,000 strong on the town.

Federal intervention in the

seven-state steel strike took the form of the appointment of a Mediation Board which meets in Cleveland this week. The Board will hold sessions with John L. Lewis and leaders of the SWOC as well as with the heads of the steel companies refusing to sign a contract. This week's events will undoubtedly speed the settlement of the steel strike. For the Mediation Board there is no other course but to force the steel companies to abide by the Wagner Act and sign agreements with the SWOC.

Fansteel Strikers

The leaders of the Fansteel Steel strike were sentenced to jail terms and fines in a futile effort by the corrupt company-owned courts of Waukegan, Michigan to halt the rising tide of unionism. The judge, who was formerly a legal adviser to a Mr. Voliva who declared the world to be flat and blanketed with sins, announced that Meyer Adelman, SWOC organizer, born in Kentucky was a "foreign agitator" and that "the sit-down strike was conceived in sin and born in iniquity. . . . " This rural Judge Forby should really look under his bed at

The SWOC has announced that it will appeal the case to a higher court and fight for the freedom of the organizers who had aided the struggle of the unorganized workers against the miserable conditions prevailing in Fansteel.

The C.I.O. And Labor's Political Independence

By JAY LOVESTONE

Thas been a very long time since employer-particularly, the avernumber of workers—sees in the C.I.O. a source of alarm, a sort of portent of change without limit.

It would be futile to try to fix at this time the potentialities of the great awakening of labor, of stirred by the C.I.O. However, it is entirely correct to emphasize that the employing class is sound in its sensing that the very emergence of the C.I.O. means a new mood among the workers, spells a whole set of new attitudes of labor independent action, regardless of towards the problems of today and the questions of tomorrow. For this reason, it is vital for the workers, particularly those of us who are already class-conscious, to recognize that, tho the C.I.O. is primarily a movement for organ izing the unorganized in the basic industries, its implications reach critical and independent spirit and far beyond even these very important limits.

Towards a Program of Social Legislation

In this sense, no one can exaggerate the urgency and the import capitalist political saviors on the of the C.I.O. and its affiliates pre- basis of a struggle for concrete paring a positive program of so- legislative demands, for a program cial legislation for which labor can of social legislation, will the workbe called upon to campaign, around ing class be ready to enter into a which labor can reasonably and ef- national labor party movement. Roosevelt will be coming forward American labor will have to meet with item after item of his program of social legislation, pro- before the powerful trade unions gressive labor will find it almost will be ready to serve as the basis uniformly inadequate. What is as the economic foundation—of a more, as Roosevelt will be facing mass labor party. Without these ever-more determined opposition to prerequisites being satisfied, witheven his inadequate measures, he out the mighty unions of the C.I.O. will begin to retreat before the having reached this stage, all labor This will mean that the Roosevelt spiration of the Communist Party's working and living standards de- be only pitiful caricatures. Here pressed. Nor is there any doubt we can learn much from the exthat some labor leaders will meek- perience of our British brothers. ly and mutely hail Roosevelt thought to the inherent dangers even after John L. Lewis very cor-

strike, the serious moves being con- and fight effectively for or against struggle against Franco and open- more than one million of them are ment. Hence the succession of 'untemplated in a number of important certain specific political demands ing the way for some sort of "com- men and women with trade union authorized' strikes which have follegislatures for dealing "effective- will it be able to develop sufficient | ly" with acute industrial problems political consciousness for launch-—all emphasize that that the workers thruout the length and breadth

Class—a labor party. These are but

Chicago and solution proposed to a minitary uncompared industries. Just what assurance is of power as the capital of Mithelphological party of the "great democracies." As part

the "great democracies." As of the land had better lose no time in beginning to give the most thorogoing consideration to the whole problem of the relation of labor to the government. What has been happening to the rights and lives of the workers in Monroe, Johnstown and Chicago presents a gruesome tale of three cities in three class, to a labor party, are a tre- conspiracy, for much the same porotten specimens of the anti-labor party progressives.

No Hat-in-Hand Attitude

the class conscience of the em- labor should ever visit the White thing to do with the objective situation ployers has been so intensely House hat-in-hand, then he will ation at hand can repeat, parrotleave only with a ball and chain like, or even with a thimble-full over the challenge of the C.I.O. on his legs. Here is no road to Almost instinctively the average freedom. Such cheap sycophancy, powerful united A. F. of L." On tractors and slanderers of the profoundly unhealthy attitude dissuch lack of independence, such age boss employing a fairly large kow-towing to Roosevelt or to any of his aides can only prove suicidal especially in view of the rising date, entitled: "For a powerful demand for government regulation, united A. F. of L." supervision, incorporation and congovernment policing of unions. higher unity of its ranks, now and trial union movement and the de- basic industries." There are more the mighty upsurge of the work- Only by hitting hard, only by ers, millions of whom have been aiming the blows well, only by inspiring strike struggles now gofighting resolutely for the rights ing on. Confirmation of this is of labor as labor, for the rights of legion. Lansing's "labor holiday,"

working masses improve their trated by the C.I.O. in rallying status-their social, economic and political position. Only thru such honeyed words or saccharined phrases, can labor insure success in its fight for tolerable working conditions and a decent livelihood. Prerequisites For a Labor Party

Unless and until labor-on a national scale—develops a sufficiently ticians and policies, there can be no tion after position, it becomes es- careful consideration for its far serious talk of an effective labor party movement. Furthermore, not until labor gets some practical experience with liberal, progressive, as well as radical and reactionary fectively be asked to rally. As Here are two prerequisites that

-whether all of us like it or notheavy artillery of biggest business. parties made to order, or by incrumbs will be reduced and the latest loathing of lawlessness, can

It is on this account that we atmeasures without giving serious tach so much significance to the increasing frequency and effectiveand inadequacies. Thus we find that ness with which John L. Lewis, Homer Martin, Charles S. Zimrectly criticised certain features of merman and other labor leaders of the President's wages and hours their militancy and type have been program, some influential labor speaking up on concrete problems spokesmen did not take the cue of social legislation. It is with this and, to the detriment of the best in- in mind that we render only the terests of the workers, approved highest praise to the resolutions the White House measure without adopted by the last convention of the I.L.G.W.U. on the question of The very fury that has been unsocial insurance and the movement leashed against the sit-down, the for the incorporation of trade mounting number of states rushing | unions. In short, not until enough of the last few months and thereby million in its ranks but with legislation against the sit-in of labor's ranks learn to think, act undermining the power of effective be borne in mind that not much trol on the fringes of the move-

and help prepare labor to take. Attaining a Higher Unity Such struggles for specific social legislative measures, such prepa- of the working class. A brazen atratory stages on the road to an in- tempt is being made to link up the dependent party of the working POUM with some sort of fascist and essential: Labor cannot have a the "tragedy of the split of labor" Russia and so it will again in Spain. | . . . and behave like men who feel

hat-in-hand attitude towards Roo-| caused by the C.I.O. Only those this occasion we might advise the C.I.O., sing the same tune in its Communist Party to stop circulating its pamphlet, of very recent ing circumstances, "peace" and That labor under the banner of

the workers as a class can the the magnificent solidarity demons-Steel strikers thru having thousands of coal diggers drop their picks and down tools, the extreme-S.W.O.C. in hitting at the Bethle- tles of "peace at any price" somehem magnates at war with the rail- times find themselves manouvered joy and courage to militant labor line with their official protestations point of view of welding a firmer The editorial in the June 12 issue and broader labor unity, as the of the New Leader is very instruc-C.I.O. fights on and storms posi- tive in this respect and deserves sential to place on the order of the day the problem of drawing closer

> as the employing class will begin to the C.I.O. unions already established or still to be established in the mass-production industries will assume increasing importance. Hence, we cannot emphasize with too great energy the imperative need of the C.I.O. to drive on at an accelerated tempo in its effort to enhance

Powers Move Against Spain

(Continued from Page 1) against the revolutionary sections ahead? Absolutely none."

"Peace" Thru Disaster

By WILL HERBERG sevelt or any other part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand, then he will attorn at hand can repeat part of the government. If any spokesman of labor should ever visit the White House hat in-hand then he will attorn at labor movement in the labor movement in the labor movement white should be attorned to the champions of old-line craft the champions of old-line craft the ranks will force them to do it." Executive Council of the A. F. of dom of the social-democrats! essarily mean the restoration to the C.I.O. is hammering out a much aries, the dissipation of the industoday, is evidenced by some of the struction of the big unions that

> "reconciliation"? The Logic of Reaction But reaction has a logic of its y laudable move made by the own and so the professional aposfighters everywhere. From this of loyalty to the labor movement "Perhaps reunion of the now

and Matthew Woll are so eager to

the independent railway labor or- labor movement may be nearer ganizations which have been out- than we dared to hope," the ediside of the A. F. of L. all these torial hints mysteriously in its opening. What is the ground for No ideological differences that this unexpected "optimism"? The may exist between these bona-fide alleged fact that the great movelabor organizations and some C.I.O. ment arising under the banner of unions should be allowed to stand the C.I.O. is facing a very critical In Hearst's New York Mirror, the in the way of such collaboration situation? The hundreds of thouand unification. As the strike conflicts will assume more bitterness, into the C.I.O. unions—we are told the C.I.O.-A.F. of L. "controversy": -are beginning to "stampede," to launch counter-offensives, the stra- get out of hand-witness Lansing tegic importance of solidarity be- and Saginaw Valley. So far, of tween the railroad labor unions and course, things are still under control; "there is no assurance, however, that some other equally uninassurance that it can be stopped?"

The way things stand today—

we are advised—the C.I.O. is bound sooner or later to come into any group is running amuck, they are ready to show them what run- anarchy." ning amuck means. Potential worse. The bourgeois-socialist-com- movement, they may all too easily munist regime of Negrin-Prieto is be turned into its direct enemies." moving steadily towards the right, Another "hopeful" fact! The "it must

"The Worse-The Better!" tical situation that—believe it or 'craft unionism' of the A. F. of L. states governed by loyal Roosevelt mendous aid to the unification of governors. Here are painful and the working class. No one can overgroup of the anti-labor completes the states governed by loyal Roosevelt mendous aid to the unification of litical reasons that, twenty years not!—is supposed to hold out such hopes of "peace" and "unity" in led the shrewdest leader that ago, in July 1917, the Bolsheviks hopes of "peace" and "unity" in led the shrewdest leader that emphasize the significance of the were accused by the bourgeois-so- labor's ranks. "In this sense, and American labor has had thus far, handiwork of three Democratic contribution the C.I.O. has made cialist government of Russia of he-only in this sense, has the oft-Samuel Gompers, to insist that the in this direction, that is, towards a ing German spies and Lenin was heard saying: 'The worse the bet- future lay with the craft unions. greater, towards a higher labor officially charged with the crime of ter', any value. "The danger is in Time itself must show whether unity. Only the demagogue or those high treason. But history has all sight but it is not inevitable. . . . who have made special studies in ready given an annihilating answer Perhaps prominent labor leaders damentally as to prove Mr. Gom-One thing is positively obvious how to be idiots can now speak of to the reactionary slanderers in on both sides will put aside anger pers a prophet without honor."

a moral responsibility, not only to T the present moment, reac- particular unions or groups but to tion in the labor movement the working class of this country.

many variations. For, under exist- wage workers as potential "friends and helpers" of the labor move-"unity" in the abstract must nec- ment as if they were an outside and alien element; I ignore the pettipower of the craft union reactionness manifested in the deprecatory reference to "what are called the have recently arisen in the mass- of the New Leader fully appreproduction industries. Is it any ciate the significance of their own wonder then that William Green words? Do they realize what it means to base your hope for a betmask their disruptive tactics with ter day in the labor movement upactive support for the Republic touching appeals to "peace" and on the prospect of imminent disaster for what is universally recognized as the most promising development in American labor history in the last fifty years—the organization of the great massproduction industries? Do they road workers, bring nothing but into a position not altogether in really understand what it means to speculate on catastrophe?

The Mirror and The Times Discuss Labor's Problems

If the social-democrats still do not appreciate into what sort of position they have manouvered themselves, let them turn to the to or into the ranks of the C.I.O. warring factions in the American employing class press for enlightenment. On June 13, the very day following the date of issue of the number of New Leader cited above, both the New York Times and the New York Mirror found it necessary to turn their attention to the notorious Boake Carter outlined his

"A good many thoughtful people are beginning to wonder if Bill Green, boss of the A.F. of L., by just sitting tight won't beat John Lewis in the end. What workmen in America want today are sobertended and unpredictable affair of minded, quiet but forceful leaders the sort will not follow—and what who will better the working men's wages and working conditions with out wrecking the economic machinery, without forcing men out of work on the slightest pretext, with American labor's unity in this direct clash with the working out making simple setups for rackmasses! "Neither the masses of the eteers to step in and keep the situ-American people, not even the bulk ation in constant turmoil. Even of the working class, will long tol- working people get tired of these erate incidents such as the two things. . . . What do these tactics just referred to. . . . Those masses | create and promote? . . . Vigilante are by no means unsympathetic to committees such as have now been the labor movement. They really organized in Warren, Ohio, genwish it well.... But if they think eral lawiess and riotous confusion organized in Warren, Ohio, gen-... This breeds a state of riot and

Curiously enough, the respectsituation is growing markedly friends and helpers of the labor able and dignified New York Times comes to almost the same conclusion as the sensational Mr. Carter: "The C.I.O. has been put to liquidating the revolutionary gains C.I.O. may have three, four or five gether so hastily that the high promise" that would subject the experience . . . and most of them lowed in the wake of the C.I.O. Spanish people to a military dic- are not in what are called the basic and such foolhardy demonstrations signposts to a road we must urge of its whole reactionary course, the inexperienced majority will not mains to be seen whether the Negrin-Prieto cabinet has, under turn with equal elan and equal present leaders of the C.I.O. will the spur of the official communist lack of forethought against those be able to retain command of their leaders, intensified its crusade whom they now follow or push own movement. It also remains to be seen whether the 'industrial unionism' sponsored by the C.I.O. will in the end prove to have It is precisely this gravely cri- greater staying qualities than the

conditions have changed so fun-

(We publish below some paragraphs from an editorial, "Censorship of the Left," appearing in the June 1937 issue of CONTROVERSY, a nonparty socialist journal of discussion published in London, England. —EDITOR)

NOW consider censorship from the left.

As we announced last month, an advertisement of Controversy was names of Marceau Pivert and Jay Lovestone. The Worker similarly turned down an advertisement of a Spanish Aid concert whose artists included Paul Robeson, And it has now refused an advertisement of C.L.R. James's book "World Revo-

The climax, however, is a recent episode of the Left Book Club, the victim being August Thalheimer. Thalheimer is one of the world's outstanding communists. He was a close associate of Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin—was and the leading theoretician of the Lenin's advice he was appointed, up the program of the Communist lectured at Moscow University on dialectical materialism, his lectures and the Left News for April dewas withdrawn without notice or adequate explanation, and another This somewhat mysterious business was marked by a singular correla-

1. The three Club selectors are Laski, Strachey and Gollancz. The withdrawal of the Thalheimer selectors in this country was Strachev-an official spokesman for the Communist Party. (Laski his passion for intellectual freedom. Did he agree to this change of Additional Book prior to its benot at all?) 2. Thalheimer is disliked by the

C.P. for two reasons. Altho officially one of the two leading theoreticians of the Communist at the height of its revolutionary glory under Lenin, he was nevertheless later expelled from the party. Why? Because he returned to Germany from Moscow to opwas refusing the united front, and was declaring Social-Democrats Brandler formed the German Communist Opposition. Recently he it conceived and created. has repeated his offence. Just as he previously charged the Comintern being a persistent critic of the Popular Front tactic, especially as applied in France.

should admit any and every advertisement submitted to it: the Daily of a left book by the Left Book revolution.

British "Lefts" Bar THE CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN

Article I: The Revolution of 1931

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

A LMOST anything may happen in Spain. With the "great democracies," England, France, the United States, treacherously choking off her sources of supplies and intriguing for a "truce," with the Soviet Union backing her materially but using the authority thus acquired in ways that hinder the waging of a successful revolutionary refused by the (London) Daily war, with Italy and Germany openly invading her Worker because it contained the soil and joining England and France in "preventing foreign intervention,"—almost anything may happen in Spain.

Out of the Spanish civil war may come a temporary victory of fascism and a military dictatorship, though two months in Spain have convinced me that the fascists can never permanently hold the land. There may come a truce in which foreign and domestic rifles rule with or without torn and treason-soiled "democratic" flag flying from their bayonet points. But that cannot be permanent either, for it is impossible to keep a permanent army of occupation in Spain of sufficient editor of the famous Rote Fahne, size to maintain such a regime indefinitely. There may come a partition of Spain into German, Italian, French and English spheres of influence, together with Bukharin, to draw to be followed inevitably by a fresh flare-up of revolutionary war of independence, unification and International. During 1924-27 he socialism. Or there may be a victory of the proletarian revolution in Spain insuring the triumphant being subsequently published in waging of a revolutionary war against military book form in various languages. dictatorship and foreign invasion and the retaking Recently the Left Book Club an- of the entire Iberian peninsula. In short, almost nounced it as an Additional Book, anything may happen in Spain—anything, that is, voted a whole page to an appre- except the establishment of a bourgeois, democratic, ciative account of it. Members parliamentary republic. That alone is excluded by were invited to order it. After the very nature of the social forces, internal and many orders had been received it international, clashing in the Spanish civil war.

on a similar subject substituted. Prerequisites for a Parliamentary Republic

Parliamentary republics cannot be pulled like rabbits out of a hat nor conjured onto the stage of history by the incantations of a Comintern thesis. They require a powerful progressive and revolubook was announced when Laski tionary bourgeoisie, strong enough to dominate all was in U.S.A. and Gollancz was in other classes, Jacobin enough to exterminate Moscow. The only one of the three | feudalism by its roots, revolutionary enough to employ dictatorship and terror against reaction; they require a bourgeoisie confident of the granhas always been distinguished by deur of its own destiny, strong in prestige among other classes, unafraid of its proletariat so that it cannot think of surrendering to reaction. Nascent ing made? Or subsequently? Or parliamentary republics require a proletariat so weak and immature that it does not even conceive of itself as a separate class nor dream of ruling in its own name, a proletariat whose revolutionary horizon does not extend beyond the vision International when the latter was of forcing the bourgeoisie to follow to the end its revolutionary role.

Such a situation has in general not existed in Europe since 1848. The "great future" of the bourgeoisie today lies wholly in the past. No abrapose the C.I. line when the C.I. cadabra of "People's Front" spells can possibly redissolve the proletariat into the vague conglomunist Party (Opposition), and, ago become a reactionary class, proceeding now with Jay Lovestone of the U.S.A. with concealment, corruption and democracy, and leaders of the International Com- institutions which in the days of its vigorous youth

Today, as backward Russia proved in 1905 and with ultra-leftism, so now he 1917, as advanced Germany proved in 1918, as charges it with ultra-rightism, Spain is proving to those who are not wilfully blind or under instructions not to see, a new bourgeoisie can consolidate its rule only by vile part-Controversy does not maintain nership with feudal reaction or by naked fascist that a socialist or communist paper force, and only after it has crushed its proletariat in fire and blood. And today, as Lenin so con-Worker acts quite correctly in de- clusively demonstrated, only the proletariat in claring that it would refuse fascist power and supported by the peasantry can root announcements. But Controversy out feudalism in any land where it still exists, and does protest strongly against the suppression of left views by left only by transforming in its own image the "bourpapers, and against the smothering geois democratic" revolution into the proletarian

No spell nor incantation can make the mighty

ghosts of the past tread again the boards of his tory. Paderewski and Pilsudski, Noske and Hindenburg, Azaña and Negrin, are no Robespierres and Marats. Invocations of 1776 and 1789 will not alter the social content of 1937. The social revolution of the twentieth century cannot draw its poetry from the past; it can draw that poetry only from the future. The hope of mankind in an hour of great desperation lies in the kindling of the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, not in the dimming of the stage lights and the trotting out of the phosphorescent bones of the moldering ghost of bourgeois revolution whose little hour upon the stage has passed forever.

LAYING THE SPECTER OF REVOLUTION

The Spanish capitalist class is feeble, rachitic, cowardly and treacherous. It is the weakest social class in Spain. It has shown sporadic strength only against the proletariat, and then only when backed by a military apparatus it itself was powerless to create and impotent to destroy. For years it gave little shadow pushes against the tottering throne of Alfonso, but hastened to give substantial support whenever the throne's teetering seemed too violent. At last the "Republican Revolution" of April 14, 1931 took it completely by surprise.

'The fourteenth in the morning," wrote one of its leaders, "when we saw that the people had taken the streets, there was no way out (no tuvimos mas remedio) but to go to the City Hall and Parliament Building and raise the Republican

Such is the Spanish bourgeoisie's 1789! Marx's formula, "Once in tragedy, the second time in farce," is too strong for such a situation: even material base of fascism is defarce requires an energy beyond their feeble stroyed, in which there will not

Faced with the flight of the monarch and the embarrassing parenthood of an unwished-for infant republic, the one desire of these twentieth century "Jacobins" was to stop the revolution before it had really gotten started. They protected the flight of ask the official theoreticians of the the king. They protected the landowners against the peasants and themselves against the proletariat. They left the monarchist bureaucratic apparatus undistrubed. They stopped the fleeing eudal-monarchical generals whose hands were red with the blood of so many repressions, but not to put them on trial for their crimes. Instead, they restored them to their places as masters of the ap- fate," of what earthly use then is paratus of force which is the real determinant of it to strive for a soviet, anti-parthe class nature of political power. To the masses whose gulliver-like stirrings in their sleep had snapped the packthreads of monarchy and terrified these pigmy politicians, they proclaimed, before the real revolution had even begun: "The revolution is over: as you were!"

BUILDING THE NEW ORDER

Even the symbols of monarchy remained intact. For months I continued to receive my mail from Spain bearing postage stamps still adorned with and Laborites "social fascists" and merate of the undifferentiated "people," the third the ugly physiognomy of Alfonso XIII across Azana? the chief enemies of the workers. estate. The bourgeoisie has long ago become more which had been stamped the words "Republica" Ten thousand party members were afraid of its mighty offspring than of its aging and Española." After all, they had been printed and expelled with him, and he and tyrannical parent. On a world scale, it has long had to be used up: this petty bourgeois revolution was nothing if not economical. At last, the day came when the supply of Alphonsine faces was and M. N. Roy of India, became now with naked force, to destroy the progressive exhausted and my mail arrived bearing a new stamp. I scanned it anxiously with the aid of a magnifying glass. In discreet and tiny letters it bore the revolutionary motto: "Fomentar el arbol" (Plant a tree)!

The bourgeoisie was in a cold sweat at the specter of revolution. Its panic took a parliamentary and constitutional form. The initiative must at all costs be taken out of the street and the field and into the legislative hall. The masses must be lulled into slumber once more by the twilight twitterings of this strange birdcage of parliamentary "people's representatives." At the same time Sanjurjo and Goded, Franco and Mola and Ouiepo de Llano were dragged still trembling out of the limbo of history by the new Republican War Minister Manuel Azaña, and restored to their (Continued on Page 6)

BERTRAM D. WOLFE



Some Questions To the Comintern

THE resolution of the Commu nist International on the Spanish question, adopted a few months ago, reads in part as fol-

"The presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International approves the policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain aimed at mobilizing its supporters and the masses of the people for the struggle against the fascists who desire the destruction of the parliamentary regime and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship It approves the line followed for the People's Front, which guarantees all rights and liberties to the Spanish people, in which the be any room for fascism and in which the people will be able to express its own will and determine its own fate.'

Properly impressed with these Comintern a number of questions -and in answering them they might consult Lenin's State and

- 1. If the parliamentary, democratic republic guarantees "all rights and liberties to the people, if it enables the people to "express its own will and determine its own liamentary republic? Or perhaps that aim has already been dropped from the program of official com-
- 2. If the parliamentary, democratic republic "destroys" the "material base of fascism," how is it then that Italian fascism arose out of the parliamentary, democratic republic of Nitti-Giolitti-Bonomi; German fascism, out of the parliamentary, democratic republic of Ebert-Hindenburg; and Spanish fascism out of the parliamentary, democratic republic of Zamora-

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STEEL AND "DEMOCRACY"

WITH an accuracy and vividness almost unparalleled, the suppressed Paramount newsreel of the Memorial Day massacre at the South Chicago plant of Republic Steel serves as a perfect picture-lesson of the true meaning of American "democracy" for the masses. On Monday, May 3, the nation's press reported that a "clash" had taken place the day before between the police and strike demonstrators not far from the Republic Steel plant, in the course of which some people were killed and a few scores wounded. The Chicago authorities immediately threw all responsibility upon the demonstrators and even arrested some of them, including a number of the wounded, upon serious charges. Just another example of "strike violence" and "C.I.O. lawlessness," the press proclaimed from one end of the country to the other. But it so happened that newsreel men were there and obtained a lasting record of what actually happened. And what was that? The St. Louis Post-Dispatch a few days ago published an accurate description of this newsreel, from which we quote the following sentences:

"Straggling across the field, in a low irregular line, headed by two men carrying American flags, the demonstrators are shown approaching. Many carry placards. They appear to number about 300. ... Then suddenly, without apparent warning, there is a terrific roar of pistol shots and men in the front rank of the marchers go down like grass before a scythe.... Instantly the police charge on the marchers with riot sticks flailing. At the same time, teargas grenades are seen sailing into the mass of demonstrators and clouds of gas rise over them. Most of the crowd is now in flight. . . . The scenes which follow are among the most harrowing of the pic-

This is what happened at South Chicago—right under the Stars and Stripes, in a state with a New Deal governor, in a city with a Democratic mayor!

In terms of simple politics, what happened? An industrial struggle was under way between steel workers organized in the SWOC and Republic Steel, a class struggle between labor and capital. In this emergency, what did the steel barons do? They called upon the Chicago police force to come to their assistance in their conflict with the workers. The Chicago police obeyed the call—with the results depicted in the newsreel! Thus, the Chicago municipal government, allegedly elected by the people to serve the people, brazenly and openly functioned as the armed force of the steel company, as an unpaid division of the company police. In other words, in a crisis, the governmental authorities can be counted upon to come to the aid of the employing class to suppress-with soft words or with iron fist, as the need may be—any serious challenge of the working class. In the class struggle between labor and capital, the government is not neutral; it is, as a general rule, the tool and the weapon of those who control the wealth and economic power of society. That is the deep truth behind the shifting pictures of the Paramount newsreel.

What happened at South Chicago is not something new or something exceptional; it is the regular run of American "democracy," of American "law and order." The fact that the Roosevelt administration is —for the time being—following a liberal course and is attempting to preserve and strengthen the foundations of capitalism by a policy of reforms and concessions, does not change the fundamental nature of the American political set-up. The real face of American "democracy" is to be seen in the countless industfial cities and towns of this country, in Chicago, in Johnstown, in Youngstown, in Mahoning County!

"From the blood of these Chicago martyrs will spring up the greatest labor organization that the world has ever known," declared Tom Kennedy of the United Mine Workers in an address at the Chicago Stadium. Yes-and more! From the blood of the Chicago martyrs and the countiess other working class martyrs drenching the soil of this country, will sooner or later spring labor's invincible determination to make its great organized power supreme in political life and to sweep away the spurious "democracy" of the Chicago type in favor of a genuine workers democracy, of a government of, by and for the working people!



SPAIN'S REVOLUTION AND **AMERICAN SOCIALISTS**

WHAT a wretched, pitiful But this is not the worst. De-thing is the political line cares Thomas: "I cannot insist too the Socialist Party today!

Take the Spanish situation. In all sections of the working class novement are being tested in the fires of civil war and revolution. n Spain, events of tremendous historical import have been taking place in the last few weeks-a break in the anti-fascist front and street fighting in Barcelona, the verthrow of the Caballero cabinet and its replacement by a new government headed by Negrin, a crusade of repression against the revolutionary organizations. What has the Socialist Party to say about all this? Let us consult the Socialist Call, the official party organ.

The Call Editorial on Spain

In the issue of May 2, there is an editorial, "Unity in Spain," position on the "Spanish question," ormulating a program that "enfrom progressive social revolution." This editorial is enforced by an even reactionary character of this egime is emphasized.

Just about the time that this umber of the Socialist Call was eaching its readers, Norman Thomas, chairman of the S.P., was ssuing newspaper statements in which he expressed his confidence n and political support of the new

abinet of Negrin! Two weeks later, in the Socialist Call of June 12, Herbert Zam again criticizes it simply because it is a N.E.C., that "the civil war against disagrees with it on any essential the fascists cannot be won only at point. He doesn't! He swallows, the front. It must be won at the rear by instituting the necessary and suicidal notion, now being softsocial reforms which will give poli- pedalled by the C.P. itself, extical power to the workers, socialto the peasants, grant autonomy to about the revolution." "When the national minorities, liberate the they (the fascists) are defeated," colonies." Fine—this is the funda- sagely counsels Baron, "the workmentally sound position shared by ing class can go on to the solution the P.O.U.M. and the left elements of its differences within the framein the C.N.T., U.G.T. and S.P. of work of its own class democracy."

But turn the paper back two pages. Norman Thomas "reviews the war in Spain." His support of Negrin is now watered down to the somewhat fatuous remark: ... Not a word of political analysis or estimation! But about the "framework of its own class de-'Negrin, whom I liked personally, do I think that the P.O.U.M. is supplying the leadership, tactics Franco or a bourgeois-military dic or program that are necessary." tatorship. Well, then, who is? No answerjust diplomatic evasion and time-

worn platitudes!

strongly that whatever the motives, those in Spain or out of it who Spain the policies and programs of today carry their criticism of the government to the point of encouraging sabotage or revolt are in reality helping the triumph of Franco." But why all this indefiniteness? Are you referring to the Barcelona events? You, Comrade Thomas, and you, editors of the Socialist Call, know perfectly well that the Barcelona events did not come from carrying "criticism . . to point of . . . revolt." You know perfectly well that the clashes in Barcelona during the early days of May were the result of deliberate provocations engineered by the P.S.U.C. (Comintern party) and he bourgeois republicans in order to open the way for the suppression of the revolutionary proletarian organizations of Catalonia and other parts of Spain. You know setting forth a generally sound this because it is a fact substantiated by every bit of evidence available, by the bulletins of the visions military strength arising C.N.T.-F.A.I., by Caballero's paper, "Adelante," by the reports of all observers. What do you mean, then, article on the Negrin-cabinet ap- by hinting darkly at those who "in pering in the same issue (in the Spain . . . are . .. in reality help-column "World Socialism"), in ing the triumph of Franco?" Who which the thoroly conservative, are they? How are such insinuations any better than the shameless political slander of the official C.P. press under the slogan of

> A Disgraceful Performance But what shall we say of the

"agents of fascism"?

article by Sam Baron in the same issue of the Call? He criticizes the Communist Party very severely but his criticism is purely factional; he repeats, as the official stand of the rival organization, not because he pressed in the formula: "First let's ize industry, turn the land over win the war and then we'll worry It doesn't seem to have occurred to Sam Baron at any time during his extensive travels in Spain that these "differences" may be precisely over how to win the war or that, unless these "differences" are settld the right way before it is too P.O.U.M. he is more positive: "Nor mocracy" within which to settle them later on; there will be either

> What a miserable spectacle does this "Spanish expert" of the So-(Continued on Page 6)

By Lambda

ALMERIA

EUROPE TODAY

Almeria Bombing Brings Anglo-French "Guarantees" To Nazis

London, June 2, 1937.

THE exchange of notes between the government of Valencia and the German Admiralty reveals that the attack by the German cruiser on the aircraft of the Valencia Government was not a coincidence but was premeditated and well thought out in advance. What prompted Germany to this step? To understand her motives one must realize: (1) that both the siege of Madrid and the siege of Bilbao were at a deadlock; (2) that the rapid succession of the May events in Catalonia, the reorganization of the cabinet in Valencia, and the campaign for mediation launched immediately thereafter by the English and the French governments was enough to warn the governments of Germany and Italy that they had better prepare themselves for a serious international mediation drive and for the possibility that it might bring results in short order; (3) that, in Germany as well as in Italy, resentment against the Spanish adventure is on the increase and that, in Germany especially, the internal tension is heightened by the growing shortage of foodstuffs and raw materials.

Thus Germany's motives were the following: (1) to test—with the by now almost traditional bang of the iron fist on the table-how much further Germany and Italy dare go in openly supporting the insurgents; (2) to extort more advantageous terms for themselves and their proteges in the pending mediation; (3) to create a new diversion from internal trouble and, at the same time, to intimidate the rising opposition against the Spanish adventure at home.

The bombardment of Almeria (an insignificant port with antiquated coastal fortifications), ballyhooed by German propaganda as a major martial achievement, was also intended to wipe out the embarrassing impression caused by the news that the cruiser "Deutschland," hailed as one of the ultramodern "pocket battleships," pride of the German Navy, had beaten an ignominous retreat when struck by four ordinary air-bombs. Germany and Italy are now demanding "guarantees" for their further participation in the control of the Spanish coast. Allegedly these guarantees are wanted to safeguard Italian and German war vessels from future "attacks" by the loyalist forces. In fact however, they would enable Italian and German war vessels to extend increased aid to the insurgents with impunity. The English and the French governments instantly declared themselves ready to discuss such guarantees and the fascist powers accepted the invitation to a conference. At this conference Germany-Italy will negotiate terms with France-England—that is to say the Soviet Union will be excluded! The complicity of the French and English with the German and Italian governments against the Spanish people is quite obvious. The English and the French governments are making good use of the recent events to strengthen the international pressure on the Valencia government to promote mediation. And they are not even making any bones about it. Writes the "Temps" on June 2:

"Most essential at the moment is not to close the door forever to an arrangement based on international collaboration, concerned with preventing a European crisis, and aimed at hastening the end of

And the English "Yorkshire Post," which is closely connected with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Eden. writes: "... The only way effectively to prevent a repeti-

tion of such occurrences is to bring about the end of this international civil war."

The French socialists obediently follow the course taken by the Blum government. The C.P. of France "demands" that free trade in war materials be reestablished for Spain but it does nothing whatsoever to mobilize the masses and force the Blum government to change its Spanish policy which was adroitly characterized by Peri, the foreign expert of the "Humanite." when he posed the following questions (Humanite, June 2, 1937):

"In which respect could Laval have acted differently? How could he have served Franco's cause

As to the international working class, it is necessary, in view of this bold-faced complicity of the English-French with the Italian-German governments against the Spanish people, to mobilize the (Continued on Page 6)

BOOKS of the AGE

BREAD AND WINE, by Ignazio Silone. Harper & Brothers, New York. \$2.50.

Reviewed by D. Swift

priest Don Paolo Spada, he travels donned black shirts, while others of an organization. have kept the faith, suffering death and the most horrible tortures for their convictions. One of those who have held on steadfast cluding the explanation of is Don Benedetto, Spina's former "people's" internationalism on the clerical teacher, whose defiance of basis of "the development of transthe fascist authorities is of such portation and commerce." These heroic size that all the atheistical two facts, the petty, leaden burorevolutionaries look to him for cracy which roots out discussion in ly do away with Don Benedetto by plague, plus the unquestioning acputting poison in his sacramental ceptance of the miserable party wine: he drops dead while cele- line should make it tragically clear brating mass. Spina's activities are that the Young Communist League in the end apprehended by the is not a "non-party youth organ-police, and he escapes out of the ization." In the course of this country again with the aid of article, I hope to make it abun-Bianchina, a prostitute who has dantly clear that neither does it fallen in love him, and of Cristina, function as a communist youth ora high-born girl who had been ganization—that is, it offers no

contemplating entering a convent. | guidance, no hope and no program Within the framework of this of any validity to the young worksimple story Silone presents a ers, students, and others in this highly dramatic picture of what it country, and, peculiarly enough, means to live in Il Duce's heaven even to itself and its own mem-—in terms of the housewife's bership. breadbox, the children's playground, the husband's drinking joint, the public soup kitchens, the tax collector's snortiness, the difficulties of the official army whores, and the petty degradations visited upon the few priests who dare to take the pristine teachings of Jesus Christ seriously. Over it all is the simple, bitter humor of the Italian peasants, who know nothing save their slavery, yet are forever tormenting the local bureaucrats with their elemental, unanswerable questions, questions which in the end will undermine fascism. The Italians, perhaps, are is asked of a youth organization a non-political people, but they at least in the United States*—is have sharp noses for bad smells, and their innumerable parochial revolts will some day achieve a momentum that will send the Roman murderer running for the

"Bread and Wine" is both inferior and superior to "Fonta- be interpreted as being anti-fascist, mara," Silone's earlier novel. It is becomes eligible for a united front, not so succinctly written, it is oc- regardless of the real character of casionally repetitious, and two of its major characters are left hang- why it is possible for Governor ing in the air. There is no emotional period to the careers of Bianchina and Cristina, and the last paragraph in the book, dealing with Cristina, is so incredible that it is almost like ending a classical symphony with a burp. But the book ership that the American Youth has riches which far overshadow | Congress represents the greatest these defects and place it above and most important concentration "Fontamara." The latter volume was so succinct as to be skeletal, with all the variegated life of a May 22 and 23, the dominant fascist whole people, its whorings as well organizations refused to admit the victions as well as superstitions, filth, and compromises. The very lapses in "Bread and Wine" somehow seem to enhance its power. Warts, in art as in life, frequently add to beauty.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

THE YCL BUILDS AGAINST TRADE UNION NOTES A LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

By M. S. MAUTNER

This is easily the best prole
Who gathered in New York of certain unions for the Congress, when the congress, we have the congress. tarian novel to come out of Eu- the first week in May for the rope during the past twenty years. eighth convention of the Young It heaves with all the despairs, Communist League listened to Gil to the labor movement. But although dreams, and hopes of the lowly; it Green decree the existence of a Gil Green can state in his report portrays oppression intimately, as "broader" YCL, discarding the to the convention that "only a it strikes home in the kitchen, in rigidity of the Communist Party, mighty, militant labor movement the saloon, and in the parish at a time when, almost to the house; and it is almost completely minute, a special strong-arm squad devoid of falseness of emotion or was busy attacking a group of deed. Above all, it is weighted with students recently expelled from the the tears of living, without which YCL for expressing their opinions all creative work is a sham and a on the people's front. "After The story of "Bread and Wine" organization"; "we are not a Comcenters around Pietro Spina, an munist Party"; "non-party youth all youth organizations be repreexile from Italian fascism, who re- organizations consisting not only turns to his native land to engage of communists but also socialists, "to get representation from the once more in underground revolationlutionary work. Disguised as the ary, pacifist, religious . . . youth" -these were Gil Green's phrases, over the country in search of his while outside the meeting hall took former comrades. Some of them place the practice by which we have renounced their ideals and simpler folk judge the character

The political line of Gil Green tion of latter-day reformism, in- that to the YCL.

Junior People's Front The leaders of the Young Comnunist League begin with the remises of the Junior People's Front and shortly find themselves in the maze of Fourth of July orations delivered at Boy Scout festivals. This premise states the basic equality of all youth organizations. It does not deny the importance of labor organizations, but t sees in them only another progressive force, of no more real importance in the "struggle" for peace festivals than any other social service organization. All that that it be anti-fascist.

This means, of course, that se long as labor is one among many, anyone, especially a capitalist politician, who at one time or another has let slip a phrase which might that person's activities. That is Hoffman, New Jersey's reactionary strike-breaking persecutor of the CIO, to be a member of the Advisory Council of the American Youth Congress!

It is the theory of the YCL lead-

* In Montreal, at the sessions of following program: (1) belief in God: (2) against class war—for class peace: 3) fight against all subversive ele-

of American youth on a progres-THE "youth with a purpose" sive program. They have succeeded and consider this the end of their "obligations" (or is it services?)

can lead the fight against reaction, can guarantee an improvement not only in the conditions of young workers but of all youth," nevertheless, at what he considers the most important gathering of youth, months of discussion"; "a service the American Youth Congress, he asks the YCL to see it to it that sented-special efforts being made Catholic and farm youth organizations"! If this has any meaning, which I doubt, it signifies that the trade unions will be "allowed" to fight for the American Youth Act, pany union admit that they agree

"Youth"—A Social Force? It seems to me that in the handing of the American Youth Act the whole false analysis and necessary to discuss here the inadequacy of the bill's proposed alprenticeship which are in flat contradiction to Gil Green's correct proposal in his report. What concerns us here is the mechanism which is motivated by the utterly false junior people's front policy. Young people gather in a meet-

ing and propose a bill which they hink meets their needs. Then they fight for this thru their "classless" youth organization, which everynillion" Christian Youth Building "classless democracy," the main thing is to get important people to sponsor your bill—people whose names are in the news. So you get some labor leaders and Governor Hoffman, some social workers, government youth-relief heads and thus you teach the raw, undeveloped, but developing, American youth that "only a militant labor movement can guarantee an improvement in the conditions of all youth"? Nonsense! You teach them that everybody's a good fel- since 1926 and Monteith since 1923, low in this world of good fellows the relation of these three "union" -class lines, class programs and leaders with Ford becomes more class aims remaining unconsidered. Second, of course, the bill is practically foredoomed—for this bill,

League, is rejected by the Youth agreement with a union constitutes Division of the American Labor a violation of the Wagner Act, i Party as being totally inadequate. of tremendous moral value to the But all this flows from the embattled steel workers in Repremise of equality, which means, public, Youngstown, and Bethlehem n practice, the refusal of the Steel. The same stand had previung Communist League to work to set the dissident sections of the Labor Relations Board which held, locked-out generation in motion to- in the case of Inland Steel, that wards the labor movement-not as refusal to sign is against the inone among many of its benefactors tent of the law. but as the only force in contemporary society which, in fighting aid in stimulating resistance of the still owes \$50,000 to the United

needs of these youth also. Rally Youth Around Labor What is the problem in Amer-

ica? Essentially it is a phase of by, for and thru labor. the problem of the whole working while "Bread and Wine" surges the Canadian Youth Congress, held class—to break away from the thing, at least no such sensible as its dreams, its century-old con- YCL into the congress they had ty. For the youth it means breaking classes. It is not enough for the originated, unless they accepted the away from capitalist youth institu- YCL to be for its trade union ments. The Canadian "young com- Thus we do not agree that students union in its social and educational obligation to a special class internunists" accepted this program—for should be a separate force. They aspects. That is a matter of course, est. the sake of "unity and the preserva- must be part and parcel of the Our business is to bring petty United States will do the same thing, organization of labor among the

by George F. Miles

DETROIT, MICH.—The strike in the Saginaw plant of he Chevrolet Grey Iron Foundry, which threw out of work 44,000 workers in 12 plants, is about to be ended after the men listened to the reasoned appeal of President Homer Martin. The continuation of the foundry strike for another few days would have caused the shutting down of 25 additional plants employing some 135,000 men.

The sporadic strikes have affected the car output in this area to a considerable degree. It is estimated that production figures automatically bring victory. The for the week ending June 19 will pe about 20.000 cars below normal. In this drop Chevrolet alone acounts for about 12.000.

Still another company union ha ppeared on the scene here in Detroit. This time it is the Workers Council for Social Justice thru which the employers are desperatey trying to corral the catholic employes by using the full program of Father Coughlin's Union of Social Justice. Altho the founders of the com-

in return for which they will be with and have taken over the full 'permitted" to endorse its sponsor, program of Father Coughlin, they the American Youth Congress, but are vociferous in denying that was, of course, the faithful repeti- not to actively participate—leave Father Coughlin himself is behind the movement. However, this is of slight importance. Significant is the statement made by Arthur E. Nelson, leader of the company union, that he was in no position to make public the name of the practice of the YCL concerning a financial backer of the movement. guidance. Mussolini's men eventual- the branches as tho it were the youth movement in this country is It should be recalled that Father most glaringly underlined. It is not Coughlin also refused to make public the names of his financial backers. So that while it is possible lotments, or its provisions on ap- that Father Coughlin finds it inconvenient to front for the organization, it is a dead certainty that the same boss interests which stood behind Father Coughlin now stand

behind the Social Justice Union. The name of the sponsor is perhaps of no great importance. Yet unless he had a property right. Is it is of some interest that Ford's that correct? strong boy, Harry Bennett, was forced to cover up for this com- perty right with quotes around body knows reresents nothing ("ten pany union after Richard Franken- property. I mean it is a recognisteen of the UAW lashed out tion of the direct impact of reor-A New World notwithstanding). In against this new fraud and inti- ganization on labor. In many of mated that Ford was behind it. these situations labor receives the The three leaders of the new mob first direct impact of default or colhad been given leave of absence from Ford to engage in organization. Bennett now ordered them to return to work or be discharged. "Furthermore," Bennett added, mean much but it is a sign of the "we don't want anyone to think growing recognition that organized that the Ford Motor Company is supporting this Social Justice be ignored where its interests are

> When we recall that Nelson has this measure. worked for Ford since 1920, Irvin than mere conjecture.

President Roosevelt's remarks supported by the Young Communist intimating that refusal to sign an ously been taken by the National

Altho these pronouncements wil or its own needs, fights for the workers against these die-hard Mine Workers (John L. Lewis' bourbons of industry, they will not

students, standing for a program

That is why there is no suc bourgeois political parties and set thing, as supporting, in a class soup its own independent labor par- ciety, organizations of opposing tions in order to be remoulded in members building the unions and outlook and aim under the aegis trying to arrange the life of the November under a heavy moralof the mighty labor movement. young trade unionists around the or should one say, immoral-

the time comes, the YCL of the mean by a student movement—an employed youth, to seek their and therefore has to do his bid-(Continued on Page 6)

fight despite the NLRB ruling and the Roosevelt pronouncement. The Wagner Act itself provides the medium for protracting the fight against any decision of the Board by a resort to the courts and the snail's pace at which the court renders decisions has become proverbial. The strategy of the steel nterests will therefore be to wear down union opposition by protracted court action. The CIO plans to reply with intensified strike actions and the cutting off of the

steel interests have already stated

their determination to continue the

on strike. Washington Congressional lawyers, watchdogging employer interests, are all agog over revisions of the bankruptcy laws proposed by the Security Exchange Corporation. The proposal, which gives labor the right to appear in Federal

raw material sources of the firms

lawyers as recognizing labor's 'property rights in jobs. Republican Representative Michener of Michigan questioned Commissioner William O. Douglas on the implications of the proposal:

Courts in the reorganization of

corporations, is considered by these

"Fundamentally, that must, of necessity, recognize the property right of the employe in his job. "Yes," replied Douglas.

"He would not be in the court

"Well," replied Douglas, "a prolapse, for reorganization frequent-

y entails labor displacement. By itself this proposed change in the bankruptcy laws may not labor is a factor that can no longer involved even indirectly. The CIO as well as the AFL is backing

If you are an open shop employr of labor and have therefore been wondering about President Roosevelt's "outright" support of the "communist" Lewis and his CIO; or if you are a Michigan Republican Congressman who has been wondering about the "sphinx-like silence of the President when appea's are made for protection against violent, law defiant and sometimes nearly seditious methods of CIO operatives" you have but to read today's editorial (June 16) in the Detroit Free Press for the

answer. Savs the DFP: "A statement filed last week by the Democratic National Committee . . . says that the committee union) the unpaid balance of a campaign loan.

"... the revelation that a major political party is debtor in a substantial way to a politically-minded labor union is a matter of . . . real consequence.

"More even than outright campaign contributions made by the C.I.O., the loan places the Administration which benefited from it in

In other words the President tion of democracy"! Of course, when labor movement. That is what we bourgeois elements, students, un- just sold himself to John L. Lewis

ALP Convention Meets; Girds | Monroe Meeting Forces Renewal of Picketing Rights | EUROPE TODAY For Coming City Campaign

them from Assembly District clubs and 150 representing the trade unions, gathered in convention of the American Labor Party at Hotel Edison in New York City on Sat urday, June 19, to hear reports o the officers and to replace the provisional officers and State Executive Committee with a permanent leadership.

In all the reports and speeches of greetings to the convention, there was expressed a strong determina tion to consolidate the party, co ordinate the activities of the branches, make a special drive to recruit trade union members and root the organization in the upstate counties so as to create a more effective political weapon.

Gustave Strebel, the State Di rector, reviewed the short history of the party, showing how neces sary it was to place it on a sound and independent foundation after the elections last November. The same idea was stressed by Alex Rose, secretary of the party. Loud applause greeted his statement that, "in order to achieve greater political success, we must maintain our identity and employ methods lies the only possible basis for a that are distinctly and decidedly youth movement that can effectiveour own. We must not be confused ly answer the needs of its parwith any existing political party. ticipants—a labor youth move-We must be a party that will be ment. direct and simple. We must not try to solve every international problem that appears on the horizon... We must be a party that is concerned in the immediate problems which concern the great majority of workers and citizens.'

The the convention did not have the task of naming a candidate for the coming mayoralty campaign, it was clear that, when the time came, La Guardia would be the nominee. His name was mentioned frequently by most of the speakers and was applauded vigorously That this support of La Guardia did not signify dependence upor

S. P. AND SPAIN

(Continued from Page 4) cialist Call present! The revolutionary indignation of the Catalonian proletariat at the repressive reactionary course of the bourgeois regime he dares to attribute to the stirring up of the masses by "fascist provoqators." The P.O.U.M. he calls, in his ineffable wisdom, the "legitimate child of the Comintern's 'third period'," altho he is not ignorant of the fact that the elements forming the basic cadres of the P.O.U.M. broke with the ficial emissary to Spain?

Three hundred delegates, 150 of | the old capitalist parties, however, was stressed at the conclusion of Rose's report. "The Democratic as well as the Republican party," he said, "is constantly zig-zagging... When they are at times progressive and truly representative, it is only an episode or an accident or a concession. They are not fundamentally organized to serve the underprivileged and the exploited. But the American Labor Party is organized for that purpose. The American Labor Party is the home of every worker, farmer, liberal and progressive.'

> The second session of the convention heard greetings from Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky and Eleanor Herrick. At the end of the convention a staff of officers and 42 State Executive Committee members was elected, thoroly representative of the trade union membership of the party.



YCL and Labor Youth Movement

(Continued from Page 5) normal activities not in the Y's but Democrats. in the union halls, and when the labor party movement is ripe, to be part of the labor party. Therein

YCL Sets An Example

Some final remarks about the changes in the organizational structure and aims of the Young Communist League. It is a tragic thing for the American sections of the official communist movement that, while they zealously carry out the line as do the other parties this line is always derived from other countries and has no particular place in our peculiar and exceptional conditions.

Thus when the Communist Party here wanted a united front with some employing class party to ape the French party, they "discover-

C.I. precisely in the days of the "third-period" and precisely over its "third-period" ultra-left sectarianism. But what are mere facts to Sam Baron, any more than they are to the Daily Worker, when it is a matter of slandering the P.O. U.M.?

What, then, is the political line of the Socialist Party-the editorial in its official organ, the Socialist Call; the evasive pronouncements of Norman Thomas, its chairman; or the brazen political falsification of Sam Baron, its of-

ed" this group-the Knickerbocker

And so with the children of folly. The Young Communist League is forced to invent its mass 'communist, socialist, pacifist, religious non-party" youth organization—and this time it turns out to be an inside job!

The Young Communist League will now, on the basis of its new constitution, become an undefinable organization of individuals and organizations, Marxist and non-Marxist, social, educational, made up of basketball teams and students of the Communist Manifesto-in theory. In practice, of course, it will continue to expel those who whisper a word of opposition to the People's Front, thereby setting the worst possible example to working class and petty bourgeois youth—it will fail to teach them that it is the labor movement and the labor movement alone thru which they can fight for their needs. Thus, with its eighth convention, the Young Communist League has failed to solve the problem of the nature of a mass labor youth movement in this country, its relationship to it, and its relationship to the Communist Party. It is impaled on the horns of the dilemma of an organization defending unequivocally every minute variation of the Communist Party's line while, at the same time, pretending to be a non-party organization. And above everything hovers the fog of the Junior People's Front thru which it becomes impossible to see the working class way out for youth.

The CIO And Labor Peace

(Continued from Page 2)

Is it not obvious that there is a fundamental identity in all of these journalistic expressions of opinion of the social-democratic New Leader, the Hearstian Mirror and the conservative Times? The only visible difference seems to be in forthrightness and frankness of utterance-and here the advantage lies unmistakably with the bourgeois papers. They, at least, make no bones about it—they say plainly that the disasters allegedly about to overwhelmn the C.I.O. wll lead to the destruction of that move ment and the triumph of the A. F. of L.-hence to "unity." The New Leader means exactly the same thing but, with characteristic lack of political courage, it contents itself with mumbling some phrases about "putting anger aside" and "behaving like men who have a moral responsibility . . .

The Road to Unity

No, gentlemen of the New Leader, Mirror and Times, all your calculations are bound to go astray. The C.I.O. is facing a crisis, a serious crisis—but it is a crisis of growth, of the consolidation of the phenomenal advances made recent months. This crisis will be solved and with its solution will come a stronger, firmer, more powerful C.I.O., in and thru which the unity of the American labor movement will be achieved!

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(Continued from Page 4) masses and agitate for the following minimum demands:

German and Italian warships must clear out of Spanish waters. since they have openly and admittedly taken part in the war against the Spanish people.

German and the Italian troops must be withdrawn from Spain.

English and the French fleets must enforce these measures and must control and protect the Spanish coast.

UNDER THE pressure of the official communist parties, the persecution of the P.O.U.M. is becoming increasingly ruthless. On May 29, the central news-organ of the P.O.U.M., "La Batalla," was suspended. The paper's editor in chief, Gorkin, member of the Executive Committee of the P.O.U.M., was accused of having provoked the May battles by an article, published under his name on May 1. He was arrested and forbidden to leave Spain. Even the Esquerra is now favoring the suppression of the P.O.U.M. It is necessary to register the very sharpest protest against this onslaught upon the revolutionary vanguard of the Spanish working class, against this attempt to disrupt the unity of the forces fighting fascism.

THE CONFLICT between the Nazis and the Church in Germany has sharpened. The menacing speech delivered by Goebbels against the "Princes of the Catholic Hierarchy" was followed by a threatening note to the Vatican and the cessation of diplomatic relations and it may easily be topped by the abrogation of the Concordat. The abolition of all Church-supervised institutions of learning was officially decreed.

The aggravation of the conflict originated with the Nazis. The Church had been maintaining a defensive attitude. The attack is obviously part of a rather ambitious scheme. The resistance of the Church is to be broken for good and, eventually, a rival Church is to be established by the Nazisthe very same thing Bismarck aimed at in the so-called Kulturkampf for Culture at the end of the last century. The Nazis command much more effective means of pressure in this respect than Bismarck had at his disposal. However, that they, too, will break their teeth trying to crack the Catholic Church is a dead certainty. Which does not preclude the possibility of their gaining the semblance of success for a while.

The renewed attack upon the Church is due first of all to the fact that the growing opposition among the petty bourgeoisie is finding a rallying-point and a fulcrum of organization in the Church opposition. And, furthermore, because for the eventuality of a war, ideological unity must be restored at all cost.

In the long run the result can only be that the Church opposition, so far as it is supported by the petty bourgeois masses, will be compelled to wage political war on the Nazi regime.

THE RECENT Dutch elections were distinguished by a very weak showing of the fascist movement (Mussert) and of the C.P., whereas the bourgeois parties (the Catholics and the Calvinists) scored considerable gains. To draw any general conclusions from these election returns as to the line of development taken by fascism in Europe would be a mistake.

The result of the elections merey reflects the relatively stable conditions thus far enjoyed by the middle classes of a country which is still exacting huge revenues from the Dutch East Indies and is battening like a parasite on its enormously rich colonial posses-

Civil War In Spain

(Continued from Page 3)

places of power. If oratory would not suffice to lull the masses back to sleep, then the guns would have their say. The oratory provided the trimmings, the guns provided the reality of the young parliamentary republic.

"To make a written constitution," wrote Lassalle, "is the easiest thing in the world; it can be done in three days. It is the last thing that should be done. If it is produced prematurely before the Revolution has changed the foundations of the old order, it is false.'

The new republican constitution was produced in Spain immediately. It was patched up out of the dying Weimar Constitution and the Mexican Constitution that had never come to life. To these elements were added lyrical trimmings that only Spanish intellectuals turned statesmen were capable of providing.

"One night," writes Maurin, "Alcala Zamora believed he could leave the Chamber for a moment, leaving Socialists and Republicans to themselves. But just then, Araquistain, Socialist deputy,

driven by the devil of mischief, got the idea of proposing an amendment to Article I of the Constitution, to make it read that 'Spain is a Workers' Republic.' The Chamber was almost deserted. The previous question was called and the motion got a majority.

"Next morning, when Alcala Zamora learned what had happened, he rebuked the bad boys of the preceding evening and, with general approval, sent Article I to the repair shop."

It came out reading:

"Spain is a Republic of the Workers of All Classes!"

But before the constitution was completed and in operation, a clause was added providing for its own suspension. It was the only clause in the Constitution that was ever carried out in life. It was applied not against the monarchist generals, but with the aid of the monarchist generals against the proletariat and peasantry who had made the revolution. It is a measure of the "republicanism" of the Spanish bourgeoisie and their republican politicians, and of the depth of the bourgeois republican revolution.

Next Week: Spain's Military Men