Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Plot Truce In Spain

Britain Strives To Rule Spain Thru Puppet Military Regime

A proposal for an armistice in Spain, to be followed by "mediation," emerged from official quaremerged from official quarters in London last week and was submitted to the loyalist government at Barcelona and to the Franco regime for consideration. The exact provisions of the proposal are not known but it is understood that the idea of a "national concentration" government, to be composed of bourgeois republicans today in the loyalist camp together with sections of the insurgent leadership, operating under the control of Anglo-French imperialism, was suggested. Plans for a monarchist restoration and even for the partition of Spain, may be included. Such a "solution" would, of course, involve some arrangement with German and Italian interests in

Behind the scenes at Valencia feverish efforts are being made to prepare the way for capitulation in the form of a British-sponsored "compromise." The bourgeois republicans and ex-monarchists, together with extreme right-wing socialists, are particularly active in this work. Among the masses of the people, especially among the rank-and-file socialists and the members of the trade-union federations, these developments have aroused dismay and bitter protest. In the top circles of the People's Front, too, there is growing dissension. The Stalinist leaders are, apparently, very much afraid that the consummation of the Anglo-French scheme would drive them out of power and perhaps expose them to persecution and suppression as the bearers of Russian influence in Spain. A serious shift in the cabinet seems to be in the

The Future of the Wagner Labor Act

By M. PETERS

TN the current session of Congress, one of the most controversial, and certainly one of the most important, problems to come up will be a consideration of various amendments to the Wagner Act. In view of the important part this piece of legislation has played and is playing in the progress of labor, it is only natural that it should become the focal point for attack at this time. Thus it is that the employers are lining up behind the amendments introduced into the last session of Congress by Senator Vanderberg, while the reactionary officialdom of the A. F. of L. finding common cause with the employers in their fear and hatred of the C.I.O., are supporting the amendments to the Wagner Act introduced by Senator Walsh. The C.I.O., too, for its part, tho it has cause to be pleased with the National Labor Relations Act as administered by the present Board, nevertheless has some criticism to make of it and desires some changes in its operations. It will be seen, however, that the C.I.O. amendments are designed to further strengthen and implement the Act by plugging up its loopholes and are thus quite different from either the Vandenberg or Walsh amendments, which are aimed at destroying the act by changing its essential character.

It will be worth while, in discussing these proposals for changes in the Wagner Act, to review briefly its general purpose and its application by the present National Labor Relations Board.

The key to understanding the whole purpose of the Act is found in its preamble: "The inequality of bargaining power between employees who do not posses full freedom of association or actual liberty

of control, and employers who are organized in corporate or other forms of ownership association, substantially burdens and affects the flow of commerce. . . ." Involved in this statement is a direct recognition that the employers, by their economic power and the very fact that they are employers, have an "unfair" advantage over unorganized workers. To equalize this balance and compensate for the advantage of the employers, it is therefore, necessary for the government to intervene directly to make possible effective collective bargaining. This program is the counterpart, in the field of labor relations, of the general program and purpose of the New Deal in bolstering up the capitalist system by balancing off the various "extremes" and keeping them in harmony under governmental super-

That collective bargaining does not, in fact, equalize the bargaining power between capital and labor, that it does not destroy the advantage of the employers under capitalism but merely describes certain limits within which this advantage may operate, is true and important. It is a fact, however, that, as operated by the present Board, the National Labor Relations Act is one of the most significant pieces of legislation, from labor's point of view, ever to appear in this country.

The bitter complaints against and the sharp denunciations of the Wagner Act that have been coming from employer circles are all based on its alleged "one-sided-ness" and "partiality" to labor. Yet it is in this "one-sidedness" that its essential purpose is to be found. To guarantee labor the right of organization for collectivebargaining purposes, the machinery (Continued on Page 3)

THE MAJESTY OF

TESTIMONY was offered that Bridges hit Shoemaker on the head with a gun butt, but, since the indictment stipulated injuries on "the body and limbs" of Shoemaker, Judge Dewell ordered the testimony stricken out. He ruled that the head was not part of the body.—From a news item in-The New York Times, dealing with the trial at Bartow, Fla., of the six former Tampa policemen charged with second-degree murder of Joseph Shoemaker, Florida socialist.

State Labor Board Frames New Rules

Employers are given the power to invoke the aid of the New York State Labor Relations Board in ob taining elections to determine sole bargaining rights, according to regulations promulgated by the State Board last week. This procedure contrary to that laid down in the Wagner Act and applied by the National Labor Relations Board, is likely to prove of great advantage to employers in precipitating elections at times and under circum stances unfavorable to the union

The regulations also facilitate the splitting up of the workers in given industries or plants by mak ing it virtually mandatory to rec ognize small craft groups as bargaining units, no matter what the vast majority of the workers may

The Board also decided that certification of groups as sole-bargaining agents should continue for at least a year, altho this rule may be changed under exceptional circum-

ALP Wins 5 In Council

Second Biggest Party In City; Its Councilmen **All Unionists**

The American Labor Party will have five members of the new City Council of New York City, it became clear last week towards the conclusion of nearly a month of counting of the proportional representation ballots. Another councilman, elected as a Fusionist, has announced that he will work with the A.L.P. group.

B. Charney Vladeck, well-known socialist, was elected from Manhattan and will probably serve as the leader of the A.L.P. men in the council. The others are Michael J. Quill, transport-union leader, and Salvatore Ninfo, I.L.G.W.U. vice-president, from the Bronx, and Louis Hollander, A.C.W., and Andrew B. Armstrong, typographical union, from Brooklyn. Charles Belous of Queens is the Fusionist who has announced his association with the A.L.P.

The new City Council will consist of 26 members—six from Manhattan, five from the Bronx, nine from Brooklyn, five from Queens and one from Richmond. At the moment of writing, thirteen Tammany Democrats have already been elected, with the possibility of one more from the Bronx; one "independent" Democrat; three Republicans, with perhaps one more from the Bronx; and three Fusionists; one of whom, will work with the A.L.P. The A.L.P. will, therefore, be the second largest party in the council and will wield great in-

It is especially gratifying to note that all of the A.L.P. candidates are prominent figures in the New York labor movement and are closely identified with the big trade-union organizations of the

SAFEGUARD YOUR UNIONS AGAINST DISRUPTION!

= An Editorial Appeal =

NEW danger is hanging over the trade | policies and practices? What is their record unions. Completely lost to all sense of responsibility and class solidarity, the official Communist Party has issued the monstrous slogan: "Drive the 'Lovestoneites' out of the labor movement!" They have even made it part of the oath prescribed for new members of the party. In their press and in their declarations, they repeat the same contemptible threat on every occasion.

What does this new Stalinist slogan mean for the labor movement? It means that the official Communist leaders, in response to orders from their superiors in Moscow, are preparing to launch a new campaign of disruption in the trade unions. It means that, in order to get at their political opponents -the "Lovestoneites," the Left socialists or the Trotskyites-they are ready to create dissension and provoke conflicts and confusion among the workers. It means that they have not the slightest scruple in sacrificing the deepest interests of labor for the sake of their own narrow, factional ends. It means that the Stalinist leadership has lost every trace of loyalty to the labor movement and to the working class!

And who are these high-and-mighty powers who have the colossal impudence to arrogate to themselves the right to prescribe for the labor movement who shall and who shall not be part of it—on the basis of whether you do or do not agree with their

in the labor movement entitling them to set themselves up as supreme judges to decide who should be "driven out"?

They are the same people who, from 1929 to 1934, did everything in their power systematically to undermine and destroy the existing unions and to replace them by dualistic paper-organizations of their own

They are the same people who branded the United Mine Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Lad.es Garment Workers Union and all other legitimate labor organizations that they could not control, as "company unions," as "fascist" or "social-fascist" outfits. They are the same people who heaped the filthiese sort of abuse upon John L. Lewis, David Dubinsky, Sidney Hillman and other tradeunion leaders.

They are the same people who openly preached and practised the policy of unionsmashing laid down for them by Losovsky, the head of the Red International of Labor Unions, in the following words:

"That we want to break up the reformist (i.e., non-Stalinist) unions, that we want to weaken them, that we want to disrupt their discipline, that we want to break up and destroy the trade-union apparatus—of that there cannot be the slightest doubt" (R.I.L.U. Magazine, Feb. 1932).

They are the same people who did not shrink even from strike-breaking and scabbing in their mad crusade of destruction against the existing trade-union movement.

They are the same people who stood behind the notorious Trade Union Unity League, that became such a stench in the nostrils of all decent workers.

They are the same people who, for years, bitterly opposed a labor party as an "agency of American imperialism" and then, later on, sponsored the idea of a "labor party from below" to be used against the trade-union movement and the tradeunion leaders.

They are the same people whose shameless hooliganism disrupted the great Madi-

son Square Garden meeting called by the trade unions in February 1934 to express our solidarity with the heroic Austrian working men fighting against fascism.

THE MASK OF "LOYALTY"

In 1934, these American Stalinist leaders were suddenly ordered from above to make a right-about-face in their party policy. Overnight, they began dripping sugary phrases of "loyalty" and "devotion" to the labor movement. In contrast to their former sectarianism, they now became so "broad" as to embrace every reactionary and disreputable element in their trade-union and labor-party combinations. When the C.I.O. was born, their new-baked "loyalty" to the interests of labor did not prevent them from taking a very sceptical attitude towards it, from issuing the utterly reactionary slogan of "a powerful united A. F. of L." or from hampering and obstructing the C.I.O. movement on many fields. Here, too, they suffered a last-minute change of heart and now they try to pass themselves off as the sponsors and champions, in fact, the inventors, of the C.I.O.—not without serious damage to the industrial-union movement. Indeed, to a very large extent, the difficulties in which the C.I.O. finds itself today in a number of situations, are to be traced directly to the criminal irresponsibility of the Stalinites and their allies.

(Continued on Page 4)

Jay LOVESTONE

"Auto Worker and The Crisis"

DETROIT Sunday, Dec. 12 2:15 P. M. Detroit Institute of Arts

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BEWARE OF DEMAGOGUES!

THE country finds itself today in the grip of a deep economic recession fast developing into a new crisis. Steel, long regarded as the most significant barometer of business trends, has fallen from over 90 percent capacity production to about 30 in the course of a few weeks, a decline many times more precipitate than in the dark days of 1929. Automobile production, perhaps even more basic in the modern industrial scheme of things, is following suit. Layoffs are multiplying, unemployment rising, distress spreading. Depression has come around the corner before recovery could really get under way.

Such a situation presents tremendous dangers and difficulties for the labor movement. In such a situation, trade-union leadership means a strategy based on the most sober estimation of the actual relation of forces, a policy of realism, restraint and discipline. It means absolutely no concession to moods of panic or reckless adventurism; it means the greatest vigilance against provocations and pitfalls contrived by the employing class. In short, it means militancy rooted in realism and responsibility.

For the new mass-production unions in the C.I.O. such a realistic grasp of the actualities of the situation is a matter of life and death and for none perhaps, more so than for the United Automobile Workers of America. What, then, shall we say of the recent conduct of the Stalinites and their allies of the "unity" caucus in the U.A.W.—who, for the sake of embarrassing the administration and advancing their own petty, partisan ends, have not shrunk from the most unprincipled demagogy in deliberately fomenting irresponsible outbreaks among the auto workers? To the provocations of the motor magnates and their stool-pigeons, the Stalinites have now added their own factional incitement—all operating in the same direction!

For days, the Daily Worker denied that there really was an economic depression in the land or that it need be considered in fashioning trade-union policy. It is not very difficult for unscrupulous demagogues to drive workers, inexperienced, militant. harrassed by mountains of genuine grievances, over the precipice into the most disastrous adventures. It was under some such pressure that the U.A.W. conference of G. M. locals on November 14 was stampeded into rejecting outright the amendments to the existing G. M. agreement that had been tentatively worked out by the union negotiating committee and the management. It was under some such pressure that the Pontiac sit-down was precipitated, with others in the offing, and a situation created so critical that only the most vigorous efforts of the union administration, aided by the C.I.O., could at all relieve it. For a time, it seemed touch-and-go with the U.A.W. -and the union is by no means completely in the clear even vet!

"The only persons arguing for the acceptance of the contract (at the November 14 G.M. conference)," declares the Daily Worker in its November 16 issue, "... are the Lovestoneites ... The Lovestoneites ... have fashioned a 'depression theory' as their main argument. . . . According to the Lovestoneite the immediate future which will make it impossible for the workers to win any concessions from the big auto corporations." Apparently the depression is a "Lovestonite" invention! It might, perhaps, prove instructive for the Daily Worker editor to read the New York Times, especially the report of Louis Stark in the issue of November 22:

"That is why the C.I.O., thru John L. Lewis, its chairman, has sent word that this is the time for the union to 'take its locals out of the rain,' . . . to 'rake in sail' until the economic recession is over. It is known that Mr. John L. Lewis advised the Martin administration some time ago that an economic recession was on the way and that the best thing to do would be to close up the negotiations with General Motors as rapidly as possible and to use the grievance machinery of the contract to

handle disputes." Having done their best to precipitate a crisis that might have proved fatal to the union and having been balked by the union administration and the C.I. O.—yes, and to some extent, also, by the "Lovestoneites," with their "depression theory" and all—the Stalinist demagogues are now just oozing over with

Federal Ship Control and Marine Workers

By S. J.

New York City A FEW days ago, the press carried a statement to the effect men. While these men could not be that the New York Maritime Coun- subject to court-martial, as cil was petitioning Congress to the officers would be, they would. place all American merchant ship- | nevertheless, come under the same ping under government ownership, status as the crews on light-ships, It so happens that this is also the government dredges, etc., do to-Maritime Commission, headed by are by law prohibited from any eco-

Recently, we had a ship down in ing trial on charge of mutiny. The

Now, on what grounds did Mr. Now, on what grounds did Mr. ing government-owned takes care kennedy order these men put in of everything within the existing irons and finally have them pro- laws. If you don't think so, just secuted? On the grounds that this remember the Algic and the two recent strike, also, two govern- ber this, there will be many more ment-owned ships sailing out of Algics to come. This is the test case New York continued their sailings | this is the precedent! on the grounds that, "as a govern- Now, I cannot believe that Tomment-owned ship, it could not be struck."

York, as you know, is headed and fore know they have been going to led by Communist Party members. sea) can be ignorant of these Tommy Ray, himself a C.P.er, is things. Then what is it? What is the nominal head of the Council. happening? Is it that these men, This Council now proposes to hand after becoming C.P. members, have over all American ships to the gov- gotten so completely under the ment directly. I have given you a ning that party that they have couple of examples above. I ask: completely gone mad? Or just Where are we heading for?

Now, let's see what would happen were we to sail ships owned and controlled by the government directly. Some of us old timers sailed them in the last war. We know. Here is what happens. First, —as an instrument assisting the all officers automatically become members of the Naval Reserve. As such, when any emergency occurs, these officers become subject to direct orders and discipline of the thinking about, doing about it? Navy. Exit the Masters, Mates and Here is a group of men who know Pilots Association! Likewise, the how to fight, how to struggle, have Marine Engineers Beneficial As- had their bitter lessons in sell-outs sociation! Likewise, the American and betrayals in the past. They Radio Telegraphers Association! As threw out their misleaders in the weapons of economic defense, let past. For what? Was it for the alone instruments of class struggle, sake of merely exchanging one set these organizations would simply for another? fade out of the picture. For, in any emergency" (and you need not have war, declared or undeclared, with a foreign nation to have an "emergency"), such as threatened strike, etc., the members of the above organizations, as officers in the Naval Reserve, would immediately be subject to the discifact be part of the nation's naval forces. You can see what all this means. It so happens that two of the above organizations are members of the C.I.O., having obtained

sanctimonious phrases. They, whose "unity"-group spokesmen, Mortimer and Reuther, actually dared to propose to legalize the Pontiac sitdown, now assure us that they are opposed to "spontaneous, unauthorized strikes"! They, who only yeserday denounced the responsible elements in the U.A.W. for urging realism and discipline, now want us to believe in their sudden devotion to union responsibility!

Fortunately, their treacherous double-dealing has been fully exposed. It has become clearer than ver that Stalinist demagogy and factional provocation constitute a menace against which organized labor will have to be on the watch in the difficult days to come.

temporary charters as such.

This leaves us with the N.M.U. commendation of the Federal day. All of which means that they nomic action whatever. It is now proposed in Washing

River Platte the crew of which re- ton, and sponsored by Mr. Kennedy fused to work with scab longshore- of the Maritime Commission, that men. The head of the Maritime a law similar to that governing Commission immediately cabled in- labor disputes on railroads be enstructions to the master of the ship acted. This proposal is fought by to place the crew in irons if they organized maritime labor every persisted in their refusal to give where. It is natural it should be opaid and comfort to the strike- posed and fought against. But what preakers. The crew then turned to is the use of fighting this law and worked the ship. Upon arrival when in the next breath you proin the States the whole crew was pose government ownership of the arrested and they are now await- vessels? If you obtain government ownership of all vessels, you need name of the ship, as you know, is | no law similar to the railroad laws —or any other laws for that matter! The very fact of the ship beship was a government-owned ship, ships sailing out of New York altho privately operated. In the during the last strike. And remem-

my Ray, Lawrensen and others who have been going to sea (some of The Maritime Council of New whom I have sailed with and thereernment to be run by the govern- control of the people who are runwhat is happening out there Under the proposed setup, the N M.U. would be allowed to remain for the same reason and for the same purpose that the I.S.U. was allowed to remain in the last war government to carry out its decisions relative to the crews on their

And what is the rank and file

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By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

More About The Stalinist Pogrom In Spain; Elections In U.S.S.R.

SHORT resume of facts up-to-date:

A 1. The leaders of the C.P. of Spain and of the P.S.U.C. have split the U.G.T., the socialist trade union center, for the sole purpose of removing Caballero and his followers from the leadership of this body altho undoubtedly the great majority of trade union members support Caballero. To begin with, the trade unions influenced by the C.P. refused to pay dues—as a result of which they were expelled. Then, these unions demanded that a new leadership be elected and followed this up with the illegal "election" of a dual leadership. The official leaders of the U.G.T., among them Caballero, are held prisoners in their offices by the police at the instigation of the C.P.

The conservative Republican, Valladares, who fled the country in July 1936, appeared before the Cortes in session since October 1 and gave his oath of loyalty to the Negrin government. In the name of the C.P., La Passionaria has asked the C.N.T. to collaborate with it in the government. We recall that. not so long ago, the C.N.T. was removed from the Valencia government at the demand of the C.P. Furthermore, countless anarchists are being arrested in Spain today while the Communist International is initiating a world-wide campaign of terrorism, accusing the anarchists of working with Franco and Mussolini. Thru such tactics, the C.P. aims to split the C.N.T. and F.A.I. The Politburo of the C.P. of Spain recently admitted that fighting morale is waning. What they failed to state was that this is the result of their counter-revolutionary terror and splitting tactics.

The much-talked of general offensive on the basis of which the C.P. justified the formation of the Negrin government, the formation of a "People's Army" and the abandonment of revolutionary achievements has not yet been launched, tho the republic faces a renewed offensive of the fascists. Austrias, where the miners are fighting with desperate courage, has been abandoned without aid.

THE struggle between the C.P. of Spain together with the right wing of the social-democracy against Caballero continues. At the same time, efforts are being made by the C.P. to draw the leadership of the C.N.T. into the government so as to isolate Caballero and to disrupt the C.N.T.-F.A.I. The terror of Stalinist-Republican counter-revolution continues unabated. Landau (Bertram), actively working with the P.O.U.M. and organizer of a small German anti-Stalin group, The Spark, has been reported "missing." Maurin's brother died in prison because of lack of proper medical attention.

ELECTIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

CTALIN, Molotov, Kalinin, Zhdanov and others have been nominated to run for office in the coming Soviet elections at large factory meetings in Moscow and Leningrad. On this occasion, Stalin, who had hitherto borne the modest title of "Father of the Peoples of the Soviet Union" was hailed as the "Father of all Mankind." "Non-partisan" workers are lavishing extravagant praise on the top Soviet leaders at their own bidding. The "elections" are being run as a mass farce, while the press continues to report new executions of "spies," "saboteurs," "Trotskyites" and "Bukharinites" every day. Different aspects of the same picture!

THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A T the last session of the London Buro held in Paris at the beginning of October, the political parties affiliated to it agreed upon the following eight points as a proposed basis for the international conference to be held in February: 1. For the class struggle against capitalism, the capitalist state, fascism, war and imperalism; 2. Against the People's Front: 3. Against a social-patriotic attitude in war: 4. Support of the struggle for political and economic freedom of colonial peoples; 5. For the defense of the social revolution in Spain; 6. For the defense of the Soviet Union on a class basis and for proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union; 7. For the realization of a workers front on concrete issues; 8. For a revolutionary dictatorship of workers which will smash the power of the capitalist class and provide for working class democracy as a transition from capitalism to socialism.

The draft resolutions of the I.C.O. for this conference have been translated and placed in the hands of its affiliated organizations.

ARE WE READY FOR THE NEXT WAR?

(This is the last of a series of three

articles which together constitute, in abridged form, the report made by Bertram D. Wolfe at a membership meeting of the I.C.L.L. in New York. —THE EDITOR.)

gency? We must frankly admit that we are utterly unprepared for is thrust upon us. For several years now, we have

development of the trade-union foreign policies. attention, we have been drifting for the war machine. so far as this aspect of American life is concerned. We have been tinuation of politics by other drifting on a peaceful tide and means. It is even more than that. the upward movement of the C.I.O., It is a culmination of the politics the upward movement in labor of the preceding period by other

But the time has come, for the must remember that, without the sharpest turn in our relations with sharpening of the class struggle the general political situation in in time of peace, there can be no

the country. Inevitably, given our strength time of war. When war comes, and our inability to engage in in- bear in mind that the government dependent action on a wide enough then at the helm is the main enemy scale, we have been objectively and that the difference between playing the role of the most left Rooseveltian capital and anti-

supporters of the New Deal.

It is our conception that that

War, it has been said, is a con-

FUTURE OF WAGNER ACT AND LABOR DEMANDS

(Continued from Page 1) be available only to the workers or their unions for the purpose of the present position of the craft unions that they must oppose curbing the coercive powers of the

"Unfair Labor Practises"

violation of everything they have stranglehold over the labor movecome to believe to be their "natural ment. Just as the National Labor rights" for, in the thousands of Relations Board has been subject to Labor Board decisions, there have the sharpest criticism from the embeen exposed, and forbidden, most ployers, so has it come into direct of the open and subtle devices by conflict with the craft unions on which employers have always pre- two important questions. The first vented labor organization. Among is the matter of determining the the devices forbidden to an em- "appropriate unit" for collective ployer today are the following: bargaining and the second is the Establishing, or in any way main- matter of employer-coercion of taining, a company union; firing workers into the A. F. of L. in of workers for union activity; in- order to forestall the organizing terfering with workers in their efforts of the C.I.O. and frustrate free choice of a bargaining agency the will of the workers. by direct propaganda, threats of any kind or even by expressing a preference in the matter; moving or threatening to move to avoid unionism: refusing to deal with punished by dismissal. Above all, refusing to bargain collectively does help to remove some of the

way of unionization in the past. initiative is with labor.

Complaints Of The A. F. L.

bitterly against the Act and want the craft or industrial form of bar- great majority in the plant. Especial- ritation for the officials of the A. to see it destroyed by "amend- gaining unit. It is clear from an ly noteworthy in this respect is the F. of L. and they expressed this irment." What is most curious, how- examination of these criteria that decision in Allis-Chalmers Manufac- ritation quite freely at the Denver into effect, the employers tried ever. is to observe how the A. F. the N.L.R.B. could do nothing in turing Company case.

of L. finds itself in substantial this question. It is characteristic unionists that they must oppose anything that gives a stimulus to the organization of the massproduction industries, for it is the organization of the workers in It is certainly no wonder at all these industries that spells their that the employers see in this a doom and threatens to end their

N.L.R.B. quite naturally had to task. Quite the contrary! take into consideration the same strikers on the ground that they organization of the C.I.O.—the And this war presents a number tions are again mobilizing their nave ceased to be workers by going on strike; laying off union mass-production character of of new factors as compared with masses on the slogan of "demomen in the slow period or refusing modern industry and the utter im- preceeding wars. out of proportion to their numbers; bulk of the workers along any but and 1789 and 1848 have passed ir- see if it can get Italy on its side. possibility of organizing the great even dismissing a union man for industrial lines. It was thus pretty revocably into the past, decadent And Italy will be glad to be on proven misconduct on the job if such misconduct is not usually B. should clash with the A. F. of L. with a reasonable intention of appropriate unit, are the following: In the mass-production industries, must end in no organization at all. cism from the craft unionists. reaching an agreement with the the history of labor organization; by and large, there is no history of union chosen by the majority of the workers is considered an "unfair workers is considered an "unfair workers in various departments of being made there now for the first workers in the community of interests of the labor organization, for history is being made there now for the first workers in the community of interests of the labor organization, for history or workers in various departments of being made there now for the first is by no means complete, it can etc.); the functional, physical or be seen that the law, as it is administered by the present Board, continuous and interrelated charac-

as it has been applied, puts it up to plants but occupied at the same A. F. of L. fares no better. If Labor Board, in a number of im- them against the employees will, the workers to use their power to type of work, etc.; the form of or- workers are to be organized at all, portant decisions, has had to order they must first, by repeal or amendobtain effective organization and ganization of the unions in the real collective bargaining. The field, and the like. Where these * Recently, perhaps in an effort to balanced, it has been the policy of | Board has made a number of decithe N.L.R.B. to let the workers in sions hostile to industrial unionism, in order to forestall genuine trade-With this in mind, no one need each department of a plant decide allowing small groups of craft-mindwonder that the employers are for themselves whether they want cd workers to frustrate the will of the urally been a great source of ir-

NOW, I come to the central critics of the New Deal but, at question before us. What of the same time, of supporters of comes a reality, is equal exactly 1847.) our organization in this emer- organizations which were in turn to zero, just as on foreign policy it has been equal to zero since the ponents of imperialist war

must not react as we would against senile leftism when we saw it in the Communist Party.

sime and I say that youthful left- can alter that fact. sm was the hope of the revolucionary movement at that time, will find itself at the other side queer allies, succeeded in making of the barricades as the spearhead the issue appear before their masof counter-revolution and imper- ses as democracy vs. autocracy. alist war mobilization.

the means to put this in the fore-In guaranteeing the right of self- ground of our work—and I recog- tions. organization to the workers, the nize that this is not too simple a

A Difference of Opinion talk of revolutionary struggle in

of those who support the New shortest possible time—to rearm tianity justified ancient slavery, Deal on domestic policies and begin our group, to rearm our class, to idealized medieval serfdom and into the unions, helping a leftward a sharp attack on the Roosevelt rearm those who are genuine op- are quite capable, in case of neces-Now, I recognize that what we the proletariat—even tho with a movement industrianty and point- division of labor is not correct or are saying carries with it the pos- sad face. The social principles of better life. The promise of a Regle step that we have taken in that sufficient. Why? Because as we en-sibilities of new dangers, the dan-Christianity preach the necessity work; we only regret that we have ter into a war period, the very ger of falling over into sterile left- of a ruling and an oppressed class, not done enough of it. But we domestic policies, because of their ism. Well, leftism is always a dan-comforting the latter with the The aspiration towards a Universal must recognize that, thru the log- liberal tinge, become the instru- ger. It cuts off the organization pious wish for the benevolence of City in labor and love holds up the must recognize that, thru the log- ments for the mobilization of the from the masses and it therefore the former. The social principles of proletarians who are battling for tasks that were in the focus of labor movement and the liberals destroys its usefulness. But I want Christianity project the compensa- happiness for all men, declares the to put myself on record as saying tion for infamies into the heavens communist. . . . The progressive that if I have to choose—and we and thus justify the continuation of role of Christianity appears still should not have to choose in an these infamies on earth. The social later yet in the efforts to organize organization with our experience, principles of Christianity explain charity and solidarity, in the atbetween leftism and opportunism- the vile deeds of the oppressors tempt to bring greater justice and would welcome leftism in a war against the oppressed either as peace into the relations between period as the lesser of the evils. I | just punishment for the original | men in the period of feudalism, in we have played an honorable role. In considering this question, we say this not because a movement sin and other sins or else as a test the care shown by the monasteries which has gone thru what our which the Lord in his wisdom and nunneries—those communist movement has gone thru need fall places upon the redeemed. The so- groups, in intention, deed and into such traps. It need not and cial principles of Christianity action. . . . I often like to compare it must not. But I say this because preach cowardice, self-contempt, the cathedral builders, inspired by we must recognize that a time degradation, subjection, humility, the ardent faith which raises mounwill come and come speedily when in short, all of the attributes of the tains and permits great achievemillions of outraged young men rabble, and the proletariat, if it ments, with the builders of the new of military age will react fresh does not want to be treated as a socialist society, the Stakhanofand for the first time with buring rabble, needs its courage and its fites."

> infantile leftism against which we ciples of Christianity are sneaky social principles of Christianity.... capitalism in the period of its de-| the side of England against Ger-

> World War and my own experi- progressive wars. No grave-rob- as Germany will be against Italy ences and those of others at the bing on the part of Earl Browder Second feature: In the last world war, the United States and France whereas opportunism, then as now, and England, despite some very

The allied powers, despite their most earnest efforts in the pre New Features In The Coming War paration for the war, were some-With us, the Leninist position on what less prepared than the Ger war has been a sort of mental man machine. So they prepared a reservation. We know about it, we second slogan—"unprepared powold to it, and we keep it a secret. -ers" against the "prepared powers" From now on, we must discover -therefore the "peace-loving na tions" against the "aggressor" na-

very queer allies that may bob up "Each war must be judged ac- and again despite the imperialist factors which made necessary the cording to its historical character." motivations involved, certain nacracy vs. fascism." England utilizes First new feature: Since 1776, the slogan while it negotiates to

By M. THOREZ

(From an address of the general

France, Daily Worker, November 22,

"The philosophical materialism

of the communists is far from the

religious faith of the Catholics.

Yet, as contrasting as are their

conceptions of doctrine, it is impos-

sible not to see in both that same

generous ardor to reply to the cen-

tury-old aspirations of men for a

human history,' says the Catholic.

By KARL MARX

(From an article in the Deutsche-Bruesseler Zeitung, September 12, secretary of the Communist Party of

"The social principles of Chris-It may be suggested that we can Hoover administration. Consequent- tianity have now had eighteen the magnitude of this task which continue this role which I have ly, it becomes necessary for our hundred years in which to develop. characterized as critical support group to rearm and that in the | . . . The social principles of Chrissity, of defending the oppression of indignation against what they have self-respect, its pride and its sense set up in the law must necessarily this question. It is characteristic this question is characteristic. an outburst of young and fresh needs its bread. The social prin- revolutionary. So much for the

I have not forgotten the last cline can no longer give birth to many if it can get more out of it, -remember Italy's wavering in 1914—because imperialist interests

are the decisive factors, despite pre-war agreements. Only in the wonderland of the Daily Worker does England ignore its imperialist nterests to save democracy and

In this war, again despite some

Italy ignore its imperialist interests to save fascism. Again, as in 1914, the "satiated" owers are mobilizing the masses against the hungry powers with the slogan: "Against the aggressors, a concert of the peace-loving

A third new feature in the present war, and the most complicated one, one that should be thoroly discussed, is that Spain and China and, we can expect, the Soviet Union will be engaged in a defensive, progressive and revolutionary world war. We have had no adequate discussion even in our own ranks on the complications and problems that this question raises.

(concluded next week)

labor practise." In this list, which a plant (similarity of wage level, time by the C.I.O. The very organ- the Wagner Act, the Board has labor practise for an employer to ization of the C.I.O. is based on the come into conflict with the A. F. coerce his employees to join a community of interests of workers of L. on another account as well. union unless he coerces them to in the different departments and Denied the right to set up com- join an American Federation of ter of the work of the various crafts of a single plant and upon pany unions, the employers have Labor union. . . . If the great labor obstacles that have stood in the branches, employment in the same the interrelation of these crafts in- found the A. F. of L. unions in organizations desire to increase plant or employment by a single to a single industry. And where the many cases to be suitable and very their membership by having em-To summarize: The Wagner Act, employer of workers in different choice is left to the workers, the willing substitutes. As a result, the ployers force their employees into 'agreements" with the A. F. of L. dissolved—agreements that were tional Labor Relations Act." considerations have been evenly conciliate the A. F. of L. leaders, the made hastily without bothering about the consent of the workers cisely what the A. F. of L. chiefs union organization. This has nat

convention. J. Warren Madden,

B. should clash with the A. F. of L. most cases* but decide in favor of the factors which determine the the industrial form of organization, dustrial lines and any attempt to Relations Board, came directly to Board's decision in establishing the which means in favor of the C.I.O. impose the craft form upon them the point in answering the criti-

> A.F.L. Company-Union Strategy Act do not say and they do not In carrying out the purpose of mean that it shall be an unfair ment, cut the heart out of the Na-

> > It will be seen that this is pre intend to have done.

The Employers Attack On The N.L.R.A.

For months after the Act went (Continued on Page 4)

Future of Wagner Act POUM MAKES NEW

(Continued from Page 3)

and, to a large extent, succeeded in tying up its application with hundreds of injunctions and appeals challenging its constitutionality. Since the Supreme Court decision last April upholding the law, this avenue, while not entirely closed, has been less available. Today, unable to use the Act for their own purposes, they are ganging up on the law on another way-by trying to destroy it thru amendments. A mere outline of the Vandenberg amendments shows on the face of it how this would work. These amendments would include among the "unfair labor practises' of the National Labor Relations Act the following: "coercion" to join a union by any worker or any other person; violation of property rights in a strike; compulsory assessments by a union for political purposes; holding of office in a union by a non-citizen; taking part in a strike that has not been voted for by a majority of the workers involved; taking part in a strike to force an employer to break a contract or violate a law; refusal to sign a contract after an agreement has been reached and striking in violation of a contract. In addition to these "unfair labor practhe Vandenberg amendments would permit employers to petition the National Labor Relations Board and force elections at times and under circumstances to their advantage and make illegal any agreement between the workers and employers arrived at while the case is pending before the Board. Finally, a union would be punished for any infraction of these rigid restrictions by being forbidden to collect dues! No extended argument need be made against these "amendments". Their purpose is not only to restore to the employers the full measure of all advantages they enjoyed before the Wagner Act but to force back the labor movement to a position of impotence, saddled with all the old obstacles to unionism and with some new ones to boot!

The Walsh amendments to the National Labor Relations Act, endorsed by the A. F. of L., would accomplish the same things by more roundabout means. They would rob the Board of its discretion and its realistic approach on the question of the bargaining unit and force it to declare any craft a separate unit whenever a majority of that craft want it, without regard to the desire of the rest of the workers or to any of the other considerations that determine the course of the Board at present. This would be a way of forcing upon the workers by law the impotence they shook off when they struck out for industrial unionism under the banner of the C.I.O. It would undermine and destroy the labor movement by tying down the mass of workers to a form of organization that makes trade unionism really impossible in the basic industries. Thus do the separate approaches of the employers and the A. F. of L. converge in one common stand to the detriment of labor organization.

Progressive Amendments To The Wagner Act

To defend the purpose and policies of the National Labor Relations Board from attacks from these sources, however, does not mean that we must take the view that all is as it should be and no changes need be made in the Wagner Act. On the basis of the experience of the C.I.O., it is possible and necessary to work out a series of amendments to the Act that will tend to make it even more effective for labor.

First among these necessary amendments must be a definite statement in the Act that a refusal to sign an agreement with a union after agreement is reached is an "unfair practise". Tho this was stated to be the intention of the Act and the President Roosevelt mildly scolded Girdler for his refusal to sign during the strike ir Little Steel, the lack of this definite provision in the Act is a serious shortcoming. Secondly, many of the union-smashing de vices which are forbidden to individual capitalists are being used with impunity by associations of employers, employer-inspired "civic" organizations and local and state governments. The experience of the Maine shoe strikers, the Hershey incident in Pennsylvania and the events during the Little Steel strike, show where the danger lies. The Bethlehem and Weirton hearings now going on are proving that the companies can carry on all of the old "unfair labor practises" thru their domination of the political and social life of whole communities. The Nation al Labor Relations Act may well be amended to cover these situations. Finally, the enforcement machinery is entirely unsuited to getting prompt compliance on the part of employers with N.L.R.B. orders. To enforce a decision, the N.L.R.B. must appeal to a federal circuit court to order compliance

Bernard Rebalsky

David Peltan

Jack Radel

I. Morlinsky

Netsky

Broday

Berman

Bail

ADVANCES

(from the Independent News, Paris)

Barcelona, Spain. EW sections of the P.O. U.M. have recently been established in many districts of Catalonia, in the Aragon, in the Levante and in Castille. We cannot give the names of the places where these sections have been organized, lest they be exposed to the repression to which the party is subject thruout Spain.

Lerida, Spain. At the conferences of the food-workers and wood-workers unions held here recently, the P.O.U.M.ists obtained almost all of the votes against the Stalinites.

court order is not obeyed. But the courts are, more often than not, definitely on the side of the employers and unwilling to enforce a Labor Board order. Even where a lower court does issue an order, there can always be appeals. The five cases before the Supreme Court, today, to say nothing of the large numbers of injunctions a gainst Labor Board rulings, as well as the cases on appeal in lower courts, testify to the crying need for an enforcement machinery that will really work.

In considering the Wagner Act and its application, it should be born in mind that this is but one fragment of the New Deal program and that it has the same fatal shortcomings and the same limitation as does the program as a whole. Under heading, the first point to remember is that neither the Wagner Act nor any other piece of social legislation is free from the Supreme Court threat. The decision of the court last April is no guarantee that, in one of the pending cases, the court may not reverse itself. Furthermore, as long as such legislation passed by Congress must be based upon the commerce clause instead of the welfare clause of the Constitution, there is an ever-present if not everimmediate danger that with the precedent of the Wagner Law established, it may be used against and only then take action if the labor's right to strike because ob-

Comrade

E. Askin

A. Little

Faith

Jim Thorpe

Daisy Sharpe

Judy Simpson

Samuel R. Weintraub

Stalinist Jails in Spain

(We publish below the concluding | resort to a hunger strike—initiated section of the report by a Spanish militiaman on the private prison of the Stalinites in Valencia, the Santa Ursula. The first instalment of the report appeared in a recent issue of the Workers Age.—The Editor.)

Barcelona, Spain

THE worst feature of the prison is the fact that, systematically, there is put at the disposal of the bourgeois prisoners beds, tobacco, soap, etc., while class-conscious workers, deprived of liber ty, are refused all hygienic measures, sleep on the bare ground and are starved.

Who was at Santa Ursula? It the months of March and April, there were doctors, priests, lawyers, business men, people who because of their class ties, were considered enemies. But that soon changed. More and more of these bourgeois elements were liberated Some known and avowed fascists were set free. Others were freed after a trial. And, more and more proletarians arrived—oid members of the Socialist Party, syndicalists members of the P.O.U.M. The change was so marked that it was even discussed by those fascists who remained. And while they, the fascists, were being liberated, the anti-fascist revolutionists had to

viously, strikes "affect" interstate commerce.

And finally, the Wagner Act represents only one aspect of the New Deal program for labor relations. The other, and exceedingly dangerous side of the administration's labor program is the tendency to place labor organization under governmental supervision in some form. Tho this second aspect is not expressed today in the Wagner Act, yet, as part of the program from which the Wagner Act itself stems, it represents a very serious threat, against which labor must be vigilant.

NOTICE

We need, for our files, all available copies of the following issues of the Workers Age: No. 1, Jan. 2. 1937; No. 33, Aug. 14, 1937. If you will send them in to the Age office, it will be greatly appreciated

The Strawberry Mansion Unit (Philadelphia) of the I.C.L.L. greets the

WORKERS AGE

on its eighth anniversary and wishes success in its fight for communist principles

by a group of syndicalists—to protest against their incarceration by the Stalinist G.P.U. and the People's Front government.

But there were, at Santa Ursula, also some bourgeois anti-fascists -aviators, journalists, volunteers at the front. One of them was the Italian emigre who, several years ago flew a plane over Rome and dropped anti-fascist propaganda on the Italian capital. He had come to Spain as a journalist in order better to defend the Spanish cause

Another category of prisonersthe conveyors of arms and planes who represented foreign manufacturing plants. After they would deliver one or two planes or some other material, they would be seized as "spies" or "dangerous individuals." Some inventors who had come from various countries to offer their patents-likewise anti-fascist emigres— after weeks of waiting, met the same fate. Another such "spy" was a Norwegian emigrant, a trade unionist who had brought to Spain a contribution of a million pesetas!

The blow delivered against the P.O.U.M. was thus one of the links in the chain of activity which represented systematic sabotage, even against the interests of bourgeoisrepublican Spain.

It must be added that the corps of prison guards, often the worst elements, frequently found itself incapable of preventing the escape of fascists. More than once, "frat-ernization" between the guards and the fascists took place in the cells. And after the party guards (composed of members of the C.P.) were replaced by the National Guard (formerly the Civil Guard of the monarchy), the latter declared that they had no "political interests" and that they were merely soldiers. This shows the extent of degeneration of a considerable section of the state apparatus on which the Communist Party and the People's Front government rest.

Santa Ursula belongs to the Communist Party. As a prison, it is relieved of all other control, placed outside the prisons of the state. Santa Ursula is one of the numerous prisons of the Spanish C.P. and of its Stalinist inspirers, from one of which Comrade Nin was kidnapped. Only the pressure of international anti-fascist organizations on the Spanish government will put an end to these terrible outrages.

A decisive struggle must be conducted against the terror exercised by the Stalinist clique in Russia and in Spain, a terror which they are trying to introduce into every working-class organization.

Trade Unions!

(Continued from Page 1)

But, amidst all of these sudden and unexplained turns and twists, they have never wavered in one thing: in the promotion of their own narrow, factional aims withou. regard to the interests of labor as a wholein their reckless, unprincipled demagogy with absolutery no consideration for the consequences. To them, the interests of labor mean nothing; they neither understand them nor care anything about them in comparison with their own petty, partisan ends. That is why they have left such an unsavory reputation for criminal irresponsibility and charlatanism wherever they have shown themselves in the labor movement.

THE RECORD OF THE "LOVESTONEITES"

And whom do these people propose to "drive out"? The "Lovestoneites"! Our

Safeguard Your labor movement. While the Stalinites were busy splitting unions and breaking strikes, we were conducting an uph.ll fight to that account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their that account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their that account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account, raise the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account the state of the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account the state of the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account the state of the s.ogan of "driving" ty to create turmoil and dissension in their than account the sta strengthen the trade-union movement thru a spirit of progressivism and militancy a. a time when stagnation and apathy reigned everywhere. We rought dualism and unionsmashing and fought it to a finish. From the very beginning we aligned ourselves with the C.I.O. and the new labor movement arising under its banner, sparing no effort at constructive activity in every field of labor struggle. We have every right to be proud of the splendid work our members have done in the auto workers union, in the I.L.G.W.U., in the rubber, textile, coal, steel and other trade-union organizations. Our record speaks for itself and we confidently refer to the members and officers of any union in which our people are to be found for a certificate of constructive activity. Can those who propose to "drive us out" do the same?

INDIVIDUALS GREETINGS — PHILADELPHIA

N. Fishman

Hannah U.

Sympathizer

A Friend

E. K.

M. Yonselson

George Davies

A Faithful Friend

We have our differences with the leaders of the official Communist Party, sharp differences on practically every question arising in the course of the labor struggle. We regard their general policy on American and world issues as false and reactionary. record is an open book, well-known to the | We regard their trade-union policies and | those unions in which they may find them-

them out of the labor movement; we do not on that account, call them "fascists." We do, not regard ourselves as endowed with the right or the power to legislate for the whole labor movement or to decide who shal. and who shall not belong to it. In the labor movement, there is room for workers of ail sorts of political views and all sorts of opinions as to how the interests of labor may best be served. Thru free discussion and democratic procedure, the rank and file will themselves decide which policies they approve and which type of leadership they prefer. We, on our part have the utmost confidence in the experience and commonsense of the workers!

WHAT IS THE ISSUE?

For the masses in the trade unions, it is therefore, not a question of whether they agree or disagree with us on this or that point, on this or that issue. It is a question of whether they are going to let the Stalinites make their political differences with us the occasion for disrupting and weakening ranks while prating about "unity," as in the old dua, unionist days. It is a question we must all face!

We regard the empty threats and hysterical denunciations of the Starinites with the contempt they deserve. They do not scare us one bit. But we are concerned for the welfare of the trade-union movement. The mad crusade of the Stalinites, while it cannot hurt us very much, can do serious damage to the labor movement by creating dissension and strife in its ranks precisely at the time when, because of increasingly difficult economic conditions, the workers need unity more than ever before. This must not be permitted to occur!

Trade unionists! Safeguard your unions against the Stalinist disrupters! Don't let them undermine the power and unity of your organizations by launching a campaign of extermination against some of the most loya, devoted and constructive elements in the labor movement just because they don't happen to agree with us politically! Show the Stalinites that you don't intend to let them start their union-smashing all over