

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 4.

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Flint police armed against auto workers, patrol street in interests of General Motors.

Union Holds Plants As G.M. Asks Company Union to Parley

Zimmerman Blasts Frey For Scab Actions In Auto Strike

Greetings of solidarity and pledges of assistance were sent to the strikers in the General Motors plants by David Dubinsky, president of the I.L.G.W.U., and Charles S. Zimmerman, head of Dressmakers Union Local 22, I.L.G.W.U. The telegrams follow:

John P. Frey,

We note with shocked indignation action taken by leaders of certain craft unions of AFL and by you as head of Metal Trades Department in connection with General Motors auto strike. With total disregard for traditions and standards of labor movement you have denounced legitimate strike conducted by bona fide union have instructed auto workers to disregard strike and return to work and have publicly urged General Motors Corporation to refuse to recognize United Automobile Workers as proper agency of collective bargaining. Because of your bitter factional animosity against UAW as affiliated with CIO you are deliberately engaging in activities that give aid and comfort to big business against auto workers. We are confident that great mass of workers in AFL remain true to principles of solidarity and appreciate great significance of auto workers struggle for labor as whole and will sternly repudiate your conduct. In name of thirty thousand members of Dressmakers Union Local 22, ILGWU, I want to register our protest and indignation and to call upon you to undo harm already done and to come out in full support of auto workers strike as every sincere trade unionist should.

Charles S. Zimmerman,

Homer Martin,

The General Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in session today voted to extend the fraternal greetings of our organization to the United Automobile Workers in its gigantic campaign to win improved

CIO to Unite Shoe Unions

Plans To Be Submitted For Referendums In Three Unions

BROCKTON, Mass. (UNS)—Plans for uniting three unions of shoe workers into a single organization have been completed by a joint committee representing the Brotherhood of Shoe & Allied Craftsmen, the Shoe Workers Protective Union and the United Shoe & Leather Workers.

The agreement of the committee on the subject was announced by Powers Haggood, representing the Committee for Industrial Organization, which had been invited by the shoe unions to aid them in achieving unity.

The name proposed for the union to be formed through the amalgamation is "United Brotherhood of Shoe Workers."

The plan agreed upon by the union representative has been sent to the general executive boards of the respective organizations, with the request that they hold referendum votes of their memberships to determine their approval of the merger. A combined membership of about 40,000 is involved.

One of the first objectives of the proposed new union will be the launching of a big organizing drive, with C.I.O. cooperation, to unionize some 175,000 unorganized shoe workers.

conditions of labor organizational recognition and the right of their members to bargain collectively for their economic interests covering their entire industry. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union will wholeheartedly support your organization in this great struggle against industrial autocracy to the fullest extent possible. Best wishes for the success of your efforts. David Dubinsky, President

General Motors Notified Workers To Return To Struck Plants

Treachery of the General Motors Corporation balked efforts at negotiating an agreement with the Auto Workers Union. Altho the Union in order to reach a settlement and begin bargaining, had conceded the point of GM that sit-down strikers be withdrawn before negotiation were begun, the corporation used this move to attempt to import strikebreakers into such plants. In two plants workers were withdrawn, whereupon the union was informed by workers that "they have received telegrams from the company instructing them to report for work Monday morning, advising them that if they could not get in thru the plant gates to come thru the administration building," Homer Martin, president of the union, disclosed.

In addition the union definitely refused to participate in a conference in which the company union was to be considered as a representative of the workers. This little plan of GM was revealed when announcement of intentions to include the so-called Alliances was made. Thus GM proposes that not only shall the workers bargain with the corporation thru their bona-fide union, the UMWA, and

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French CP Votes Ban on Volunteers for Spain

Soviets Expose Treachery of Blum's Action While French Communist Party Gives Him Unanimous Support To Strangle Spain

People's Front France gave the worst stab in the back to the Spanish revolution during the past week by a unanimous vote of its Chamber of Deputies empowering Leon Blum to ban volunteering in France and the transit of volunteers through French territory "if there is an acceptance by other powers of an international agreement regarding volunteers." The vote of approval was unanimous, 590 votes to 0—all socialist and communist deputies voting for the measure! This climaxed a week of blows against the Spanish Government forces delivered by the world's three leading "democracies,"—England, France and the United States. England led with a ban on volunteers, the United States following with a ban on both volunteers and the purchases of war supplies. While Italy and Germany continue to send troops and munitions to the rebels, the "democracies" supposedly friendly to the Spanish government bend all their efforts to strangle it by a boycott which prevents its receiving munitions or volunteers.

The Communists and Socialists voted for the bill "with a heavy heart", says the Herald-Tribune report. "A heated debate between those favoring the Spanish People's Front government and those hoping for a rebel Fascist victory had been expected. Instead the discussion was brief and dignified." Even the bourgeois press is amazed at this treachery of the Communist and Socialist deputies.

The significance of the measure was exposed the very same day

by a scathing note of the Soviet Government to England which rightly declared that such

"... unilateral prohibitive measures on the part of some of the participants at a time when other participants not only remain free of obligations but virtually continue to dispatch military contingents to Spain... will be equivalent to intervention in favor of the rebels."

This makes the action of the Communist deputies all the more amazing. Of the Socialist Party it is hardly necessary to speak. Blum is its leader and spokesman and it has always defended the non-intervention swindle. But as to the Communist Party, what happened to it that it has abandoned even the miserable pretense of opposition to Blum's Peoples Front attacks on Spain, and lined up in a common front with the deputies of the right and the fascist Croix de Feu? Is this the meaning of the recent C.P. propaganda for a "French Front"? The action of the deputies of the two working class parties is bound to have repercussions in Socialist and Communist circles, especially in France and Spain. Unanimous votes of parliaments containing working class and capitalist deputies is always a fearful sign of betrayal of working class interests, but not since the vote of German war credits in 1914 has there been anything comparable to last Friday's action. When the Croix de Feu can vote for putting powers into the hands of a People's Front Government

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ENGLAND FINANCES NAZIS' REARMAMENT

Reprinted from the New Statesman and Nation, Jan. 2, 1937.

"The support which Hitler still has in the City is shown by the news that what amounts to a camouflaged loan is being granted to Germany, with the approval of the British Government, by a banking group in which Schroders are the best known participants. The new company is called Compensation Bankers, Ltd. The mechanism is for Germany to buy from the Empire colonies fats, oils, rubber and other raw materials—which have a definite military value. Cash is paid to the Colonial exporters not by Germany but by the Banking Co., which is to reimburse itself out of the sterling proceeds which British importers are to pay at some future date for German man-

ufactured articles as and when delivered. The whole thing amounts to a revolving credit of indefinite duration, and of an indefinite amount, with the result that other foreign exchange is thus released for cash purchases—if not of butter at least of guns. Thus a foreign loan is being granted to Germany which will no doubt use it for further armaments, and it is being granted without any stipulation even of allocating part of the foreign exchanges available to further payment of the heavy outstanding "stand-still" debts. That it is made without political conditions goes without saying; it can be used for further aid to the Spanish rebels or for making aeroplanes to bomb Prague—or London."

Miners Plan Harlan Drive

By EUGENE COEBURN

As the CIO prepare to meet the acid test in the steel, auto, glass and rubber industries, spokesmen for the United Mine Workers, the Committee's ranking member, is planning its own organizing campaign strategy against the most ruthless foe of unionism in the coal industry. The campaign promises to be one of the most bitter fights in the history of unionism in eastern Kentucky—the final drive to organize U. S. Steel-dominated Harlan county.

To Organize Harlan

Immediate, complete organization of Harlan county, no matter what the price, is the goal of the United Mine Workers of America. And to attain this goal every resource of the entire organization will be brought into full play. With representatives of ten districts present, a convention was held at Middlesboro, Ky., Jan. 5 and a definite plan of action which calls for immediate organization work was drafted.

The convention called primarily to elect a scale committee from District 19 (where Harlan county is located) was turned into the greatest labor rally this section of the country has seen in many years. Virtually the entire bituminous field was represented. Both financial aid and organizers from neighboring districts were pledged

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America Prepares for War thru Buenos Aires Peace Conference

By ELLEN WARD

THE official call to the "Buenos Aires Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace" featured the following agenda, drawn up by the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union:

1. Organization of Peace
2. Neutrality
3. Limitation of armaments
4. Juridical problems
5. Economic problems
6. Intellectual cooperation

Before discussing the agenda we might consider several preliminary questions: Why did the United States call this peace conference and why at Buenos Aires?

The Why of the Conference

It is generally agreed that the threatening world war was the prime motive. The American ruling class needs to line up all the units of its hinterland in preparation for the war. Could it have forged all the Latin American countries into one solid bloc, say into an American League of Nations, it would have had an effective instrument at its command. It is this long view of the future that inspired President Roosevelt's policy of the "Good Neighbor."

An American League of Nations would mean not only a most effective defense but also a mean help in supplying war's voracious needs, for both Americas are vast storehouses of indispensable raw materials and supplies for troops. If these could be "padlocked" by common agreement it would give the United States tremendous advantages in raw materials—oil from a number of Latin American countries, tin from Bolivia, rubber and coffee from Brazil, nitrates from Chile, copper and manganese from Peru, and meat and wheat from Uruguay and the Argentine.

Argentina Balks

All these major considerations and a few "minor" ones—such as giving Great Britain another shove towards the Atlantic, explain the deep chagrin of Cordell Hull when Argentina lined up the largest countries against the American pet plan of an exclusively American League of Nations. Argentina of all countries! Argentina whom we had wooed so effusively and with such anxious hope! Argentina whom we "honored" by calling the conference in her capital city. Good old Argentina put on a great show for our chief executive, outdid all Latin-America in courtesy and warmth and shouted herself hoarse over the privilege of entertaining Roosevelt but when the moment came for delivering—the pull of Great Britain upon the economic life and political thought of Argentina was too strong. The rope didn't even loosen, much less break.

President Justo's (Argentina) keynote address spoke out against a separate American league and once more stressed the importance of close cooperation with the League of Nations. Saavedra Lamas, her foreign minister and master of ceremonies at the conference, led the opposition against any suggestion of

a permanent machinery for concerted American action or any positive declaration of policy such as prohibition of export of arms or loans to belligerents.

On December 15, Harold Hinton, N. Y. Times correspondent sent the following despatch: "The Argentina delegation today again upset the equilibrium at Buenos Aires by withdrawing its approval of the Neutrality convention. It was hinted that the British Foreign Office had a hand in stiffening Argentine opposition to the United States neutrality plan. . . . Great Britain doesn't appear to be the present scope of the proposal but rather possible future developments. In the event of war Great Britain would undoubtedly be largely dependent on the Argentine for wheat, beef and mutton."

And although the United States neutrality plan carefully limited restrictions to arms and loans, nevertheless Argentina (that is Great Britain) feared that other commodities might be included later if the principle were once established, and before she would even agree to the neutrality convention she insisted upon writing into it that—"nothing in the convention interferes with the obligations of members of the League of Nations" and insisted upon a further reservation as to the export of food, raw materials and money to purchase food for belligerents. It is obvious that all these reservations castrate the whole neutrality plan.

"Culture" vs. Solidarity

Uruguay, siding with the Argentine, also opposed the project of a permanent consultative commission charged with settling disputes which Hull had set his heart on and included in his neutrality draft. Uruguay along with Colombia, Chile, and Mexico, insisted upon calling a consultative commission only after a controversy has started. Her delegation also stated that they were opposed to American countries adopting sanctions against European nations because Uruguay's cultural relations with Europe were closer than those with America and we cannot break those relations just to maintain solidarity with Latin-American countries."

All these sharp words at a conference begun so auspiciously hope! Argentina whom we "honored" by calling the conference in her capital city. Good old Argentina put on a great show for our chief executive, outdid all Latin-America in courtesy and warmth and shouted herself hoarse over the privilege of entertaining Roosevelt but when the moment came for delivering—the pull of Great Britain upon the economic life and political thought of Argentina was too strong. The rope didn't even loosen, much less break.

Saavedra Lamas stated: "I have had the great satisfaction of being in charge of Argentina's foreign affairs during the last four years in which there has been a complete about-face in the relationship between Argentina and the United States. There is however one troublesome question between us now. That is the insistence of the

United States on shutting out our meat by a sanitary regulation that holds that hoof and mouth disease is rampant in Argentina, when everyone knows it is not." And a little later: "As far as the conference is concerned the United States and the Argentine show the same absolute divergence of views on foreign trade policy as they did on the political aspects of the peace machinery. Argentina has developed the European methods of bilateral trade balancing, exchange control and clearing agreements. It is a policy that conflicts with that of the United States and this divergence added to the essentially competitive nature of the produce of two countries would make a trade agreement difficult to reach." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 22).

Difficult indeed! It is not difficult to imagine the state of mind of the American farmer if the Roosevelt administration should by chance decide to let in Argentina's beef and hides.

The Voice of Britain

The opposition spoke through the voice of Argentina but the words were of Great Britain. Despite America's giant strides in penetrating Latin America, England is still considerably the superior in South America. In Argentina alone she controls the Central Bank, the railways and export trade; especially since the 1933 trade treaty. And it is now, in the name of peace, that the United States comes to resume the struggle against England. Argentina's foreign trade is greater than that of all the rest of South America, excluding Brazil, and it is also greater than Brazil's. In 1935 England's business with Argentina reached 705 million pesos. The United States came second with 342 million and Germany third with 207 million pesos.

A Case of Total Amnesia

From this brief summary it should be obvious that the many words of greeting and rejoicing and good cheer in the columns of the Daily Worker had very little justification. Gannes showed a woeful lack of understanding of social forces in Latin America and of his own imperialist government when he stated so pompously (D.W. Nov. 19, 1936) "The Conference can become one of the most powerful forces to block the fascist drive to a new world conflagration." And then again a little later:

"The Inter-American Peace Conference must act to stay the bloody hand of Hitler and Mussolini. . . . By warning the fascist powers that the United States is ready to act with all forces standing for peace . . . the fascist bandits can be stopped in their tracks." And on December 9, "It is the object of the Roosevelt government representing American imperialist interests as it sees them, to create an alliance of the American nations for the maintenance of peace."

To promote such illusions betrays complete amnesia of all that Lenin ever taught about imperialism in its relation to colonial and semi-colonial countries.

Picture the astonishment of the Daily Worker when it found itself "betrayed" so soon after the end of the conference. In its editorial on January 7, 1937, it is forced thus to chide President Roosevelt: "At the Buenos Aires conference both Roosevelt and Hull emphasized in their speeches the relationship between democracy and peace. They expressed the view that the defense of democracy means the defense of peace. Now the joint resolution (prohibiting the sending of

The 1936 Elections

LABOR PLAYED NEW ROLE IN ELECTIONS

By JAY LOVESTONE

NO matter what criticism one may justifiably make of labor's conduct in the last elections, it cannot be denied that, as a class, the workers played a role more distinct, more important, and more decisive than in any preceding election struggles. Granting all the vagueness and lack of class-consciousness featuring the attitude of labor toward Roosevelt, yet, it must be admitted that more than ever before, did labor appear politically as an independent entity. This obviously is a mortal blow to the Gompers theory of labor non-partisanship and to the Green practice of a "reward your friends and punish your enemies"—a practice which almost uniformly operates in reverse insofar as labor's interests go.

A no small phase of the consequences of labor's role in the last campaign was the death of Hutcheson, politically. This specimen of the rankest reaction and questionable integrity in American labor is politically through, because the Republican Party, whose servile tool he had been, has been unable to pay him twice in succession. In Hutcheson's fold, this is bad business. And what is bad business for this type of labor leader breeds no following!

For the ruling class as such, the very existence of the Labor Non-Partisan League and other organizations of this kind, means that even the most liberal section of the dominant bourgeois group will have to deal with labor more and more as an organized force and not resort to buying individuals. Here is a new factor making for a national Labor Party. In this sense, the American Labor Party of New York was far more important than it appeared to some of the people who thought that they were toying with it. Mr. Frank R. Kent, a London convert of some calibre, saw this when he pointed out in the Wall Street Journal of November 4th, that:

"The real Third Party movement in this campaign was not the Coughlin-Townsend-Smith-Lemke effort. The real one was that promoted by the Lewis-Berry type of Labor leader who put a full electoral ticket in the field in New York and one or two other states—all in the interests of Mr. Roosevelt. The reason this movement is serious is because its backers had no purpose except to lay their foundation. They look to 1940 for their real effort, and this gives them four years in which to prepare. There is not a single campaign proposition but the beginning of a drive for the establishment of what they expect to become, one of two major political parties in this country, and they are too smart to think that can be achieved in one campaign or one year."

Lenin, in analyzing the development of the British Labor Party, time and again made it clear that the beginning of such a movement necessarily must be vague, confusing and lacking in class consciousness. Nevertheless, even the leaders of the United Mine Workers and the I.L.G.W.U. may not all have understood the dy-

Modernizing City Machines

In the last elections it became clear that the powerful city machine (Continued on Page 3)

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announces the BOOK OF THE WEEK SALE offering all best sellers at marked reductions. The week of January 25th We offer Autographed Copies of Decline of American Capitalism By LEWIS COREY at \$2.75 10c postage for all out-of-town orders Look for future offers in this column of Workers Age

arms to the Madrid government) inspired by Roosevelt becomes an abandonment of aid to democracy in Spain. Thereby it plays into the hands of the fascist war makers." The naughty boys at Washington! Mean of them to go off on such a tangent, and let Gannes of the Daily Worker remain holding the bag chock full of the rosy illusions of the peoples fronters. (Concluded in Next Issue)

Labor in the Elections

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chines are going to be increasingly dependent on a national centre for their efficacy as dispensers of patronage and agencies of loot. The pouring of new millions into the ranks of the electorates, coupled with the general trend towards concentration of political power on a national basis, decree this. Take the vote in New York on the charter question. The once invincible and ever-corrupt Tammany machine was dead-set against the charter. It flunked. It met ignominious defeat. The charter was swept in.

Then, let's take a glance at the Kelly-Nash machine of Chicago, and the Prendergast machine of Missouri. They are at least as tough and as crooked as the New York Satchems. Both were frightened by the outpouring of the uncontrolled votes, that is of the as yet unaccounted for and untaged voters. But this species of American political banditry will read-just itself, will modernize its machinery in order to hold on to its booty. We would not at all be surprised if the Roosevelt-Farley regime would make a clever move here to enlarge the mass base of these incorrigible political racket alleys and in this way, without changing their substance, give them the appearance of so-called popular clubs. The "people" would like it. It would be a sort of an American edition of the "popular front." Democracy would appear invigorated, reaction would appear prostrate, honesty would appear triumphant—and the essential role of the city machines would be undisturbed. Here would be an application and a transformation of the Aaron Burr Clubs of the days of yore.

New Forms For Fascist Organization

The Lemke-Coughlin-Townsend fascist menagerie had boasted that it corralled ten to twelve million votes. The mere fact that it could not deliver should not be taken to mean that this fascist vermin has been exterminated. No doubt the subjective forces of American fascism have been dealt a solar plexus blow. Likewise, the miserable show- ing made by this triumvirate should dispel the illusions even of the in- front partisans as to the imminence and potency of American fascism.

However, there can be no more costly folly than the conclusion that American fascism is finished as the result of Roosevelt's triumph. Such an error is of the same blood-relationship as the mistake on the opposite extreme. American monopoly capital will learn from the costly and suicidal Republican strategy in the last campaign. Biggest business in the United States will positively devise new ways and better means to build a more vigorous fascist movement in the United States. The triumph of Rooseveltian democracy last November does not remove the roots or fertile soil of fascism in this country. The very nature of Rooseveltian democracy breeds the brood and waters the soil for the sprouting weed and the poison plant. It is only a mighty forest fire carefully prepared and directed by class conscious labor that can destroy the foundation and end the future of fascism in America.

CNT Falls Into Trap

The CNT fell into the trap, the new government being composed of representatives of the UGT, the CNT and the Esquerra. The POUAM as a political party was eliminated. "Quite by accident" the three representatives of the UGT turned out to be PSUC men. The CNT, in blissful ignorance, believed that the government was "free of political influences." The political significance of these maneuvers was pointed out by the Plenum of the POUAM in its appeal to the workers of Catalonia; (La Batalla, December 16, 1936):

"The crisis in the government was entirely due to the PSUC which has been a brake on the revolutionary development of the Catalan proletariat. The leadership of the PSUC and of the CNT are of the opinion that the moment has come for them to curb the revolution. That and that alone is the meaning of the crisis they provoked. They believed the removal of the POUAM necessary because they know that our representatives would not have permitted the destruction of the achievements of the revolution. "The PSUC wants a free hand in building up a republican army which would be completely controlled by professional army men. It wants to wrest control over the army from the workers. It is striving to prevent the formation of a revolutionary army based on workers' militia. "The PSUC is aiming to set up a government with dictatorial powers, a government in which the ministers are not responsible to their respective organizations. In short, a strong government which will direct all its efforts to crush the creative revolutionary instinct of the proletariat. "The Central Committee of the POUAM assembled in Barcelona is duty bound to denounce this maneuver against the revolution. The entire Central Committee of the POUAM recognized that unity of action of the proletariat is absolutely necessary in order to achieve victory over fascism and to realize the proletarian revolution. If unity of action is disrupted, we are not to blame. We have made innumerable efforts to maintain unity, and we are ready to continue our efforts in order to advance the socialist revolution."

In connection with this, Andres Nin the representative of the POUAM in the government prior to its expulsion, said the following in a radio talk as reported in La Batalla, December 17, 1936: "From the very beginning there was a fundamental division on two essential points; that of war and of inner security. As far as the war question is concerned, it is our belief that the remnants of the old army must be destroyed. The militia are ineffective and inadequate. We need an army which will face the well-armed and thoroly trained troops of Franco and this army must be a workers army—a revolutionary army. It stands to reason that we must enlist the aid of bourgeois technicians. The basic question, however, is whether control shall rest with these technicians or with the working class. We stand for the latter and are calling for the formation of a war commissariat controlled by the workers organizations."

On the question of the Soviet Union, Nin stated: "We were the first to defend the Soviet Union at a time when those who slander us today made vicious attacks upon the Soviet Union. We are grateful to the Russian people for the aid they have extended to us. But then Mexico has also aided us without asking anything in return. We insist that the working class of Catalonia remain the master of its fate. We shall oppose interference whatever its source. . . . (Continued on Page 4)

INSIDE STORY OF POUAM OUSTER REVEALS DUPLICITY OF C. P.

By LAMBDA

THE international press ascribed great significance to the government crisis in Catalonia which resulted in the exclusion of the POUAM from the government. Strangely enough, the press of the Soviet Union takes equal delight in the case. This event has revealed the policy of the Comintern in Catalonia and in Spain in general.

The crisis in Catalonia was preceded by a violent press campaign waged by the official C.P. (PSUC) against the POUAM, seconded by Antonoff-Ovsenko, the Soviet consul in Barcelona. The POUAM was accused of being anti-Soviet, "fascist" and "counter-revolutionary"—a procedure in line with the crushing of all opposition movements in all C.I. sections, as Trotskyite. The POUAM gave a sharp answer in its press and at mass meetings. It objected to being thrown in with the Trotskyites, reaffirmed its pledge of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks, but rejected the policy of defense of bourgeois democracy as pursued by the PSUC. In the course of the campaign, however, the intentions of the PSUC were clearly revealed.

CP Plots Against POUAM

In a confidential letter to the CNT, a member of the Catalan government, the PSUC put up the following demands: that the government be granted dictatorial powers, that workers' control over the government, the army, the police, etc. be eliminated and that the POUAM as the strongest obstacle to the realization of these demands be removed from the government.

The CNT rejected this demand and notified the POUAM. It was then presented to the government as an ultimatum, supported by the Esquerra, the party of the bourgeois left. President Companys, leader of the Esquerra, who had been in the background until then, and Terradella, another member of the Esquerra, thereupon assumed a dictatorial tone and protested the lack of "discipline" of the political parties, demanding a strengthening of the authority of the government. The CNT came out publicly against the exclusion of the POUAM from the government and demanded that unity of action be retained.

The fact that the PSUC finally did succeed in gaining the support of the CNT to oust the POUAM was due entirely to a series of maneuvers in which the Communist Party utterly disregarded its own principles and certainly all Communist principles. Taking advantage of the anarchist position that the government ought not to consist of political parties but exclusively of trade unions, the PSUC rewarded its demand to read that the government be composed of representatives of the UGT and the CNT as well as the Esquerra as the political representative of the petty bourgeoisie. Up to this time the PSUC had vigorously agitated for the reverse, namely, the participation of workers political parties in the government—a correct Communist demand.

The CNT fell into the trap, the new government being composed of representatives of the UGT, the CNT and the Esquerra. The POUAM as a political party was eliminated. "Quite by accident" the three representatives of the UGT turned out to be PSUC men. The CNT, in blissful ignorance, believed that the government was "free of political influences." The political significance of these maneuvers was pointed out by the Plenum of the POUAM in its appeal to the workers of Catalonia; (La Batalla, December 16, 1936):

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Nazi Aid to Franco Shown

M. de Kerillis, the pro-fascist French deputy, recently returned from a tour of inspection of Franco's forces in Spain. The pro-fascist is now not so sure of a fascist victory in Spain and quotes rebel sources for the following figures of foreign troops fighting with Franco:

"5,000 Germans with special weapons (that is, aeroplanes, tanks, etc.) and approximately two other Regular Army divisions—that is, about 20,000 to 25,000 men. The total number of German soldiers may thus be estimated at between 26,000 and 31,000.

"Other foreigners fighting on the rebel side are 2,000 Irishmen, 500 Frenchmen, and 1,500 others, including Italian airmen."

M. de Kerillis also received from rebel headquarters the following estimate of foreign soldiers fighting on the Government side:

"10,000 to 15,000 Russians, mostly Regular Army units. 10,000 to 12,000 Frenchmen, all volunteers, 2,000 to 3,000 Belgians, 2,000 to 3,000 Polish, Czech and German Communists."

erment is being heralded in Moscow with obvious pleasure. The Trotskyite organization, POUAM, has been regarded here as the cause of disorder and provocation. Its elimination from the government will have the effect of strengthening the actions of the government. The Trotskyites despite their participation in the gov't raised demagogic slogans calling for a purely workers government and all kinds of economic restrictions against the petty bourgeoisie.

"The unification of all anti-fascist forces is now more necessary than ever, according to the Soviet papers. The actions of the Trotskyites are aimed at the disintegration of the People's Front thru the exclusion of certain Republican elements which are fighting in good faith. The Izvestia writes: "The Trotskyites are pursuing a policy of treason. They are assuming the role of agents of fascism because their policy serves only the interests of the Rebels and their masters, the Germans and the Italians."

To which we might add: It's a lie and a stupid lie at that! These maneuvers of the PSUC inspired by the C.I. leadership occur, peculiarly enough, precisely at the moment when the French and British bourgeoisie are offering to arbitrate. This had the effect of encouraging the bourgeois elements in the loyalist camp and of setting back the beginnings of the proletarian revolution by liquidating its own organizations and helping to re-establish the bourgeoisie, politically and economically. What ever may be the motives of the leadership of the C.I. and of its Party in Catalonia and in Spain in general, its actions tend to support the efforts of the Spanish and international bourgeoisie.

POUM Must Be Aided It is for this reason that the POUAM was ousted from the Catalan government. The Comintern has sunk to its lowest political level to date, and has assumed the role of the Eberts and Scheidemanns of 1918 and the Russian Mensheviks of 1917. Its policy calls for sharp protest.

The consequences of its actions are leading in a counter-revolutionary direction. This fact must be stated unequivocally. We, on our part, are convinced that the working class of Catalonia, under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard—the POUAM, will defeat this maneuver and that the effect will be a speedy and thoro defeat of the PSUC, of the Spanish policy of the C.I. and of those bourgeois elements who benefit from this course of action.

"Workers Democracy" During the government crisis one of the leaders of the PSUC spread the story of an alleged attack on him which proved to be pure fiction. Such tactics are characteristic of the way in which the official C.P. is conducting its fight against the POUAM.

"A Stupid Lie" The Moscow correspondent of Temps has the following to say on the reception of the Catalan crisis on the part of the Moscow press: (Temps, December 20, 1936) "The government crisis which resulted in the elimination of Trotskyite (I) elements from the gov-

ernment is being heralded in Moscow with obvious pleasure. The Trotskyite organization, POUAM, has been regarded here as the cause of disorder and provocation. Its elimination from the government will have the effect of strengthening the actions of the government. The Trotskyites despite their participation in the gov't raised demagogic slogans calling for a purely workers government and all kinds of economic restrictions against the petty bourgeoisie.

(Continued on Page 4)

WORKERS AGE

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LENIN SPEAKS ON DEMOCRACY

ON the occasion of the anniversary of the death of our teacher and leader—Lenin,* we can think of no better tribute to his memory than to reprint the theses submitted by him, and his concluding speech on bourgeois democracy, delivered on March 4, 1919, at the first, foundation congress of the Third (Communist) International, held in Moscow.

This resolution provided the rock foundation upon which the revolutionary Communist International was built. From these basic concepts, involving the revolutionary view of the state, the communist movement never deviated until the seventh congress of the Communist International in August 1936. At this congress, the present leadership, headed by Stalin, cut the Communist International loose from its revolutionary moorings and embarked it on the perilous seas of opportunism and reformism.

Unless the Communist International returns speedily to the principles of Leninism, in its attitude to bourgeois democracy, it will be destroyed as a revolutionary force. We submit the following lines in the hope that it will cause some thinking communists to pause in the mad, headlong dash to destruction.—Editor.

1. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries has caused convulsive efforts of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the labor organizations to find ideological and political arguments for the defense of the role of the exploiters. Among these arguments they particularly put forward condemnation of dictatorship and the defense of democracy. The falseness and hypocrisy of such an argument, repeated in thousands of different ways in the capitalist press and at the conference of the yellow International at Bern in 1919, are clear for all those who do not wish to change the fundamental laws of socialism.

2. First of all this argument is based on the conception of "democracy in general" and of "dictatorship in general", without posing the question as to which class is involved. Such a non-class or super-class, apparently generally national way of putting the question is a direct mockery of the main teachings of socialism, particularly the teaching of the class struggle, which is recognized in words and forgotten in practice by those socialists who have passed over to the side of the bourgeoisie. For there is not a single civilized capitalist country in which "democracy in general" exists, but there exists only bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of "dictatorship in general", but of the dictatorship of an oppressed class, that is of the proletariat, over the oppressors and exploiters, that is the bourgeoisie, with the aim of overcoming the resistance which the exploiters manifest in the fight for the domination.

3. History teaches that not a single oppressed class has ever come to power or ever could come to power, without living through a period of dictatorship, that is of the conquest of political power, and of the forcible suppression of the most desperate, the most furious resistance which the ex-



V. I. LENIN -- 1870-1924

exploiters have always shown, not hesitating at any crimes. The bourgeoisie, whose rule the Socialists are now defending in talking against "dictatorship in general" and standing up for "democracy in general", has conquered power in the advanced countries at the price of a number of revolts, civil wars, forcible suppression of kings, feudal lords, slave owners and of all their efforts at restoration. The Socialists of all countries have explained to the people thousands of millions of times in their books, in their pamphlets, in the resolutions of their congresses, in their agitational speeches, the class character of these bourgeois revolutions and of this bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore, the present defence of bourgeois democracy under the appearance of speeches about "democracy in general" and the present shrieks and cries against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of cries about "dictatorship in general" are a direct betrayal of socialism, in fact mean passing over to the side of the bourgeoisie, denying the right of the proletariat to its own, proletarian revolution, defending bourgeois reformism at the very historical moment when bourgeois reformism throughout the world has col-

lapsed and when the war has created a revolutionary situation.

4. All Socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarism, have expressed the thought which Marx and Engels spoke out with the greatest scientific exactness when they said that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing else but a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, of the mass of toilers by a handful of capitalists. There is not a single revolutionary, not a single Marxist among those who today shout out against dictatorship and for democracy, who would not solemnly declare and swear before the workers that he recognizes this fundamental truth of socialism. But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is passing into ferment and movement directed towards the destruction of this machine of oppression and towards the conquest of proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism pretend that the bourgeoisie has presented the toilers with "pure democracy", that the bourgeoisie has renounced resistance and is ready to be obedient to the majority of the toilers, that there was not and is not in the democratic republic any kind of state machine for the suppression of labor by capital.

5. The Paris Commune, which everyone who wished to be considered a Socialist, honors, for they know that the working masses warmly and sincerely sympathize with it, has shown particularly clearly the historically conditioned character and limited value of bourgeois parliamentarism and of bourgeois democracy—of institutions which are in the highest degree progressive in comparison with the middle ages but which inevitably call for fundamental change in the epoch of proletarian revolution. Marx in particular, who best of all estimated the importance of the Commune, in his analysis of it showed the exploiting character of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, by which the oppressed classes get the right once every few years to decide which representative of the possessing classes shall "represent and suppress" the people in parliament. Particularly today, when the Soviet movement, by embracing the whole world, is continuing the work of the Commune before the eyes of all, the traitors to socialism forget the concrete experience and concrete lessons of the Paris Commune when they repeat the old bourgeois rubbish about "democracy in general". The Commune was not a parliamentary institution.

6. The importance of the Commune consists further in the fact that it made an effort to smash and destroy to the foundation the bourgeois state apparatus, its civil service, legal, military and police apparatus, replacing it by the self-administering mass organizations of the workers which recognized no division of legislative and executive power. All modern bourgeois democratic republics, including the German, which the traitors to socialism deriding the truth, call a proletarian republic, preserve this state apparatus. In this way it is again and again fully and clearly confirmed that the shouts in defense of "democracy in general" are in fact a defense of the bourgeoisie and of its exploiting privileges. (to be continued)

* Lenin died on January 22, 1924.
1. The Conference at which the Second International reconstituted itself after the war.

THE 1936 ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 3)
ign for an ascending curve of rent, interest and profit.
Accentuating State Capitalism Trend

As a consequence of the election, the trend toward State capitalism will be accentuated. Even if Landon had been elected the essential tendency would continue. Specific expressions might, in some respects, be different under the latter circumstances. We must recognize that the development of state capitalism, regardless of opposition to some of its forms in certain bourgeois ranks, does serve, for a brief period, and in a limited way, as a stabilizer of private bourgeois enterprise.

Radical Labor Hard Hit
We will not go into a detailed consideration of the effect of the elections on the radical sections of the labor movement. For the Socialist Party the election was a

crushing blow. Norman Thomas received merely a consolation vote. The results of the campaign will serve to precipitate a new crisis and deepen the old crisis in the Socialist Party ranks. The Thomas organization will pay a very heavy price for its sectarianism—and its simultaneous opportunism. The Trotsky toxin is proving fatal. Appearing as a cure for S.P. impotency and division, it is operating as a curse and germ of destruction. For the Communist Party the election results were a scathing indictment of its entire line. But yesterday it would have been unbelievable that General Secretary Browder would, as a communist, boast about having elected Roosevelt. However, on the basis of fostering all the bourgeois-democratic illusions, on the basis of fighting for "the people" instead of the working class, such inconceivable possibilities of yesterday have become tragic realities of today. The loss of the Communist vote

is greater than the absolute figures would indicate. The significance of the loss is more sinister. Four years of capitalist crisis and difficulty had apparently not been utilized by the C.P. For the first time in the history of the C.P. there was no increasing presidential vote. Worse than this, the C.P. should have registered this time an increase beyond the absolute gain in the total number of participating voters because the millions of new voters this time came from the most oppressed sections of society. The more than 20% loss of the C.P. vote is a direct fruit of its overt and covert support of Franklin D. Roosevelt as a champion of "the battlers against fascism" in America, the fascism about to triumph and about to resort to arms in order to undo the will of the people!

In 1936 the Communist Party song was of a quite different tune. Not even all the radio opportunities, not even all the acres of publicity in the daily press, not even all the stupidities of the G.H.Q. of the G.O.P., not even Tampa and Terre Haute incidents, not even

the increasing popularity of the U.S.S.R., not even the new situation in the labor movement could prevent the American C.P. (applying the people's front strategy) from playing a grotesque and pitiful role. Both the strategy and results emphasized the ridiculous mechanical transference of tactics from abroad to a situation in which such policy isn't even debatable.

Sharper Struggles Ahead
On the class struggle in general the election results will have a sharpening effect. It is now obvious, as it should have been months ago to everyone, that the election campaign itself tended to delay quite a number of strikes. No doubt the very energy and resources thrown into the election campaign by the United Mine Workers tended to slow down the C.I.O. campaign for the unionization of the steel workers. The very illusions which labor entertained as to its scoring a victory through the election of Roosevelt will cause the labor organizations to demand a price, to try to collect. Here is

a factor serving to lend impetus to giant labor struggles. The process of disillusionment will be costly, but the struggle will be worth while, determined, unifying, and inspiring.

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WAGNER ACT BULWARK OF COMPANY UNIONISM

By J. BROWN
WHEN section 7a was included in the National Recovery Act of 1933, the American Federation of Labor proclaimed it as the "magna charta" of labor. Experience, however, proved that this clause was just as much a pitfall as a stimulus for labor organization. It was precisely this adverse reaction to section 7a that was instrumental in the eventual creation of the Wagner Labor Act. The enactment of the latter act in 1935 brought forth a second round of cheers for governmental intervention in labor disputes. William Green blossomed forth with his usual sweeping hallelujah along the following lines: "... under the bill working people may organize free from intimidation or coercion on the part of employers, may be represented by those of their own choosing in collective bargaining, and by a majority vote may select their own bargaining agency." Although this statement was made at the time of passage of the bill, it still represents the prevalent attitude of the organized labor movement. The hostility of organized capital to the act has intensified labor's fervor and faith in the act. This uncritical approach to the act, as a whole, is beclouding the true nature of the role of the government in the class struggle. This is becoming a decisive question in the development of the American capitalist system.

Implications of Wagner Act
The failure to see the real implications of the Wagner Labor Act results from an over-emphasis of certain aspects. Whereas capital rejects the act because the pro-labor features, organized labor accepts it precisely because of those features and ignores the rest of the dangers. This is a fair indication of the difference in aggressiveness between capital and labor. In not viewing the act as a whole, organized labor fails to take into account the Jekyll-Hyde nature of the act.
On the one hand, the stated aims, policies, and abstract concepts in the act are avowedly pro-labor. They ring with the declared virtues of collective bargaining and with emphatic announcements that these fundamental rights are to be considered the law of the land. The section dealing with unfair labor practices is perhaps the best exposition that has ever appeared in labor legislation in the United States—surely, much more explicit than anything Section 7a expounded. But on the other hand, where the act defines and sets forth the enforcement machinery, the anti-labor features are magnified, overshadowing any honesty of purpose or excellence of declaration on the part of the framers of the act.
This dual personality, running through the entire act, must be evaluated as a whole and not in any part or section. The failure of organized labor to adopt a critical attitude is fraught with the gravest consequences. The exaggerated claims and the illusions created,

threaten, in the long run, the development of a sound, independent labor movement. It is, therefore, in place to present a critical exposition of the nature and the possible outcome of the effects of the act in the struggle between labor and capital.
Aims of Act
The Wagner Labor Act in its declaration of purpose and policy is analogous to Section 7a of NIRA. It aims "to promote equality of bargaining power between employers and employees..." by encouraging the practice of collective bargaining, protecting the workers' rights of freedom of association, permitting the choosing of his own representatives in order to secure the terms and the conditions of employment. It continues along the lines of 7a by guaranteeing workers the right of self-organization, in order to bargain without any coercion from the employers. This proved to be a double-edged sword under the workings of the NIRA, resulting in a tremendous growth of company unionism. Therefore, the act has another paragraph stating very explicitly what shall constitute "unfair labor practices."

It shall be unfair for an employer "to interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their rights as just set forth, to dominate or interfere with the formation or administration of any labor organization or contribute financial or other support to it by discrimination in regard to hire or tenure of employment or any term or condition of employment to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization." As a statement of unfair practices, it is unquestionably sound and would be included in any bill favorable to the organized labor movement. But its whole effect is practically nullified when the same section goes on to define a labor organization as "AN ORGANIZATION OF ANY KIND, OR ANY AGENCY OR EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION COMMITTEE or plan in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employees concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, or hours of employment" (my emphasis). This brings labor right back to the days of Section 7a, where the failure to outlaw the company union nullified any possible good effect of the law.

Instead of outlawing the company union, which most of our labor leaders insist the act does, it definitely declares the company union legal, ensuring its recognition not only before the labor boards but before the courts of law. It is precisely this clause that explains the following statement of Senator Wagner: "Anyone familiar with these laws will recognize at once that there is nothing in the present bill which promotes a union monopoly, which places the stamp of governmental favor upon any particular type of union, or which OUTLAW THE SO-CALLED COMPANY UNION..." (my emphasis—JB). And what the law does not outlaw, it expressly permits to exist as a legal entity by including the company union as one form of labor organization. Labor, under no circumstances, can give its unqualified support to an act harboring such a dangerous concept!

Enforcement Machinery
For the purpose of enforcing its declared aims and policy, the law has set up the National Labor Relations Board, consisting of five members appointed by the president. They shall have the power to act as adjudicators and arbitrators in labor-capital disputes. In addition to hearing disputes con-

cerning "unfair labor practices," it has the extremely important power of holding elections to determine majority representation. On this point, the law states: the "Board shall decide whether in order to effectuate the policy of this act, the unit appropriate for the purposes of collective bargaining shall be the employer unit, craft unit, plant unit, or other unit."

There are two dangers lurking in this section, namely the concentration of power and the right to recognize a company union by a board of five men, appointed by a president. The fact that, at the present time, the president is "liberal" and the board is even openly pro-labor does not eliminate the permanent danger of a concentration of power in the hands of the executive over the lives of the working class and its organized movement. Another important aspect of the nature of the board is that appointments are made with no recognition of the class or organizational origin of the individuals. This means that labor has no guarantee that the board will be either sympathetic to its cause or will be cognizant of its problems. And as long as we function under an economic system in which labor has no control or fundamental power, the creation of such boards will be inimical to the best interests of the labor movement.

But even if one grants that the National Labor Relations Board can be an instrument of the labor movement (and there is no doubt that at present the composition of the board has aided, in a number of cases, the organizing campaign of labor), it has, however, no power of ultimate enforcement of its decrees. In this respect, the Board is somewhat similar to the ineffective Federal Trade Commission where the powers of "cease and desist" practically define the limits of its activity. For actual enforcement, the Board may petition any circuit court in the U.S.A. However, the same court has the jurisdiction to affirm or set aside the Board's decision.

The act specifically sets forth that "the jurisdiction of the court shall be exclusive and its judgment and decree shall be final, except that the same shall be subject to review of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. . . ." Where the Board has been instrumental in arbitrating a labor dispute (this is possible only where both parties willingly submit to arbitration), the awards of the Board must be filed in the courts. The courts then have not only the power of judging the merits of the decision but can re-submit the case to the Board for the purpose of greater clarification. And "in such case the court shall suspend action pending its re-submission of said award to the Board for interpretation."

Dangers Ahead
This intricate and long drawn out legal process plus the creation of a preliminary system of compulsory arbitration will devitalize any labor organization that permits itself to be sidetracked from a policy of militant struggle to the pursuit of a legal will of the wisp. The delays inherent in legal action, the tremendous amounts of money needed and the greater resources, legal and financial of the employers, must inevitably put labor at a great disadvantage. When the labor movement falls for these systems of legal snails, it must, in the very nature of the process, hinder its own independent movement. No less an individual than Raymond Moley, in commenting on the act, had the following sage remarks to make: "It is an interesting fact that when labor goes to Washington, it almost never strikes afterward. Unions go to Washington and sign. They do not go to Washington and strike." That the Supreme Court will, in all probability, void the act, since there is greater legal precedent than in the case of the NRA, must

TRADE UNION NOTES

By George F. Miles

THE role of the A. F. of L., in the bitter struggle now proceeding between the auto workers union and General Motors, is one of the most shocking and flagrant cases of unabashed and unmasked strike-breaking in the whole history of the Federation. Everybody can think of some case where the term strike-breaking would have been an accurate description. Still, there usually was some "redeeming" feature, some excuse, no matter how thin, behind which such despicable action could seek safety. Sometimes it would be the cry that the striking workers had not seen fit to secure the benediction of the A. F. of L. fathers and it would therefore be a cardinal sin to permit their strike to proceed unmolested. Other times, we would hear the cry "outlaw strike" and as far as the workers in this particular strike were concerned, their goose was cooked even though they held membership in the A. F. of L.

But now there are simply no excuses and no redeeming features. Altho the Executive Council did not encourage this movement it also did not proscribe it; it never declared the strike, now on, as an "outlaw" affair; despite the continued suspension of the auto workers union, it remains, technically only, to be sure, part of the A. F. of L. since its charter had not been vacated. Yet, leaders of the A. F. of L.—headed by the "all-powerful" John P. Frey of the Metal Trades Council—made such an astounding move, without so much as a word of consultation with the responsible leaders of the strike. The appeal by Frey and others to the members of the craft unions to return to the factories struck by the auto union is, therefore, nothing short of premeditated strike-breaking.

General Motors has been quick to clasp to its bosom these new-found friends—but it is a bear's embrace during which every vestige of working class self-respect will be crushed. The Executive Council has done itself irreparable harm—perhaps of suicidal proportions. . . .

SPEAKING of John P. Frey, we are reminded of the socialist *New Leader* to whose columns he has been a frequent contributor. In a recent issue, this sheet takes severely to task no less a person than Heywood Brown. It "reprimands" as "shocking and inexcusable does not think that we shall have succeeded in putting an end to industrial warfare."

As if such legislation, under capitalism, can ever put an end to "industrial warfare"! It may, for a time, shackle labor to a point where a struggle for improved conditions is impossible. Ultimately this struggle would break out again with all the more force because of the methods of repression.

- We do not believe that there is any serious danger of the labor movement submitting peacefully to the straight-jacket of compulsory arbitration. It has but to look back a few years to Kansas in order to recall vividly the operation of the "Industrial Court Laws"—a form of compulsory arbitration. Labor had to smash these laws with its bare hands—by means of mass picketing and mass violations of industrial court law rulings resulting in mass arrests.
- However, since class-conscious spokesmen for employers' interests are not only toying with, but also talking about this proposal, it might not be a bad idea for labor organizations to speak up now and, perhaps, save themselves some trouble later.
1. There is no definite illegalization of company unionism. On the contrary, the company union is given legal recognition as a form of labor organization to be classed with the bona-fide trade unions.
 2. The act is a definite step in the growing governmental encroachment upon the union movement. As Raymond Moley has pointed out: "Possibly it is one step in the road to the Federation's becoming that quasi-public demi-governmental agency which Lewis Lorwin suspected was coming into existence when he wrote his book on the A. F. of L. two years ago."
 3. The power of the courts is increased tremendously in its right of review of decisions and thus penetrates more deeply into the rights of the organized labor movement. The courts also enter the field of arbitration as a final hearing board.
 4. The right to strike is endangered and lost sight of in the maze of Board hearings, court reviews, and resubmissions and appeals to the courts.
 5. Extreme power is centered in the hands of the Board and President and the courts.
 6. A system of compulsory arbitration is inherent in any such legislation as the Wagner Labor Act.

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St. Louis CPO Proposes United Labor Ticket

In an Open Letter to the members of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, the St. Louis District of the Communist Party (Opposition) proposed that the three organizations combine their forces for the coming city elections in April by forming a United Labor Ticket. The latter was officially presented to the city executive committees of both parties in St. Louis for their consideration and is expected to receive favorable consideration in view of the small number of votes cast for either of their tickets in the presidential election.

The letter to the Socialist and Communist Party follows in part:

"... the workers of St. Louis are facing another election which is only a few months off, the Mayorality elections in April 1937. Never before, in St. Louis, has the need for political unity of the working class been so evident. Now, it is necessary for both the Communists and Socialists to take steps towards formulating a United Front for the coming elections of April in St. Louis.

"Many arguments in the past have been posed against a United Workers Ticket. Here, we are not referring to the fact that 'Tom Mooney is a jail-bird and has no right on the ballot or that the Communist Party is trying to undermine the Socialist Party by having a United Front'... In the light of the results of the 1936 elections, the arguments appear even more shallow, but for the sake of those sincere leftward moving workers these arguments, sham as they are, must be discussed. The Socialist Party has declared in the past that a United Front with the Communist Party on the political field would alienate voters to the right of the Socialist Party. It would be ridiculous to maintain this argument realizing that the Socialist and Communist parties could alienate but fewer voters than they did in November 1936. Another argument has been held by the Socialist Party to the effect that the Communists will not have a ticket in the field in April and that they may vote the Socialist ballot. This "condescending" attitude is both opportunistic and sectarian and must be denounced by all progressive workers. The opportunists who pose this argument do not realize the appeal that a United Ticket of both Communists and Socialists would have on the progressive workers of this city. Everywhere we see the unification of all conservative forces, of reaction. Certainly, the Communists and Socialists, the vanguard of Labor, must do their best to accomplish the unity of Labor.

"Again, we wish to point out that the United Labor Ticket as well as the Labor Party is a United Front of Workers, and not of People. The United Labor Ticket,

whose program and platform has been formulated by the workers political parties, welcomes the sincere support of any sympathetic organization. Nevertheless, we denounce any attempt which may be made to enlist the support of many liberal and middle-class elements by bringing them into the United Labor Ticket at the beginning, granting them the right to aid in the formulation of the platform and program. This is a People's Front and not a United Front of Workers. We fear that the Communist Party will try to initiate this idea of a local People's Front. All progressive workers must be on guard against this to see that the United Workers Ticket is just what its name implies, a United Front of Labor.

"We appeal to both the members of the Communist and Socialist parties to get their organizations to go on record for a United Labor Ticket, which unity of the workers vanguard will be a crystallization of labor forces which will strengthen the idea of a Federated Labor Party in the minds of the rank and file workers of this city."

Budget Builds Battleships By Cutting Needed Relief

By creating some very hypothetical conditions for the future, President Roosevelt managed to promise a balanced budget for the fiscal year of 1939. "If" industry re-employs millions, "if" Congress doesn't add any expense—then, said the Leader everything would be hunky-dory. Of course, he made no attempt at an analysis of the possibilities of such re-employment: that is, no examination of the question of technological unemployment, greatly intensified by the crisis, no mention of the speed-up, which makes workers unemployable, according to capitalist standards and conditions of work, after seven to ten years on the line. He played on the wide-spread illusion that industrial re-employment depends on the paternal good-will and co-operation of the employing class, whereas "efficiency" (maximum profit-seeking) rules the roost.

As for the second point, this can be treated as a political maneuver and a political weather-vane. F.D.R., he himself explains to the listening business interests, is not and was not "radical." Deep in his heart has been the best interests of capitalism. And more, he elucidates, those "revolutionary consequences" of New Deal policy which were envisioned by the bosses, cannot, if, they occur, be attributed to him. It will be Congress, "radical and irresponsible" that will have to be attacked for any acts dangerous to the system. While this is not the place to discuss the

Miners Prepare Harlan Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)
to President W. M. Turnblazer of District 19, on whose shoulders rests the task of leading the Harlan campaign.

Turnblazer, as he formally opened the convention, sounded the keynote of action. He declared in forceful terms that Harlan county is to be organized, and there is to be no further delay. He said that the time has come when the right to organize and bargain collectively can no longer be denied, even in such a spot as Harlan county. He pointed to the fact that the work involved is not merely the bringing of the union to Harlan but to advertise to the world that collective bargaining is here to stay.

Prior to the convention a huge mass meeting had been planned at Evarts near the scene of the famous "Battle of Evarts." [A battle between miners and mine guards took place at Evarts on May 8, 1931, in which three officers and one miner was killed. Three miners are now serving life terms in the state prison at Frankfort as the result of the fight. Recently a number of labor organizations appealed to the governor to

French CP Votes Ban on Volunteers for Spain

(Continued from Page 1)
headed by a Socialist minister, it is high time for the workers to ask what is the matter with the measure, their representatives, the People's Front and its policies. The timely denunciation of the Soviet Government of the same measure

pardon the miners.]

Learning of these plans for the mass meeting Harlan county officials immediately placed the county under quarantine against "spinal meningitis." While some are prone to doubt whether an epidemic is present in the county, at the same time the quarantine prohibits the public gathering of people. Even movies, churches and schools have been closed. Despite this fact, organization work will begin immediately, men will be signed up individually by field workers who are to be sent into the county at once.

Districts Pledge Aid

Turnblazer told of having written two letters as plans for the campaign were started. One as to sheriff Middleton of Harlan informing him of the plan, another was to Gov. Chandler, giving the same information. The letter to Middleton was returned unopened. Chandler gave a little more consideration.

ney for the Navy in order to build two new battleships. Rearming for the defense of American Imperialism goes on at an ever increasing rate under the rule of the Great Humanitarian.

Finally some mention should be made of the tax receipts of the government. Big Business heaved a sigh of relief when no new taxes were proposed—alho all previous taxes had been effectively passed on to the consumers in the form of higher prices. Total estimated revenues for the next fiscal year are approximately one and one-half billions more than in the previous year. The receipts will probably run up to seven and a half billion dollars. The income tax more than doubles the returns of the year 1936, then a billion and a half. This is due to the effect of the Revenue Law of 1934, which saddled lower income brackets with increased rates. In addition, the "hidden taxes" in the form of manufacturers' excises, paid for and felt most by the workers and lower middle classes, will not be discontinued. Added to the income from alcohol and tobacco taxes, this burden on the backs of broad sections of the population that can least afford it, totals to one and three-quarter billions!

The new Roosevelt budget may be covered with roseate phrases, but it consists of some very black statistics. Necessary increases in relief expenditures have been diverted to building a war-machine. Despite talk of slum-clearance, no financial provision has been made for any such federal action.

But—Roosevelt has promised a balanced budget.

Auto Union Holds Plants

(Continued from Page 1)

that the corporation shall have an additional vote thru its own creation, the company union!

A union release stated that, in view of these facts: "It is therefore the decision of the board of strategy that the above evidences of bad faith and violation of the agreement by the corporation makes it imperative that the sit-down strikers remain in the plants until the whole controversy is settled."

gives a striking answer to these queries.

Leon Blum's new powers are made contingent on "an acceptance by other nations." This means simply, as the Soviet Union points out, that Hitler and Mussolini can continue to send all the regiments of conscripted "volunteers" they please till they estimate that Franco has enough. Then they can come to an agreement with Blum, not merely to prevent the French government from sending men (it has never sent any), but that Blum shall even prevent French workers from volunteering, and volunteers from other lands from going to Spain. France is the only land route to Spain. The sea route will be controlled by the Italian and German navies backed by the navies of the two great "democracies", England and France, and the strangle boycott on volunteers or munitions for the loyalists will be complete.

At the same time that Blum chokes aid to his supposed "People's Front Ally", he has opened negotiations to come to the rescue of the strained internal economy of Hitler Germany by granting credits and trade privileges. "Blum aims to aid Reich in a New Way," headlines the press. "Will Not Ask the Fulfillment of Political Conditions in Granting Trade Boons." Boycott for "People's Front Spain"; unconditional economic support for Nazi Germany: such are the fruits of the People's Front in France! This is an important step away from the Franco-Soviet Accord and towards a slowly forming anti-Soviet Four Power alliance of England, France, Italy and Germany. Another step was taken the week previously with the Anglo-Italian agreement. They create the danger of the isolation of the Soviet Union and the crushing and division of Spain. A "peace policy" that brings war measurably nearer.

To make matters complete, the beginning of the last week saw the remaining "Great Democracy" fall in line, with Roosevelt's stampede of Congress into voting denial to the Spanish government of the right to purchase war supplies in the United States. This measure is a violation even of prevailing International Law. This was unanimous in the Senate. No Socialists and Communists there, but where were the Progressives and Farmer-Laborites? Where were men like Lundeen? In the House, only Farmer-Laborite Bernard voted against, and thus, on his first day in Congress earned nation-wide attention and congratulation. Even before Roosevelt is reinaugurated, these are the first fruits of the Communist Party's policy of veiled support for the President's reelection. All the classless talk about "democracies" falls down to pieces as the capitalist powers, democratic or fascist, line up under British leadership, to prevent at all costs a Socialist Spanish peninsula. The theory of "People's Front" and classless "Democracy" cannot stand many more such acts of treachery.



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