Soviet Union

U.S.S.R. Prepares Defense **But Urges Peace**

An increasingly tense situation developed last week in the Far East. Evidently believing that it could take advantage of the Soviet Union's internal crisis, the Japanese militarists broke loose and perpetrated a number of deliberate aggressions upon the U.S.S.R. at the Manchoukuan frontier, culminating in the sinking of a gunboat on the Amur River.

On June 29, aiming to parry a Japanese thrust, the U.S.S.R. had agreed to withdraw troops and boats concentrated at Bolshoi and Sennefu Islands in the Amur River, thus dropping its claim to sovereignty over these islands. The next day, Japanese-Manchoukuan land forces made an unprovoked attack upon a group of three Soviet gunboats at Blagoveschensk, sinking one of them after some sharp

On July 1, the Japanese Cabinet, in emergency session, demanded that the Soviet Union immediately evacuate all territory claimed by the Japanese puppet-state of Manchoukuo. Japanese troops were reported mobilizing on the borders.

The Soviet Union is taking immediate measures of defense. At the same time, Litvinov stressed the fact that the Soviet Union was ready to submit the issues, sharp as they are, to discussion and peaceful adjustment.

Japanese imperialism will soon discover that, despite internal difficulties, the masses of the Soviet people are ready, as one man, to rally behind their government against the foreign aggressor. And in this they will be supported by many millions of working men and women thruout the world.

WPA Slashes Begin 12,000 Fired

Nearly 12,000 W.P.A. employees in New York City were discharged without even a day's notice last week as a result of the new "economy" drive of the federal government. Before October, 22,000 more will lose their jobs since it is announced that the city's W.P.A. rolls will be reduced from 169,000 to 135,000 in that period. These figures do not include the federal arts projects, where many thousands are due to lose their jobs also.

The callousness and brutality with which these discharges took place are unparalleled even in W.P.A. history. Not one day's notice was given; no appeal was allowed; and all protest was outlawed under threats of severe reprisals. The thousands whose jobs were taken away from them are now thrown on the pitiful resources of home relief.

Sporadic outbursts of resentment occurred at various points, especially on the education and arts projects, but no general movement of protest. It is necessary for the labor movement and all progressive-minded citizens to realize that the ruthless slashing of relief is a direct menace to themselves as well and that they must take some action before it is too late.

Japan Attacks | MILITIA LOOKING FOR SCABS TO "PROTECT"



Scene at the Franklin Gate of Bethlehem's vast Cambria plant But the strikers picket lines hold firm!

SWOC WINS PACT IN INLAND STEEL

Truce to Precede Agreement; Strike **Intensified on Other Fronts**

Making public a report from the special Federal Mediation Board on July 1, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins rejected the allegations of the steel companies that the C.I.O. was "irresponsible." The report criticizes the steel "independents" for their refusal to negotiate with the S.W.O.C. and declares elections and collective bargaining, in accordance with the Wagner Act, essential to "industrial peace."

A truce, preliminary to a final settlement, was reached on June 30 between the Inland Steel Company and the C.I.O. thru the intermediary of Governor Townsend of Indiana. Upon the conclusion of this agreement, the Inland plants at South Chicago, Indiana, were opened and all troops withdrawn. About 14,000 workers are involved.

The truce provides for the fol-

The Inland Steel Company agrees to recognize the S.W.O.C. as the collective bargaining agency for its own members. The workers will be taken back without discrimination. Workers are granted an 8-hour day and a 40-hour week, with time-and-a-half for overtime. Employees with five or more years of continuous service are to receive a week's vacation with pay. In matters of grievances, the decision of the state labor commission shall be final. This agreement will be put in writing if the National Labor Relations Board, in the case before it at the present time, decides that collective bargaining agreements, once reached, must be set down in written form.

There is, of course, little doubt that the N.L.R.B. will rule that an employer, once having reached an agreement with his employees, cannot refuse to commit it to writing. As a matter of fact, David J. Saposs, chief economist for the board, has already testified at the hearing on June 30 to that effect.

After originally agreeing to sign a similar truce, the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company backed out at the last moment. It is expected that its compliance will not be long delayed.

The preliminary agreement was characterized by Philip Murray, head of the S.W.O.C., as "a very fine settlement." Grim picket lines were transformed into cheering throngs as the steel strikers got word of the truce. A victory mass meeting was planned immediately.

Meanwhile, the struggle against Republic Steel and other "independents" that are still holding out, is being intensified. Mass picketing demonstrations are being planned for Johnstown, Pa., and other steel centers. James Mark, director of the strike against the Bethlehem Corporation at Johnstown and also president of District 2 of the United Mine Workers, announced that 60,000 miners were massing to take part in the picketing of the Bethlehem plants. At the same time, the S.W.O.C. chiefs appealed to Governor Earle to place the town under martial law so as to check the frantic efforts of the local authorities to break the strike. This appeal was strongly seconded by the heads of two big railroad unions, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Decree Power

Franc To Find Its Own Level; New Taxes On Bonnet's Program

The cabinet of Premier Chautemps was granted, last week, the emergency financial powers that the previous cabinet of Leon Blum had been unable to obtain. By a vote of 380 to 228 in the Chamber of Deputies and 167 to 82 in the Senate, the new government received the power to issue emergency decrees that will not have to be submitted for parliamentary ratification until three months after their promulgation.

George Bonnet, Finance Minister, lost no time in putting into practise his program for "saving the franc" by inflation, devaluation One decree and more taxation. abolished the September 1936 regulation as to the fixed gold content of the franc, leaving it free to find its own level. It is believed that the franc will now be quoted as 25 to the dollar instead of 22 as in the recent past.

The French exchanges, closed for a few days, were reopened July 1. Having received the vote it required, the Chautemps Cabinet will probably adjourn the Chamber

and Senate until the autumn so as to avoid any parliamentary criticism. An increase of indirect taxation on articles of mass consump- sible for Blum's resignation.

Chautemps Wins | Britain and France Prepare to Recognize Franco Regime

Ready To Grant Belligerent Status To "Placate' Fascist Powers; Negrin Government Protests Attitude Of "Great Democracies"

Acting together as a fascist the two fascist powers. It was fi-plock, Germany and Italy continually agreed that the whole matnued last week their intensive diplomatic drive to advance their own interests in the Spanish situation and to render as much aid as possible to Franco's fascist forces. At the fifty-fifth meeting of the socalled Non-Intervention Committee in London on June 29, Dino Grandi and Joachim von Ribbentrop both categorically rejected the Anglo-French proposal that England and France should fill the gaps created in the patrol blockade of Spain by the recent withdrawal of

tion is expected as the next phase of Bonnet's program. A rise in railway fares has already been or

The Communist Party, which hesitated many hours before it finally voted for the socialist Blum's request for emergency powers, very promptly decided to grant these extraordinary powers to the liberal Chautemps. Chautemps was, of course, able to manage the conservative section of the Senate which had been respon-

dered.

Dubinsky Protests A. F. of L. Scabbery In Cleveland Knitgoods Strike

In a scorching telegram to Wil-| higher wages, shorter work hours liam Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in which he charged that A. F. of L. organizers in Cleveland, Ohio, had, on June 30, escorted strikebreakers into a knitwear garment plant where 700 members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union are on strike and beat up the pickets, David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., directly accused the head of the A. F. of L of "condoning the strikebreaking acts" of his organizers in Cleveland despite the established jurisdiction of the garment workers union in the knitwear industry.

four knitting mills have been on to Green, "goes a long way to-strike in Cleveland for the past wards nullifying the value of your three weeks. The strike is for denial at that time."

and union recognition.

Mr. Dubinsky reminded President Green in the telegram that when John L. Lewis accused Green from the platform of the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Atlantic City on May 12 of attempting to sabotage the settlement negotiations last Spring between the United Automobile Workers and General Motors in a telephone message to Governor Murphy of Michigan, Green wired to the convention a denial of that accusation. "The conduct of your authorized representatives in the current Cleveland knitwear strike," Mr. Over 2,000 knitwear workers in Dubinsky declared in the telegram

ter be referred to the home governments and another meeting of the committee be held on Friday, July 2.

Meanwhile, semi-official rumors began to spread that the British Foreign Office was contemplating a move to extend belligerent recognition to the Burgos clique as a "concession" to Germany and Italy so as to keep these powers within the limits of the old "non-intervention" fraud. It began to look as if Great Britain was not as distressed as might appear at the unyielding attitude of Hitler and Mussolini; in fact, the British seemed a little thankful for being "forced" into recognizing the Franco regime, something which they had been aiming to do all along should the proper opportunity for it turn up. And French foreign policy, with the Radicals now officially in control of the People's Front cabinet, is more than ever a mere servile reflection of the course followed by the Tory diehards in Downing Street.

Recognition of its belligerent status would give the Burgos rebel junta the right, under international law, to stop and search neutral ships on the high seas for any munitions or supplies being carried to republican Spain. And we may be sure that England and France would join Italy and Germany in defending the "rights" of the fascist insurgents under international law, whatever may be their indifference today towards the undoubted rights of the Valencia government.

Negotiations are reported to be continuing between British com-mercial-diplomatic representatives and Franco's agents in regard to the exploitation of the rich mineral resources of the territory surrounding Bilbao. Huge sums of English capital are invested in these and other enterprises and the British are anxious to forestall the efforts of German and Italian interests to get a foothold at their expense.

On the eve of the July 2 meeting, it was announced that Italy was ready to discuss a "compro-(Continued on Page 6)

"Facts"

In the Spanish News Bulletin of the United Socialist Party of Catato absolve itself of the responsi- refused to open the arsenals. bility of having provoked the May events in Barcelona. With the

What are the actual facts: two letters: "B.-L." ("Bolshevik Leninists", the name the Trotskyites go by). This peculiar arrangement was obviously intended by the Trotskyites to give the impression that the appeal had been issued by the three major organ-

line of that party.

the P.S.U.C. know these facts as dictatorship. Under the leadership of the C.N.T.,3 matter to them any more than they did to the reactionary scoun-

as a precaution. execration—the criminal trick of premiership of Negrin. of this trick!

The Civil War in Spain

STORMING THE HEAVENS

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

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

THE republican government received confidential notice on July 16, 1936 that the long projected military uprising was to be launched in Morocco the next morning. Its only response was the perpetration of a ghastly pun! On the seventeenth at dawn, in accordance with a prearranged schedule, the officers of the Foreign Legion declared themselves in rebellion and called upon the other garrisons to second their movement. One after another, the officers corps of other detachments followed suit. Yet, even now, the People's Front government, which had so long known what was going on, made no move to stop the revolt!

For three days, the seventeenth, eighteenth and More P.S.U.C. nineteenth of July, it refused to dissolve the army, refused to free the soldiers from their duty of obeying their officers, refused to call upon them to arrest the revolting generals. The workers, without waiting for orders, declared a general strike, offered their services to crush the rebellion, and, as they had so often done before during the anxlonia (P.S.U.C.), the Comintern ious months of governmental inaction, demanded section of that country, there is a arms. But the republican politicians, less afraid of long and somewhat frantic attempt a military dictatorship than of the masses in arms,

The government made frantic efforts to come document as a whole we are not to some sort of compromise with the rebellion, to concerned here. We are simply in- recognize the power of the military dictatorship terested in calling attention to one while retaining the externals of republican forms, passage which throws a curious in short, to surrender "with dignity." To tempt light on the political morals of the reaction to accept a compromise, they set up several "transition" governments in quick succes-... a leaflet they (the P.O.U. sion, each more to the right than its predecessor. M.) distributed in the name of the Casares Quiroga yielded the prime ministership P.O.U.M., the C.N.T. and the to Martinez Barrio; Martinez Barrio to José Giral.2 F.A.I., calling for armed rebellion. Politicians who had openly opposed the People's The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. im- Front from the right were included in the succes-That is a point that the P.O.U.M. sive cabinets and the representatives of the masses has never attempted to answer." | in the trade unions and working class parties were excluded. But the generals, flushed with the first 1. The leaflet referred to was taste of victory, were contemptuous of these man-NOT issued by the P.O.U.M. but ouvers and refused to accept their "surrender with by a tiny group of Trotskyites in dignity." They had no further use for these mishere that, despite the slanders of erable puppets who had served their purpose as the Comintern press, the P.O.U.M. far as mouse-hearted inaction could serve. Did the is not Trotskyite but rather anti- rebellion not have the entire army behind it? What Trotskyite. The Spanish Trotsky- was the need of further pretense and compromise? ites have their own organization, if They would accept nothing less than flight or resjob is attacking and abusing the ignation of the republican politicians and the P.O.U.M.) The leaflet was headed establishment of an undisguised military dictatorwith the letters: "C.N.T.-F.A.I.- ship. All was over but the division of the spoils. P.O.U.M." and was signed with Then the unexpected, the incredible happened!

STORMING THE HEAVENS

On July 19, the workers of Barcelona, virtually unarmed, attacked the Barcelona barracks. They had a few pistols, concealed in their homes from izations when, as a matter of fact, the attempts of the republican officials to disarm them; a few sticks of dynamite taken from con-2. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. restruction jobs; a few hunting rifles taken from pudiated the leaflet—but so did sporting goods stores; some trucks and cars that the P.O.U.M., and at the same time. From the P.O.U.M. press, it they had commandeered on the streets. They had was obvious to all that the leaflet paving stones for barricades and the stout hearts has nothing in common with the of men accustomed to face the troops under monarchy and republic and they were determined not the rest of Catalonia prior to the rebellion. The unscrupulous slanderers of to permit the establishment of a fascist military

- 1 "A group of persons went to the Congress and in drels who tried to overwhelm the one of its corridors stopped the President of the Cabinet. Bolsheviks in a deluge of lies and Casares Quiroga, and in confidence communicated the Bolsheviks in a deluge of lies and abuse in July 1917? Now as then, these heroes of the poison-pen very courageously make the wildest and most fantastic accusations against a revolutionary proletarian organization, having taken care, in uprising. The words "rise" (levantarse) and "go to bed" good time, to suppress its papers (acostarse) are opposites in Spanish, whence the "point" of the pun.
- It is impossible to decide which 2 It is an ominous sign that José Giral has again is more worthy of contempt and appeared in the government recently formed under the
- the Trotskyites or the utterly con- 3 C.N.T. (Confederación Nacional de Trabajo), one scienceless attempt of the P S.U.C. of the two great trade union centers of the country, synto make a reactionary factional use dicalist in its official philosophy and predominantly under the leadership of syndicalists and anarchists. The other

against the heavily armed garrison. As they advanced, they did what the government should have done, called upon the soldiers to come over to their side, to disobey and arrest their officers. They were greeted by rifle shots, cannon fire and a withering hail of machine gun bullets. Ascaso fell. Other heroes fell. But from behind men rushed forward to seize the rifles and pistols of the fallen. The advance continued. Soldiers within the barracks were shaken in their blind loyalty to their officers; the hail of bullets began going deliberately wide of the advancing "target"; soldiers were disobeying their officers; some were raising white handkerchiefs, others were trying to arrest those who were giving the orders. In a great rush, the crowd surged forward and took the fortress! The government had refused to arm the workers: now they armed themselves from the arsenals of the Ataranzas Barracks.

This epic deed of the Barcelona workers saved Spain and changed the course of the history of C.P. Youth In our times. Immediately all cowardice, compromise and indecision were at an end: the military had found a force capable of opposing it. The next day, July 20, stirred by the heroism of the Barcelona proletariat, the workers of Madrid attacked the Montaña Barracks on the edge of West Park. the Caballero government which Backed this time by a section of the Assault the Communist Party did not ex-Guards, they took the barracks by storm, and United Socialist Youth, hitherto Madrid joined Barcelona. At the same time, prole- under C.P. control. Nor did it extarian revolution broke out all over Catalonia. pect a rapprochment between the Everywhere, C.N.T., F.A.I., U.G.T. and P.O.U.M. young socialist followers of Largo workers united to oppose the might of the proletariat to the might of the militarists. Within a week, all Catalonia, Valencia and Castille were in the hands of the workers and they were pressing forward towards the retaking of the rest of Spain. Everywhere, committees sprang up, somewhat analogous to the soviets in Russia in 1917, spontaneous organs of struggle and administration such as the proletariat sets up after its large democration fashion as great weapons of the masses whenever they go into motion on their own behalf. The government had refused to arm the proletariat; is armed itself. The government had failed to dissolve the army; the workers, aided by their brothers in the barracks, dissolved the army, arrested and executed its fascist officers, disarmed the forces of reaction. Militia committees armed the masses and began to drill them; factory committees took over the workshops and began to operate them; food committee attended to provisions and sup- fascists may have a clear picture plies; transport committees commandeered trucks of our position. and automobiles and trolleys and trains; peasant committees began seizing the great estates; com- this provocation of the crisis bemittees took over the administration of towns and by low political trickery which villages; patrol committees ferreted out fascists, examined suspicious travellers, suppressed con- the authority and power the prespiracies, executed revolutionary justice. Alongside vious government had acquired the republican government that had failed the Against whom did the Communist (Continued on Page 6)

great trade union center, the U.G.T. (Unión General de Trabajadores) is socialist in official philosophy and predominantly under the leadership of members of the Socialist Party. The U.G.T. is slightly the larger of the two and between them they have well over two million members, the overwhelming majority of the workers, urban and rural, of Spain being organized in one or the other of the great trade union "centrals," as they are called. The U.G.T. had almost no organization in Barcelona or

4 F.A.I. (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) is an anarchist propaganda organization which, despite its official today our enthusiastic support of apoliticism, actually functions as a political party in the Largo Caballero for the following sense of seeking to guide the workers as a class in their reasons: struggles against the power of the ruling class and for the proletarian revolution. It exercises great influence in

5 P.O.U.M. (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista) is a communist party, which, unlike the official Communist Party of Spain, remains true to the principles of communism. The bulk of its membership comes from the supplant the old. It has not in-Workers and Peasants Block under the leadership of creased the representation of the Joaquín Maurín which broke with the Communist Inter- masses in it. It has done just the national when the latter adopted sectarian tactics. They were joined about two years ago by the much smaller Communist Left under the leadership of Andrés Nin. which broke with Trotsky when they refused to accept the latter's order to enter the Socialist (Second) International. The two groups fused to form the P.O.U.M.. whence its name which means "Workers Party of Marx-

SLAIN BY FASCISTS



JOAQUIN MAURIN Founder and Leader of POUM

Revolt

One of the effects of the fall of Caballero, the young anarchists and the young communists of the P.O.

Below is presented a manifesto issued jointly by the Libertarian Youth of the Levant Region (Valencia Province) and the United Socialist Youth of Valencia, showing that the latter supports Caballero and rejects the line of its communist leadership. The manifesto

"In the face of the crisis created by the fall of the Largo Caballero government (provoked by the resignation of the communist ministers), the Provincial Federation of the United Socialist Youth and the Regional Federation of the Libertarian Youth consider it their duty to clarify those developments with absolute objectivity, so that the working masses and the anti-

"We were the first to condemn seriously disturbed and threatened Party direct the blow? It is obvious now that the manouver was directed against the government which was supported by the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. and endowed with a genuinely popular character. We do not think that they have accomplished their purpose. Largo Cabal lero, in the government or out of it, is the real leader of the proletariat and of the Spanish revolution. The efforts of the Communist Party to prove the contrary are useless. We of the youth proclaim

"For his revolutionary activity! "For having created a magnificently disciplined army!

"For having contributed enthusiastically to trade union unity! "A new government has come to opposite.

"Neither the U.G.T. nor the C. N.T. was taken into consideration in the formation of the new government. We look with great disgust at this absurd exclusion.

"In this connection, we recall the (Continued on Page 4)

PROSPERITY, UNEMPLOYMENT AND FASCIST DANGER

THE economic situation is al- potentialities, yes — mass move- stage of prosperity the employers ways a dynamic force shaping the activity of labor. Too often for American labor was unpreeconomic facts are used for merely pared to meet a fascist menace. of the swift regaining of markets propagandistic purposes where they should be used to calculate the perspectives of the movement, the changing balance of class forces and the timing of labor's struggles. Our economic analyses granted us a breathing spell; it resist the workers. That is why, at must shape strategy and tactics. What, from this angle, are the decisive aspects of the prosperity that is now developing? Cism, organizationally, politically resistance. But here that is now developing?

Prosperity Foreshadows a New Depression

Prosperity will break again; there was always breakdown in the past and nothing has been done to avert it in the future. Economic activity is moving upward in an unbalanced fashion as always: profits are increasing more rapidly than production and the national income, the forces of production are increasing beyond the profitable forces of consumption. Already a minor depression is developing; government experts preness activity before the winter." That slump will be overcome while | sion?) Labor has always seized the stage is set for a major de- upon the upswing from depression pression. Normally, barring infla- | to recovery and prosperity to carry tion and another world war, the on great strikes. The strikes of the storms of depression will sweep past three years are, in that sense, upon the nation around 1940-1941. a repetition of an older experience

But the coming depression will But there is one change of vast hisbe different, in a class-political and | torical importance: where formerly class-psychological sense, from the the emphasis was on hours and depression of the 1930's, during wages and improved working conwhich discontent was great but ditions generally, the emphasis is militant action small. There was no | now, especially since the C.I.O., on upthrust of American labor. Nor the organization of labor. Organwas there, despite the hysterical ization of the unorganized means shriekings of the Communist Par- class unionism in action. ty (which saw fascism everywhere in 1930-1934, including the As recovery ends and prosperity Roosevelt administration, and in is comparatively stabilized, howthe Liberty League and the Repub- ever, the workers meet stiffer caplican Party alone in 1936), any italist resistance. That is natural

Labor's Non-Partisan League On the Black-Connery Bill

Increased Resistance of Capital

preparation involves, above all, an

understanding that fascism cannot

be fought negatively by the de-

fense of bourgeois democracy but

that the defense of democratic

rights must move onward to the

The long-time economic perspec-

ives determine our general stra-

egy. What of the immediate eco-

nomic situation that determines

We are now in the prosperity

phase of the business cycle.

(Where are the Technocrats and

nechanical Marxists who four

years ago insisted that capitalism

could never recover from depres-

struggle for socialism.

our tactics?

vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, appeared before the joint Congressional committee holding hearings on the Black-Connery | serious problem in the fields of Wages-Hours Act to state the position of his organization on the somewhat different nature, but issue. Important sections of Bro- hardly less serious, is the problem ther Oliver's testimony are pre- of what are called in the bill, "op-

STATEMENT OF E. L. OLIVER | tee have brought out evidence of a favors the adoption of the basic many of our industries. The almost principles of wage and hour regula- incredible tales of direct violence Black-Connery bill).

it will have certain indirect effects capacity of a labor spy. which will be of tremondous value to the working people of the coun- proposed legislation will deal ditry and to industry generally.

The Aims Of The Legislation islation is directly aimed include the nature or the extent of the con- tive pressure. . . ditions which this bill is designed directly to remedy. (Here Brother Oliver presents extensive factual material to show the low wage- suming that the wage and hours rates, long hours and child labor

On June 8, 1937, E. L. Oliver, prevalent in American industry.— The Editor)

The legislation before your Committee, therefore, does deal with a wages, hours and child labor. Of a pressive labor practices." The hear ings before the LaFollette Commit-Labor's Non-Partisan League state bordering on civil war in tion contained in H.R. 7200 (the in some areas are matched by the

ing with those conditions, however, employment of any person in the war." In each of these particulars, the

rectly with evils of the first magnitude; but its results will by no means be confined to the workers The conditions at which this leg- and employers directly involved. The competitive character of Amerthe payment of extremely low ican industry results in the transwages, the maintenance of an un- mission of the effects of low-wages, duly long work-week, the employ- long hours, child labor, and indusment of children and the use of cer- trial espionage, thruout all intain highly dangerous and destruc- dustry. Where wages are lowest tive methods by employers in the and hours longest, and where chilcombating of labor organizations. dren are most employed, it is prob-It is perhaps unnecessary to indiable that the reason for these concate to members of the Committee ditions is largely in this competi-

Doubtful Sections Of The Bill The legislation as drafted, as-(Continued on rage 0)

But where the depression of the and profits. But when markets and 1930's shook American capitalism profits have been largely regained economically, the coming depres- and the militancy of labor still must be used to prepare labor for the moment, the C.I.O. is meeting ready highly developed and which the coming struggle against fas- and will meet with more and more

> But here again there is a new element of the greatest importantance: the incomplete nature of prosperity is added incompleteness-the next breakdown will come after a limited prosperity—hence the sharper class-political and class-psychological reactions.

To Join I.F.T.U.

eral council of the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International), meeting at Warsaw, Poland, last week, was prosperity (and the declining capconfronted with a difficult problem italism of which it is an expresarising out of the situation in the sion) is unemployment. Not the American labor movement. ment but disemployment on a mass

plication, the opinion of most memthe next council meeting in 1938.

the Soviet unions but no answer had as yet been received. The so as to "improve" it, the Michigan council decided to send another lettions of the Soviet Union. In regard to the American labor saddle the trade union movement

Workers Age

П	for a months
	Name
	Address
	City
	State
	·

Basic Problems for the Labor Movement = | concrete development of fascism; | During recovery and the earliest | ployment are still below the 1929 | 5% of the available labor force in levels. Yet, after all previous de- the pre-war prosperity years: it pressions, the movement from was 6% in 1920 and an average of recovery to prosperity lasted only 12% in the prosperity years 1923one to two years and prosperity 1929. The increase in "normal" unwas regained on levels higher than employment was accompanied by existed before the depression. It is an increase in cyclical unemployunlikely that prosperity will now ment, which was, relatively, twice move much beyond 1929 levels. The as high in 1930-1934 as in 1921accumulation of capital is restricted 1922 and at least 50% higher than by an industrial plant that is al- in any pre-war depression. can be fully used only by raising cyclical unemployment set the wages and the smaller salaries and stage for the disemployment of inlowering profits; there are no complete prosperity. After three gigantic new industries developing | years of recovery (1934-1936), the which would create large capital

into being the elements of fascism.

The agricultural crisis becomes

ican peasantry, while the middle

class is strangled by severer com-

The focal point of incomplete

pansion. Unemployment averaged

permanent, creating a larger Amer-

prosperity. To the instability of accumulation and revival of the export of capital is still a thing of the future. It is the decline of cap-That condition means a number of things that must shape our strategy and tactics. It eventually calls

Recovery began in the Fall-Winter of 1933, and we have been n the prosperity phase of the cycle for nearly two years. Now, four years later, prosperity is still incomplete and production, the national income and, particularly, em-

A. F. of L. Applies

Before it lay an application for affiliation from the American Federation of Labor. Altho Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, strongly urged favorable action on the apbers of the general council, as reported at the time of writing, was that, in view of the divided condition of American labor, it would be most advisable to have action on the application postponed until

Matthew Woll, vice-president of the A. F. of L., arrived on the second day of the council's sessions and remained for the deliberations.

affiliation, the report of the I.F. T.U had the following to say:

"It is hardly necessary to point out how warmly affiliation of the evidence of the under-cover activ- United States trade union move- berg amendments would grant em-This legislation must be considities of detective agencies operating ment to the I.F.T.U. would be ployers the right to demand elecered from several standpoints. It in the field of industrial relations. welcomed by all European workers tions for the purpose of choosing aims directly at certain intolerable . . . All labor will heartily endorse and what the added moral support collective bargaining representaconditions which exist in American those sections of the bill before would mean in the fight against tives, a request which the N.L.R.B. industry. If it is successful in deal- your Committee which prohibit the fascism and against the danger of would be required to grant on the strikes and other forms of union

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State

That growing "normal"

employed still numbered 5.000.000 fewer than in 1929, according to the Buro of Labor Statistics: total unemployment was more than 10.000.000, upon whom 25.000.000 other human beings depended for their bread. Inflation may increase unemployment, resulting in a catastrophic nervous reaction of the economic system. A new world war may increase employment by converting millions of workers into soldiers and making other millions petition and unemployment. Cap- work to provide them with the initalists will be spurred by the lower struments of death-declining capprofits of incomplete prosperity to italism can provide fuller employresist labor more aggressively and ment for the destructive purposes to demand reductions of unemploy- of war, not for the constructive ed relief and other social services. purposes of peace. But normally, at They are already doing that. It | the peak of the current prosperity, was done in Germany, where it there will be 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 was one of the driving forces be- unemployed deprived almost wholly of the chance to work, with yearly average unemployment of at least 7 000,000 for the whole period of prosperity from its beginnings in 1935 to the coming breakdown.

The magnitude of disemployment can be used effectively to exold type of "normal" unemploy- pose the workings of capitalism, especially in its final stage of decline. But still more important is Capitalist prosperity was always a concrete, sober understanding of accompanied by unemployment; a the many-faced problem of unemreserve of workers was necessary ployment in relation to the strugfor the purposes of capitalist ex- gles of labor.

Vandenberg Bill Aims to Kill Collective Bargaining

One of the most dangerously | ganization, it is hardly necessary anti-labor bills to come before Con- to emphasize; it would place the gress in recent times was an- trade union movement at the comnounced for introduction last week plete mercy of the National Labor According to Citrine's state- by Senator Vandenberg of Michinent, an invitation had been sent to gan. Allegedly intended to amend agency. the Wagner Labor Relations Act senator's proposal would actually ter to the trade union organiza- destroy whatever of value there is in the Wagner Act and, in addition, be prohibited, this being obviously

with such oppressive restrictions as virtually to cripple its power. New Powers For Bosses

In the first place, the Vandenoccasion of renewal of agreements. activity. In return, Senator Van-It is obvious that such a power on tend to make impossible any stable ment resulting "voluntarily" from existence for the unions involved collective bargaining must be set

from collective bargaining rights own terms put in the form of an any union that, in its opinion, commits a breach of contract, and even Fortunately, there seems little to subject such a union to "what- chance of the Vandenberg bill ever ever penalty the N.L.R.B. might coming up at this session. Senator direct." Especially outrageous is Black, chairman of the Senate the provision giving the board the Labor and Education Committee, right to stop the collection of union said that there would not even be dues and assessments during the time for hearings. But labor must period of "discipline"! What all remain on the watch against this this would mean to any labor or- vicious piece of legislation.

Relations Board, a governmenta

The Republican senator further proposes a so-called "fair practise code for labor" under which trade union political assessments would aimed at Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Labor Party. By another provision, all officers, agents and representatives of a union would have to be Amer-

Restrictions On Picketing

In addition, there are a number denberg is magnanimous enough to the part of the employers would require in his bill that any agreedown in writing. If the senator has Collective bargaining and union recognition would in that case become merely provisional and temporary, no matter how big the majority supporting the union stances would be eagerly, even stances would be eagerly, even Senator Vandenberg would also gladly carried out by the employer give the N.L.R.B. power to suspend —for it would be nothing but his "agreement"

WORKERS AGE

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Saturday, July 10, 1937.

THE LIMITATIONS OF NEW DEAL LIBERALISM

THE Labor Relations Act recently passed by the Michigan State Legislature with the blessings of Governor Murphy is an ominous sign on the American labor horizon. In itself, it is a dangerous piece of legislation, especially in the restrictions it places upon picketing and other strike activities. But its significance passes far beyond its own provisions: there is, it seems, only too much reason to believe that it may foreshadow the beginning of a distinct shift in the labor policy of the New Deal.

There have always been definite limits to the liberalism of the Roosevelt administration, especially in its labor policy—limits fixed by the class character of the Democratic party and the class interests behind the Democratic politicians. And now it appears as if these underlying forces were beginning to operate quite in the open.

It is no secret that, in Democratic ranks, there is widespread dissatisfaction with Roosevelt's policies on labor, relief, social legislation and court reformand, increasingly, even outright opposition to them. In response to the pressure exerted by the dominant capitalistic interests in their states and districts, to which they are naturally peculiarly sensitive, the old-line Democrats are loud in their demand that a halt be called to the New Deal's "reckless experiments," to the "aid and encouragement" Roosevelt is alleged to be extending to the labor movement. And, to all appearances, the administration is beginning to give heed to these voices of reaction, whether as a settled policy or as a piece of political strategy, it is still difficult to tell. At the Jefferson Islands Club conferences, the "labor situation" is said to have been one of the main problems discussed; an understanding was apparently reached that the administration would trim its sails in the future. A few days later came President Roosevelt's "plague on both your houses," his statement repudiating the "extremists" on "both sides." Is it far-fetched to see in all this, in the Michigan law as well as in the sudden right-about-face of Governor Davey of Ohio, a harbinger of a significant shift of attitude in administration circles?

There is still another side to the matter. We have always emphasized that, inherent in the New Deal, is the idea of subjecting the trade unions to some sort of governmental supervision or control with the ultimate objective of integrating them into a virtually compulsory scheme of "cooperation" of labor, capital and government. In its immediate consequences, such an idea may obviously imply efforts to restrict the activities of unions and to hamper the more militant forms of trade union expression. Once carried out into action, it brings with it an attitude that differs only by a hair's-breadth from outright reaction of the type of Senator Vandenberg. Is it far-fetched to see in the Michigan | guarantee of the Republic.' law a manifestation of this dangerous aspect of the

If the labor movement is to make any headway, it must face the facts as they are and base its policy upon the realities of the situation. It is quite necessary and proper to make a distinction between the liberalism of the New Deal and the unashamed reaction of the tory diehards—but it is also necessary to understand that this liberalism is, in its very nature, restricted within very definite limits. It is quite necessary and proper to take advantage of any unusual friendliness in New Deal circles-as long as it lasts—but it is also necessary to keep in mind that it may not last very long or remain very steady under the sharp impact of industrial struggle. Above all is it necessary to remember that labor's best-and, in the long run, sole-reliance is its own organized strength and militancy, that the higher powers help those who help themselves. As long as labor preserves intact its own class independence and freedom of action, as long as it preserves intact its militancy and fighting organization, it can go forward with confidence in the present difficult situation!

So These Are the "Fascists"!

IN the New York Times of Sunday June 27, Herbert L. Mat-L thews, who certainly cannot be charged with any bias in favor of the P.O.U.M., reports the following incident that occurred in the course of his recent visit to the Huesca front:

"The loyalists have had unusually hard luck in that respect (casualties), for their divisional commander, General Cahue, was killed at the beginning of the action. Then General Lukacs died when a shell hit his moving car and last night a third commander

"That knowledge came to my British colleagues and myself in an extraordinary way. We had been told back in Barbastro last night to ask for Adriano Nathan, an Italian radical who was chief of staff of the Lenin, or P.O.U.M., Division, which had been holding this line since the war started. So when we reached the village in which the divisional headquarters are located and found the right building, we asked to see the chief of staff. The guard told us simply to go upstairs. There we found a room with the sign 'Jefe de Estado Major,' and we walked in.

"Adriano Nathan was waiting for us, lying in his coffin on an improvised catafalque, his body wrapped in a red and white P.O.U.M. flag and his head bandaged where a bullet brought him instantaneous death in the front line trenches last evening. Two P.O.U.M. soldiers stood rigidly at attention.

"So the greeting we gave Adriano Nathan could be only the silent tribute that all the dead merit in this terrible conflict."

These are the revolutionary heroes whom the degraded slanderers of the official communist press in Spain and in this country dare to call "Trotskyite-fascists"!

THE SPANISH C.P. STANDS **SELF-EXPOSED**

beginning to break thru the smoke- ject the false theory that a screen of misrepresentation in movement against the government been enveloped. It is now possible much less a counter-revolutionary to trace in detail the reactionary movement. role that the Spanish Communist Party played in these events. And Party insisted upon their original he best proof is—the testimony of motions of repression.' the Communist Party itself. The It is surely unnecessary to add ollowing lines are taken from the a single word! The Communist Par-May 20, 1937 issue of Treball, of- ty of Spain stands utterly selfficial organ of the P.S.U.C., Cata- exposed and self-condemned!

onian section of the Spanish Com-

"On Thursday May 15, the Counl of Ministers met. Uribe of the Communist Party placed bluntly, Communist Party, he asked for the upation of its headquarters, radio stations, the printing plants, press, roperties, etc., and the imprisonnent of the Central Committee as well as the local and regional committees that had supported the work more closely together to the

Valencia cabinet) took the floor in counter-revolution. reply. He made a sentimental speech: 'The movement had shown, class! once and for all, that the working class continues the only sure ary and anti-fascist youth!

"Then followed Federica Mont- U.G.T. and the C.N.T.! seny (then C.N.T. and F.A.I. Minister of Health in the Valencia cabinet), basing her speech on facts in Valencia, May 18, 1937. a voluminous note-book. She showed that there exists today a pro vocation which has been in preparation for quite some time-here and abroad. She said that the last reunion of those elements bent upon the strangulation of the war and the revolution took place in Brussels between Lluhi y Vallesca, Gassol, a Basque, Comorera and Quinones of Leon. At this meeting, it was agreed to prepare the intervention of the 'friendly powers' who were to land in Catalonia and annihilate the revolutionary organ-

"Largo Caballero followed. saying that, first of all, he was a worker and an honest worker and that he owed allegiance to an honest organization. He insisted long on the word 'honest.' He said that under no circumstances would

THE truth about the Catalonian; he be responsible for the repres-May days and the fall of the sion of other workers organiza-Caballero government is gradually tions and that it was time to rewhich these events have hitherto had been prepared in Catalonia.

"The delegates of the Communist

SPANISH C.P. YOUTH IN REVOLT

(Continued from Page 2) r better said, brutally, the ques- great satisfaction the entrance o ion of the P.O.U.M. and the Bar- the C.N.T. into the former governcelona events. In the name of the ment produced upon the proletariat -and the great bond of trade lissolution of the P.O.U.M., the oc- union unity which was forged by this very act.

"Deeds like those of the communists bring us, the Libertarian (Anarchist) Youth and the Marxist youth closer together. We shall all novement of the May days in Cata- end that the U.G.T. and the C.N.T. once more play a role in the gov-"Garcia Oliver (then C.N.T. and ernment which must direct the war F.A.I. Minister of Justice in the and revolution against fascism and

"For the unity of the working "For the unity of all revolution "For the alliance between th

"Long live Largo Caballero!"

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EUROPE TODAY

C.P.S.U. Crisis Reflects Clash Of Mass Advance and Stalin Regime

CRISIS IN THE SOVIET UNION

London, June 15, 1937

TET us briefly review the various stages of the great "purge" effected by Stalin. The first stage comprised the removal of the leaders of the old opposition. Zinoviev, Kamenev, Smirnov, Tomsky and, at a later date, Rykov and Bukharin. They had most of them occupied subordinate posts under special party supervision.

The second stage—that is Radek, Piatakov, Sokolnikov, etc.—comprised partly former oppositionists and already some of Stalin's partisans. Among them were even people in leading Soviet positions (heavy industry, railroads).

The third stage was the "purge" of the G.P.U.— Yagoda and his men. These were no longer oppositionists but integral parts of the Stalin machine with long years of usefulness to their credit.

Fourth stage: the heads of the Red Army—Gamarnik, Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Ouborevich, Eidemann, Feldmann, Putna, Primakov, Kork. There was only one Trotskyist among the lot: Putna. The others had been collaborators of Stalin over a period of years. Only Tukhachevsky had served in the Czarist army where he was a subordinate officer. His great career was made in the Red Army. The others were all oldtime communists who had attained to leading military positions as communists in action during the civil wars. Tukhachevsky distinguished himself gloriously at Kronstadt, in the Polish campaign. Yakir, a member of the C.P. since 1917, was one of the organizers of the Red Guards; he led the campaign against Denikin. Ouborevich, member of the C.P. since 1917, one of the organizers of the Red Guards, fought against Denikin, Wrangel, in the Far East. Eidemann organized the Siberian campaign, was commander of the revolutionary fleet, took part in the campaign against Krasnov, Denikin, Wrangel, against Masnov in the Ukraine and fought in the Crimea. Gamarnik, trusted confidant of Lenin and later of Stalin, was political mentor and educator of the Red Army. Kork was head of the Military Academy.

Within forty-eight hours, from the 11th to the 12th of June, their arrests were announced, they were brought before a court-martial and were shot -in all likelihood, they were already dead when a drive was organized to promote resolutions from industrial plants demanding their execution.

They were accused of having betrayed the military secrets of the Red Army to Hitler Germany and of having plotted Stalin's assassination, the overthrow of the Soviet state and the establishment of a capitalist regime. All of them are said to have made

These charges are given less credence everywhere than those made against the defendants in the Radek-Piatakov case. It is utterly unbelievable that, after twenty years of the Soviet Union's existence, the generals of the Red Army, all fighters tested in the civil war, with the exception of Tukhachevsky not even professional officers but men who had attained to their exalted ranks as communist defenders of the revolution, that those who had made the Red Army technically, organizationally and politically what it is today, should have plotted to sell out their army and their country to Hitler.

Likewise it is unbelievable that they should have plotted against Stalin's life because, if they had any such plans, they were certainly in a position to carry them out successfully.

It is, however, altogether believable that they aimed—together with some of the highest party officials, members of the Political Buro and the C.C. -at removing Stalin and Yezhov from their posts. Indications in this direction are:

1. The obstinately persisting rumor that even Radsutak a member of long years standing in the Political Buro, has been placed under arrest. But, if Radsutak dared to oppose Stalin, he naturally did not stand alone in doing so in the Political Buro and the C.C.

Others, rumored to be under arrest, are Karakhan and Krestinsky, the two substitutes for Litvinoff in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, as well as Rosenberg, until recently Soviet Ambassador to Spain. The arrest of Karakhan and Krestinsky would indicate a protest of the two commissars against Stalin's foreign policy.

(Continued on Page 5)

Crisis in the Soviet Union

Advance Of Masses Clashes With Stalin Regime

(Continued from Page 4) either the C.C. or the Political

The swift and deadly thrust at evidently designed to forestall any rebellion brewing in leading party circles and to intimidate it.

What is at the bottom of it all? Stalin's desperate resistance to the growing pressure from below pressure directed against the burocracy which he has driven to the extreme, pressure increasing the frequency of demands for indepensilence all protests. Subsequently, alor deems it necessary to mow battles are "of no importance." he saw himself forced to relent a down mercilessly outstanding leadbit and let in some fresh air into ers of the Red Army in order to the party ("inner-party demo- protect his own authority effective- mate genius in certain well-defined cracy," "self-criticism"—with exception of the C.C.!). But Stalin stances, what will be the moral tory to play a contradictory role in quickly discovered that there can resources of that army, the strong- a contradictory situation. Napoleon be too much of a good thing. The est in the world as to number and rose to power as the heir of the windows were shut tight again and equipment, in case it has to go into French Revolution, of its revolunow Stalin sees himself compelled action. . . . The tragic events un-tionary Jacobinism and its reacto rip apart his own machine be- | folding in the Soviet Union in the | tionary Thermidorianism; he was cause it is yielding to the pressure course of the last few months are the successor of both Robespierre from below and transmitting this peculiarly reminiscent of the tra- and Barras. He consolidated the general average of wages paid weekly of \$8.55. pressure. He tries to gain time by gedies that have characterized the revolution in its bourgeois-capitalsmashing the old-guard party entire history of Russia for cen- ist aims but liquidated it in its re- of the Nazis—was 86.2 per cent. \$444.60 he must pay his living excadres and placing groups of young | turies. . . . One must realize that | volutionary-democratic forms. He men in their stead, providing the this verdict created tremendous came to power upon the reaction Leipzig and Waterloo, it was the latter swear by his person and repercussions not merely in Russia of the well-to-do bourgeoisie sad remnants of the old Jacobin heat, \$20 70; food, \$244.06; clothrenounce all opposition against the but in the entire world. Because, against the "excesses" of the Re- revolutionaries and their followers ing, \$56.83; miscellaneous, includ-C.C. Perhaps this will afford him whatever reasons are given for this volution and his empire made the a breathing-spell but surely not trial and the verdict pronounced, Revolution safe for the bour- most ready to rally to his support education and amusement, \$61.26. much more. The youngsters, in the the fact remains that they reveal a geoisie; yet the bourgeoisie were against the holy alliance of reac- This makes a total of \$440.56 out

old-guard party cadres. Morale Shattered In Crisis Soviet Union itself is devastating. its most outstanding leaders. The Army soldier—by the accusation of treason leveled at the heads of the Red Army is incalculable. Simultaneously, the moral authority of leadership in industry, in the party etc., is gravely impaired as well.

tooth and nail, its back to the wall, entire structure of the Soviet state.

progressing acceleration, the foundations of its own power and is fortuitous incident." mobilizing ever newer, stronger and more determined enemies against itself. The circle surround ing Stalin is steadily narrowing down. Within a few months from the ringleaders of the former Red Army and has even penetrated | Soviet Union today. the folds of the C.C. and the Political Buro. Surely this is sufficient! June 13, 1937: evidence of profound, widespread mass dissatisfaction.

ing masses.

and desperate energy with which tremendous perturbation in French nist movement needs.

this leadership is lashing out 2. The lightning speed with smashing everything around it, which the whole affair was trans- will ultimately rebound upon itself leon Bonaparte by a Soviet profesacted, evidently without consulting and merely serve to hasten its end. sor who is an outstanding world

the heads of the Red Army was movement, on the other, is cata- fers from none of the usual defects recently. Mr. Knox was vice-presi- 16.1 cents hourly in 1932. It is paid strophic.

We shall here quote only two ecerences:

political disorder and a ruthless struggle between leading personal-

International Implications nuote the interpretation of the prestige of the Soviet Union." Oeuvre, news organ of the left

The Oeuvre says in its issue of "Does Stalin in his Kremlin cratic methods are preferable to "concentrated Jacobinism." Yet, 24 per cent is contemplated, it is realize the devastating impression those current in Russia today. These forces are not hostile to the created by the summary conviction. Soviet power; they are rather of Marshal Tukhachevsky and it is the duty of all genuine com- refused to stretch out his hand and years ago. . . . Workers' organ-

desirous of giving it a broader seven high officers who all occupied munists to defend the cause of take up the one infallible weapon izations have been outlawed. The base—that is to say, at drawing the position of the first order in the communism and of the Soviet that would have brought the Czar worker's voice in determining his natural conclusions, as far as the Soviet state is concerned, from the Soviet state is concerned, from the Chese generals betrayed military to his knees or would have swept to him away altogether—the peasant stilled. The living standards of the great progress in socialist con- secrets of their country to Ger- Stalin regime and maintenance of revolt. "The Emperor had had worker have gone down steadily. struction and from the political and many, what is there to be expected full solidarity with all the healthy prepared a proclamation to give And, worst of all, the individual cultural development of the work- of the Red Army's value in war revolutionary forces within the the serfs their freedom," we are liberties of the worker have all and its staying power when called Soviet Union and outside it who, informed by Caulaincourt, who was been destroyed. upon to resist an invasion in case on a basis of communism and closest to him at that time. But he did Stalin make concessions to this the U.S.S.R. becomes involved in a Soviet power, are determined to never issued it. Why? Because it worse, in some respects than it is, pressure. To clear the way for real | European conflict? At the begin- | clear away the Stalin regime. development in this direction, the ning of the World War there was fetters of the Stalin regime must much talk in St. Petersburg of be broken. They will be broken. treason committed by War Minis- that almost all members of the in a monarch who, with reason, the dictatorship which has destroy-The present events constitute a ter Sukhomlinov and of German German Communist Party now prided himself on having restored ed popular liberties and put the crisis of growth manifesting itself sympathies among certain gen- residing in the Soviet Union, social order in France." Here the workingman under the iron heel of in wild, gory convulsions; at bottom | erals of the Czarist army. France, among them Heinz Neumann, Her- Emperor triumphed over the political oppression. But here in it is a question of the necessary then Russia's ally, was justifiably mann Remmele, Leow, etc., have Jacobin and Franz Mehring says Austria, the so-called Fatherland evolution of the proletarian dicta- alarmed, but today there are eight been arrested. Our estimate of the quite correctly that, by thus tak- Front, formerly known as the torship so as to overcome the dis- Sukhomlinovs' and it is not just political role and the personalities ing his stand with the Russian Christian Social Party, maintains crepancy between the recent ad an individual defection but an or- of the Neumann-Remmele-Leow autocrat, the French conqueror itself precariously by outlawing vances of the masses and the re- ganized and premeditated con- group is history. To dispose of them forefeited his right to be regarded all other parties and making any trogression and degeneration of the spiracy. . . . Moscow must know in such a manner, however, is the as emancipator of peoples. Stalinist party leadership. The wild that this betrayal has caused very opposite of what the commu- And this was Napoleon's ul- which supports the dictatorship,

BOOKS of the AGE

BONAPARTE, by Eugene Tarle. New York, Knight Publications.

This brilliant and rapidly moving account of the career of Napo-The effect of all this on the cap- authority on Napoleonic studies, is italist world, on the one hand, and one of the best examples of sound of such writing. It is neither onesided nor dogmatic; it takes into semi-official editorial on June 13, pedantic; it proves able to invest even financial and economic mat-"... At any rate it must be con- ters with a glow of interest and sidered rather disquieting, as to the excitement. Especially intelligent development of Russia's power in- is its handling of military events dent action from the masses who ternally and externally, that the and problems; they are properly inhave outgrown this regime. First, regime should encounter its most tegrated into the general picture by doing away with the leaders of refractory opponents in highest without a trace of the silly liberalthe old opposition, Stalin tried to military circles and that the dic-pacifist superstition that wars and In general, these same rates of pay \$10.45, a monthly wage of \$45 and

Professor Tarle presents Napoleon as he was—a man of consumlong run, will stand less for being situation so serious that it must the first to turn away from him the shake to an extraordinary degree in his last crisis. Count Markov, To the confidence some people might the Russian ambassador at Paris, Napoleon was Jacobinism incarhave had in the stability of the described the coup d'etat of 1799 nate. Echoing Marx, who credited reveal the existence of a deepgoing secuted the Jacobins with savage banners from victory to victory,"

> ities. M. Stalin undoubtedly is political and military circles. . siders most dangerous to himself. be worth if ranking officers of the guard towards the left as well as of Stalin, be it for any other seems to be at the mercy of any many? . . . At any rate, the events in Moscow, revealing a severe internal crisis, have dealt a stag-Alongside of this we shall gering blow to the international

Effect On World Labor wing of the Radical-Socialist party. Significant for the effect upon the utterly impossible in the caste hostility against him has spread One might say that it represents international working class movethe opinion of those bourgeois element is the positive taken by the gave birth to a counter-nationalism opposition to the leadership of the ments in France who are most Daily Herald, the organ of the G.P.U., to the commanders of the amicably disposed towards the British Labor Party. That paper, voke. Napoleon's very success as reviewing the events, arrives at a bourgeois reformer spelled his the conclusion that the recent ocfailure as a conqueror. currences demonstrate that demo-

What with such interpretations, hard pressed in Russia in 1812, he miserable wage standard fixed

Col. Knox on Fascism

A Report On Oppression In Germany And Austria

The lot of the workers un- | The general average paid now is der fascist dictatorship is graphi- 83.5, altho wages all over the rest cally described in the report given of the world have gone up. by Frank Knox, publisher of the Measured in cents per hour. Ger-Chicago Daily News, of his obser- man skilled workers were paid 20.4 vations and experiences during an cents in 1932 and now are paid the international working class Marxist historical writing. It suf- extensive tour of Europe made 19.5. Unskilled labor was paid dential candidate on the 1936 Re- 15.5 now. To bring home to Amerpublican ticket, headed by Alfred | ican readers the actual wage condiaccount all aspects of historical M. Landon, and therefore can tions in Nazi Germany. I am going reality and is able to relate them | hardly be accused of any commu- | to take the case of a worker in my The Temps, mouthpiece of the to the underlying movement of nist or radical bias against fas- own profession, that of a typical French Foreign Office, wrote in a class relations. It is neither dry nor cism. We reprint below some of the linotype operator. The figures I most striking paragraphs of his re- quote are from official records. "We will assume that the family consists of a man, his wife, a boy

"When the present Nazi government came into power in January, 1933, it found German working men earnings hourly are 231/4 cents, paid a scale of wages that marked which gives him a weekly earning the lowest point in the depression. for a forty-four-hour week of the depression low—are still an annual income of \$540. maintained. In fact, it is illegal to pay more, but a lesser rate may be paid with the consent of the government. To prevent an increase in wages, a whole series of regulations has been issued calculated to bution to the Winter relief fund, prevent a workman from leaving | 6 cents; miscellaneous (air defense one job for another in order to earn more money.....

"Assuming the wage level of 1928 to be 100 in percentage, the leaving a balance of net earnings hourly in 1932—before the advent

among the urban masses who were ing transport, washing, furniture,

To aristocratic-feudal Europe, with as he will in the course of a year! . . . "It must not be overlooked that The effect of all this on the regime which, after twenty years with profound insight as "Jacobin- Napoleon with "sweeping out the the case I have cited is that of a of its existence, sees itself com- ism, pure and simple, concentrated great Augean stables of Germany," highly skilled worker. He received The Red Army has been robbed of pelled to resort to such methods of in one person and armed with all Franz Mehring placed great stress \$45 monthly. According to the oppression.... But the facts so far the instruments of revolution"; on this aspect of the conqueror's Reich Statistical Office, a governmoral shock caused among Red as they are known, nevertheless yet Napoleon suppressed and per- mission. "What carried the French ment source, the average monthly earnings of German laboring men ruthlessness; and yet again, after he declares in his work on Ger- in 1936 were only \$31.09, approximan history, "was the invincible mately one-third less than the linopropaganda of bourgeois revolu- type operator cited. Accordingly, master of the situation because he France has entered a pact of tion. No one knew this better than the sample budget must be reduced can prosecute, sentence and execute mutual military assistance with the Napoleon himself; wherever he by one-third if the average is The Stalinist regime, fighting all those whose influence he con- U.S.S.R. What will such assistance planted his victorious eagles, there sought. . . . he instituted his bourgeois reis undermining and disrupting the But the dictator has to be on army are ready—be it for hatred forms." Yet here, too, there was an forts of the German worker under inescapable contradiction. To the Nazi domination, his individual That regime is destroying, with towards the right and his might reason—to play the game of Ger- degree that French domination of rights as a worker are less. For the continent led to bourgeois re- | they are substantially non-existent. forms, to that degree did its his-"The status of the German worktorical title of legitimacy tend to er, once free, highly intelligent, disappear. Thru their very effec- | well paid and self-respecting memtiveness, these bourgeois reforms ber of society, is that of a miserroused the national consciousness of the subject peoples, something

(Continued on Page 6)

ably paid wage serf of the govern-AUSTRIA "Today (in Austria) there are

aged 12, a girl of 7 and an 18-

months-old baby. The operator's

"Deductions and compulsory con-

tributions weekly from the pay

envelope that contains \$10.45 are:

taxes and insurance, \$1.38; due to

the Labor Front, 15 cents; contri-

levy, radio in shop, party collec-

tions, &c.), 31 cents; making a

total of deductions of \$1.90, and

"Out of this annual income of

enses, which divide themselves as

follows: Rent, \$57.71; light and

of \$444.60. He has \$4.04 left to do

oo legally recognized unions. . . . As a natural consequence of the subjection of the workers' organizations to political control, wages have gone down since 1930 by 24 In Napoleon, Count Markov saw per cent. And when a reduction of when the French Emperor was so found to be a reduction from a

"would have imparted to the war for instance, in Italy and Germany, a revolutionary character which where there is at least an outward From various sources, it appears would have been highly unseemly appearance of popular support for political organization, save that

Cloakmakers

After two months of negotiations during which the possibility of a general strike arose more than once, a new agreement was reached last week between the New York Cloakmakers Joint Board of the I.L.G.W.U. and the employers associations in the industry.

The agreement will be for three years. About 35,000 workers in 1,500 shops in the area are involved with perhaps another 15,000 indirectly affected in other

The agreement provides for wage increase of 10% for all piece-workers and a flat \$5 raise for all weekworkers. A compromise on the union's original demand for the 30hour week was included in the agreement, which provides for a work-week of 321/2 hours, effective June 1, 1939, as against the present 35 hour schedule.

The new agreement was greeted by union leaders as "a victory for the Joint Board, the I.L.G.W.U. and the labor movement in gen-

POWERS PREPARE TO RECOGNIZE FRANCO

(Continued from Page 1) mise" provided belligerent status was extended to Franco. What the German reaction will be is not clear but it is expected that Hitler will hold out for more considerable con-

In all this manouvering and counter-manouvering, the great powers, democratic no more than the fascist, seem to be little concerned about the Spanish people or any interest it might have in its own fate; in fact, they proceed as if it were none of Spain's business what arrangements are made in London about its future. The Negrin government has already expressed its protest and indignation at this attitude of the "great democracies" but it finds itself utterly helpless because its whole policy has been to trim its course to

Civil War In Spain

(Continued from Page 2)

people in their hour of need, another government,

a workers and peasants government, began to ap-

pear in embryonic form. To it the masses turned

for guidance, for leadership, for orders. It was

flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone: it en-

joyed their confidence for it was the democratic

THE DUAL POWER

still strangely inactive. It no longer refused arms

to the workers, for they had taken them and armed

But at Madrid the other government remained

and energetic expression of their own will.

Persecution

gratified We are to report Executive the National Committee of the Socialist Party has sent the following cable to the Negrin government at Valencia protesting against acts of repression taken by that government against the P.O.U.M.:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., meeting in New York, reaffirms support of your struggle against fascism but we urge restoration and preservation of civil liberties for all working class elements, even for those with whom there are strong differences of opinion.

"Request free speech for La Batalla and fraternal consideration for Andres Nin and other working class leaders.

"If Nin is brought to trial, we favor having present an international commission of workers. Only in freedom now for all working class elements can the struggle be won for freedom from capitalism and fascist tyranny.

> (signed) ROY E. BURT Executive Secretary, Socialist Party.'

suit Britain and France and to pin all its hopes upon these powers.

Mussolini's paper, Popolo d'Italia, declares editorially on July 1 that Italy would not under any circumstances withdraw her "volunteers" from the Spanish civil

Philadelphia

New Workers School 329 Pine Street, Phila. Classes in FUNDAMENTALS OF **COMMUNISM** CURRENT EVENTS Every Friday Night

New Pact for SP Hits POUM Publishers Meet for Crusade Marine Unions Against News Guild **Unite in CIO**

Representatives of eleven large | unionism and collective bargaining newspaper associations, assembled at a special publishers convention in Chicago last week, declared war upon the American Newspaper Guild. The resolution adopted reiterated "unalterable opposition to the closed shop for those who prepare and edit news copy and pictures for newspapers." There was, however, really no question of the "closed shop" for the Guild had made no such demand, limiting itself to the so-called "Guild" or preferential shop. Very little attempt was made by the assembled publishers to disguise the fact that what they were out for was to destroy every vestige of trade

BOOKS OF THE AGE

(Continued from Page 5)

timate undoing. His service to the big bourgeoisie was over for the capitalist system was now established firmly and irrevocably; on the other hand, his unending wars were threatening ruin and bankruptcy. But to the Jacobin masses he could not turn, for his whole mission had been to bury Marat, not to resurrect him. Isolated from all the living forces of French society, he collapsed and went into lifelong exile without lifting a finger in resistance. Yet, the his power melted away under his hands, he had, as Franz Mehring "swept away with an iron broom the heaps of feudal filth that had threatened to stifle European civilization."

Professor Tarle very properly regards the titanic commercial struggle between England and France as the very axis of European politics during the Napoleonic era and he therefore naturally places great emphasis upon the Continental Blockade as the keystone of the Emperor's foreign policy. The working out of this idea in detail proves one of the most illuminating aspects of this brilliant book.

APEX

own head, they advanced with giant strides. Having reconquered Catalonia, they advanced far into rural Aragon. Having taken Madrid and Valencia, they reoccupied Castille and Valencia province. But the demoralized shadow government at Madrid continued to set the mark of vacillation, in-

competence and the fear of the colossal forces it

had to deal with upon everything it did.

If we are to believe Leon Blum, and his public declaration on the question has never been denied, the Madrid government secretly assented to the shameful farce of "non-intervention" when he proposed it to them.

It possessed a 2,400,000,000 peseta gold reserve, one of the largest in the world outside of a handful of great powers; yet it made no serious attempt to purchase arms on a large scale for months, until it was too late. Nor did it remove, even now, the old monarchist officers where the prompt action of the working class had prevented them from declaring for the rebellion and had obliged them to assert that they had never wavered in their "loyalty" to the republic. In the months to come, all defeats were to be due to those two causes: lack of arms and treachery by unreliable officers!

Spain was being led by two governments: one, the cabinet of bourgeois republican politicians that had proved and continued to prove its incompetence and unreliability, a government that derived its authority from inertia and habit and from the theoretical support of a parliament that had ceased to function and had disappeared; the other, a half-formed government of committees, leading the masses, yet only partially conscious of its authority and role. Upon the resolution of the issue of authority between these dual and distinct organs of power-cabinet nominally parliamentary or committees that were the germs of sovietsdepended the future of Spain.

Next Week: THE WAR AND THE REVOLUTION.

in the editorial departments of the newspapers of this country.

A great outcry was also raised about the "freedom of the press" and horrified attention was called to the fact that the Guild had taken a stand on such questions as the Spanish civil war and court reorganization—as if publishers conventions had never gone on record on current issues or as if the convention decisions of the Guild bound its members to exercise censorship on the papers for which they worked! These absurdities could not cover up the fundamental economic issue involved.

The publishers Convention went so far as to make the Guild's affiliation to the C.I.O. a pretext for the crusade, In joining the C.I.O., the Guild had-according to the publishers—"enlisted as a partisan in a tremendous public dispute now involving the entire labor movement in this country." Apparently remaining with the A. F. of L. would have made the Guild "impartial" in this "dispute"!

The American Newspaper Guild is now faced with a hard fight to beat back the publishers offensive and to spread and consolidate unionism in the newspaper field. In this struggle, it will surely have the full support of the entire labor

L.N.-P.L. POSITION ON WORK HOUR BILL

(Continued from Page 3)

standards are properly set, will go far towards correcting the whole situation brought about by substandard employment. It would seem advisable, however, to give very careful consideration to those parts of the proposed measure which go beyond the regulation of labor standards. The National Labor Relations Act has set up a machinery for dealing with certain types of labor disputes. The experience under the Act has not yet been great enough to permit a judgment of the need for revision; however, it is naturally to be expected that some such needs will develop. It would seem preferable therefore to keep the legislation now before your Committee out of this field of handling labor controversies or their subject matter beyond the basic limitation of wages, hours, child labor, and "op-pressive labor practices." Those sections of H.R. 7200 which provide for setting of a minimum fair wage and a maximum reasonable work week should be left for future handling.

If the government were now to enter the field covered in Section 5 of the proposed act, several of the specific provisions should be changed. Section 5 (a) lists, for example, standards to be considered in fixing a minimum fair wage. The experience with such standards uner the Transportation Act of 1920 in the railway industry was very unhappy, the breakdown of the labor provision of that act was due in part to the provision of wage standards in the law. The vagueness of the phrasing of these standards and the setting up of some which are beyond the understanding of

The formation of a national maritime federation, composed of all ship and dock unions on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. seemed probable with the announcement last week of a meeting of seventeen maritime labor leaders called by John L. Lewis for July 7.

The meeting, to be held in Washington, will formulate policies for the cooperation of the various organizations with the C.I.O.

While Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, was not invited, it is said that he may be included ultimately since he has conferred with Mr. Lewis and plans another conference soon.

laymen, and probably of many lawyers, would interfere with the functioning of the proposed Labor Standards Board, even the Section 5 were to be adopted.

One other vagueness should perhaps be called to the attention of the Committee. In the definition section of the Act, Section 2 (a) (8) of the bill, the term "labor organization" is so defined as to include agencies which are not genuine labor unions. The definition seems to have been taken from the National Labor Relations Act but, since that act itself deals with the conditions of bona-fide labor organization, its definition did not need to exclude company-dominated organizations. The definition in H.R. 7200 would be improved probably by adding afte the word "work" on line 15, page 4 of the bill as printed, the words "but shall not include any employee organization, association, agency or plant, established, maintained, administered, or assisted by any employer thru any illegal or oppressive labor practice.'

The Fundamental Meaning Of The Bill

The effects of low wages and long hours in American industry are many and serious. The worker and his family are the first and the greatest sufferers but every part of the nation feels directly or indirectly the consequences of low labor standards. If we are to approach our housing problem upon a sensible basis, if we are to attack the problems of crime, of disease and of poverty generally, if we are to make any progress whatever in the stabilization of industry and the prevention or mitigation of the periodical depressions from which we have suffered, we must find some way to raise the wages and hour standards prevailing in industry. Labor organization and collective bargaining are the natural and the most desirable means for bringing about this improvement in standards, but experience has shown us that employers have in their arsenals weapons which can prevent, delay or defeat labor organization. We are properly now guaranteeing to the workers those civil rights which open the way to collective bargaining.

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themselves. It no longer tried to compromise with fascism for the heroism of the Barcelona anarchosyndicalists and P.O.U.M.ists had made surrender and compromise impossible. Casares Quiroga, the Prime Minister who had sought to meet a military uprising by going to bed, disappeared. Manuel Azaña, the President and ex-War Minister who had kept these monarchist generals at their posts for five years until they had completed their plans for revolt, fled to a monastery. The deputies who had filled the Chamber with their lyrical bird cries became silent and for the most part went into hiding or sought safety in Paris. New and more "left" cabinets were formed but without the intervention of parliament. Having failed to give the masses leadership, they were now forced to appeal to representatives of the masses to enter the "republican" government, lest the masses consolidate a government of their own, a government of the committees, a government of the workers and peasants. The republican politicians, those who were not too cowardly to remain, offered to head

Where the workers, for the moment, found their

the government, in order to head off the develop-

ing proletarian revolution.