# Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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# 'Unity' Split

## **Administrator For** Lansing Local

Lansing, Mich.

President Homer Martin of the United Automobile Workers has designated Lester Washburn, Regional Director and member of the International Executive Board, as administrator of the Lansing local, after "unity" caucus forces had attempted to execute a coup d'etat. The "unity" caucus attempt to capture the local thru the Fisher Body Division which it controlled from the top, came one day after a conference with national leaders of the administration, in which they talked peace but apparently prepared for war. Ryan, leader of the Fisher Body division, attended the so-called "unity conference" but, upon his return to Lansing he opened a slashing attack against the leadership of the union nationally and locally as "communists' who must be thrown out of union leadership! Reports to the same effect appeared in the local press.

Upon appointment as administrator, Washburn readily assumed personal charge over all divisions and activities and issued a call for a joint council meeting consisting delegates of all divisions. This

ference, held last Saturday ard Washburn's detailed report ..d voted overwhelmingly to approve the report, to accept Washburn as administator and to stand by the decisions and policies of the International union.

It will be recalled that the "unity" caucus leader, Ryan, was the mainspring in the attempt to provoke a sit-down in the Fisher Body plant about the time of the Pontiac sit-down. On that occasion President Martin appeared before the membership meeting and succeeded in securing the support of the workers against the rash action proposed by Ryan.

The local press last Sunday carried stories quoting "unity" caucus supporters as expressing themselves in favor of secession from the U.A.W.

### Flint UAW Bans Local Break-Up

Flint, Mich.

The Buick division of the U.A. W.'s Flint local decisively defeated Local 156 and to petition the Inter- in a few weeks, and the consequent a proposal to break away from national Executive Board for a increase in unemployment after brings back the days of 1932, the the three days of balloting, showed the proposal to have been defeated by a 3 to-1 majority.

This defeat constitutes a major blow to the waning "unity" caucus in Flint. It is obvious that the proposal for the new charter was a desperate attempt of the "unity" caucus to salvage at least one division. The Progressives conducted an aggressive fight against splitting the amalgamted set-up.

### "PEACE" TALKS HIT SNAG

Negotiations between A. F. of L and C.I.O., resuming last Tuesday at Washington, faced a new deadlock in view of the continued re-

# UAW Blocks | House Kills Wages Bill

#### Martin Names Washburn | Southern Democrats Join Republicans; Stand Of A.F.L. Helps Defeat

By a vote of 216 to 198, the House of Representatives decided last week to recommit the Wages-and-Hours Bill to the Labor Committee, thereby killing it as far as the present special session of Congress is concerned. This action of the House came as a severe blow to the administration altho, in his opening message to the special session, Roosevelt had himself somewhat soft-pedalled the issue.

Thru constant revision, the original Biack-Connery bill had been mangled beyond recognition and largely beyond any real effectiveness in meeting the problem of substandard wages and hours, with the result that a considerable num ber of its former advocates joined in the move to send it back to the committee. But the real enemy of the measure was the block formed by reactionary Democrats, largely Southerners determined to preserve sweatshop conditions in their states, with the Republicans in the House. Even in New Deal circles, there was hesitation about "annoying business" at a time when Roosevelt seemed to be eager to win its "good-will and coopera-

The ambiguous position of the A. F. of L., which masked the hostility of the Frey-Wharton group to wage-hour legislation as such under an "improved" bill of its own, contributed to the defeat of the measure.

# SWOC Holds Convention To Map New Pact Policy

# Phil Murray's Report

(We present below extracts from the address of Philip Murray, chairman, to the convention of the S. W. O.C. at Pittsburgh.—THE EDITOR.) \* \* \*

E IGHTEEN months ago, we had no members in the S.W.O.C Almost every steel town in the United States was a company town where not only the economic life of the wage earners was controlled by the captains of industry but their political life as well; industry with the 50 years of non-union tradition behind it; 50 years of actual control and domination by the greatest steel companies of this country. Men and women then could not join unions of their own choosing without assuming the hazard o being discharged and evicted from their homes, or otherwise discriminated against.

BUT let us recount our accomplishments during that short period of time.

We have almost one-half million members in this organization; we have 1,080 lodges created and have negotiated 445 collective bargaining agreements. Our efforts have resulted, during this 18-month period, in the bringing about of annual wage increases to the employees amounting to two hundred



PHILIP MURRAY

million dollars; the work-week has peen shortened from 48 hours to 40 hours. Seniority rights have been recognized; and grievance machinery has been provided for the protection of the members. These accomplishments speak more loud y than any words I might say to you

By and large, in this industry, we have established for the steel workers of the nation . . . the right to belong to a union of their own choosing without fear of discrimination on the part of their employer. We have also established. during this brief period of time . . the right to vote for those whom their conscience dictates. And now, my friends, at the end of this 18 months, we find hundreds of delegates assembled in this historic convention—the largest convention of steel workers ever held in the history of this nation. \*

OUR country today is encountering another very severe (Continued on Page 4)

#### By M. S. MAUTNER were being towed under by the anchor cable of the falling rate HE ghost of Hoover is abroad and amount of profits, been to "encourage" industry itself, to stimulate production by gigantic loans thru the R F.C. Now,

**New Deal Eats Crow** 

in the land, stalking amid the same conditions of onrushing depression, and mournfully voicing the same proposals against which the New Deal stormed its way to But the corporeal form which this ghost has assumed among men is-Franklin D. Roosevelt!

#### The New Depression And The

Faced by a decline in industrial increase in unemployment which administration has completely reversed what the New York Times calls the "classic" New Deal policy in attempting to "meet" the situation. The artificial stimulation given to American capitalism by the New Deal had as its major feature the "increase of mass purchasing power," expressed in unemployment relief and work relief. That is, it sought to stimulate production by stimulating the possibilities of purchasing products. The institution of this policy coincided with a cyclical upturn in American and world capitalism and thereby appeared to be far more successful than it could have been by itself.

The policy of Hoover, which had fusal of the federation leaders to failed not merely from the point admit the C.I.O. as a whole with-out exceptions into the A. F. of L. also that of the capitalists, who

in the face of conditions very similar to those that faced the Hoover regime, Roosevelt gives precisely the same answer. The opening gun, saluting the

change in governmental policy, was touched off by Secretary Morgenthau in an address at the Academy of Political science on November production symbolized by steel's 10. His speech was hailed far and toboggan slide from 90 to 35 with-10. His speech was hailed far and the New York Times, with sneering contempt for the fallen by the triumphant Herald-Tribune. His essential proposal, of course, agreed upon by the administration beforehand, was to promise industry that there would be no further "terrorization by taxation" and no further competition by government spending for construction in such fields as housing and power.

#### Back To The 1929 Psychology

"In a sense", comments David Lawrence, "we are back to the psychology of November and December 1929, when President Hoover was importuned on all sides to 'do something.' He begged the utility and construction industries and business generally not to reduce their pay-rolls and to keep their spending programs. But he could not beat the tide of deflation which began to set in eventually.

(Continued on Page 4)

### Strikes on Ships Banned by U.S.A.

A jury in a Baltimore Federal court, aided by the instructions of Judge Chesnut, found the fourteen striking seamen of the government-owned Algic guilty of mutiny." The conviction was based egally on a statute of 1790, which charged them with conspiracy and revolt against the "authority of the master of the vessel."

The prosecution was conducted by a federal attorney. In his charge to the jury, Judge Chesnut declared that strikes "against the laws of the United States had no justification or place in the law."

The union will appeal the case. which, if allowed to pass unchallenged, would make impossible unionization on government-owned ships and would lay the basis for similar anti-unionism on other lines. Declaring strikes illegal on board ships must be considered as part of the government's drive towards war and military dictator-

### Half Million in **CIO Steel Union**

Over 1,600 delegates, representng nearly 500,000 steel workers organized in 1,080 lodges of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O., met last week at Pittsburgh in convention primarily to discuss the renewal of the collective agreements between the S.W.O.C. and 445 steel-making companies in the industry. The convention was a magnificent demonstration of the tremendous achievement of the C.I.O. in organizing over half a million workers in the steel industry and obtaining recognition and contracts from Big Steel-all in less than a year and a half of activity.

The convention was not a "constitutional" one; that is, it was not concerned with setting up a new international union out of the S.W.O.C., for which it was felt the time was not yet ripe. The convention did adopt a large number of resolutions on a variety of matters and listened to a number of prominent speakers, including John L. Lewis, but its main business was the problem of renewing the existing collective agreements, which are scheduled to expire on February 28, 1938. By unanimous vote, it was decided to leave the negotiation of the "best possible" agreement in the hands of the executive officers and the scale committee of the S.W.O.C.

In his report, Philip Murray, chairman of the S.W.O.C., called sharp attention to effects of the present economic recession upon the steel industry. A careful survey showed, he said, that more than 224,000 steel workers or 28% had been laid off since the slump began and that nearly 500,000 more, or 57% were on part-time employment; only 15% were still fully employed. In addition, technological changes were bringing with them the danger of permanent mass disemployment; indeed, it was anticipated that only 20% of the 125,000 steel workers "normally employed in the sheet bar. heavy plate, sheet and black plate mills will still have jobs" in 1941. Resolutions adopted called for a vast governmental housing program, involving a five billion dollion dollar appropriation, starting with the use of the federal socialsecurity funds. The convention also decided to instruct the lodges to set up unemployment committees to look after the interests of unemployed members, especially in connection with the relief and works projects.

Considerable criticism was voiced of the National Labor Relations Board for its recent decisions making it possible for small groups of craft-union adherents to split the ranks of the workers in big industrial plants and to frustrate the will of the majority by allowing such groups to function as separate bargaining units. It was pointed out that this was not a criticism of the Wagner Act but rather of its recent administration by a majority of two of the threeman N.L.R.B.

The question of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity arose several times in the course of the convention. Mr. Mur-(Continued on Page 4)

### **WORKERS AGE**

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WHAT CAN WE DO?

December 25, 1937

# Lovalists for Trotskvist Plots") and requests us to answer it. We have read this article very careful-

THE bombing of the American gunboat, Panay by Japanese aircraft, has naturally aroused a great deal of excitement in this country. Resentment is high among all sections of the people and there is a strong desire to "do something" about it, mingled with a certain anxiety lest the United States be swallowed up in the whirlpool of war as a result What is there we can do about the situation in the

Far East? This is a question that increasing masses of American workers and middle-class people are striving to answer. The Stalinites, the most vociferous element of the rapidly forming war party in this country, are trying to turn this anti-Japanese sentiment among the people into active jingoism and warmongering. These Pied Pipers of chauvinism arc calling upon the masses to follow them along a road that can lead only to ruin and disaster.

What action can the labor movement and other progressive elements of the population take in the present crisis and yet not play into the hands of our own imperialists, jingoes and war-makers?

In the first place, we must demand a strict government ban on the extension of credits to Japan, on the export of arms, munitions or war supplies to that country. It is a notorious and scandalous fact that the Japanese robber campaign in China would never have been possible without the financial and industrial assistance of the "great democracies." Obviously, we must insist that the government put an end to such outright support of Japanese imperialism by placing an embargo on all credits and war materials to Japan.

But, in this field, especially, pressure upon the government is by no means the whole of our job. Much more central and much more vital is the task of mobilizing the workers for direct action to enforce such an anti-Japanese embargo, regardless of what the government may do. In an editorial in its issue of December 14, the Daily Worker calls for the "cooperative action" of the United States, Great Britain, France and "other democracies" against Japan, that is, for an imperialistic coalition of Japan's rivals in the Far East in pursuance of their own predatory interests. As against this, we urge cooperative action of the labor movements of the United States, Great Britain, France and other countries to prevent, by strike action, if necessary, any shipment of munitions or implements of war to Japan. Let us recall, for inspiration and guidance, the great so idarity action of the British, French and Czech workers in 1920, who refused to handle supplies sent by the "great democracies" to Poland for the war against Soviet Russia; let us not forget the courageous movement of the West Coast longshoremen who rose against American intervention in Siberia in 1919 by obstructing shipments across the Pacific. Fundamentally, only united labor action on an international scale can be really effective against Japan. And only such united labor action can curb the imperialistic designs on China entertained by the "great democracies" as we'l.

For our fight cannot be directed against Japanese imperialism alone, or rather, our fight against Japanese imperialism cannot mean very much unless we direct our fire also against American imperialism, the imperialism of our own ruling class, which differs from the Japanese variety in nothing but national color and practical position in China at the moment. What are the American "stakes" in the Far East of which we hear so much in the press, including the Daily Worker? They are the investments of huge banks and trusts, the extensive commercial privileges of various capitalist groups in this country. These are the "interests" that are being defended by U. S. gunboats and Marines in China. But why should the masses of the American people be called upon to safeguard the imperialistic privileges of a handful of financiers and bankers who profit only thru the exploitation of the Chinese people? How can we fight with clean hands against Japanese imperialism in China if we do not raise our voices against American imperialism as well? Does foreign imperialism taste any better to the Chinese people because the domestic regime of the robber power is "democratic" rather than militaristic? As the hard-pressed Chinese masses. no one takes the C.P. seriously.

# **SORIA'S POUM "STORY"** IS BRAZEN FRAUD

A sends us a letter enclosing the a foreign journalist named Georarticle by Georges Soria in the ges Soria, with the following titles: Daily Worker of November 26, 1937 ("Spanish Fascists Shielding Nin, P.O.U.M. Chief, Arrested by y and we have the following to say one condition: that we be allowed

1. Every sentence, every word or the article is a piece of brazen and deliberate fabrication. There is not a single "fact" brought forward that is not an unsubstantiated allegation, completely unsupported y any evidence. Georges Soria just makes up his "facts" as he goes along without any regard for reality or consistency. It is, therefore, impossible seriously to discuss his "charges."

2. The Workers Age has published extensive material to prove that the so-called "charges" of espionage and fascist activities on which the P.O.U.M. leaders were arrested are taken seriously by literally nobody in Spain except the Stalinites themselves; they have, in fact, been repudiated, in one form or another, by representatives of every section of loyalist public opinion except the Stalinites, by the Republicans, by the socialists of every variety, by the C.N.T., by the U.G.T., and so on. We may refer particularly to Fenner Brockway's reports in the July 31, August 7 and December 18 issues of the Workers Age and to special items appearing in the August 28. September 22 and September 29

3. The articles by Georges Soria, of which only one appeared in the with the attempts once made by Daily Worker, have an interesting history. These articles were first scheduled to be published in the Verdad, Stalinist paper in Valencia | Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxem-When this became known, the Valencia committee of the P.O.U.M addressed to following letter to the Minister of the Interior:

"The Valencian newspaper, Verty, announces the publication of a treachery and degradation!

reader of the Workers Age | series of eleven articles written by (There follows a list of the eleven titles, including attacks against the P.O.U.M., Nin, etc., as fascist organizations and agents.)

"We see no objection to the pub lication of these articles. But on our legitimate right of self defense, that is, that our answers to this series of slanderous and insulting attacks be not vitiated by difficulties of pre-censorship. For if a foreign journalist, M. Soria, can be permitted the use of the columns of a newspaper published n Spain to calumniate and slander Spanish citizens, we believe that the latter should not be denied the right of defending themselves and establishing the truth. And, if M Soria has something to say on the 'flight' of Nin, we too have a few

things to say on that subject. "We, therefore, respectfully request that you give orders to the officials charged with the censorship, in case of the publication of the articles by the foreign journalist. M. Soria, that we be permitted to reply to these attacks by means of the press. We believe. Sir. that we are asking for nothing excessive. Sincere greetings, (signed) for the Provincial Committee

It is significant to note that these articles did not appear either in the Verdad or in the Paris Human

The efforts of the Stalinist murderers to absolve themselves of the responsibility for the assassination of Andres Nin (and who knows how many other P.O.U.M., C.N.T., and U.G.T. militants!) is on a par the apologists for Noske and Scheidemann to evade the responsibility for inciting the murder of burg. Only Noske and Scheidemann did not sink to the level of charging that Karl and Rosa were "outright agents of the monarchists." Here is where the Stalinites dad, organ of the Communist Par- have really broken all records of

# A Letter from England

lish correspondent, we take the follow- understanding that all references ing interesting excerpts.—The Editor)

THE London News Chronicle, Reed's work is not to be serialized. with 1,335,000 circulation of Can you imagine anything so stuered to run in serial form John pid as all that? I do not suppose Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the that more than 10,000 copies of World," on which the Communist this book have been sold in the Party holds the copyright. Ar- British Isles and, when the opporrangements were completed and tunity comes of putting it before the advertisements issued. Then so many people, the Communist the C.P. informed them that per- Party raises this shameful objec-

part of our struggle in desense of the Chinese people, we must de- on the civil war in Russia was remand the abandonment by the United States of all "our" im- Wishart. Then they rang up bookperialistic privileges and positions sellers and ordered all copies back in the Far East and the withdrawal because, "thru a mistake," names of all American troops and battle- of people who "really had nothing ships. The Stalinites and other war- to do with it" appeared in the mongers call this a policy of work. The persons named are "scuttle-and-run." Yes, it is a among Stalin's latest victims. policy of "scuttling" the profitmaking interests of Wall Street in China, a policy of "running" away from where "we" had no business being in the first place! Labor has no conceivable interest in defending the financial stakes of American big business in the Far East especially since these big-business

royalists whom labor is called upon to fight so bitterly at home.

(From a recent letter from an Eng- | mission had been granted on the to Trotsky and others in opposition should be stricken out! The News Chronicle refused and so John

The Minister for War visits the National Trade Union Club in Lon don and is given a luncheon by trade-union leaders. The purpose of the luncheon is to assist in the recruiting campaign of the Gov ernment. At the luncheon, Ton Mann stood with the Minister for War, Mr. Hore Belisha, and toasted imperialists are the very economic recruiting!

The Communist Party has ad A vigorous and militant struggle dressed a letter to the Labor Party, against Japanese and American virtually declaring itself ready to imperialism alike, is necessary if do anything if it is accepted into we want to bring effective aid to the Labor Party. But, of course, By Lambda

## **WORLD TODAY**

Halifax-Hitler Talks May Involve U. S. Credits To Nazi Germany

November 24, 1937.

ORD HALIFAX'S trip to Berlin and Berchtes-La gaden gave rise to various theories in the international press. It was rumored that England, with America's approval, had raised the question of granting credits and other facilities to Germany in the hope that a prosperous Germany, part and parcel of the Anglo-American business world, would be easier to deal with politically. Such a proposal is entirely in keeping with present-day Anglo-American politics. Actually, such a policy would be as futile and as mistaken as was the belief of the social-democrats and Republicans that Hitler could be "checked" if given power. Hitler-Germany will exploit any and every financial aid to increase her military prowess. No guarantees whatsoever will or can be given to

Immediately following the departure of Lord Halifax, Hitler made a speech at Augsburg in which he told his audience that Germany may have to wait five or six years before her demand for colonies would be satisfied-which leads us to conclude that Hitler was given promises of concessions along other lines by the British envoy. Details of the discussions between Hitler and Lord Halifax are not and may never be available but it is generally known that Germany wants a free hand in Central and Eastern Europe and is casting hopeful glances at Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, in particular.

#### PRIETO AND THE C.P. OF SPAIN

TAVING done their share in stifling the prole-Tarian revolution and in undermining the morale of the working class in its deadly struggle with fascism, the Communist Party of Spain is now being "eliminated" by the Prieto forces in order to pave the way for a "compromise" with France Prieto is systematically cleansing the army of representatives and agents of the C.P. Gene-Pozas, recently in charge of the Aragon front (... was he who led the government forces against the C.N.T., F.A.I. and P.O.U.M. in May of this year). has been arrested. Alvarez del Vayo, a C.P. man, has been relieved of his military post. The political commissars of the C.P. active in the army are being demoted. Caballero's influence, on the other hand, is rising despite or rather because of the attacks of the C.P. on him. He is convening a congress of the U.G.T. It has become quite evident that the terrorism unleashed against the P.O.U.M. has not destroyed it as a political factor but has aroused widespread sympathy for it amongst the working class. In sheer despair, the C.P. is suddenly calling for the defense of the "revolutionary achievements' Alas, it is too late, nor does the appeal ring true!

### FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN MOROCCO

THE People's Front government has ordered ruthless suppression in Morocco, which recently witnessed a number of violent clashes between French colonial authorities and natives suffering from acute economic conditions brought on by colonial exploi-

The effect of this regime on the French People's Front parties in Morocco is well described by Marcean Pivert, the leader of the left wing of in Populaire (October 30, 1937):

"We shall not permit our socialist papers, such as Socialist Morocco, to be suppressed; militant members of our party, such as Ben Salem, to be arrested; the leaders of the anti-fascist Moroccans to be thrown into prison; in short, the interests of the democratic and proletarian cause to be shamefully betrayed. . . . We want our socialist ministers to heed our voice and change, or demand a change in policy even at the risk of alarming the bourgeoisie, which is mortally afraid of the formation of a revolutionary opposition.

"What matter if, as class relations sharpen, the C.P., in an attempt to silence us, uses stronger means than slander or fist fights. (Pivert is referring to incidents at a joint C.P.-S.P. meeting which he attended.—Lambda.) Those who fight us in this way are discrediting themselves and sealing their own doom. Those who use fascist methods to fight fascism are not the ones who will defeat fascism. Nin's death will do more to make libertarian socialism popular than years of peaceful propaganda or abstract theorizing."

# "The Flivver King"

education on a titanic scale latent nies forecast coming events that in the C.I.O. unions is the fact will have tremendous influence on that the United Auto Workers the future of the French working have ordered a special edition of class and the international prole-Upton Sinclair's "Flivver King" tariat. for distribution to members-an edition of 200,000. This enormous figure, which makes all book clubs and best sellers pale and wan in comparison, is but a hint of what progressive and alert unions might do in promoting a virile and genuine workers culture—I shun the phrase "proletarian literature"

In "Flivver King," Upton Sinclair has, wisely, refrained from writing a volume of rank propaganda. Sinclair is not-never has been-a great writer or especially competent technically. But he has a gift for this sort of book; the common touch that makes an anec dote well told or an old bit of folk-lore into literature. Just as surely as he once made the stockyards stink in America's nostrils, he now recreates Detroit: Detroit, the oversized country town of 1900, the boom city of the 1920's, alities have resorted to direct action the starving, rebellious era of depression and the new militancy of Henry Ford is the enigma of our

generation. To those who remember the fantastic "Peace Ship" episode and Ford's refusal to sell to the belligerent nations, he cannot be fitted into the standard pattern of the profiteer. This enigma is the undertone of Sinclair's little book. He doesn't attempt to solve it but he offers a subtle key by telling his story in the parallel lives of Abner Shutt, Ford spindle-nut screwer-on, and tion drove him to a moment of the Flivver King himself. Sinclair is explicit in detailing the economic storms that buffet Abner Shutt. the winters of unemployment, the ficulties on the scheming Elders weary days of fruitless job-hunting. Merely suggested is the point Independent was exposing. Abner that economic forces battered Henry Ford too, changing him from the confused, blundering altruist of pre-war days into the flinty master of the greatest industrial of this world as a highly-paid resespionage and terror system in istance welder—subject none-thethis country. After absorbing Sinclair's picture, one can find some too, became respectable as a thug plausibility in the theory that Ford is little better than a prisoner of Harry Bennett and the on to the production line, became was initiated in England and men and it is not with your nation gorilla-gang of the Ford Service a union organizer and is left, at France by those supporting the that we come into conflict, but Department—an old man terrified by reports of imminent attacks and the yellow Michigan mud, victim thru a shady 'compromise'. In prac- bent on defending their privileges.

Henry Ford's real triumphs were those of machinist and organizer, mud before the slogan "Organize co Spain that can well be imagined. French democracy." reaching their climax in that Ford!" is changed into a mighty The Communist Party of Spain period of American history known fact. To the Model T mind of thus now wants to defeat fascism made the following reply in L'Hupay relatively high wages. With an ever-expanding industrial empire, he could shift men to new jobs when technical progress abolished their posts. But-and here is the failure of Ford and the tragedy of Abner Shutt-he could not prevent other auto giants from encroaching on his domain, forcing him to meet public demand for new models, forcing him to become the most ruthless of the labor-smashing employers of the motor kingdom.

One attempt Ford did make to solve the riddle of this complex social order. That was his illstarred publicizing of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" in the Dearborn Independent. It was the almost primitive reaction of the uneducated man to personalize the problem of evil, to find a devil as the basis of social ills, to reject incomprehensible theoretical arguments in favor of a wicked

# People's Front and the Colonies

SIGNIFICANT of the unprecedented possibilities of mass RECENT developments in France's North-African colo-The mass resentment and un-

rest sweeping France's colonial empire exposes the imperialist characten of the Popular Front government and the complete bankruptcy of the People's Front policy of the Communist Interna-

The unrest in North Africa an other French colonies can be attributed, primarily, to the inability of the Popular Front to carry out even the most elementary reform to alleviate the disastrous economic conditions of the French colonial peoples.

Betraying The Colonial Masses Under the Popular Front regime, colonial conditions have become in creasing worse; the agitation for national liberation increasingly louder: and the oppressed nationto throw off the yoke of French imperialism.

The C.P. of France resorted the most despicable type of demagogy and chicanery to reconcile oppressed nationalities to the yoke of French imperialism and frus-

"plotter" with blood-stained whiskers-the Jew.

The mind and body of Abner Shutt were Model T by-products. Abner was a contented serf in the Flivver King's suzerainity (starvashame-faced revolt), joyfully accepting the omnipotence and benevolence of Ford, blaming all difwhose machinations the Dearborn world. John joined the aristocracy of Harry Bennett's gangsters.

BUT

AND

PORTRAIT OF AMERICA

Itrate their struggles for national | and loyalty of the French C.P. to liberation.

Speaking for the Syrian peoples. L'Humanite offers the following: press quotes traitorous remarks "What do our comrades in Syria of persons who abhor the tricolor demand? Their most ardent wish of the Republican France. is to live in fraternity with the and fascism. They accept the communists. task . . . to consecrate their forces to this salutary task. . . . "

Despite the efforts of the Starising began to break out in French

The Popular Front government mmediately employed every repressive method to put down these colonial revolts. The Popular Front summarily suppressed an incipient revolt in Syria and established in French Indo-China a bloody regime that jails and tortures revolutionists and that would make the Nazis blush with envy.

of France, announced the complete olidarity of all true Frenchmen ehind such policies of the Popular

Declaring the super-patriotism

#### IS SPANISH C. P. **SURRENDING?**

The Alsatian labor paper, Ar-"In connection with this turn in and 200 landowners. Soviet diplomacy, we can readily claration by the secretary of the heartedly endorsed by the C.P. of few days later, to the effect that African delegation that had come the Communist Party has come out to Paris to support the Viollette less to lay-off and pay-cut. Hank, for a general referendum in Spain Plan. L'Humanite featured the folin order to show that the country lowing address made by a C.P is against Franco! The idea of such Algerian stooge, Dr. Ben Dhelloul: the end of Sinclair's book, lying in ending of the Spanish civil war only with the big colonial settlers tise, this means that an armistice | . . . The Viollette Plan tends to as-Many more good men are going must be declared and a referendum sure more strongly the unity of to lie smashed in that yellow taken under circumstances in Fran- Algeria within the bosom

as the Era of Model T. In the Abner Shutt, to the minds of men not with arms but with ballots." manite: "We congratulate ourdays of Model T's glory, Ford's like John and Hank Shutt, the We call upon the Stalinist press selves and we congratulate you for est fraternal solidarity to the reideal of a mass-production profit blood of the martyrs calls in vain. to make its position clear immethe moderate character of your volutionary student movement of system conferring greater and But these slave minds grow fewer diately and without delay. Is it demands." greater benefits on the worker, had and fewer. A new generation true that the Spanish Communist As a moderate expression of the ents of Spain. some intelligibility. Without commans the assembly lines at River Party is preparing to support the justice one may receive within the ouge—a generation that will be treacherous and capitulatory plan bosom of French "democracy" of British imperialism?

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by Diego Rivera and Bertram D. Wolfe

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French imperialism, Thorez solemnly swears: "The reactionary

"The C.P. which considers it its

inites, sporadic revolts and up- what the tricolor means in the his- dreds of thousands of students who and knows, too, that the popular for the maintenance of peace." masses see in the tricolor the em-

The Violette Plan

blem of liberty."

To defeat the struggle of the Algerian people for national liberation, the Popular Front govern- fought against the Oxford Pledge. ment instituted the infamous Viol- and refused to take it when adlette Plan. The Viollette Plan is ministered. This betrayal of the a typical colonial scheme to sow A.S.U. program must be most vig-division in the ranks of the Al-orously fought and exposed. The Thruout the vast French empire, gerian people. The plan offers adoption of "collective security" millions of colonial subjects are 22,000 French citizenships to loyal into the A.S.U. program and the denied the most elementary civil Algerian subjects while millions of elimination of the Oxford Pledge rights. The great "democratic" Algerian people are deprived of from it would mean the open mob-Popular Front government passed all rights of citizenship. Such a laws restricting freedom of speech plan creates a caste of privileged and assembly. All parties of the individuals that would defend Popular Front, thanks to the C.P. French rule in Algeria. The following list of those eligible to win French citizenship is quite interesting: retired officers of French army; retired soldiers who have won the Croix De Guerre; graduates of higher institutions of learning; members of the chambers of commerce or agriculture; Algerian officials and tribal leaders of the French regime; workers who have won "medal of labor;" trade union officials ten years in office; 200 merchants, industrial beiterpolitik, makes the following lists or artisans in each department startling charge in a recent issue: to be selected by the government

The Viollette Plan was published understand the meaning of the de- in the French press and whole-Spanish Communist Party, Diaz, a France. Thorez welcomed a North

"We consider ourselves French-

Thorez, beaming with pride,

# Oxford Pledge: "The A.S.U. accepts without reservation the Oxford Pledge

The Road for The A.S.U.

THE main attack of the Y.C.L.

that section of the A.S.U. program

which calls for the support of the

however, has been centered on

France of the People's Front. They great task to reconcile those who 'to refuse to support any war conwant to tighten the bonds which hate the tricolor flag of our fa- ducted by the United States Govunite them to France. They want there and those who hate the red ernment. We will endeavor to win collaboration with it, to preserve flag of our hopes, is certain that universal support of this pledge; the people from the curse of war such remarks do not emanate from we regard it not merely as a statement of conviction but as a "Our party, desiring the unity of powerful deterrent of government the French nation into a free, action; we believe that it will bestrong and happy France, knows come the focal point for those huntory of the people of our country wish to join in exerting pressure The sabotage of the Oxford

Pledge by the Y.C.L. came into clear evidence at the City College of New York peace meeting of November 12th, 1937, where the Y.C.L. leadership of the A.S.U. ilization of the student movement behind American imperialism.

The renewed outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the imminent danger of a "settlement" by the world imperialist powers at the expense of the Chinese masses, makes it imperative that the A.S.U. immediately rally American students in support of independent labor action against Japanese imperialism and for wholenearted material and moral aid to the Chinese people.

Realizing the world-wide signifcance of the present struggle in Spain, the A.S.U. must also give s fullest support to all genuine anti-fascist forces in Spain, particularly those of the workers and peasants, who, for sixteen months, have heroically resisted the onlaught of fascism.

#### The Student and International Solidarity

The A.S.U. must not limit itself o efforts to rally the students of this country against war; it must give support to, and exchange experiences with, the international student movement, particularly the movement in countries under the domination of American imperialism (Cuba, Puerto Rico, etc.). Nor should the American Student Union forget its fraternal obligations to the self-sacrificing anti-fascist student movements of Italy, Germany and other fascist and semifascist countries. An immediate China and to the anti-fascist stud-

#### Democracy in the A.S.U.

An important reason for the failure of the A.S.U. to grow is its burocratic control and domination by the Y.C.L. The Y.C.L. has attempted to foist its political opinions upon the A.S.U., threatening to oust all political elements who support the official A.S.U. anti-war program. If the A.S.U., at its coming convention during Christmas week, is to start out on the road to a mass student movement, it must take steps to guarantee the fullest and most democratic expression of views in its ranks.

#### Our Program

This is our program for the building of a mass progressive student movement. This is where we stand on the American Student

1. For cooperation with the or-(Concluded on Page 4)

# French Colonial Policy

(Continued from Page 3) readers of L'Humanite were jailed in French colonies under the Popular Front Government and given six months in prison for the crime of having L'Humanite in their possession!

#### Reaction In North Africa

To liquidate opposition to French imperialism, the Popular Front government dissolved L'Etoile Nord-Africaine (nationalist organzation for the defense of the interests of the Algerian, Moroccan and Tunisian Moslems).

Backing the government in this act of treachery, the C.P. of France branded the leaders of L'Etoile Nord-Africaine as "fascists" and "Hitlerites."

In El Ouma (organ of L'Etoile Nord-Africaine) appeared the following statement addressed to the C.P. of France:

"They have betrayed us. The People's Front is perjured. The People's Front has sacrificed one of its partners with the support of the communists.

"The Etoile Nord-Africaine, member of the People's Front, has just been dissolved by this same People's Front.

"The political party which most sought the alliance with us, and on which many of us believed we could count, has become our bitterest enemy and the accomplice of the government which has just opinion for the terrible blow which the government was getting ready to deliver to a Moslem workers orwhite in Humanite. .

"Hitlerites: we who have fought than any other organization or party! Hitlerites: we who have had our places at the side of the workers from the first.... There isn't a sensible, an honest worker who can believe your nonsense. Say rather then that you have taken the place of imperialism or endorsed its acts and that you have become chauvinists of the worst kind and allies of colonialism. . . . After all the program of L'Etoile dates from 1926. Since that time you have known its leaders and its program. Knowing, you approved of our declarations; more, you defended and supported us until June 1936. That is, as long as you weren't in power. That is, before you were singing the Marseillaise and before those you were calling 'gueules de vaches' (pig snouts) had become **'C**omrade Generals.'

"Things have changed? Certainly they have, but not with us. If your concern for 'national defense' left you a little respite, you might perhaps recall your former at a very early date . . . a program doctrine, which was for the defense of public housing which might tend of the oppressed and the liberation to restore employment at a very of the colonies. But that was when early date. you were against the bourgeoisie and against war. . .

"It is unheard of; many of us dare not believe their eyes. But which might be presented to the each will be forced to give in to next session of Congress, contemthe facts. Each of us will find in it, too, a foretaste of the paradise awaiting us when you rule the that can be utilized for these con roost.

"In trying to make those pass for fascists who are the very ones moved by hatred for fascism, you are only provoking antagonism between French workers and the Algerian workers. . . . Brotherhood with Comrades North Africans was good when the fascist danger seemed threatening. At that moment, the Etoile Nord-Africaine was excellent.... But now we must be made to pass as fanatics. So be it Messers. 'Defenders of the Oppressed.' You have your hand raised. Strike! But strike hard for we die hard. Others already have utmost cooperation during these beaten us aplenty without results. deliberations. I want this country Even your blows, treacherously to know, despite the idle mouthings

will only make given. stronger. Let the combat as it will, we shall be the victors in the end. First, because Algeria and the Algerians are ours. Next, because French opinion itself will confound you and condemn you if your own conscience does not inflict upon you the punishment of having renounced your doctrines, trampled on your promises and perjured your pledge of July 14, 1935: Bread, peace, freedom!"

This lengthy indictment against the C.P. of France exposes the treacherous betrayal of the colonial peoples by the Stalinist agents of French imperialism. The People's Front policies of the C.P. of France are rapidly paving the way for fascism in France. The brutal imperialist policies of the Popular Front government in North Africa and perfidy of the French Communist Party are encouraging the trayal. natives of North Africa to look to the fascist demagogs as friends and

(The second article by Clarence Jenkins on French People's Front imperialism in the colonies will appear in the next Issue .- THE EDITOR.)

#### **WOLFE'S PAMPHLET** ON SPAIN READY

"Civil War In Spain," by Bertram D. Wolfe, is off the press and ready for distribution!

Tracing the class struggle in Spain from the overthrow of the monarchy in 1931 to the armed revolt of the counter-revolution on July 19, 1936 and the ensuing civil war and revolution. Wolfe lays bare the social forces at work at every stage of development. Using the weapon of Marxism, the author, who spent several months in Spain, recently, reveals how Azana prepared the rebellion of the fascist generals, how the workers beat back the reaction practically with their bare hands, only to find themselves robbed of the fruits of victory by the People's Front, their organizations and their resistance to fascism weakened by the Stalinist-imperialist terror and be-

The 112 page pamphlet, which contains in addition an introduction by Will Herberg and the already classic "Thesis of Andres Nin," sells for only 25c, with a reduction on bundle orders.

I Order your copies immediately!

### MURRAY'S REPORT TO SWOC STRESSES JOBLESS TASKS

(Continued from Page 1) dissolved us. . . . To prepare public depression. . . . You can appreciate today the position which this great steel industry occupies in our economic life. Mid-July of this year ganization . . . the most stupid the steel industry and its many attacks were printed black on related enterprises were giving normal employment to about 85% of some 800,000 workers employed fascism and suffered for it more directly in the manufacturing of steel and these 19 or 20 associated industries. The officials of this organization have conducted what seems to me to be the best census with relationship to unemployment that has been taken in the industry. We find that, out of these 800,000 workers in the industry, 224,000 are idle today, actually thrown out of work.

Fifteen per cent are working five days per week and 57% of that number are working from 1 to 3 days per week in an industry which is so basic and fundamental to the welfare of our economic and social system that, when it lags, almost every other great industry in these United States lags with it.

The officers of your organization are cognizant of these facts and. recognizing the need of federal action being taken to protect the unemployed, have already suggested to agencies of the federal government constructive measures which might tend to offset unemployment

TXTE are projecting now a consideration of legislation plating an appropriation of nothing less than five billions of dollars structive purposes (housing).

Building as such, under a program such as we have suggested would put to work the steel industry. It would put to work almost every known kind of industrial and manufacturing enterprise in this nation. Because the bricklayer, the plasterer, the cement worker, the wood worker, the carpenter, the electrical worker, every known kind of worker, is put to work to feed the building industry under the general building program.

DESIRE to ask from you your

of a blithering blatherskite named Green, that we have a united labor movement. The interests represented by Green and others, and by Girdler, Weir, Grace and others, shall not deprive us from our intelligent and constructive force.

We want, and must have, within the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, unity. We cannot and will not, tolerate disunity. Our union is young; it is growing, and we must exercise care in the development of this organization till it reaches its maturity.

#### WHICH WAY FOR STUDENT UNION?

(Continued from Page 3) ganized labor movement on the economic front thru a studentlabor coordinating committee!

2. Support of independent labor political action thru the building of labor-party clubs on campus!

3. Support of the Oxford Pledge! Against the "collective-security" panacea!

4. For increased student N.Y.A. appropriations! Fight Roosevelt's war budget! Abolish the R.O.T.C.!

5. For a militant struggle for academic freedom and student rights! 6. For a democratic American

Student Union! November 25, 1937. Student Section

of the Independent Communist Labor League

#### **MEMORANDUM** for You & You & You

Remember to save New Year's Eve for the stupendous Party and Dance at the New Workers School, 131 West 33rd St.

Band, Buffet and Bar Balloons, Blowers—and Free Beer. Get your ticket now for fifty-five cents.

# New Deal Eats Crow

(Continued from Page 1)

In the sense that the program of the New Deal, insofar as it claimed to be the road out of the crisis, is being systematically scrapped and reversed! While the New Deal functioned in the cyclical upturn, it could, very meagerly to be sure, pursue a policy of social legislation, provide for unemployment relief, etc. But in the first test it faces, in the cyclical decline, made worse by the general period of decay of the system, now engulfing the country, it begins to drop its 'classic" policy like a hot potato.

"It would also have been classic New Deal policy", the New York Times comments, "in the face of substantial business recession to move at once to increase the government's expenditures, on the oftstated theory that, when private spending declines, public spending must expand."

And then the Times points to Roosevelt's request for a cut in appropriations for federal road-

bui ding as an example of the"new

#### What Will It Mean For Labor?

What actually will the new program mean for the working class and other economically depressed sections of the population?

While the New Deal is reversing its financial policies as the inevitable prelude to reversing its social policies, it is preparing to

# SWOC Holds Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

ray stressed that the C.I.O. had only feelings of solidarity and friendship for the workers in the A. F. of L. unions; the "split", he said, was with the "palsied leadership" of the Federation. In his address later on in the proceedings, John L. Lewis, who was greeted with an enthusiastic demonstration declared that unity was possible if the A. F. of L. would permit industrial unionism in the basic industries and take in the C.I.O.'s 4,000,000 members all together and without discrimination. "You will admit all of us or none", will obviously be the message that Philip Murray, head of the C.I.O. nego tiating committee, will bring back to the conferences with the A. F. of L., resuming on December 21. The C.I.O. is here to stay, a modern, new labor organization that has already become the main stream of the American labor movement—this was the burden of Mr. Lewis's remarks.

The problem of organizing Little Steel, after the setback a few months ago, was discussed at the gathering

The whole convention was conducted in a spirit of sober responsibility and a realization that the sharp economic recession in which the country finds itself today, has placed exeptional difficulties in the way of the labor movement. These difficulties could be met, both Lewis and Murray emphasized, by a realistic adaptation of the policies of the trade-union movement to the situation, and by active preparation for a militant advance "when the opportunity presents itself."

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amplify and intensify the reactionary features of its domestic policy, features which sometimes appeared openly, sometimes merely as potentials, but features which we have always pointed out as being inherent in the New Deal.

After a conference on housing, held characteristically with such leading lights of the capitalist world as Gerald Swope, president of General Electric; Sloan Colt, president of the Bankers Trust Company; Henry Turner, president of the Turner Construction Co.; Robert Wood, president of Sears-Roebuck, and others, the plans discussed there began to seep out. Two principal obstacles to an extended housing program were "discovered" by the New Dealers: the high cost of building materials and—the high wages of the building workers! A plan to slash the earnings of building trades workers by "guaranteeing" some sort of annual wage, is being seriously discussed in New Deal circles, despite the protest against this plan to cut wages by both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.

What the New Deal wants and is aiming for, however, is the extension of control over labor. Just as in its early period, its spokesman, Hugh Johnson, asked the trade unions to submit to government control, so today the New Deal seeks, with the aid and support of the business world, to establish control over prices, commoditiesand the labor movement! That Roosevelt is playing with this idea. is clear from the results of the conference mentioned above. That it is widely discussed and desired in employing-class circles is made clear by the comment of David Lawrence on the housing program. Writing on November 10 in his syndicated column, he urges:

"To use private banking facilities with the supporting hand of government agencies so that initiative can be developed and leadership assumed, is to encourage the building industry at the psy-chological moment. But finance alone is not everything. Costs of materials and labor have been skyrocketing.

"What will Mr. Roosevelt do to keep the labor factor from getting out of hand. Conceding that wage levels must be maintained or else purchasing power will be impaired, the problem is really how to keep certain trades from getting out of line and throwing the whole economic system out of balance. Here, if ever, is a chance for government to act as co-ordinator" (my emphasis.—M.S.M.).

The New Deal And Big Business The policies of the administration and of big business are now approaching each other—to get out of the depression by lowering the living standards of the masses and to wipe out the gains made by labor during the recent short boomlet. There was never any difference in aim; now there is becoming less difference in method.

The program of the administration is now to run out on its own 'solution" for the crisis, backpedal on social reforms and turn, cautiously at first, against the labor movement which it has kept friendly for so long. Social-security funds, supposedly earmarked for "one-third" of the nation", are to be diverted to aid the capitalists; minor financial reforms, such as the capital-gains and undistributed-profits taxes, are to be scrapped and the tax burden shifted to the lower income brackets; unemployment relief is to be slashed under the guise of balancing the budget; the trade-union movement is to be "controlled", that is, stran-

This is more than merely a return to Hooverism; it is an "advanced" program of capitalism in