

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 26.

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Powers Move Against Spain

The Fall of Bilbao Spurs British Moves For Block With Nazis

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

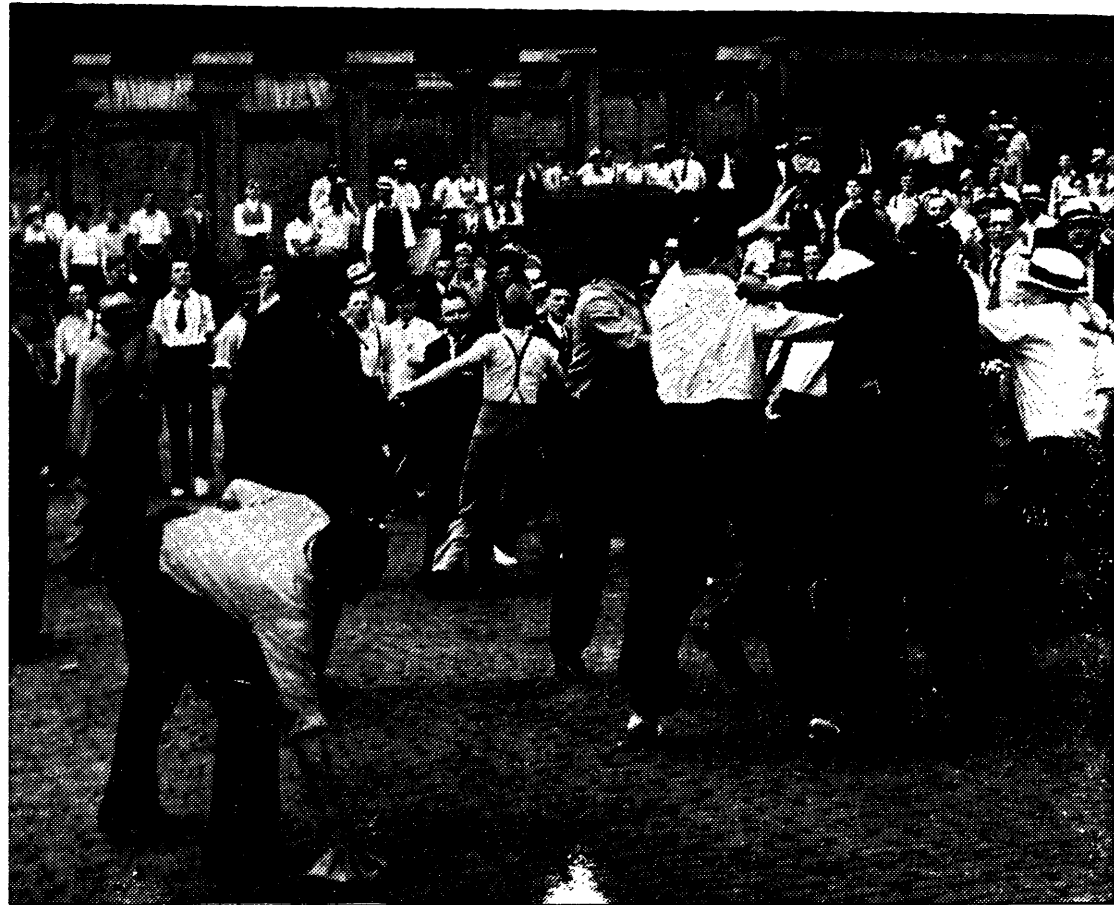
A new diplomatic offensive against the Valencia government has also been initiated by Germany. Claiming that attempts had been made to torpedo the Nazi cruiser Leipzig, Hitler promptly convoked a meeting of representatives of England, France, Italy and Germany under the agreement entered into two weeks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

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

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

MARTIAL LAW CLOSES STEEL PLANTS; FEDERAL BOARD BEGINS CONFABS

STEEL PICKETS HALT SCABS AT BETHLEHEM'S CAMBRIA PLANT



Court Bill Veto Asked in Senate

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

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

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

In Spain, the domestic political

(Continued on Page 2)

Blum's Cabinet Overthrown By Vote In French Senate

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

Badly defeated in the Senate which refused to grant it the financial emergency powers it desired, the Blum People's Front Cabinet resigned on Monday, June 21,

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

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

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

after a tenure of a year and sixteen days.

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

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

JAY LOVESTONE
writes on
"The Situation in the
Soviet Union"
in next week's
WORKERS AGE

SWOC Fights For Contract

Earle Orders Disarming Of Johnstown's Vigilantes

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

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

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

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

SWOC Appeals Jailing Of Fansteel Strikers

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

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

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STEEL AND "DEMOCRACY"

WITH an accuracy and vividness almost unparalleled, the suppressed Paramount newsreel of the Memorial Day massacre at the South Chicago plant of Republic Steel serves as a perfect picture-lesson of the true meaning of American "democracy" for the masses.

"Straggling across the field, in a low irregular line, headed by two men carrying American flags, the demonstrators are shown approaching. Many carry placards. They appear to number about 300.

This is what happened at South Chicago—right under the Stars and Stripes, in a state with a New Deal governor, in a city with a Democratic mayor! In terms of simple politics, what happened? An industrial struggle was under way between steel workers organized in the SWOC and Republic Steel, a class struggle between labor and capital.

What happened at South Chicago is not something new or something exceptional; it is the regular run of American "democracy," of American "law and order." The fact that the Roosevelt administration is—for the time being—following a liberal course and is attempting to preserve and strengthen the foundations of capitalism by a policy of reforms and concessions, does not change the fundamental nature of the American political set-up.

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



SPAIN'S REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN SOCIALISTS

WHAT a wretched, pitiful thing is the political line of the Socialist Party today! Take the Spanish situation. In Spain the policies and programs of all sections of the working class movement are being tested in the fires of civil war and revolution.

The Call Editorial on Spain In the issue of May 2, there is an editorial, "Unity in Spain," setting forth a generally sound position on the "Spanish question," formulating a program that "envisions military strength arising from progressive social revolution."

Just about the time that this number of the Socialist Call was reaching its readers, Norman Thomas, chairman of the S.P., was issuing newspaper statements in which he expressed his confidence in and political support of the new cabinet of Negrin!

Two weeks later, in the Socialist Call of June 12, Herbert Zam again repeats, as the official stand of the N.E.C., that "the civil war against the fascists cannot be won only at the front. It must be won at the rear by instituting the necessary social reforms which will give political power to the workers, socialize industry, turn the land over to the peasants, grant autonomy to the national minorities, liberate the colonies."

But turn the paper back two pages. Norman Thomas "reviews the war in Spain." His support of Negrin is now watered down to the somewhat fatuous remark: "Negrin, whom I liked personally, . . . Not a word of political analysis or estimation! But about the P.O.U.M. he is more positive: 'Nor do I think that the P.O.U.M. is supplying the leadership, tactics or program that are necessary.' Well, then, who is? No answer—just diplomatic evasion and time-worn platitudes!

But this is not the worst. Declares Thomas: "I cannot insist too strongly that whatever the motives, those in Spain or out of it who today carry their criticism of the government to the point of encouraging sabotage or revolt are in reality helping the triumph of Franco." But why all this indefiniteness? Are you referring to the Barcelona events? You, Comrade Thomas, and you, editors of the Socialist Call, know perfectly well that the Barcelona events did not come from carrying "criticism . . . to point of . . . revolt." You know perfectly well that the clashes in Barcelona during the early days of May were the result of deliberate provocations engineered by the P.S.U.C. (Comintern party) and the bourgeois republicans in order to open the way for the suppression of the revolutionary proletarian organizations of Catalonia and other parts of Spain.

A Disgraceful Performance But what shall we say of the article by Sam Barron in the same issue of the Call? He criticizes the Communist Party very severely but his criticism is purely factional; he criticizes it simply because it is a rival organization, not because he disagrees with it on any essential point. He doesn't! He swallows, hook, line and sinker, the crude and suicidal notion, now being soft-pedaled by the C.P. itself, expressed in the formula: "First let's win the war and then we'll worry about the revolution."

What a miserable spectacle does this "Spanish expert" of the So-

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By Lambda

EUROPE TODAY

Almeria Bombing Brings Anglo-French "Guarantees" To Nazis

London, June 2, 1937.

ALMERIA

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

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

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

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

And the English "Yorkshire Post," which is closely connected with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Eden, writes:

"The only way effectively to prevent a repetition of such occurrences is to bring about the end of this international civil war."

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

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

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

BOOKS of the AGE

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

Reviewed by D. Swift

This is easily the best proletarian novel to come out of Europe during the past twenty years. It heaves with all the despairs, dreams, and hopes of the lowly; it portrays oppression intimately, as it strikes home in the kitchen, in the saloon, and in the parish house; and it is almost completely devoid of falseness of emotion or deed. Above all, it is weighted with the tears of living, without which all creative work is a sham and a fraud.

The story of "Bread and Wine" centers around Pietro, Spina, an exile from Italian fascism, who returns to his native land to engage once more in underground revolutionary work. Disguised as the priest Don Paolo Spada, he travels over the country in search of his former comrades. Some of them have renounced their ideals and donned black shirts, while others have kept the faith, suffering death and the most horrible tortures for their convictions. One of those who have held on steadfastly is Don Benedetto, Spina's former clerical teacher, whose defiance of the fascist authorities is of such heroic size that all the atheistical revolutionaries look to him for guidance. Mussolini's men eventually do away with Don Benedetto by putting poison in his sacramental wine: he drops dead while celebrating mass. Spina's activities are in the end apprehended by the police, and he escapes out of the country again with the aid of Bianchina, a prostitute who has fallen in love him, and of Cristina, a high-born girl who had been contemplating entering a convent.

Within the framework of this simple story Silone presents a highly dramatic picture of what it means to live in Il Duce's heaven—in terms of the housewife's breadbox, the children's playground, the husband's drinking joint, the public soup kitchens, the tax collector's snottiness, the difficulties of the official army whores, and the petty degradations visited upon the few priests who dare to take the pristine teachings of Jesus Christ seriously. Over it all is the simple, bitter humor of the Italian peasants, who know nothing save their slavery, yet are forever tormenting the local bureaucrats with their elemental, unanswered questions, questions which in the end will undermine a non-political people, but they have sharp noses for bad smells and their innumerable parochial revolts will some day achieve a momentum that will send the Roman ruler running for the nearest sewer.

"Bread and Wine" is both inferior and superior to "Fontamara," Silone's earlier novel. It is not so succinctly written, it is occasionally repetitious, and two of its major characters are left hanging in the air. There is no emotional period to the careers of Bianchina and Cristina, and the last paragraph in the book, dealing with Cristina, is so incredible that it is almost like ending a classical symphony with a burp. But the book has riches which far overshadow these defects and place it above "Fontamara." The latter volume was so succinct as to be skeletal, while "Bread and Wine" surges with all the variegated life of a whole people, its whorings as well as its dreams, its century-old convictions as well as superstitions, filth, and compromises. The very lapses in "Bread and Wine" somehow seem to enhance its power. Warts, in art as in life, frequently add to beauty.

This means, of course, that so long as labor is one among many, anyone, especially a capitalist politician, who at one time or another has let slip a phrase which might be interpreted as being anti-fascist, regardless of the real character of that person's activities. That is why it is possible for Governor Hoffman, New Jersey's reactionary strike-breaking persecutor of the CIO, to be a member of the Advisory Council of the American Youth Congress!

It is the theory of the YCL leadership that the American Youth Congress represents the greatest and most important concentration

* In Montreal, at the sessions of the Canadian Youth Congress, held May 22 and 23, the dominant fascist organizations refused to admit the YCL into the congress they had originated, unless they accepted the following program: (1) belief in God; (2) fight against all subversive elements; (3) fight against all communists. The Canadian "young communists" accepted this program—for the sake of "unity and the preservation of democracy." Of course, when the time comes, the YCL of the United States will do the same thing.

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO WORKERS AGE

THE YCL BUILDS AGAINST A LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE

By M. S. MAUTNER

THE "youth with a purpose" who gathered in New York the first week in May for the eighth convention of the Young Communist League listened to Gil Green decree the existence of a "broader" YCL, discarding the rigidity of the Communist Party, at a time when, almost to the minute, a special strong-arm squad was busy attacking a group of students recently expelled from the YCL for expressing their opinions on the people's front. "After months of discussion," a service organization; "we are not a Communist Party"; "non-party youth organizations consisting not only of communists but also socialists, and non-party, national revolutionary, pacifist, religious . . . youth"—these were Gil Green's phrases, while outside the meeting hall took place the practice by which we simpler folk judge the character of an organization.

The political line of Gil Green was, of course, the faithful repetition of latter-day reformism, including the explanation of "people's" internationalism on the basis of "the development of transportation and commerce." These two facts, the reformist bureaucracy which roots out discussion in the branches as tho it were the plague, plus the unquestioning acceptance of the miserably party line should make it tragically clear that the Young Communist League is not a "non-party youth organization." In the course of this article, I hope to make it abundantly clear that neither does it function as a communist youth organization—that is, it offers no guidance, no hope and no program of any validity to the young workers, students, and others in this country, and, peculiarly enough, even to itself and its own membership.

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

This means, of course, that so long as labor is one among many, anyone, especially a capitalist politician, who at one time or another has let slip a phrase which might be interpreted as being anti-fascist, regardless of the real character of that person's activities. That is why it is possible for Governor Hoffman, New Jersey's reactionary strike-breaking persecutor of the CIO, to be a member of the Advisory Council of the American Youth Congress!

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* In Montreal, at the sessions of the Canadian Youth Congress, held May 22 and 23, the dominant fascist organizations refused to admit the YCL into the congress they had originated, unless they accepted the following program: (1) belief in God; (2) fight against all subversive elements; (3) fight against all communists. The Canadian "young communists" accepted this program—for the sake of "unity and the preservation of democracy." Of course, when the time comes, the YCL of the United States will do the same thing.

of American youth on a progressive program. They have succeeded in getting the passive endorsement of certain unions for the Congress, and consider this the end of their "obligations" (or is it services?) to the labor movement. But also Gil Green can state in his report to the convention that "only a mighty, militant labor movement can guarantee an improvement not only in the conditions of young workers but of all youth," nevertheless, at what he considers the most important gathering of youth, the American Youth Congress, he asks the YCL to see it to it that all youth organizations be represented—special efforts being made "to get representation from the Catholic and farm youth organizations!" If this has any meaning, which I doubt, it signifies that the trade unions will be "allowed" to fight for the American Youth Act, in return for which they will be "permitted" to endorse its sponsor, the American Youth Congress, but not to actively participate—leave that to the YCL.

"Youth"—A Social Force? It seems to me that in the handling of the American Youth Act the whole false analysis and practice of the YCL concerning a youth movement in this country is most glaringly underlined. It is not necessary to discuss here the inadequacy of the bill's proposed allotments, or its provisions on apprenticeship which are in flat contradiction to Gil Green's correct proposal in his report. What concerns us here is the mechanism which is motivated by the utterly false young people's front policy.

Young people gather in a meeting and propose a bill which they think meets their needs. Then they fight for this thru their "classless" youth organization, which everybody knows resents nothing ("ten million" Christian Youth Building A New World notwithstanding). In a "classless democracy," the main thing is to get important people to sponsor your bill—people whose names are in the news. So you get some labor leaders and Governor Hoffman, some social workers, government youth-relief heads—and thus you teach the raw, undeveloped, but developing, American youth that "only a militant labor movement can guarantee an improvement in the conditions of all youth!" Nonsense! You teach them that everybody's a good fellow—in class lines, class programs and class aims remaining unconsidered. Second, of course, the bill is practically foredoomed—for this bill, supported by the Young Communist League, is rejected by the Youth Division of the American Labor Party as being totally inadequate.

But all this flows from the premise of equality, which means, in practice, the refusal of the Young Communist League to work to set the dissident sections of the locked-out generation in motion towards the labor movement—not as one among many of its benefactors but as the only force in contemporary society which, in fighting for its own needs, fights for the needs of these youth also.

What Youth Around Labor Really is the problem in America? Essentially it is a phase of the problem of the whole working class—to break away from the bourgeois political parties and set up its own independent labor party. For the youth it means breaking away from capitalist youth institutions in order to be remolded in outlook and aim under the aegis of the mighty labor movement. Thus we do not agree that students should be a separate force. They must be part and parcel of the labor movement. That is what we mean by a student movement—an organization of labor among the

TRADE UNION NOTES

by George F. Miles

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

The sporadic strikes have affected the car output in this area to a considerable degree. It is estimated that production figures for the week ending June 19 will be about 20,000 cars below normal. In this drop Chevrolet alone accounts for about 12,000.

Still another company union has appeared on the scene here in Detroit. This time it is the Workers Council for Social Justice thru which the employers are desperately trying to corral the catholic employes by using the full program of Father Coughlin's Union of Social Justice.

Also the founders of the company union admit that they agree with and have taken over the full program of Father Coughlin, they are vociferous in denying that Father Coughlin himself is behind the movement. However, this is of slight importance. Significant is the statement made by Arthur E. Nelson, leader of the company union, that he was in no position to make public the name of the financial backer of the movement. It should be recalled that Father Coughlin also refused to make public the names of his financial backers. So that while it is possible that Father Coughlin finds it inconvenient to front for the organization, it is a dead certainty that the same boss interests which stood behind Father Coughlin now stand behind the Social Justice Union.

The name of the sponsor is perhaps of no great importance. Yet it is of some interest that Ford's strong boy, Harry Bennett, was forced to cover up for this company union after Richard Frankenstein of the UAW lashed out against this new fraud and intimidation that Ford was behind it. The three leaders of the new mob had been given leave of absence from Ford to engage in organization. Bennett now ordered them to return to work or be discharged. "Furthermore," Bennett added, "we don't want anyone to think that the Ford Motor Company is supporting this Social Justice Union."

When we recall that Nelson has worked for Ford since 1920, Irvin since 1926 and Monteith since 1923, the relation of these three "union" leaders with Ford becomes more than mere conjecture.

President Roosevelt's remarks intimating that refusal to sign an agreement with a union constitutes a violation of the Wagner Act, is of tremendous moral value to the embattled steel workers in Republic, Youngstown, and Bethlehem Steel. The same stand had previously been taken by the National Labor Relations Board which held, in the case of Inland Steel, that refusal to sign is against the intent of the law.

Also these pronouncements will aid in stimulating resistance of the workers against these die-hard bourgeois of industry, they will not

automatically bring victory. The steel interests have already stated their determination to continue the fight despite the NLRB ruling and the Roosevelt pronouncement. The Wagner Act itself provides the medium for protracting the fight against any decision of the Board by a resort to the courts and the snail's pace at which the court renders decisions has become proverbial. The strategy of the steel interests will therefore be to wear down union opposition by protracted court action. The CIO plans to reply with intensified strike actions and the cutting off of the raw material sources of the firms on strike.

Washington Congressional lawyers, watchdogging employer interests, are all agog over revisions of the bankruptcy laws proposed by the Security Exchange Corporation. The proposal, which gives labor the right to appear in Federal Courts in the reorganization of corporations, is considered by these lawyers as recognizing labor's "property rights in jobs."

Republican Representative Michener of Michigan questioned Commissioner William O. Douglas on the implications of the proposal: "Fundamentally, that must, of necessity, recognize the property right of the employe in his job." "Yes," replied Douglas. "He would not be in the court unless he had a property right. Is that correct?"

"Well," replied Douglas, "a property right with quotes around property, I mean it is a recognition of the direct impact of reorganization on labor. In many of these situations labor receives the first direct impact of default or collapse, for reorganization frequently entails labor displacement." By itself this proposed change in the bankruptcy laws may not mean much but it is a sign of the growing recognition that organized labor is a factor that can no longer be ignored where its interests are involved even indirectly. The CIO as well as the AFL is backing this measure.

If you are an open shop employer of labor and have therefore been wondering about President Roosevelt's "outright" support of the "communist" Lewis and his CIO; or if you are a Michigan Republican Congressman who has been wondering about the "sphnix-like silence of the President when appeals are made for protection against violent, law defiant and sometimes nearly seditious methods of CIO operatives" you have but to read today's editorial (June 16) in the Detroit Free Press for the answer. Says the DFP: "A statement filed last week by the Democratic National Committee . . . says that the committee still owes \$50,000 to the United Mine Workers (John L. Lewis' union) the unpaid balance of a campaign loan. . . . the revelation that a major political party is debtor in a substantial way to a politically-minded labor union is a matter of . . . real consequence. "More even than outright campaign contributions made by the C.I.O., the loan places the Administration which benefited from it in November under a heavy moral— or should one say, immoral— obligation to a special class interest." In other words the President just sold himself to John L. Lewis and therefore has to do his bidding.

ALP Convention Meets; Girds For Coming City Campaign

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

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

Gustave Strebler, the State Director, reviewed the short history of the party, showing how necessary it was to place it on a sound and independent foundation after the elections last November. The same idea was stressed by Alex Rose, secretary of the party. Loud applause greeted his statement that, "in order to achieve greater political success, we must maintain our identity and employ methods that are distinctly and decidedly our own. We must not be confused with any existing political party. We must be a party that will be direct and simple. We must not try to solve every international problem that appears on the horizon. . . . We must be a party that is concerned in the immediate problems which concern the great majority of workers and citizens."

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

S. P. AND SPAIN

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

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

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

YCL and Labor Youth Movement

(Continued from Page 5)

normal activities not in the Y's but in the union halls, and when the labor party movement is ripe, to be part of the labor party. Therein lies the only possible basis for a youth movement that can effectively answer the needs of its participants—a labor youth movement.

YCL Sets An Example

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

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

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

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

Civil War In Spain

(Continued from Page 3)

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

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

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

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

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

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

It came out reading:

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

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

* * *

Next Week: SPAIN'S MILITARY MEN

Monroe Meeting Forces Renewal of Picketing Rights



EUROPE TODAY

(Continued from Page 4)

masses and agitate for the following minimum demands:

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

German and the Italian troops must be withdrawn from Spain.

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

* * *

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

The CIO And Labor Peace

(Continued from Page 2)

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

The Road to Unity

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

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