

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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## CIO Unions Build Council

### Organizations Plan To Coordinate Work In New England

Unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization are planning to coordinate their organizing activities in the New England states through a joint council for that area.

A conference is to be held early in January at some central point and representatives of the C.I.O. and sympathetic unions will be invited, according to Thos. F. Burns, vice president of the United Rubber Workers.

"The C.I.O. is developing so rapidly, there are so many calls for service, that we find it necessary to gather our allies together, find out who and where they are, and then correlate our actions," Burns said.

The entire purpose of the coordinating body which it is planned to establish will be to organize the unorganized, he said, and it is not being established in competition with any existing A. F. of L. organizations.

Besides the Rubber Workers, the United Automobile Workers, the Gas & Coke Workers of the United Mine Workers, the United Electrical & Radio Workers, the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, the American Newspaper Guild, the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Hatters, and several shoe unions which recently approached the C.I.O. with a view to uniting their ranks, are among the unions with special interests in New England which are being invited to attend the conference.

Joint action is also being planned by unions of northern New Jersey.

The United Electrical & Radio Workers, the Industrial Union of Marine & Shipbuilding Workers, the United Automobile Workers and the United Rubber Workers are the unions most immediately concerned with the drive in this territory.

There are some 250,000 workers in this open-shop territory who are eligible to enlist in the C.I.O. unions.

GLENN McCABE



The president of the Federation of Flat Glass Workers, which is now involved in a strike of 14,000

## Ask Teamsters To Aid Seamen

### Curran Addresses 1,500 For Recognition Of Seamen's Picket

An appeal for aid to the striking East Coast seamen was made by Joseph Curran, speaking before a meeting of teamsters and longshoremen. Joseph P. Ryan of the longshoremen and Cashal of the Teamsters' Union were also scheduled to speak but refused to appear on the same platform with Curran. However Ryan did engage in a private argument with Curran outside the meeting hall, and some of the workers gathered round, began a soon-ended skirmish. Curran pointed out that many teamsters had been kept out of the meeting "by the picket line of business agents who came here to put the finger on them." About 1,500 were present, and about 200 teamsters pledged assistance to the seamen by fighting against going thru their picket lines.

On the West Coast, negotiations are being conducted between Harry Lundeberg, head of the sailors' union, and the shipping employers, but against the wishes of Bridges,

## Mooney Case Nears Verdict

### Referee Gets Record Of Case; Road to Supreme Court Now Open

The story of Tom Mooney's and Warren Billings' unjust confinement in California prisons will again become material for nationwide newspaper headlines, on January 4, 1937. On that date the next legal step by Mooney's attorneys will be made. This move will be the presentation by Attorney George Davis of proposed findings of fact. These findings will be presented to Referee A. E. Shaw, who will also be the recipient of counter-findings prepared by the prosecution. From these sets of findings, Referee Shaw will in turn make his recommendations to the State Supreme Court with regard to the innocence or guilt of Mooney.

Thus the climax in the twenty-one year fight for justice for labor's champions is being reached. For if the State Supreme Court should agree with the findings of the Mooney attorneys, immediate freedom would result. Should the decision be adverse, Mooney and Billings, for the first time, will have the privilege of carrying their case to the United States Supreme Court where, it is generally felt, their freedom would be sure to result.

That the interest in the fate of Mooney and Billings continues to be nationwide is evidenced by the large number of letters which pour in on the Mooney San Francisco headquarters and Tom himself in the San Francisco County Jail where he has been incarcerated for the past 14 months while his habeas corpus pleadings have been fought. He is grateful to organized labor for its support and invariably states that without it he would long ago have sunk back into the hopeless oblivion of a lifer going through the motions of a living death.

President of the Maritime Federation. It is the opinion of Bridges that the West Coast maritime workers cannot leave their brothers of the Atlantic and Gulf Ports in the lurch.

## Britain, France to Aid Hitler in Distress; Madrid Curbs Militia

### France Offers Colonies and Britain Credits To Bolster Distressed Nazi Economy; Fear Widespread Unrest Throughout Europe

A NEW MENACE to the beleaguered defenders of Madrid comes now, not from the fascist troops hammering away at Madrid and raining death and destruction from the skies, but rather from the present manipulations of the international diplomats, i.e. from the foreign offices of Great Britain and France. An A.P. dispatch under date of Dec. 26 places the present danger to the anti-fascist fighters very clearly:

"France, Britain, Germany and Italy might unite to force peace in Spain, if Hitler agrees to withhold aid from the Spanish Fascist Government, French Foreign Office officials predicted."

The exact nature of the "peace" becomes a little clearer when the same foreign office officials of the people's front government continue to shed light on the subject:

"France and Great Britain want neither a Communist nor a Fascist State in Spain. We may have to force both sides to cease fighting and submit to compromise in order to save the prestige of European nations which have backed either one side or the other."

With this premise clear in our mind the great danger for the proletariat in Spain, bleeding and dying in the struggle against fascism, becomes clear. In the making is a colossal betrayal of the proletariat and the return to power of the old, discredited counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie—a government so reactionary as perhaps to meet the approval of Franco and his German General Staff.

### What Is Behind Peace Offensive?

For many months the Spanish workers and peasants have faced the armed offensives of the fascists and have finally succeeded in fighting them to a stand-still. A new offensive is about to open against the workers and peasants of Madrid and the prospects for defeating this new offensive—the peace offensive from the direction of Great Britain and France—are not so bright. This is so because the very forces that should stand in the forefront of the fight to warn and prepare the masses for the coming betrayal have themselves become the cats-paws for international imperialist intrigue and the partners of the betrayers of today and tomorrow.

Why the sudden change of heart on the part of Great Britain? Why the extreme efforts at peace and the generous promises of return of colonies by France and the extension of credits to the Nazis by both Britain and France? Is it the Christmas spirit perhaps? Or the threat that 60,000 additional German troops, requested by Franco, might turn the tide against "republican Spain"? Quite other reasons have determined the recent change of tactics by the "great democracies."

### Two Chief Reasons

The present policy of Britain and France is determined by two chief factors. Both are convinced that any large troop movement by Germany now may turn the tide battle in favor of Franco.

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HOMER MARTIN



President of the auto workers union. Has placed a large staff of organizers in the field and is ready for whirlwind organizing drive in the entire industry.

## Auto Union in General Strike Preparations

While negotiations were under way between the United Automobile Workers and the General Motors, announcement was made of the settlement of two strikes in auto parts factories. The Kelsey-Hayes plants, where a "sit-down" strike had been conducted for two weeks, was won as a complete victory for the union. In addition, 1,800 workers of the Aluminum Company of America won favorable terms for a strike settlement.

Homer Martin, president of the UAWA held a conference, reported as "amicable" with William Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, in order to negotiate an agreement.

Knudsen had made a "suggestion" to the effect that agreements would have to be on a plant to plant basis rather than between the union and General Motors as a whole. This was deemed unacceptable as "piecemeal bargaining." John L. Lewis, speaking for the C.I.O., pointed out that the workers of the various plants would thus be set one against the other, whereas all General Motors employees have common interests.

## ZIMMERMAN SEES CIO AS HOPE OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

(We are glad to publish in our columns the following article by Comrade Charles S. Zimmerman. The article first appeared in the Journal of the Dressmakers Progressive Group of Local 22, I.L.G.W.U.—EDITOR.)

By CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

BENEATH the seething surface of turmoil and confusion, we can already see the American labor movement taking new shape and form, adapting itself to meet the challenge of industrial conditions. The present conflict in the labor movement is no mere clash of individuals but a direct reflection of deep changes in industrial conditions. Modern industry has undergone fundamental structural changes in the last generation. Large-scale mass production holds undisputed sway thruout the most

important and basic industries of this country; old-line craft skills no longer play the role they once did; as a result, the working class has fundamentally changed in composition and character. Yet, until recently, the labor movement had not even begun to react to these developments. In an age of airplane and radio, it remained at the old horse-and-buggy stage of craft unionism, seemingly content to vegetate in the same old rut.

### Only Road to Organization

The turbulent months of 1933 and 1934 forced organized labor to sit up and take notice. It became perfectly clear that only a labor movement organized along industrial lines could hope to survive and grow under the new industrial conditions. Industrial unionism had been advocated for many years by the radical elements in the labor

movement but now it was no longer a more or less academic question of the "best" or "most desirable" form of unionism—it clearly became a question of the only form that could hope to stand up in most of America's big industries. As long as the great masses of the workers continue to be unorganized and unionism remains confined to a few islands in a vast sea of the open shop and the company union, the trade union movement cannot possibly hope to keep the gains it has made or even to maintain itself. But to spread unionism to new fields means to organize along industrial lines, along lines determined by the very nature of modern industry itself. By 1935, the A. F. of L. had come face to face with this question of life or death—life thru adaptation to new

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# Zimmerman Sees CIO As Hope of U.S. Labor

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and consent of the official leaders of the A. F. of L., if possible, but against their resistance and sabotage, if necessary. This is the very opposite of dualism; it is really the best contribution to the strength and unity of the whole labor movement.

Progressives naturally take their stand without reservation for the C.I.O. We do so because we realize that the C.I.O. represents the future and that its program is the only one that can bring strength and victory to the trade union movement. We do so because we understand that the issue of in-

dustry unionism, of such paramount importance in itself, is at the same time the symbol and the center of a new and broader progressive outlook in the labor movement, a philosophy embracing militancy, independent political action and many of the other things we have championed for so many years.

We do so because we firmly believe that the way of the C.I.O. is the way of sound unity in labor's ranks, unity based on genuine democracy and industrial unionism.

We do so because we see that the C.I.O. is showing thru deeds how the millions of unorganized workers may be brought into the ranks of organized labor so that the trade union movement may come really to represent the great masses of the American working class!

## TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

**T**HERE are near-sighted people who still level the charge of splitting and disunity at the Committee for Industrial Organization. The best answer to these charges is the front page of every newspaper in the country. There is not a single strike movement of any significance in which the CIO is not rendering assistance, there is not a single organization drive on foot in which the CIO is not involved. Can the well-meaning friends of Green, Wharton and Woll say the same for the A. F. of L.?

And as for the development of a spirit of solidarity among the workers of the various industries involved, we have to go back many decades to find a similar situation. Hard working auto workers in Flint cheerfully walk five miles morning and evening in order to back the bus drivers; garment workers chip in many tens of thousands of dollars to help organize steel; auto workers make common cause with the flat glass workers striking in Pittsburgh, and with the rubber workers in other centers; the brawny arm of the miners union is ready to strike out in support of the auto workers fighting for recognition by that giant General Motors; garment workers—"needle pushers"—the seamen called them—are in the forefront of the fight to help the striking seamen; in New England the CIO unions set up a regional council to coordinate the numerous organizing activities going on and to answer the increasing requests for assistance from craft unions and unorganized groups; and all gain in morale and strength as a result of this heartening display of working class solidarity which many thought had shriveled and died in the poisoned atmosphere of class collaboration and craft division.

Let the enemies of the CIO continue their impotent slanders. The CIO is building the trade union movement at a pace which bodes well for the future.

The continued successes of the CIO in the organization of the steel workers is causing serious worry in the ranks of the employers and their spokesmen. Thus the Herald Tribune (Dec. 22, 1936) sees the situation as follows:

"... the more interesting question at the moment is not what the steel industry is going to do about it, assuming it is wise enough to continue to sit tight, but how the news will be received by the craft unions dominating the American Federation of Labor. From the sentiments expressed at the recent convention of the Federation one would expect any intimation that Lewis was succeeding in his drive, to rouse their opposition and jealousy in corresponding degree. One can see the split growing wider as Lewis marches on with a final resolution and MARSHALLING OF CRAFT FORCES TO DEFEAT THE LEVVIS STRIKE. IF HE CALLS ONE."

In so many words the Herald Tribune pledges the American Fed-

# Steel Company Stores Keep Workers Wageless

**PITTSBURGH (UNS)**—Cases of American steel workers who have not received any cash wages for as long as 14 years, are reported in an exposure of southern mill conditions published in *Steel Labor*, official organ of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee.

The explanation is the company stores—called "skin-me" stores by the employees—at which the men are compelled to deal. Wages are docked to pay the bills at these stores before the worker receives any cash.

In some 20 pay slips picked at random from hundreds supplied to the S.W.O.C., the average cash received amounts to about \$5. Most of these came from the Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Co., a United States Steel subsidiary. In one independent steel company, profits from the mill itself during the depression years, according to *Steel Labor*.

In the 20 cases referred to, the steel workers had coming to them a total of \$1,011.28 for the two-weeks pay period. Total deductions, or "stoppages," amounted to \$895.69. This means that those 20 workmen took home to their families what was left—\$115.59, or an average of \$5.78 for the needs of their families.

The practice of getting back a

worker's wages through company stores was rampant in the coal fields, until union organization won for the workers the right to purchase where they pleased. United Mine Workers contracts now have written into them the provision that employees do not have to deal with company stores nor do they have to live in company-owned houses.

**BALTIMORE, Md. (UNS)**—The big Sparrows Point plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., is fast becoming organized, with close to 2,000 employees having joined the Amalgamated Assn. of Iron, Steel & Tin Workers in a period of three weeks.

Company union representatives are showing a friendly interest in the union drive of the Committee for Industrial Organization and a number have joined the union.

"cannot allow themselves to be the victims of fascist oppression. They cannot permit the Pope, SO ILL-ADVISED, to drag them into the destruction of trade unions and the loss of their civil liberties."

The Pope, you notice, is merely ILL-ADVISED! Catholicism is organized religion, as such, are no longer considered as having a stake in the present system—be it bourgeois democratic, absolute monarchist, or fascist (Austria). All Christians, Catholics included and even preferred, must be won for the people's front, not as workers, but as Catholics and Christians. Thus, Harry Gannes ends his column with the following paragraph: "We are sure that in the coming fateful year for humanity the Catholic peoples, plagued by Fascism, facing the threat of war everywhere, will unite with Communists, Socialists and anti-Fascists in greater force than ever before to defeat and destroy mankind's greatest enemy, Fascism."

But of chief interest is the greeting from Dorothy Day of the *Catholic Worker*, the Pope's low-brow organ in the United States. We reprint it in full:

"The Catholic Worker joins in an appeal for democracy and peace and therefore asks you to join in a PROTEST AGAINST ALL DICTATORSHIPS—FASCIST AND BOLSHEVIST; AGAINST ALL SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTY—FASCIST AND BOLSHEVIST. That includes freedom of religious propaganda, education and organization—AGAINST ALL WAR, WHETHER IMPERIALIST, CIVIL, OR CLASS. Merry Christmas." (our emphasis)

The *Daily Worker* printed this piece of Catholic duplicity without so much as a word of comment or criticism in reply.

Even the vicious attack upon communism and the labor movement in the course of the Pope's speech received the most circumspect comment: "The Catholic masses," says an editorial,

Such views have nothing in common with working class thought, let alone that of a revolutionary party. It is a direct result of that infectious disease known as the people's front which is undermining and devitalizing the entire labor movement. Proletarian revolutionists turn from such drivel with a feeling of disgust.

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**B**Ryant 9-0127

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# THE ROAD TO VICTORY IN SPAIN

The following article is reprinted from the November 1936 issue of "Der Internationale Klassenkampf," official organ of the International Communist Opposition.

## I. THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

**S**PAIN has a population of about 28 million and in comparison with France or England is a backward country. For centuries it lived completely isolated from the rest of Europe but despite that, the proletariat of all lands feels instinctively that the Spanish civil war has great international significance. What is involved in Spain is the next step of the proletarian revolution in Europe. This working class feels more or less clearly. This would be totally inexplicable if the whole issue were the existence of one, more or less unimportant, bourgeois republic in Europe. But whether or not proletarian revolution is to conquer a second European country is an international question of primary importance, even if this country does not include one sixth of the earth nor have the same political importance as France, Germany or England. A victory of the proletarian revolution in Spain would signify, the placing of Europe in the vise of socialist revolution between the Soviet Union and Spain. It would provide a powerful stimulus for the development of the proletarian revolution in the rest of Europe. It would indicate that, after the severe defeats in Germany and Austria, the curve of world revolution was again rising. The victory of the Spanish revolution would provide the stimulus not only for Europe but also for the colonial revolution in North Africa.

This evaluation is substantiated by the actual behavior of the international bourgeoisie. This behavior makes evident how the international bourgeoisie places its general interests in counter-revolution, its universal class interests above the concrete imperialist interests of the individual capitalist state. Under the facade of the bourgeois republic the international bourgeoisie sees one elementary fact: in Spain the workers have arms in their hands and under their own leadership are fighting for their class interests. Hence in a final analysis, the French and English bourgeoisie, despite their differences in approach, agree with the position of the Italian and German bourgeoisie in their struggle against the victory of the Spanish working class, against the victory of the proletarian revolution. Hitler and Mussolini give direct support to military-fascist Spain. France and England give support by indirectly blocking revolutionary Spain. The united front of the international bourgeoisie against the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain is a fact. This is in no way altered by the fact that a Social-Democratic premier heads a people's front government of France, which carries thru the policies of the French bourgeoisie. To hide this fact, to foster the deception that the bourgeois governments in respect of their attitude towards Spain are aligned on the basis of their attitude to bourgeois democracy or to fascism, can only serve the class enemy.

The revolution in Spain, reaching its sharpest form in the stage of civil war, is the acid test for the Second and the Third Internationals. With revolutionary thoroughness the fires of Spanish civil war are putting to the test the reformism of the Second International, the people's front line of the Third International, and the policies of the anarcho-syndicalists. The Spanish revolution is therefore of far-reaching significance in the further orientation and grouping of the international labor movement.

## II. REVOLUTIONARY POLICY IS DECISIVE FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE WAR CAMPAIGN

"The next task is the military defeat of the enemy. All for the victory at the front." This is self-evident but must be properly understood. If it is meant that correct revolutionary policies are of secondary consideration and can be postponed until after the military victory it is a fatal error.

Military victory in the civil war is 90% dependent on a consistent, bold revolutionary policy. The concrete problems of the civil war in Spain demand such conclusions quite apart from general considerations.

What are the fundamental problems? On the side of the military-fascists is the regular army of greater numbers and superior arms, led by trained staffs (even tho of doubtful quality), supplied by Germany and Italy with arms, munitions, aviators and shock-troops. But this army has no

mass base in the country outside of Navarre.

On the other side: inferiority in arms, qualitatively and quantitatively; no unified command, the combatants, in the main, having had no military training. But they have a broad mass base in the country and an almost inexhaustible reserve of man-power. Only a bold, thoroughgoing revolutionary policy can equalize, yes, even reverse this military relationship. Regular armies have in the past been defeated by poorly equipped and trained workers and peasants, only under one condition—they were disintegrated. Only a revolutionary policy can disrupt such a force. Once such an army is disintegrated it supplies the badly needed arms, otherwise these are not forthcoming. (This, of course, does not preclude the intensive utilization of all other opportunities for securing arms. The former method, however, is decisive.)

Only a consistent revolutionary policy can supply the workers and peasants with the necessary military "morale" to insure their victory.

The question of unified command is not simply a technical or organizational one—again, it is a question of revolutionary politics. It is a problem dependent on the consistent class character of the leadership—political and military.

Unified military command is possible if it is based on the confidence of the class-conscious section of the fighting forces of the workers. It can only arise out of the very midst of the fighting forces themselves as their organ of expression.

Only a bold revolutionary policy can mobilize the large mass of agricultural laborers and poor peasants, organize partisan warfare in the rear of the enemy, extend and intensify it; build up new fighting reserves for revolutionary offensive purposes; assure the necessary supplies and hamper and tie up that of the enemy.

Revolutionary policy is decisive for the victory at the front.

## III. WITH THE POLICY WHICH MADE POSSIBLE THE INSURRECTION VICTORY IS IMPOSSIBLE

The policy necessary for victory is therefore the very opposite of the five-months-old people's front policy which made possible the insurrection of the fascists.

The most important objections to the policies of the people's front are the following:

- a) Practically the entire officers' corps of the regular army, well known as counter-revolutionary, participated openly on the side of the counter-revolution and made long range preparations for the revolt. Instead of making these generals and other officers harmless, they were at most sent to Morocco, the Balearic Isles, etc. where they could proceed with their conspiracies without interference. Why? Because the left republican people's front government did not dare disturb the bourgeois class army; it hated and feared to arm the workers, the only way in which the bourgeois class-army could have been shattered and replaced by a revolutionary army of workers and peasants; because the left republicans were in deadly fear for the very existence of the bourgeois republic which depended for its continued life on the counter-revolutionary officers.
- b) The revolt could be planned in Morocco only because the left republicans feared, to the very end, to grant independence and the full right of self-determination to the Moroccan people; to renounce all rights to Spanish colonial domination in Morocco. (And this has continued to this very day!)
- c) The body of the regular army could be led into the insurrection because the left republicans continued their pitiful agrarian reforms instead of opening the flood gates of the agrarian revolution for the benefit of the land workers and small peasants. The regular army consists in the main of the sons of peasants. The agrarian revolution alone could break the bonds of military discipline which tied them to their officers and bring them over to the working class.
- d) The hindering of the agrarian revolution divided the workers from the peasants on the land and split the spontaneous revolutionary activity of the peasantry.
- e) The left republican government came out against strike actions by the workers, limited the extra parliamentary mass struggle, did not even stop at the use of force against the striking workers and their leaders and thus led to splitting and sharpening of contradictions among the workers.
- f) The political, economic and social position of the church was not touched by the left republicans.

This made it possible for the church to participate unhindered in the preparations for the revolt.

g) No inroad had been made on parliamentary democracy as such which can be used as an open tribune for counter-revolution.

h) However, censorship and martial law continued in force and were used against the working class.

i) The rotten bureaucracy, at best incapable, and mostly counter-revolutionary, remained undisturbed and planned the revolt together with the officers and priests, backing the big capitalists and large landowners.

But the left republicans could govern only with the support of the social democrats and the official Communist Party in parliament and in the country at large. The feeble criticism, the very demands which these parties made upon the government, had to remain ineffective, and even misled the laboring classes because they remained a matter of words which these parties contradicted with their deeds.

The people's front policy was only a new edition of the coalition policy with the bourgeois republicans which the social democrats had resorted to at the beginning of the Spanish revolution. The latter policy had resulted in the "two black years" in which the right wing regime was reconstructed in parliamentary form, from 1933 to 1935. There is only one difference,—under the name of people's front the official Communist Party also participates and both (social democrats and the official communists) in the beginning left all ministerial posts to the left republicans. The abstention from acceptance of ministerial posts is a mere gesture which in no way changes the nature of this coalition with bourgeois parties, but which helps to ease their troubled conscience.

The revolt of the military-fascists on July 19, 1936 is therefore the second collapse of the coalition policy with the bourgeoisie. The speedy, complete and final break with this policy is an absolute condition for victory.

## IV. CONTENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY POLICIES NECESSARY FOR MILITARY VICTORY

The content of revolutionary policy necessary for a military victory is indicated by the concrete needs of the struggle:

- 1. State Power
- In the course of the struggle mass organs of the anti-fascist fighters have been created. In this sense Catalonia is typical and is far ahead of Madrid. The most important of these organs are:
  - a) Militia committees, united in the Central Committee of the Militia of Catalonia. This Central Committee is made up of delegates from the UGT (reformist trade unions), CNT (anarcho-syndicalist trade unions), United Socialist Party of Catalonia (Third International), POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity—the Maurin party), the Union of Rabassaires (tenant farmers and small peasants).
  - b) The economic council (consejo de economia) bases itself on the factory committees and the trade unions, and carries thru workers' control of production.
  - c) The revolutionary committees or people's committees in the villages which organize the expropriation of the large estates.
- Parliament has been overhauled since the events of July 19. Today it is no more than a rump parliament (the bourgeois right wingers were expelled) and does not represent actual class relations. Its continuation or rehabilitation has no meaning other than a counter-revolutionary one.
- In reference to the remaining inherited bourgeois state apparatus, its role in the civil war is clarified in the following cry of distress in "Mundo Obrero" of September 26, 1936, in an article dealing with the defense of Madrid:
 

"... The enemy has his capital in Madrid. In the same manner as the enemy built his defenses in the Guadarrama Mountains and armed his forts, so he also well fortified inside of the state, in every official department that he considers important, with a secret band of traitors, provocateurs, agents and conspirators..."

Therefore that apparatus must be destroyed which, in the civil war between the working class and the propertied classes, becomes a nest of treachery. A state power must be constructed based upon the class organs of the workers, militia and peasants. This appears as an elementary problem of defense.

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# SOME PROBLEMS OF THE LABOR PARTY

By WILL HERBERG  
THINGS are stirring in the American Labor Party again. Already definitely established on a permanent basis, the new party is now passing thru a transitional period, a period of stock-taking and stabilization, a period in which organizational foundations will be laid and political principles more or less fixed. The next few months are, therefore, of cardinal importance for the future of the new movement.

We are all moving in uncharted seas, more or less, when we tackle such problems. For our American experience with labor parties, as practical, functioning organizations, is so limited, both in extent and scope, that to transfer it automatically to this state would be altogether out of question. We have to face our own situation here with an open mind and, in a tentative experimental manner, try to adapt the party's organizational principles to its fundamental tasks in the present phase of its development. Nevertheless, there are certain basic ideas emerging from the experience of the labor party movement at home and abroad that are of universal importance and that cannot safely be ignored or forgotten in our particular case.

**Form Follows Function**  
It would be a grave mistake, it seems to me, for the A.L.P. to strive to model its organization too closely along the traditional lines of political parties in America. For the A.L.P. is so utterly different from other parties in its nature and its mission that any such attempt must necessarily lead to futility. Form follows function. It is the function of the old parties to keep the people in a state of political apathy and thoughtlessness for the greater part of the year only to stir them up, at election time, to a high pitch of excitement with carefully contrived slogans on what pass for "issues" in American politics. It is the function of the old parties, in short, to bring the voters to the polls, have them vote the "right" ticket and then get them to sit right back and forget about politics until campaign time rolls around again. For this function, the old parties of capitalism are admirably fitted!

But the A.L.P. is a different kind of party altogether. It wants to get votes, naturally, and a lot of them, too. But its main and underlying mission is to arouse the masses out of their customary apathy, to educate them politically, to stimulate a real, all-the-year-around interest in politics, to give leadership in political action. Once

the campaign is over, nobody expects the Republican or Democratic parties as such to have anything to say on vital political issues, on the WPA slashes, civil liberties in labor struggles, the menace of war and fascism, for example; these parties are nothing but vote-getting machines and everybody knows it. But hundreds and thousands of workers do look to the A.L.P. for guidance. And the A.L.P. must be so organized as to allow it to react promptly and effectively to the endlessly shifting political situation. It must be so organized as to endow it with that political vitality and alertness which an independent party of labor must have if it is to fulfill its mission.

**Must Be Democratic**  
A labor party is necessarily a democratic party, again in contradistinction to the old parties of capitalism. For the power of a labor party depends primarily upon the consciousness and activity of its rank and file. In laying down its permanent organizational form, the A.L.P. will do well, therefore, to keep in mind the urgent necessity of offering full scope for the self-activity of the membership, of involving the membership directly and intimately in the determination of party policies and the selection of party leadership. At bottom a labor party is essentially an independent political federation of trade unions. One of the most promising features of the A.L.P. is the fact that it was born and remains today a party growing out of, based upon and controlled by the progressive unions in this state. It is, therefore, natural to expect that the permanent structure of the A.L.P. will adequately reflect this pre-eminence position of the trade unions at every stage of its organization, assembly, district, county and state.

**Question Of Eligibility**  
The trade unions do, indeed, form the basis of a labor party but experience has shown that, if it is really to become the all-embracing and representative party of labor it should be, it must throw its doors open to all sections of the working class movement and allow the affiliation of all types of workers organizations, provided only they are genuinely labor in character and agree to accept the program of the A.L.P. and abide loyally by its decisions. The Workers Age has already (in the issue of December 12, 1936) commented on the ill-advised decision the A.L.P. is said to have made to bar members of the Communist and Socialist parties from its ranks. Such an attempt would, in

my opinion, work serious damage to the labor party movement, not because, as the Nation so absurdly maintains, it would tend to keep out middle class elements and thus hinder the consummation of a People's Front in America, but because it would rob the A.L.P. of the most class conscious and active elements in the labor movement, of those precisely who are most devoted to the labor party idea.

It is to be hoped that the A.L.P. leadership will not wait too long before seeing its way clear to wards rectifying an error that may prove costly in the long run.

**Role Of Youth**  
It is a good sign that vigorous steps have already been taken to set up a Youth Section of the A.L.P. For rapidly increasing numbers of young people in factory and school are becoming accessible to the call of labor and to the appeal of a labor party. For the A.L.P., on the other hand, nothing could be more valuable at this time than an influx of such young men and women, with their indomitable idealism and energy. If only it is allowed enough elbow-room to work in, if only it is granted that autonomy which any youth organization must have because of the nature of the people it deals with, the Youth Section is certain to prove itself a really significant force in the labor party movement.

Insofar as it can be done, it seems to me, the structural set-up of the A.L.P. should tend to strengthen and confirm its political independence, its complete separation from the old parties of capitalism. It is hardly open to dispute, for example, that there should be a constitutional provision obliging candidates on the A.L.P. ticket to be members of the A.L.P. and to sever any connections they may have with either of the capitalist parties. In the course of the last campaign, spokesmen of the A.L.P. repeatedly declared that the endorsement of Roosevelt and Lehman would be the last "exception" of its kind. It is now time to embody this pledge in official form.

I must admit that all of the ideas presented here are somewhat general and perhaps even random in character. But I believe that they raise questions that should be considered carefully in planning the future of the party in which we all place such hope. Let us remember, too, that what we do here is not for ourselves alone. As the Justice so correctly emphasizes, "labor all over the country will keep a keen watch on New York, ready, let us hope, to follow its example along the lines of true independent political action."

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# ORGANIZING STEEL UNDER WAGNER LAW

By J. BROWN  
THE present "economic recovery" in the United States is marked by a deep wave of strikes. Although this recovery is characterized by a continuation of a serious unemployment condition, an uneven increase in production indices with capital goods industries still lagging, a tremendous public and private debt load, and a deflated exports market, the existence of a new stage in the economic cycle must be recorded as an objective fact. The business upturn has brought in its train a diverse assortment of strikes from "sit-in" to "lie-down" affairs. Furthermore, the industries involved in the strike wave range from mass production centers through the lighter consumption goods industries up to the governmental WPA projects. A new era in the American trade union movement opens up before us as this present upsurge begins to take on national and inter-industrial forms.

**No Reliance On Legal Action**  
The Steel Workers Organizing Committee has brought charges against Carnegie Illinois, an important subsidiary of United States Steel Corporation, before the National Labor Relations Board. The latter, in its own right, has concurred on a number of the charges as submitted by the CIO organization. The main charge preferred concerns itself with the attempt of U. S. Steel to interfere with the self-organization of employees in the Carnegie-Illinois plants. The second accusation deals with the attempt of U. S. Steel to put through its 10% wage increase and the cost-of-living index for the adjustment of wage scales through its company union steps set-up without submitting its offer to the thousands of employees. The CIO further states that "other charges contained in the complaint were that all expenses of company unions are paid by the company; that newly-hired employees automatically become members of the plan and that the company does not advise its employees in the mills of the existence of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; that no opportunity is provided for employees to cast votes on important problems such as wage agreements and for submission of disputes in arbitration; that elections are held on company property; that foremen and superintendents openly ascertain the names of employees who have failed to vote in a plant election."

U. S. Steel, through its very "learned" attorneys, attempted to secure a postponement but failed three times. Their strategy was to delay until such time as the Supreme Court hands down its decision on the whole question of the constitutionality of the Wagner Labor Act. Having failed in this, the U. S. Steel Corporation is preparing to utilize every legal defense to prevent any adverse action. This means that in the event of a pro-labor decision by the National

and the functioning of the National Labor Relations Board has introduced an element that was not present in past labor history. The present stage of state capitalism in America has begun to effect decisively the relationships of the organized labor movement to capital. The government has assigned, to it, by law, the right and the power to arbitrate or mediate disputes between labor and capital. In the present attempt to organize the steel industry the law has begun to play an active role in determining the status of the unions and the company unions.

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# EUROPE TODAY

By LAMBDA

THE personal side of the conflict between Edward VIII and Mr. Baldwin, i.e. between the monarchy and parliament is of slight significance. The political side of the struggle is of great importance. The question of marriage was not the real cause of the crisis, but it provided an extraordinarily favorable opportunity for the parliamentary government to curb the lust for self-glorification of Edward VIII. The latter had recently begun to work on the nerves of the government, parliament and awaiting the proper moment to put in their work.

The malicious arbitration plan of the English and French governments is totally futile in the light of the developments on the economic and political field and also because of the sharpened class contradictions resulting from the civil war. It is nevertheless a manoeuvre aimed at the Spanish revolution. The international working class must come out against this manoeuvre in the sharpest manner. Just as in the beginning of the conflict, the Soviet Union is unfortunately, again showing dangerous and harmful vacillations, evidently under the pressure of England and France. These vacillations expressed themselves in the recommendation of the Soviet Union in the London Committee that all parties end the sending of volunteers to Spain. Such a step can only serve to encourage the "bourgeois-democratic governments," especially England and France, to make more difficult the sending of volunteers to Spain. It is a certainty that Germany and Italy would not for a moment consider themselves bound by such a proposal. The international working class must openly criticize and reject this error in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and reply to it by strengthening the aid for the Spanish revolution. The proper answer of the Soviet Union should have been to inform Germany and Italy that every shipment of German or Italian troops would be answered by larger levies of Soviet volunteers, something that the Soviet Union is really in a position to do.

**The "Opposition" of the French C. P.**  
The attack of the French Communist Party on the Spanish policy of the people's front, in the form of speeches outside of parliament and the demonstrative abstention in parliament, has again been followed by a pitiful retreat. The representatives of the Communist Party have declared that they will give, just as before, "loyal" support to the government of Blum. And just as before the CP is curbing, with all means at its disposal, the extra-parliamentary activities of the masses, as well as its political and economic actions—the only means whereby the government might be led to change its policy on Spain.

The danger in this so-called opposition of the French Communist Party is a double one. First, it sidetracks the possibility of a real struggle against the Spanish policies of the government and limits the activities of the workers to meaningless deeds, useless demonstrations and empty speeches. One can in truth say that with the present mood of the French working class only the so-called opposition of the Communist Party enables the Blum government and therefore the French bourgeoisie to proceed with its policies of rendering indirect aid to the militarists and fascists in Spain. If the Communist Party continues this policy it will not have the masses behind it even when it does determine to change its policy into one of real struggle. After pursuing such a dishonest remotion toward socialism, the removal of the Barcelona police president, a member of the Esquerre, shows that there are counter-revolutionary tendencies among the left republicans who are

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# Soicalization of Industry In Spain and POUM Stand

The following article is reprinted from the November 4 issue of "The Spanish Revolution," official English bulletin of the POUM published in Barcelona.—Editor.

One of the most important problems of the revolution behind the lines is that of the collectivization of the means of production and exchange. The success of the working class in the new social order depends to a large extent upon the solution of this problem.

There are two opposite tendencies which express themselves in the approach to this question. One holds that it is necessary to win the war before treading the path of socialist reform, that is to say that they wish to maintain the "status quo" as before the 19th of July. They desire to postpone the capitalists who have lost their property.

The other tendency, that of our own party, holds that the armed struggle of the workers against fascism at the front should be synchronized with the revolution behind the lines. Our delegate to the Economic Council of Catalonia, interpreting the line of our party, proposed that no compensation should be paid to the former owners.

Whilst the P.S.U.C. (the united party of socialists and communists affiliated with the Communist International) and the Republican Left upheld compensation, the P.O.U.M. believed that the syndicalist unions should be the ones to take the initiative in the matter of compensation, or if unable to work, social insurance, under the same conditions as other workers.

The C.N.T., or Anarcho-Syndicalist delegates, agreed in principle with our proposal and promised to join with our representatives in opposing the bill but afterwards changed their attitude and voted in the opposite direction. The bill was finally passed, backed by the Left Republicans, the U.G.T. (socialist trade unions), the P.S.U.C. and the C.N.T. This decree grants compensation to the capitalists.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE POUM

It is necessary to organize production and to direct it into such a channel that the only beneficiary shall be the community, the workers, who will also assume the administrative function in the new social order. This means a suppression of the concept of rent which is not earned as a result of labor. The system of social-economic organization of heavy industry shall be collective production.

The substitution of collective for private property as understood by the Council of the Generality, means the collectivizing of the property, that is to say the capital, of large enterprise, while allowing private property in consumption

goods and small industry to remain. The revolutionary force of the working class, now arisen in arms to crush fascism, leads to this change from the economic and social structure which hitherto existed. One of the basic problems raised by this new situation is that of the organization of production, which should put the productive units into operation and regulate their activity according to social needs.

But the collectivization of industry means little if the growth is not directed. Therefore the Economic Council was charged to discuss the foundation of an Industrial and Commercial Credit Bank which would give aid to collectivized industry. It was decided to group industries into large concentrations, so as to assure the maximum returns and to get the best advantage from foreign trade. In addition, the Council was entrusted with the study of the formation of a research organization that would give technical assistance to collectivized industry, thus assuring the maximum efficiency and progress for industry.

**THE DECREE**  
Art. 1. Industrial and commercial enterprises in Catalonia shall be classified into (a) collectivized enterprises in which the administrative responsibility shall rest with the workers employed there represented by a Workers' Council, and (b) private enterprises in which the administration is in charge of the owner or manager, with the cooperation and financial control of the Committee of Workers' Control.

Art. 2. All industrial and commercial enterprises shall be forcibly collectivized if employing over a hundred workers, as well as those smaller than this whose owners have been declared fascist or have abandoned the enterprise. However, enterprises of less than a hundred can be collectivized upon the agreement of the majority of the workers and the proprietor. Those with 50 to 100 workers can be collectivized upon the agreement of three quarters of the workers. The Economic Council can grant collectivization to any other enterprise whose importance to the national economy would not warrant private management.

Art. 10. The administration of the collectivized enterprises will be in charge of a Workers' Council chosen by the workers in a General Assembly.

Art. 11. The Workers' Council will assume the duties and responsibilities of the former Boards of Directors and Managers of the Corporations. They will be responsible in their administration to the workers and to their respective General Councils of Industry.

Art. 12. The Workers' Councils shall be taken into account in the fulfillment of their mission that their productive operations shall fit into the general plan of the General Councils of Industry, thus coordinating it with production as a whole.

Art. 20. The Workers' Council can be fully or partially relieved of its charge by the workers, meeting in General Assembly, or by the General Councils of Industry, in case of obvious incompetence or resistance to the policy laid down for them.

Art. 21. In industries or business not collectivized Committees of Workers' Control must be created.

Art. 22. The Committee of Workers' Control shall control working conditions, finance and production in collaboration with the owners and technicians.

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Art. 24. The General Councils of Industry shall be formed as follows: four representatives from the Workers' Councils, eight representing the trade unions in proportion to the membership of each of them.

Art. 25. The General Councils of Industry shall draw up general working plans of their various industries, leading the Workers' Councils and shall be charged with the regulation of production as a whole.

Art. 26. The decisions reached by the General Councils of Industry shall be executive orders, binding all Workers' Councils and private enterprises.

Art. 27. Each General Council shall keep in touch with the Economic Council of Catalonia to whose policies it shall adapt itself at all times.

Art. 35. Once the inventoried credit balance of any firm has been established and the debts deducted, it will be registered with the Economic Council of the Generality, in order that the balance, if any, may be placed at the credit of the beneficiary "as a social compensation."

Art. 36. In making this compensation a discrimination shall be made between the claims of foreigners and the claims of Spanish owners, whether they be Public Savings and Loan Institutions, Credit Banks, private persons, or Spanish companies. For this purpose, claims will only be considered in cases where ownership dates before July 19.

Art. 37. The social compensation for the foreign owners shall be fully recognized by the Generality. Its value shall be estimated in Spanish money.

Art. 38. The compensation for Spanish owners shall be suspended for later determination.

Art. 39. For the small industries and the commercial establishments already collectivized before the publication of this decree, the Economic Council shall study and propose a just social compensation. To that end the Economic Council shall be open to receive the claims of the interested parties up till November 30.

### PROPOSALS OF THE POUM

The decree proposed by the P.O.U.M. representatives in the Economic Council was the same as the above measure passed by the Generality, with the following exceptions:

1. Article 35. does not say "as a social compensation."

2. Article 36. to 39. were dropped and instead the P.O.U.M. decree read: "Art. 36. The property claims of foreign subjects shall be evaluated and 'paid' in Spanish money."

3. The P.O.U.M. decree included an additional section outlining an "Industrial and Credit Bank of Catalonia to attend the needs and requirements of collectivized industry."

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# The Road to Victory

(Continued from Page 3)

against treason, sabotage and incompetence of the bureaucracy of the bourgeois state. The basis of these class organs is here; they must merely be extended.

**2. Armed Power**  
A unified command, in whose wide powers the workers' militia at the front have full confidence, cannot be created thru an attempt to reconstruct a bourgeois class-army in any form whatever. This was tried by the government of Giral and appears to be continued under the government of Caballero. Such confidence in a unified command can be created only thru the building of a workers' and peasants' red army based upon the workers militia. The road to that end lies in the training of man-power and leaders from the ranks of the militia. categorical subordination of the bourgeois officers to the militia and its class organs.

**The class character of an army is determined decisively by which class is in the leadership of the army.** The reestablishment of a bourgeois class army not only fails to guarantee victory, because it un-

insurgents and to unite the Moroccan struggle for national liberation with the revolutionary forces of Spain. To avoid any international complications it might become necessary to make a declaration that the Spanish government will respect all international agreements as they apply to the rest of Morocco.

**3. The Structure of Economy**  
In a civil war in which the workers and peasants are ranged on one side and the capitalist classes on the other, the levers of economy cannot be left in the hands of the capitalist classes because of its systematic sabotage and treason. In meeting this elementary requirement Catalonia has pursued the systematic road of socialization of large scale industry, commerce, foreign trade: thru confiscation, workers' control of production, etc. Economically Catalonia is the most advanced and progressive section of Spain. The road which Catalonia has taken will have to be followed by the whole of Spain. The example of Catalonia shows that all preconditions for a socialist reorganization of economy are present, that Spain is at least as "ripe" as Russia was in 1917.

The next tasks are the extension, centralization, perpetuation and legalization of these steps by the central government thruout Spain.

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(Concluded Next Week)

## Kelsey-Hayes Men Gain by Sit-Down

By MAC

The scene is the factory yard of Kelsey-Hayes McGraw plant. In the front, at the right, is the employment office. Normally of a morning unemployed auto workers wait here patiently before passing down one side of this gloomy yard to be looked over (and most of them rejected) by the hard boiled staff of the employment manager, before walking out downcast on the other side. This morning, however, things are different. The place is transformed in appearance for the sit-down strikers have decided to decorate it for Christmas. In the middle of the yard stands a huge Xmas tree, decorated in novel and significant fashion. Brake shoes and drums, wheel centres, rims and other parts of the 1937 Ford hang from its branches instead of the usual meaningless baubles. King Henry of Dearborn has been publicly ridiculed by the very auto workers he has exploited and terrorized so long. The long pent up dam has burst with a wave of ironic humor.

### Against Speed-Up

The Kelsey-Hayes strike the second indirect attack on Ford threatened at first to develop into a show down with the Manufacturers Association and Ford backing the Company 100% but finally ended as an armed truce, with the workers having gained at least a toehold for forcing later concessions. The strike developed first out of the terrific speed up which resulted in a sit down in one department during which the company officials in despair called upon union officials to do something about it. The union succeeded in immediately getting for the workers a slowing of the speed up and a minimum wage of 75c for men and women with a promise to negotiate other demands (increases for workers in higher wage brackets time and a half for overtime, union recognition, liquidation of company union).

The company double-crossed the workers on the negotiations and another sit-down took place, but thru the company tactic of sending the men home they were able to get the majority of the workers out of the plant. Six hundred stayed in however and the plant was completely closed, leaving 4,400 outside. For a while the company sat tight. At a rally last Sunday (Dec. 20) of the whole West Side Local it was explained how the Company and Chester Culver of the Mnfrs. Assoc. had met with the union and, rejecting every demand, had stated that negotiations were at an end. The strike committee added that every time Kennedy of Kelsey-Hayes seemed likely to give in on some demand Culver took him out of the room and "straightened" him out. That Ford was determined to have a show down seemed obvious and the union dug in for a long fight.

### Ford Hard Pressed

This week, however, the shortage of parts began to cripple seriously the production at Ford's mammoth plant at River Rouge and Ford (who once threatened to shut down forever if the country went wet) had a surprising change of heart. He warned Kelsey-Hayes that unless the strike was settled quickly he would cancel his contract and take his dies out of the Kelsey plant and manufacture the parts himself. However, this takes time and two big obstacles were in his way. One—strikers had barricaded the entrances to the plant, and promised to make it plenty tough for any one trying to get in (even Harry Bennett, Ford No. 1 Service man, Workers enemy No. 1 and his ex-convict gun thugs).

Two—Kelseys have the patent for some parts that cannot possibly be made elsewhere and would hardly permit Ford to get this machinery away from them. So Henry again had a change of heart and in the offices of the Ford company itself an agreement was drawn up promising to adjust most of the important grievances, specifically the higher wage rates and overtime, and guaranteeing no discrimination against any workers.

First the management formally accepted this agreement and a vote was taken in both plants and by the outside workers who accepted it by a large majority. There was more opposition from the men and women inside the plant who were thru their close contact more conscious and militant than those on the outside.

### Lots To Be Done

To this observer at least several serious weaknesses have yet to be overcome by the auto workers and the union in general. First great as the solidarity was as compared with the past it has to increase a hundred fold if the union is to crack General Motors. The issues must be explained again and again, and the ever growing importance of the shop steward system be emphasized more and more. It is probable that all that could be obtained at the time was obtained since the company now knows the cost of double crossing the aroused workers and will hardly dare refuse negotiations again.

No praise is too great for the valiant men and women inside the plants. They sang till they were hoarse, unearthed surprisingly good entertainers, held dances, ran an inside beauty parlor, found two barbers in their ranks, who will be remembered gratefully for all time for their skill in giving a perfect shave with a wheelbarrow for a chair. As one of them (name of Joe) said with professional satisfaction, "the angle is just right." The union fearing that the capitalist press might make much of the fact that men and women were sleeping in the same plant, tried one night to get the girls to come out and were told in no uncertain terms by the girls that there was nothing doing and that they were in this business just as much as the men.

### Aluminum Men Also Win

On the same night as the settlement of the Kelsey-Hayes strike came welcome news that the workers of the Aluminum Co. of America had won their strike for higher wages and that a minimum of 50c an hour had been granted them over a previous minimum of 38c. This strike about which the success had been much in doubt was remarkable for the solidarity of colored and white workers.

There can be no doubt that the mighty giant of American labor is waking up, and his roars will shortly be heard with trembling and foreboding by the greatest capitalists in the land the mighty barons of auto.

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The New Workers School is located in room 706 and the Workers Age in 707. The Rivera Murals, located in room 705—a large and well fitted hall—will not be ready for visitors for another week.

We know that our friends have had difficulties reaching us by phone. Our new number is BRyant 9-0127.

**HOUSEWARMING—SATURDAY NIGHT, JAN. 16.**  
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## England and France Offer Aid to Hitler

(Continued from Page 1)

both fear is not so much a victorious regime of Spanish fascism—but rather a Spain controlled and run by a German army of occupation. "The units of the German army already with Generalissimo Francisco Franco's forces," says the Times correspondent Augur, "are organized in a way that leads British and French experts to conclude that the creation of a permanent army of occupation is intended."

Such an army behind the undefended Pyrenees places France between two German armies, cuts off a possible raw material source, and places at Germany's disposal much needed iron, copper, lead and manganese. For Britain such a development challenges its "rights" in the Mediterranean and endangers the "life line of empire" even more so than was the case during the days of extremely tense relations with Italy. A combination of Germany and Italy might well plug up the Mediterranean for Britain and France.

Hence France's promises to return some of the German colonies in Africa she now holds under a League mandate and Britain's pledges to make available to Germany additional raw material sources. All this provided Germany does not begin a mass transfer of troops to Spain. In addition Britain has made attempts to break the fascist bloc by weaning Italy from Germany. The attempt is being made by means of the simple expedient of commitments to Italy relative to recognition of her conquests in Ethiopia, perhaps also credits for its exploitation and an understanding relative to the Mediterranean. It appears not unlikely that this step may succeed resulting in Italy changing its front.

### Fear of Crisis in Germany

The second important reason for the change of policy by Britain and France flows from the great fear of the results of the crisis in Germany's economy. The Paris correspondent of the Times says that "there is apparent real and genuine concern in France over the economic distress in Germany." Again, the same writer says that in the opinion of Britain and France there is danger of "collapse" in Germany and "the possibility of grave disorders and great sufferings." Both Britain and France are quite conscious of the fact that this distress is due solely to the ever-increasing needs of war industry and their interest is not precisely humanitarian. Both Britain and France fear that continued economic distress is liable to lead to riots and insurrection. Both fear such a development because of obvious revolutionary implications for Europe.

Hence both countries, for the second time since the world war, are ready to grant economic con-

cessions in order to stave off dissatisfaction and bolster the fascist regime. The only condition put forth is a reduction in German armaments. To achieve this goal a compensation bank has already been established in Britain in order, by means of barter, to secure for Germany much needed raw materials. Leon Blum also has been quoted as ready to extend large credits to Germany.

### What About Spain?

Due to the pressure of its so-called friends the Madrid governments is making desperate efforts to become as respectable as possible. The world must be convinced—especially Germany and Italy—that safe and sane bourgeois politicians rule in Madrid. Hence the recent trend to curb the independent mass organs which have grown up in the course of the struggle. The most recent stride on the road back to bourgeois democracy (capitalist dictatorship) is the suppression of the rights of the militia in Madrid. Police powers have been taken from the militia, because it is overwhelmingly proletarian and subject to the discipline of their parties, and vested in a distinct police department. More than that, the militia has been prohibited from bearing arms in Madrid proper. Along the same

## Wagner Law and Steel Organization

(Continued from Page 4)

Labor Relations Board the whole case will be thrown into the courts. And that is precisely where the danger will arise. The independent struggle of the union faces the possibility of getting lost in a morass of legal detail, placing its hopes solely on court action. The Wagner Labor Act, in this respect, definitely states that court action can be resorted to in an appeal from any decision of the Board. Furthermore, the act does not outlaw company unions nor grant collective bargaining. Therefore, the labor movement has no definite assurance of legal enforcement of unionization and does face the obvious danger of getting sideswiped into interminable court actions. In other words, the system of compulsory arbitration, that is beginning to unfold and that is part and parcel of a state capitalist system, endangers trade union organization.

### SWOC Continues Independent Organization

These dangers, however, have been recognized by the steel union. In spite of the fact that they are correctly bringing their charges to the Board and have incorrectly created certain illusions about the nature of the Wagner Labor Act, the Steel Workers Organizing Committee has been busily engaged in preparing the independent or-

## ERB Workers Get Setback

The fight of the relief investigators in the Emergency Relief Bureau against open competitive civil service tests received a setback this week when their application for an injunction restraining the Civil Service Commission from giving such a test, was rejected by State Supreme Court Justice Shientag. His decision maintained that these workers could not be placed in the so-called exempt class civil service and therefore their request could not be granted.

The union announced that it had filed notice of appeal.

As an immediate answer, a sit-in protest, conducted during non working hours, was held, affecting about 4,000 of the 11,000 investigators. The union declared that it did not wish to deprive the needy of their relief and therefore held the protest after working-hours.

A committee of the Central Trades and Labor Council and some interested social workers are attempting to communicate with Mayor LaGuardia in order to delay the examinations.

lines must be considered the ousting of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) from the Catalonian government.

What about the Soviet Union in this whole situation? To the extent that it proposed new conditions for restricting assistance to both contenders in Spain it helped to strengthen the extreme reactionaries in France and England and to make more difficult the rendering of aid to Spain. In the present developments with Germany, the Soviet Union has not spoken, but it is difficult to believe that the Soviet Union is unaware of these plans for strengthening the Nazis internally and externally. What then becomes of the carefully constructed theories about Nazi Germany as the main enemy peace and the resulting people's front strategy?

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ganization of the Carnegie-Illinois employees. This is clearly seen in the Pittsburgh meeting of the Company Union men in those plants. The conference has practically set the seal on its intent to organize as an independent class organization by the following set of endorsed proposals:

1. A national wage agreement between the S.W.O.C. and the industry; a 5 day thirty-hour week, \$5 a day minimum, time and one half for over time and double time for Sundays and holidays.

2. The organization of a collective bargaining agency for the steel workers.

3. Anti-union discrimination movement to protect the drive for union organization.

4. A call for a national convention in the near future to formulate their collective bargaining organization and a national wage agreement to be presented to the steel industry.

These proposals indicate that the CIO recognizes the necessity, in the near future, of transforming their work in the company unions into openly organized trade unions. The reliance upon independent class organization is further revealed in the fact that precisely when the hearings are in progress before the Board the steel union is concentrating on its independent organizational campaign!