

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 7, No. 1.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1938.

5 Cents a Copy

Anglo-French Plot Bared

"Great Democracies" To Grant Demands Of Fascist Powers

What the "great democracies" are planning as regards European politics is becoming clear with reports that are "leaking" out of authoritative quarters in London as to the results of the recent Anglo-French conversations at Downing Street.

1. On Spain: It was definitely decided that Franco must be recognized in the near future. There was considerable discussion as to the regime, with some possibility of the restoration of the monarchy, which would correspond with British desires. The question of the partition of Spain was also raised.

In the discussions, the "example" of Ireland was brought up, with the "suggestion" that Spain, too, should be divided into a "Free State" and an "Ulster." The French expressed particular concern over establishing their influence over Catalonia and the British over the Basque territory.

2. On Ethiopia: It was definitely decided to extend official recognition to the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. In what manner this would be done was not defined but it was thought that some conventional diplomatic form, such as the change of the King of Italy's title into Emperor, would be quite sufficient.

3. On Austria: It was decided, after a great deal of discussion, to allow Germany a free hand in Austria, even to the point of Anschluss. The hope was expressed that this would create a rift between Germany and Italy.

4. On Czechoslovakia: It was decided to exert pressure on the Czechoslovakian government with the purpose of effecting certain constitutional changes as a concession to the "German minority", that is, to the Nazi elements.

This is how the "great democracies" upon whom the Soviet Union and the Stalinist parties place all their hopes, are "fighting fascism"! This is how the People's Front government of France, supported by the socialist and communist parties both, is carrying thru a "democratic" and "popular" foreign policy!

Michigan CIO To Act for Jobless

Lansing, Mich.

A comprehensive program to meet the growing menace of unemployment was adopted here at the state-wide conference of local unions affiliated with the C.I.O. The conference, attended by 250 delegates representing sixty local unions, was presided over by the U.A.W.'s Regional Director, Lester Washburn. Addresses were delivered by Adolph Germer, C.I.O. Regional Director, and Richard Leonard, who heads the Welfare Division of the U.A.W.

The conference designated Germer and Leonard as a committee for the purpose of setting up a representative state board in consultation with International Unions represented in the conference.

C. C. C. BOYS ARE READY FOR WAR

Robert Fechner, national Civilian Conservation Corps director, said last week the United States has 2,300,000 youths trained in C.C.C. camps who are ready to act as a volunteer army in an emergency.

"While C.C.C. men are not militarized in the ordinary sense of the word," Fechner said, "their training is such that they are about 85% prepared for military life."

"The 300,000 boys now in camp and the 2,000,000 who were trained before them, could be turned into first-class fighting men at almost an instant's notice," he declared.

Thus, even New Deal recovery measures become transformed, in the present situation, into preparation for war.

Union Parleys Broken Off

Conferences End As The A.F.L. Bars All New C.I.O. Unions

Within a few hours after it had reconvened at Washington on Tuesday, December 21, the "peace" conference between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. adjourned indefinitely as a result of complete deadlock.

The collapse of the conference came as a consequence of the utter refusal of the A. F. of L. chiefs to admit all the C.I.O. unions together into the Federation. The A. F. of L. committee had insisted that only the ten "original" unions be readmitted and that the other twenty-odd C.I.O. organizations should be made the subject of subsequent conferences. But this the C.I.O. spokesmen naturally refused to accept, pointing out that it would mean the "betrayal" of a large section of the C.I.O. and the demoralization of the whole movement.

Broader Aspects of the C.I.O.-A.F.L. Split

By WILL HERBERG

THE clash between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. has come primarily over the issue of industrial unionism, especially in relation to the organization of the mass-production industries. This, of course, is the fundamental issue, with implications far beyond the question of organizational strategy itself. Yet, with the development of the two labor federations side by side in the last year and a half, certain divergencies of attitude and policy have become increasingly noticeable that may, in the long run, prove of perhaps equal significance for the future of the labor movement. In other words, it seems pretty plain that the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are growing further apart not merely on the basic question of organizational forms and policies but on a whole series of other vital issues as well.

On the whole, it may be said that, in the period of their co-existence hitherto, the C.I.O. has gone forward along the road of progress while the A. F. of L. has gone largely backward, in some cases even returning to old positions that had seemingly been left behind in previous years.

On Trade-Union Tactics

1. In trade-union tactics and methods, the C.I.O. has shown itself remarkably hospitable to the newer and more militant forms that have arisen out of the great labor struggles of recent years. Whatever its pre-history may be, the sit-down strike is quite pro-

perly associated with the C.I.O. for the C.I.O. unions have, on the whole, shown a readiness to use this weapon and an ability to do so with caution and real effectiveness. "The stay-in strike," declared President Homer Martin at the recent U.A.W. convention, "will remain an effective weapon against employers who refuse to recognize the moral and legal rights of the workers to collective bargaining. . . . It will remain labor's most effective weapon against the autocracy of industry." Organized mass picketing is another method that has been utilized with striking results with the approval and under the direction of the C.I.O. In other words, while placing great emphasis on realism and responsibility in all its activities, the C.I.O. has welcomed militant tactics applied in a disciplined and organized manner.

Because of its inherent conservatism and perhaps also, because of its factional hostility to the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. leadership has adopted a strikingly different attitude on this matter. William Green and the craft-union leaders rushed in to denounce and repudiate the sit-down strike at a time when Frances Perkins and the deans of great law schools found it quite possible to give it at least provisional toleration. In fact, the Federation officialdom seems to have gone out of its way in recent months to disavow the slightest connection with any form of militancy making its appearance in either C.I.O. or A. F. of L. ranks. On occasion, its feverish eagerness in this respect would have been

Ford Held Guilty Under Labor Act

NLRB Finds Company Violated Law On May Counts; Brands Service Dept. Practices Criminal; Union Hails Decision; Ford Appeals

In what is probably the most important decision yet handed down under the Wagner Act, the National Labor Relations Board last week found the Ford Motor Company guilty of wholesale, persistent and

savage violations of the federal law governing labor relations.

Buttressed with eye-witness and otherwise unimpeachable testimony as to the long anti-labor record of the Ford Company, the N.L.R.B. decision ordered America's third largest motor concern to cease and desist from: (1) in any way "discouraging membership in the United Automobile Workers"; (2) fostering a company union, such as the Ford Brotherhood; (3) "organizing . . . or assisting vigilante or similar groups, or . . . using such groups or members of its service department or any other persons, . . . for the purpose of intimidating or coercing its employees from joining" the U.A.W.; (4) interfering thru violence with the activities of the U.A.W.; (5) circulating anti-union propaganda among its employees; or (6) "in any other manner . . . interfering with, restraining or coercing its employees in the exercise of their rights to self-organization . . . or to collective bargaining . . ." The company was also ordered to: (1) reinstate, with back-pay, twenty-nine Ford employees, discharged for union activity; and (2) post conspicuously in all department of the Ford plants in Dearborn and Highland Park notices to employees that the Ford Company has agreed to cease and desist from its illegal activities.

Never has a federal agency issued such a blasting condemnation of a big-business concern for its ruthless anti-labor practices in violation of the law, as the decision of the N.L.R.B. in the Ford case. The whole story of the murderous attack, last May, on Richard T. Frankenstein and other union or-

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U.A.W. Gains New Aircraft Pact

An announcement made last week by Gene Sorenson, director of the Eastern Aircraft Division, U.A.W., indicated that Aircraft Local 365, U.A.W.A., had won a wage increase of 3c an hour for the Brewster Aeronautical Corporation workers. The company is located in Long Island City and employs 550 workers. The present increase makes a total of 9c per hour added to wages since the union signed the first agreement with the company last June. The present agreement, which is the second, also provides for exclusive recognition of the U.A.W.A. local as collective-bargaining representative in the plant, the 40-hour week, time-and-a-half for overtime and double pay for Sunday and holiday work, a basic minimum of 50c an hour for mechanics and 40c for apprentices.

As is usual in U.A.W.A. contracts, seniority rights are fully covered. An added feature of the agreement is a number of provisions for the improvement of working conditions. The shop committees elected by the workers in the plant continue to be the bodies which represent the workers in adjustment of grievances, as in the first agreement.

Congress In Dud Session

Without enacting a single one of the measures to consider which it had been summoned, the special session of Congress suddenly adjourned last week after so many Congressmen had left Washington as to make the continuation of the proceedings virtually impossible.

The Presidential message by which the special session had been called, had outlined a five-point program: farm legislation, wage-hour legislation, housing, regional planning and government reorganization. As things stood at the moment of adjournment, the housing and farm measures were in the hands of conference committees of the two Houses; the wage-hour law had been shelved by action of the House of Representatives; regional planning and government reorganization had not even been touched. Congress did, however, pass four measures, three of trivial significance and the fourth to appropriate \$225,000 for mileage expenses!

This record of bankruptcy on the part of the special session is due primarily to the reactionary coalition of old-line Democrats and Republicans that has been gathering strength in Congress. This trend was greatly encouraged by the precipitate retreat of the administration from its former New Deal positions in an effort to effect a "truce" with big business. That the administration is determined to continue with this policy, even after the setback it has just received, can be seen from its "assurance" that the session just concluded has "cleared the way" for a comprehensive aid-to-business program, including tax revision.

positively ludicrous had it not been so shameful.

Independent Labor Politics

At the Atlantic City convention in 1935, there did not seem to be a very wide difference of opinion on the question of labor political action between the leaders of the Executive Council and the industrial-union opposition block. True, some progressive unions, under the leadership of the I.L.G.W.U., did take a definite stand for a labor

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Organ of the National Council, Independent Communist Labor League, 131 West 33rd St., New York City. Published every Saturday by the Workers Age Publishers. Subscription Rates: \$1.00 per year; \$6.00 for six months; 5c a copy. Foreign Rates: \$2.00; Canada \$1.50 per year. Entered as second class matter Nov. 5, 1934, at the Post Office New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Phone: BRyant 9-0127

Vol. 7. January 1, 1938 No. 1

ON THE ROAD TO WAR

HEADLONG the "great democracies" are rushing towards the abyss of war. The simultaneous public statements of President Roosevelt in his reply to Alf M. Landon and of Prime Minister Chamberlain in the House of Commons, show only too clearly the direction in which the people of this country and Great Britain are being led, or rather driven. Again is the road to war being paved with high-sounding declarations about "peace" and "democracy."

"We owe some measure of cooperation and even leadership in maintaining standards of conduct helpful to the ultimate goal of general peace," pronounces the President in his message to the Republican leader. "It must not be thought that... we are unmindful of our international obligations or forgetful of our duty to protect British interests," warns the British Prime Minister. "We owe a duty even to mankind and we intend to fulfill this duty even if we have to go to war to do so"—such seems to be the common burden of the messages of these official spokesmen of the "great democracies."

Was there ever a more cynical travesty of the hopes and fears of the masses? Who is it that have taken upon themselves the duty of securing "peace" and "democracy" for the world? Official England—which holds scores of millions in oppression in every corner of the globe, which is openly backing the forces of fascism in Spain, whose intrigues with Hitler have eased the way for the mad drive of Nazi foreign policy, whose shameless treachery delivered Ethiopia to the mercies of Mussolini. England is going to save China from the bloody grip of Japanese militarism, the same England which for nearly a century has been the most ruthless imperialism in the Far East and the most inveterate foe of Chinese unity and independence! England is going to promote "international cooperation," the same England whose reactionary diplomacy has opened a clear path for the unbridled aggression of the fascist powers!

Or official America—whose chains of gold hold in economic subjection many millions in both hemispheres, whose power bolsters up the ferocious, blood-drenched dictatorships in Cuba and other parts of Latin America, whose one-sided blockade of Spain, under the guise of "neutrality," is of such vital assistance to Franco and his fascist clique. The United States is going to save China from imperialism, the same United States which helped Chiang Kai-shek drown in blood the great anti-imperialist movement in China a decade ago, the same United States which is at this very moment selling arms, supplies and materials to the Japanese militarists for their war in China!

No! The "great democracies," rotten thru and thru with the corruption of capitalist imperialism, cannot become the saviors of the Chinese people or the bulwark of peace and freedom thruout the world. The only thing which they are capable of is again prostituting these ideals and again abusing the blind confidence of the masses in order to promote their own imperialistic interests by every means in their power. Here Prime Minister Chamberlain is more explicit and more frank. To "our international obligations," he adds—"our duty to protect British interests." And, altho he does not mention it, "our duty to protect American interests" against Japan is also the essence of the President's message to Landon as it was of his Chicago speech. What are these "interests?" They are the investments of huge banks and trusts, the extensive commercial privileges of big-business groups, the "right" to coin millions out of the exploitation of Chinese workers and peasants! These are the "obligations" of which neither Roosevelt nor Chamberlain is "unmindful!" In the three-cornered diplomatic struggle in which the United States, Great Britain and Japan are involved, China—its resources and its people—figures only as the booty, as the spoils of conflict, and "international peace and democracy" only as the fair mask behind which the imperialistic powers can hide their sinister intrigues.

The Stalinites, like the growing jingo element in general, are enchanted with the "determined" attitude of President Roosevelt. It does not seem to

SPANISH CP GENERALS BARED AS TRAITORS

(We take the following paragraphs from the December 20, 1937 issue of the SPANISH REVOLUTION.

—THE EDITOR.)

WHILE the Communist Party of Spain is busily concocting fantastic charges of espionage against the militants of the labor movement, treason has found its way to the very heart of the military apparatus which it built up as a bulwark against the forward course of the revolution of July 19.

The latest news is that a number of high-ranking military officials, very closely connected with the Communist Party, have been arrested on charges of high treason. Some have already been shot, the evidence being overwhelming in proof of their openly treasonable activities.

In this connection, it is important to bear in mind that not a single anarchist or P.O.U.M. militant who was brought up before the Tribunals on trumped-up charges of espionage, was ever convicted. Most sensational of all is the arrest of General Pozas, the supreme commander of the Catalanian forces. We quote the Swiss weekly, Le Reveil (December 4), for information on this matter: "Everyone remembers that, following the May days in Barcelona, the Negrin government, which succeeded Largo Caballero, sent to Catalonia General Pozas with full civil and military powers. The latter became, in fact, a veritable dictator of Catalonia. He was to reform, fortify and restore healthful conditions at the front as well as in the rear.

"In reality, even in the military circles, he was regarded as anything but an eagle. But like the

communist, General Lister, he distinguished himself in his work of repression against the workers of Catalonia.

"But, for some time, nothing was heard of this grand savior. The rather intriguing silence in regard to him was finally broken by information reaching us from Barcelona, to the effect that General Pozas had been arrested on charges of high treason, while half of his staff had already gone over to Franco."

Independent News, a French news bulletin, informs on the same matter:

"It is affirmed in the military centers that the deposition and arrest of General Pozas were motivated by the fact that the most advanced positions near Huesca, conquered by the revolutionary troops, were abandoned without any apparent reason.

"It is also reported that large stocks of war material have recently disappeared in a rather mysterious manner."

The same bulletin reports drastic purges in the general staff of the Stalinist division at the Aragon front.

"A large number of the members of the general staff of the Stalinist division were shot for having aided their comrades to make their way to the fascist lines; others were executed on the same front for 'direct contact with the enemy.'

"Those are the military men who had the full confidence of the Stalinists. Like the secretary of General Miaja, who afterwards became the aviator that bombarded Valencia, these officers and commissars of the Stalinist division belong to the growing number of Stalinists caught in the flagrant crime of treason and espionage."

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

The French Fascist Conspiracy; Rifts In Polish Top Clique

London, December 13, 1937

THE French police, under the direction of its chief Marx Dormoy, socialist Minister of the Interior, has uncovered a fascist coup d'etat conspiracy. The details, as given by the daily press and as played up by the People's Front papers, point to a premature act on the part of a few hot-heads of the fascist movement. Private munition caches will play but a secondary role in a genuine fascist coup d'etat. The real danger lies in the building of fascist mass organizations linked with the top bureaucracy of the state—both its civil and military sections. This danger cannot be met with police actions but only with the mobilization of the working masses in defense of their own interests against capital, with the formation of working-class organizations capable of defending themselves and wiping out the fascist and reactionary elements. In this respect, the People's Front has failed—nay more, it has actually prevented mass action. It is suicidal for any working class organization to identify itself with French imperialism and limit its demands, as the People's Front has done to the army, the very tool of French imperialism, being "purged" of reactionary and fascist elements. Social-patriotism has made the officers of the army immune. For the same reason, the People's Front government is forced to retain the colonial government officials who belong to the most reactionary elements of the civil state apparatus. The melodramatic expose of the French police is diverting the attention of the French workers from the real danger of fascism.

The publicity on the fascist conspiracy serves yet another purpose, namely, to keep the vacillating sections of the People's Front in line with the policy of the Chautemps regime. It is no accident that the fascist coup d'etat was uncovered at the moment when the People's Front government is desperately striving for a compromise with the government employees on the issue of wage increases.

The C.P. has once more given a vote of confidence to the Chautemps cabinet, thus giving the lie to its criticism of the domestic and foreign policies of the government. As a result, the C.P. has been losing members at a very rapid pace, so much so that it has refrained from carrying out a contemplated purge and is instead concentrating all its efforts on recovering its losses. The fact that the Socialist Party, the equally responsible for the policy of the Chautemps government, is not losing membership to the same extent and was even capable of holding its own in the run-off elections at Toulon, is explained by the circumstance that the opposition to the People's Front in the Socialist Party is at least permitted to voice its opinion.

A recent congress of the Engineers Union showed what a true communist policy would be under a proletarian united front and an alliance of the working class with the petty bourgeoisie on a socialist basis. This congress adopted a resolution calling for the nationalization of banks and of industry and raised the slogan of workers control of production. In reference to the latter, the resolution states that this can be accomplished only in conjunction with the nationalization of the banks and industry but that the following demands can be realized in the near future: (1.) Control of consumers prices and of cost price with the object of reducing prices; (2.) control of stock, of working hours, and of speed-up, with the object of preventing mass lay-offs.

"A QUARTER-HOUR OF REVENGE"—this phrase was coined by Generals Koc and Beclt of Poland, who aim to do away with several hundred leaders of the opposition, particularly, those of the Pilsudski camp. The ruling clique of the Pilsudski party has asked the National Democrats to make it a joint campaign of revenge which the latter refused to do, preferring to leave such "dirty work" to the government clique. Hence, the "quarter-hour of revenge" has been postponed but not shelved. The growing disintegration of the government party will sooner or later necessitate a violent ending. In this, they are encouraged by the German Nazis.

SOCIALIST POLICY ON WAR

By WALTER SAWYER

(We publish below an article on the war question that appeared in the December 1937 issue of *Controversy*, an English socialist periodical. The writer, Walter Sawyer, is a member of the Independent Labor Party. We recommend this article as a sound statement, as far as it goes, of working-class policy in the situation, applicable, with obvious modifications, to our own problems in this country. —THE EDITOR.)

Of the last twenty-five years, there has been scarcely one which did not see a war or a civil war in some part of the world. Since 1918, these wars have taken place outside Britain, but it is clear that, sooner or later, the British Isles will be the actual theatre of war. The world working class has on some occasions decided the issue—as, for instance, when we stopped the intervention in Russia—but recently, we have only too often remained helpless spectators. Each failure breeds disillusion and makes future action less likely. If the world workers look helplessly on, while China is destroyed, so too will they remain inactive when our turn comes. It is our fate which is being decided in the Far East.

In what way can we help the British workers to regain their fighting spirit and to show their power in each issue that arises? In two ways:

(a) The present feeling of helplessness is partly due to a long series of defeats: the failure of the general strike and Labor government, the smashing of unofficial strikes and the betrayal of official struggles by the trade-union bureaucracy, etc. In this respect, confidence can only be restored if we take our full part in union work, show how to overcome the bureaucracy without splitting the unions, and create enthusiasm by successful struggle. Without this nothing is possible.

(b) In previous cases, e.g., Abyssinia, no party gave completely correct lead and, therefore, the intense desire of the workers to participate found no concrete expression. The second way in which we can serve the working class is by thoroughly investigating the most complicated situation in advance so that, when the crisis arrives, we shall be able to answer confidently, as a united party, all the questions of the workers. In order to do this, we must not be afraid to examine the lessons of our past mistakes. What are the questions to which we could not give completely satisfactory answers in the past? They include the following:

- (1) Should we take sides at all?
- (2) If we take sides, do we not arouse patriotic emotions against the aggressor and make easier an imperialist war?
- (3) If we take sides, ought we not to support the National government's rearmament so that "Britain can play a strong role"?

(4) May we, under any circumstances, demand government action against another imperialist power?

(1) Should we take sides at all? The argument is continually raised: Suppose India breaks away from Britain, or Abyssinia from Italy, or if China defeats Japan, will the masses be any better off under their own capitalists or landlords than under foreign ones?

It is probably true that Indian capitalists would be as "brutal" as British rulers (they could not be more so). But it is clear that they would be weaker: the Indian masses could overthrow their native capitalists with much less effort than would be needed to defeat the whole British military power. It would be a step forward. We can not possibly say to the Indian masses (on whose sufferings our present comfort is based): "We will not help you until you accept 100% of our ideas of socialist advance."

Again, India is the source from which British reaction draws its money, power and prestige. An independent India is the first essential for the British revolution.

Thirdly, it is well known that, immediately Britain is involved in war or internal conflict, India will break away. The British revolution will then begin but it may be starved out unless India recognizes that British workers have always been quite different from British oppressors, and helps us. Remember the lesson of Franco's Moors, who saw no difference between the Popular Front and the old Spanish oppression.

These arguments apply equally to Abyssinia and to China. The oppressed nations of the world—Africa, India, China, Abyssinia, Palestine—regard each other as brothers in slavery. Help to one is regarded as help to all.

(2) The danger of arousing war fever. The argument runs as follows: Suppose British imperialism desires to fight Japan, will it not use our propaganda for its own ends?

Suppose, for a moment, then, that we abandon our opposition to Japanese imperialism. The Daily Mail shrieks: "Atrocities on women and children in Shanghai." We reply: "Never mind the Chinese. Our job is to fight the enemy at home." Is it not plain that the workers would turn from us in disgust and would go to fight the war?

What is the alternative? Simply this: to arouse the utmost possible feeling on behalf of the Chinese; then to point out that Britain does exactly the same sort of thing, that the whole world will laugh at us as hypocrites if we live on the spoils of India and denounce Japan attacking China. Therefore, we can not protest unless we also demand independence for India.

The National government will hesitate before putting this on its recruiting posters! Right thru the great war Lenin maintained the right of nations to self-determination but pointed out that the only way of securing freedom for Poland and Serbia was the revolution in Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Russia. The Treaty of Versailles showed how correct his estimate had been.

(3) If Britain opposes Japan, should we support rearmament? The answer is definitely: No. The British capitalists have already shown, in Spain and Abyssinia, the kind of policy they are pursuing. In 1935, a revolution in Italy was possible if Mussolini was defeated; in 1936, a revolution in Spain was

French People's Front Sets Up Dictatorship in Colonies

By CLARENCE JENKINS
(This is the second of two articles by Clarence Jenkins on the colonial policy of the French People's Front. The first article appeared in the previous issue.—The Editor.)

THE policies of French imperialism in North Africa are as reactionary and vicious as the policies of Italian imperialism in Ethiopia and Japanese imperialism in China. The brutality of Italian and Japanese imperialism only operates on a more extensive scale simply because the resistance of the colonial peoples is more extensive.

French imperialism is no longer forced to hide behind a "democratic" mask. The Popular Front has established an open dictatorship in North Africa under the rule of Albert Sarraut, right-wing Radical-Socialist. Sarraut has become virtual dictator of North Africa empowered to coordinate policies in the three North African territories. Large squadrons of French bombing planes have been dispatched to North Africa to intimidate the natives and suppress revolts.

On October 25, French troops put down a riot in French Morocco with extreme brutality. On October 27, four Moors were killed and nine wounded when French police fired on a nationalist demonstration. On October 29, a detachment of the French Foreign Legion threw hand-grenades into a nationalist demonstration, seriously wounding six nationalists.

General August Nogues, French Resident-General, warning the Moroccan nationalists, declared: "Our troops will stay in Medina (Mousselmeh city) as long as necessary. . . . The French government unanimously supports what I have done and all France itself is behind me. Good citizens can work in order and peace. I will crush others."

This is the type of democracy Stalinists have united all Franco to defend; this is the kind of liberty the colonial masses see in the Popular Front and the tricolor, "emblem of liberty."

While betraying the colonial peoples of North Africa allegedly to win the support of the middle classes in the struggle against fascism, the Stalinist agents of French imperialism have overlooked one important consideration: Algeria and Tunisia lie between the fascist spheres of influence in Spanish Morocco and Lybia (Italian colony).

"The proletariat of Russia, marching at the head of the people, cannot complete the victorious democratic revolution (which is its immediate task); neither can it fight together with its brothers, the proletarians of Europe, for a socialist revolution, without demanding at once full and 'unreserved' freedom of separation from Russia. This we demand not as something independent for our revolutionary struggle for socialism but because this struggle would remain an idle phrase if it were not linked up with a revolutionary approach to all questions of democracy, including the national question. We demand the freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., freedom of separation for oppressed nations, not because we dream of an economically atomised world, nor because we cherish the ideal of small states, but, on the contrary, because we are for large states and for a coming closer, even a fusion of nations, but on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is unthinkable without freedom of separation.

"We, at present, consider the refusal by the socialists of Russia to demand freedom of self-determination for nations, in the sense indicated by us above, as a direct betrayal of democracy, internationalism, and socialism."

The New York Times of October 29 reports that "a nationalist chieftain, accused of leading riots at Port Lyautey in which four Moors were slain, had received funds from a 'European totalitarian power'."

French fascist agents have been working feverishly in North Africa preparing for an assault on the French working class.

Candide, fascist weekly, openly boasted on July 23, 1937: "If, in France, we must bear the tyranny of the People's Front to the dogs, to revolt, who can say if the movement for liberation will not come from North Africa?"

November 7, 1937 was the twentieth anniversary of the glorious Russian Revolution. Hundreds of millions of enslaved and down-trodden colonial peoples look to the Soviet Union as the only ray of hope and beacon light in their struggle for national liberation. Today the dark forces of imperialist reaction are uniting for another vicious onslaught against the Soviet Union. "Today it is the inescapable duty of every class-conscious worker to raise high the banner of revolutionary socialism, carry forward the struggle and agitation for the national liberation of oppressed people and wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary People's Front policy of the Communist International.

Only this revolutionary struggle can stop imperialist wars, defeat fascism and perpetuate the existence of the Soviet Union.

Lenin, addressing the social-democrats on the question of self-determination, declared: "The majority of the socialists of the world, belong, in our imperialist epoch, to nations that oppress other nations and strive to widen the scope of that oppression. This is why our 'struggle against annexations' will be meaningless and not at all terrifying to the social-patriots, if we do not declare that a socialist of an oppressing nation who does not conduct a propaganda, both in peace and war time, in favor of separation, a socialist of an oppressing nation who does not conduct such propaganda in defiance of governmental prohibitions, i.e., in an illegal press, is not a socialist or an internationalist but a chauvinist, whose adherence to national equality is sheer hypocrisy."

"The proletariat of Russia, marching at the head of the people, cannot complete the victorious democratic revolution (which is its immediate task); neither can it fight together with its brothers, the proletarians of Europe, for a socialist revolution, without demanding at once full and 'unreserved' freedom of separation from Russia. This we demand not as something independent for our revolutionary struggle for socialism but because this struggle would remain an idle phrase if it were not linked up with a revolutionary approach to all questions of democracy, including the national question. We demand the freedom of self-determination, i.e., independence, i.e., freedom of separation for oppressed nations, not because we dream of an economically atomised world, nor because we cherish the ideal of small states, but, on the contrary, because we are for large states and for a coming closer, even a fusion of nations, but on a truly democratic, truly internationalist basis, which is unthinkable without freedom of separation.

Just Off the Press!

"CIVIL WAR IN SPAIN"

By Bertram D. Wolfe

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Broader Aspects of the C.I.O.-A.F.L. Split

(Continued from Page 1)

party but, by and large, the attitude of the future C.I.O. leadership was that, while independent political action might be quite all right "in principle," it would be very inadvisable to take any steps in that direction at the moment since that might jeopardize President Roosevelt's chances of reelection. And this was approximately the same attitude that President Green and his friends took—opposition to the labor-party proposal not on principle but on grounds of expediency. If there were some from the Executive Council who did reject the idea as such, let it be remembered that Charles P. Howard did the same. Sharp differences on this question were still a matter for the future.

But the future was not slow in arriving. One year later, at the Tampa convention (1936), the Executive Council leadership had already reached the point where it rejected the labor-party proposal, introduced by the millinery workers delegation, in principle and as such, without any more talk about "expediency." And, after the lapse of another year, the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. a few months ago did not even have the opportunity of passing on the issue; the question had been ruled out of order and shelved by President Green. The old, moth-eaten policy of so-called "non-partisan" action was revived and vigorously reaffirmed—with this significant addition: that henceforth candidates for office known to be friendly to the C.I.O. would be regarded as "enemies of labor!" The fruits of this policy are to be seen in Detroit.

While the A. F. of L. has thus been rapidly back-tracking to its old positions, which it had itself left behind only a short while before, the C.I.O. has been marching steadily forward. It is unnecessary here to describe in any detail the stages thru which the C.I.O. has passed on the road to independent labor political action—Labor's Non-Partisan League, before and after

the 1936 elections; the American Labor Party of New York and the labor parties arising in other states; the labor tickets in Detroit and other industrial towns. The direction of development is clear enough: towards independent labor politics and a labor party. It is here that the present divergence between the positions of the two labor federations has become especially marked.

Social And Labor Legislation

3. Closely associated with the problem of labor politics is the attitude of the trade-union movement to social and labor legislation. It is well known that, in the reign of Samuel Gompers and for years after, the A. F. of L. adhered closely to the philosophy of "voluntarism," implying hostility in principle to governmental action on the social and labor fields. Indeed, until 1932, the second year of the crisis, the Federation remained officially opposed to federal or state unemployment insurance, not to speak of general social-security or wage-hour legislation—so thoroly imbued was its leadership with the "conservative syndicalism" of the Gompers school. But this philosophy could not possibly maintain itself intact under the impact of the crisis and, by 1935, the A. F. of L. had already left its ancient moorings far behind. And so, at the Atlantic City convention that year, there seemed to be no appreciable difference on this question as between the leaders of the opposing factions.

Yet the indications of the future were already there so that, writing only a few months later, I thought it worth-while mentioning that events seemed to be pointing not only to "a strengthening (in the A. F. of L.) of the greatly discredited 'non-partisan' policy in politics but perhaps even to a revival of the reactionary philosophy of 'voluntarism,' officially abandoned a few years ago. The C.I.O. on the other hand, will undoubtedly strive for social and labor legislation as the A. F. of L. has never done and will probably tend to look much more favorably upon the idea of independent political action and a labor party" (International Class

CPG-O Faces Nazi Terror

A report just received from Germany states that a number of members of the German Communist Opposition were recently sentenced by the so-called "People's Court" in Berlin to sentences totalling 83½ years in prison. Individual sentences vary from 2½ to 15 years. The following are the most recent victims of Nazi class-"justice": Kurt Weise, Otto Oehring, Ernst Paul, Theo Gabbey, W. Uhlmann and, among the members of the youth organization, Erwin Lenz, Gerber, Krug, Schmiess, Stichling, Herbert and Josef. These people are, most of them, very well known to the Berlin workers as oppositional communists who have waged years of determined struggle in the cause of labor.

Their "crime" consisted solely in this—that, even under the Hitler dictatorship, they remained revolutionary communists!

Struggle, vol. I, no. 2). Today, the situation is already quite clear. In the leading circles of the A. F. of L., there are powerful forces pulling back towards the long obsolete positions of "voluntarism" and, among these forces, are to be found the outstanding leaders of the craft-unionist clique, who really dominate the Federation—Frey, Wharton and Hutcheson. Increasingly, this attitude has become articulate in the statements of these men. But the course followed by the A. F. of L. in relation to the wages-and-hours bill in Congress is, perhaps, most instructive. The big craft-union leaders were and are opposed to any such legislation and have said so in pretty plain terms more than once recently. In their strategy, however, they were a little more oblique. For reasons of expediency, not at all difficult to grasp, they masked their hostility to wage-hour legislation as such under a bill of their own, obviously intended to block Congressional action on the question altogether. But the mask is slowly dropping off and the regressive tendency of the A. F. of L. leadership towards a revamped "voluntarism" is today prominent enough.

The C.I.O., on the other hand, has taken quite another road of development. It has pursued a policy of striving vigorously for so-

HAVE WORKERS RIGHT TO LIVE?

THE working girl who lives alone requires \$1,215.73 a year, or \$23.30 a week, "for adequate maintenance and the protection of health," according to a survey made public last week by State Department of Labor. The woman living as a member of a family needs \$1,078.95 a year; or \$27.70 a week, to meet minimum living costs, according to the same report.

The average wage scale in the laundry industry, largest employer of women labor in the state, is \$13 a week, according to another study of the State Department. Almost 75% of the laundry workers earned in 1936 less than \$15 a week and some as little as \$6 a week, the same report shows. There is information to indicate, moreover, that standards in the cleaning and dyeing industry are even lower than among laundry workers.

Have women workers in this country a right to "maintain" themselves and to "protect" their health?

cial and labor legislation while safeguarding labor's independence and freedom of action. The C.I.O. recognizes that, under present-day conditions, there are certain essential and legitimate aims of labor legislation: security against the hazards of modern industrial society; the elevation of substandard conditions; and the full legal guarantee of labor's "new" civil rights, organization and collective bargaining. For these aims, labor must work with redoubled energy. But, at the same time, as John L. Lewis indicated in his strong objections to Section 5 of the old Black-Connery Wages-and-Hours Bill, labor cannot tolerate the least step in the direction of the replacement of trade-union action by governmental action, such, for example, as would be involved in wage-fixing. This is the basic position of the C.I.O. and it requires no comment to emphasize how far behind it has left the A. F. of L.

This line of analysis might be extended to other fields but the main point is already clear. Arising out of the essential character of two organizations, distinct divergencies have appeared and grown ever wider in the course of the last two years on questions that go far beyond the original issue of industrial unionism, however related to it they may be. And this fact will have to be taken into serious consideration in all discussions of the unification of the trade-union movement in this country.

lective bargaining, "persuasion" of employees to give up their collective-bargaining rights, etc. It is also proposed to extend collective-bargaining rights to state and municipal employees and to ban company unions from election ballots.

The state anti-injunction bill follows the line of the federal Norris-La Guardia act but with additional provisions voiding local ordinances prohibiting peaceful picketing, widening the definition of labor disputes and requiring a heavy bond from employers seeking injunctions.

It is true that the problems of labor legislation were examined in a rather limited way at the Lawyers Guild conference; yet this conference is bound to prove useful to the growing movement for adequate social and labor legislation.

Ford Hit By The NLRB

(Continued from Page 1)

ganizers by thugs from the Ford service department, is recounted in full. The service department receives special attention in the Board's report. It is recalled, the Board finds, among slanders and ex-criminals and is used to terrorize the workers with violence. The decision states:

"The Ford Rives Rouge plant has taken on many of the aspects of a community in which martial law has been declared and in which a huge military organization, whose voice is final, has been superimposed upon the regular civil authorities."

The report continues:

"The Ford Company has made its antagonism to labor organizations so evident that no employee whose economic life is at its mercy can fail to comprehend it.

"The full significance of this antagonism has been brought home to its employees thru constant hostility of foremen and supervisory officials, thru the systematic discharge of union advocates, thru the employment by the respondent of hired thugs to terrorize and beat union members and sympathizers.

"The chief weapon of the respondent in this fight to prevent self-organization among its employees has been the Ford service department."

Leaders of the U.A.W., C.I.O. affiliate, whose campaign to organize the 150,000 Ford workers led to the filing of the N.L.R.B. complaint, hailed the decision as of the greatest significance. Homer Martin, president of the union, and Richard T. Frankenstein, assistant president in charge of the Ford drive, declared the N.L.R.B. decision to be a complete vindication of the U.A.W.'s charges against Ford and a great cause of "rejoicing for the Ford workers as well as the union." The Ford organizing campaign, it was indicated, will now go on with redoubled energy.

Representatives of the Ford Company declared that they would not abide by the N.L.R.B. decision but would appeal to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals. A stiff court battle is now expected, with the likelihood that the case will go to the Supreme Court for final action.

LIBERAL GROUP FOR LABOR RIGHTS

Under the name of the American Association for Economic Freedom, a group of 168 professional and middle-class people joined together last week for the purpose of supporting the labor movement in defense of its rights, especially the rights of union organization and collective bargaining.

The association is headed by William Allen White, well-known Kansas editor. The vice-chairman is W. Jett Lauck, C.I.O. economist. Among the signatories of the declaration are to be found leading writers, teachers, newspaper men, philosophers, scientists, lawyers economists and other public men.

FORM CIO FURNITURE UNION

A single international industry union in the furniture allied trades, to be affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization, won unanimous approval from more than 100 delegates representing well over 50,000 workers at the Furniture Workers Unity Conference in Washington, November 27-29.

An aggressive campaign to organize 200,000 non-union workers, at present badly exploited, will be inaugurated as soon as the details of the unity move have been completed.

LIBERAL LAWYERS DISCUSS NEW LABOR LEGISLATION

By S. N.

Washington, D. C.

The conference of the Lawyers Guild, held here last week, should prove of great interest to the labor movement. The Guild, it will be remembered, was formed recently by a considerable number of progressive lawyers in order to offset the reactionary policies of the American Bar Association. It is dedicated to "service . . . to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property rights."

The conference that took place in Washington last week dealt with labor relations. The discussion centered largely around four draft bills, two for enactment by state legislatures and two by Congress. Altho these bills were brought forward merely as tentative suggestions, they nevertheless did call attention to certain central problems of labor legislation.

The state bills deal with collective bargaining and the labor injunction; the federal measures aim at regulating hours and wages in industry and at eradicating the strike-breaking activities of notorious "detective agencies" that

specialize in such things.

The draft of the wage-hour bill follows closely the lines of the original Black-Connery bill. In regard to standards set and industries or parts of industries affected, it leaves wide discretion to a Labor Standards Board, altho, of course, the basic norms are in line with the proposals made by various labor leaders during the hearings on the Black-Connery bill some months ago.

The proposed measure on detective agencies includes a provision for the licensing of such agencies by the Secretary of Labor upon satisfactory proof of legitimate purpose and good character. Licenses may be revoked on proof of certain forbidden practices, such as labor espionage, interference with peaceful picketing and the use of blacklists.

For introduction into state legislatures, there was proposed a tentative draft of a state labor-relations act along the lines of the Wagner Act, with a number of new "unfair labor practises" added. Among these are labor espionage, blacklisting of employees, removal of factories in order to escape col-

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