

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Cabinet Breaks Big Paris Strike

People's Front Regime Threatens To Conscript Utility Strikers; Both Socialists And Communists Oppose Wage Increases

Threatened with the most ruthless suppression by the French People's Front government, the strike of 120,000 municipal employees and transport workers in Paris was called off on December 30 with a compromise proposal accepted by the unions. The strike had lasted just over one day.

The strike was called by the Public Service Workers Union in order to obtain an additional wage allowance of 100 francs a month to meet the rising cost of living. During the negotiations, the Paris Municipal Council had offered 50 francs; the final compromise was nearer the latter figure.

Despite the lukewarmness and even hostility of certain union leaders, the strike was almost 100% effective from the very start. Over 120,000 utility and other workers went out, virtually tying up the city's transportation, gas electricity and water services. Immediately, the People's Front government, which is composed in part of socialists and is supported by the Communist Party, showed its hand. After a long Cabinet meeting on December 29, the newspapers were told that the government had decided to force the public-service employees back to work by mobilizing them into the army and placing them under military law—an old reactionary trick, applied many years before by the notorious Briand against the railroad workers. The eviction of stay-in strikers from electric and other public-utility plants by Mobile Guards began immediately upon direct orders from Premier Chautemps. A government spokesman declared that all the measures "to break the strike had been adopted with the agreement of the socialist Ministers."

AUTO UNION WINS N.L.R.B. DECISION

In a sweeping N.L.R.B. decision handed down last week in favor of Local 297, U.A.W.A., the Federal Bearing and Schatz Manufacturing Company of Poughkeepsie, N. Y. was ordered to "withdraw all recognition from the Schatz United Employee Association," the company-union group. This represents a great victory for the local which brought the complaints before the N.L.R.B., according to Frank P. Tucci, U.A.W.A. Regional Director of the region in which Poughkeepsie lies.

An additional feature of the decision was the ordering of the reinstatement by the company of 14 employees who had been discharged because of union activity.

The local union officers have announced the opening of a major drive in preparation for the election which will ensue in the near future. An important feature of the drive is the emphasis on the question of unemployment resulting from the present recession. Elaborate organizational steps are projected to handle this in conformity with the decisions recently made in that connection by the Executive Board of the International Union, U.A.W.A., of which H. Martin is president.

The attitude of the Communist Party was characteristically unprincipled and demagogic. For years it has not only supported but had been the main champion of the treacherous People's Front policy and the People's Front regime. In the Chamber of Deputies, some weeks ago, the C.P. members voted in favor of the government proposal refusing wage allowances to the municipal workers, as, of course, did the socialist deputies. But when the strike broke out, they suddenly became vociferous "supporters" of the movement. Now that the strike has been broken by Premier Chautemps in the best reactionary style, the Stalinist party will no doubt continue supporting the People's Front and its cabinet.

Fascist Rule In Rumania

Octavian Goga, leader of the anti-Semitic, pro-German National Christian party, was appointed Premier of Rumania last week by King Carol altho his party failed to obtain even 10% of the votes in the recent elections to the Chamber of Deputies. Since the new Goga cabinet does not include official representatives of any other party, it is presumed that it will

REARMING HIDDEN AS "RECOVERY"

REARMAMENT fever, which has swept many other countries, has reached Washington and leaders in Congress are expecting that President Roosevelt, despite his retrenchment policy, will propose a naval expansion program next week. It is likely to call for at least two battleships and enlargement of the auxiliary fleet and the air force. Guesses as to probable cost range from one billion dollars to two billion. . . . But, because the temper of the country is somewhat jumpy about the danger of our getting into war, an effort is being made to disguise the naval expansion program as a recovery measure.—Raymond Clapper, in the New York World-Telegram, December 28, 1937.

rule thru a strictly dictatorial regime.

The policy of the new cabinet is already well-defined. It includes an extreme anti-Semitism; anti-democratic anti-parliamentarism of a distinctly fascist character; as well as adherence to the fascist block in foreign affairs, implying close alliances with Italy and Germany, the speedy rupture of relations with Russia and the gradual separation of Rumania from France.

These developments in Rumania, coming on the heels of the Eastern tour of French Foreign Minister Delbos, constitute a staggering setback for French diplomacy and for the Soviet Union as well, whose whole foreign policy recently has been orientated upon France and the French allies.

Roosevelt Seeks Huge Naval Arms

Declares "Unsettled Conditions" Require Big Naval Budget; Preparedness Drive Opens Way For Headlong Rush Into War

In a letter to Representative Taylor, chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, President Roosevelt revealed last week that he intended to ask Congress to authorize an enlargement of the naval construction program beyond the half-billion earmarked for the fiscal year 1939. Exactly how much money will be involved is not yet known but that it will reach a billion is held certain. Even before sending his letter to Mr. Taylor, the President had indicated his purpose of demanding of Congress an expansion of the armament program. Several items for improvement of the Pacific Coast fortifications and for new equipment of the Hawaiian and Philippine bases, had been withdrawn from the budget to be sub-

mitted to Congress at its regular session under a plan to include them in the supplementary naval estimates.

The President's letter quickly brought a favorable reply from Mr. Taylor and other members of the House appropriations committee. It is expected that the House will support the program.

Roosevelt's declaration on the eve of the new session of Congress is really the public announcement of the administration's huge rearmament program, frequently forecast in the last few months. It is being justified in two ways: on the ground that "unsettled conditions" demand that the United States build up its military and naval strength and that rearmament will help stimulate recovery and pull the country out of its present economic recession. The first argument simply means that the government is heading for war and wants to prepare for it. This argument will naturally appeal to those who support the aggressively imperialistic foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration and are quite ready to have the country plunged into war. They are the big-business interests, both Democratic and Republican, with the Stalinites and certain "liberals" clutching on to their coat-tails. But the great masses of the people, who really want peace, should remember how the preparedness fever of 1916 helped pave the road to America's participation in the World War.

If rearmament is recommended as an aid to recovery, it should be pointed out that, instead of wasteful and dangerous expenditures on battleships and naval bases, government spending could find a much more appropriate field in promoting a big program of low-cost federal housing. Such a program would not only be a much more effective stimulus to business recovery but it would also provide decent homes to millions of American people, precisely the "one-third" that are "ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed," according to the President.

The Stalinites, as the advance-guard of the war party in this country, have already endorsed the Roosevelt program of naval expansion; the Daily Worker limits itself to asking how the money is to be raised and who is to "control" the enlarged navy!

HOLD ANTI-FORD PROTEST IN N. Y.

In a dramatic protest against the brutality of the Ford Motor Company's activity against the United Auto Workers Union drive to organize the Ford workers, delegates from the New York locals of the U.A.W.A. as well as from Local 22 of the I.L.G.W.U. staged a colorful demonstration the day before Christmas outside the company's executive offices in New York. The U.A.W.A. delegates were led by Frank P. Tucci and Sidney Jonas, while the Local 22 chairman, Minnie Lurye, led the workers from her union.

GM Lays Off 30,000 Men

About 30,000 production men in General Motors plants thruout the United States are to be laid off immediately, William S. Knudsen, president of the company, announced in Detroit last week. This will bring the total laid off recently to 60,000. The remaining 205,000 men, it was stated, will be put on a three-day, 24-hour week schedule. (Continued on Page 4)

THE C.I.O. STANDS FOR UNITY

(We publish below an editorial from the C.I.O. News of December 22, 1937.—THE EDITOR.)

THE obstinacy of the refusal of A. F. of L. leaders to permit formation of a unified labor movement, is a matter that calls for explanation.

The C.I.O. has consistently stood for labor unity—not only in a formal sense but also in the wider sense of bringing hitherto unorganized and divided workers into the labor movement.

The A. F. of L. executives rudely rejected all efforts to preserve a united Federation, when they drove the C.I.O. unions out of it more than a year ago.

Since then the C.I.O. has made repeated efforts to restore the unity thus shattered but has met with nothing but rebuffs.

The most recent peace moves of the C.I.O. have failed, because the craft executives refuse to permit the entry into the A. F. of L. of 4,000,000 workers organized by the C.I.O.

Instead of accepting an offer that would more than double the strength of their Federation,

the A. F. of L. leaders wanted to take in only a million or so and leave the rest out in the cold for later consideration.

In this proposal of theirs are revealed two of the reasons for their strange stand.

It indicates, first, that they are more concerned with dividing the C.I.O. than with uniting all of labor; and secondly, that they fear more than they desire the influx of millions of new members into the Federation.

Fear of too many new members entering the A. F. of L., and upsetting the present leadership and its policies, was an important factor in the resistance of the Federation executives to the industrial organization program of the C.I.O.

Now that millions of previously unorganized have been organized by the C.I.O., the same fear still persists. That is why the little clique of craft leaders which controls the A. F. of L. would rather continue disunity, with 4,000,000 union workers outside the Federation, than admit all together. They would like to try to assimilate them little by little.

Nearly all the manouvers of the A. F. of L. leaders in the peace

conferences have been devoted, not to restoring unity but to trying to preserve their stranglehold over the Federation while at the same time weakening and dividing the C.I.O.

As to the alternative proposal of the A. F. of L. executives that all differences should first be settled between all C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, before any admission of C.I.O. unions—that is merely a cynical rejection of unity.

For they know how long it would take a craft leader like Hutcheson to agree to grant industrial rights to the workers, if he ever did so voluntarily—and one such craftist could veto unity indefinitely.

But the A. F. of L. leaders will have to explain their rejection of unity as best they can to their own rank and file.

For the C.I.O. the way is clear ahead. It will now concentrate on consolidating its position and pushing forward to organize new millions, confident that in this way it can best serve the cause of effective labor unity, to which the A. F. of L. executives will eventually have to agree—or take the consequences from their own membership.

JAY
LOVESTONE

"LABOR AND
THE CRISIS"

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THE LAFOLLETTE-LUDLOW AMENDMENT

AS part of the process of war preparations, the administration, the press and the employing class have let loose a gigantic campaign against the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment providing for a referendum before any declaration of war. In the midst of the tense Far-Eastern crisis, the New Deal, London and the tycoons of Wall Street, have united their efforts to drown this proposal in a flood of patriotic fury. The President himself, not long finished chanting "I hate war," responded with a stern and decisive "No!" when asked whether he favored a referendum on a declaration of war. Secretary of State Hull and, let this be underscored, Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, have had their say to the same effect. The New York Times has already dedicated no less than three editorials to its defeat. All the bigwigs of the war-mongering jingo forces have seen to it that they have gone on record, and forcefully too, as utterly opposed to the amendment which they term "impractical," an "invasion of the rights of Congress," an "obstacle to the vindication of the national honor," and—this from the despicable lickspittles who hope to crawl to a place in the sun of American imperialism, the Stalinites—an "objective aid to fascism."

The drive to war is made clear in the furious movement to smash into smithereens this sincere but weak expression of anti-war sentiment. It gives us a taste of how determined American imperialism is that its interests shall not be interfered with, how relentlessly it pursues the protection of its economic stake into the whirlpool of war.

The LaFollette-Ludlow proposal asks for a referendum on war only in such cases where there is neither invasion of the United States or the territorial possessions nor an attack upon the citizens residing therein. It marks out, therefore, an extremely limited scope for the struggle against the danger of war and excludes from the referendum those situations which, in reality, are most likely to give rise to war since wars in the future are little likely to be declared before they are waged.

Yet, despite these limitations, and weaknesses of the LaFollette-Ludlow resolution as an anti-war measure, it is thru it that the anti-war sentiments of masses, in all their confusion and elementary sincerity, are being expressed. Today, it is this resolution which marks the vague, the half-formed line dividing the pro-war and anti-war forces in America, separating those heading for military dictatorship from those calling for a measure of democracy on such a vital issue. It is from this point of view that we take our stand with the movement growing up in support of the referendum.

It is the contention of the administration that the passage of the amendment would make impossible, or very difficult, mobilization for "national defence," that it would facilitate the expression of elements of disunity at a time when the nation must stand firmly united against the foreign enemy. Precisely! In the jingo atmosphere whipped up by the ruling class, the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment, if passed, would offer at least the possibility of raising our voice against the predatory wars of American imperialism. It would make possible the conduct of some sort of anti-war agitation before war is declared—an extremely useful starting point for anti-war activity when war already rages. Not so much as an effective means to end war but as offering a tribune for anti-war agitation in the struggle against capitalism, do we support the movement that is beginning to gather around the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment. Especially now must we take advantage of the fight for the resolution to spread among the widest sections of the population the truth about the war preparations and plans for military dictatorship of American imperialism, of which the drive against the war-referendum amendment is but a part.

Revolutionary Labor Conference Called

(We publish below the call to an International Conference of Revolutionary Socialists recently issued by the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (the so-called "London Bureau"). Both the International Communist Opposition and the Independent Communist Labor League will be represented at this conference. Affiliated with the London Bureau are the following organizations: the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain; the Workers Party of Marxist Unification (P.O.U.M.) of Spain; the Socialist Workers Party of Germany; the Independent Socialist Labor Party of Poland; the Socialist Party of Sweden; the United Socialist Party of Rumania; the Socialist Party (Maximalists) of Italy; the Revolutionary Socialist League of Holland; the Workers Party of Palestine; and the International Bureau of Revolutionary Socialist Youth Organizations.—The Editor.)

THE need for common action by revolutionary sections within the different sections of the international working-class movement is urgent. To find practical means of bringing this about is the purpose of the International Conference which will be held in Paris, February 19-25, 1938.

The basic principles of the Conference will be:

1. The class struggle against capitalism, the capitalist state, war, fascism and imperialism.

2. Rejection of the Popular Front policy, which has proved to be a form of cooperation with the capitalist class, advantageous to capitalist and propertied elements; has restrained the workers during a revolutionary period pregnant with possibilities of economic change; has prevented aid being given to the workers of Abyssinia, Spain and China; and has served as a powerful instrument for the continued enslavement of the workers and peasants and for the defence of the imperialist interests of the ruling class.

3. Rejection in war-time as in peace-time of social-patriotism and every form of civil peace with the capitalist class.

4. Support of the struggle for the freedom of the oppressed peoples in all colonial and semi-colonial countries; of the demand for the withdrawal of the troops of the imperialist powers and the recognition of the right of the subject peoples to self-determination; and of the linking of the movement of the colonial peoples for national freedom with the revolutionary

struggle of the colonial workers against their exploiting classes.

5. Defense of the social revolution in Spain and of the P.O.U.M. and all working-class revolutionaries in Spain.

6. Defense of the Soviet Union as a proletarian state by the international working-class on a class basis, and the advocacy of proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union.

7. The realization of a workers front, nationally and internationally, on a class basis, by the united action of the working class on an agreed program of action on specific issues.

8. Recognition of the necessity to overthrow the capitalist state and to establish a revolutionary working-class dictatorship to carry thru the transition from capitalism to socialism. This dictatorship, whilst destroying the power of the capitalist class, must provide the greatest possible democracy in the working classes.

The Conference will meet to consider and adopt declarations of policy based on the above principles. These should serve as a rallying call to all revolutionary socialists and as an important lead to the whole working-class movement.

But, in addition, the Conference will apply itself to practical organizational problems, including:

1. The best means to develop common action among revolutionary socialists in the various sections of the movement.

2. The publication of an international journal with English, German French and Spanish editions, for the exchange of information and the discussion and direction of the correct application of revolutionary principles.

3. The establishment of an international fund for the assistance of those who are victimized for revolutionary socialist action.

4. Assistance for the P.O.U.M. thru an international center supported by all revolutionary socialist sections.

5. Contact with movements for national freedom in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and particularly with their working-class sections.

6. Methods to bring about the establishment of a workers front (as defined in 7 above).

7. The stimulation and organization of all forces in the working-class movement which are making for the establishment of a working-class International which shall be truly revolutionary.

Catholicism's "Social Ideals"

(We publish below an extract from the 1936 Yearbook of the Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Brooklyn. We recommend these lines particularly to the Stalinites who are so enthusiastically hailing the "social ideals" of Catholicism.—The Editor.)

THE past year has been marked by efforts on the part of some to unionize hospital employees. It will be unfortunate, indeed, if these efforts meet with success. The spirit of charity and sacrifice must characterize the entire personnel of a hospital if it is to give to the sick true Christlike care. The proposed organization of hospital employees would prevent generously-disposed men and women from offering their services to charitable activities at lower wages than can be obtained in industry or with the

acceptance of different conditions, of hours, etc.

Labor as well as capital must be willing to make sacrifices if voluntary hospitals are to continue. The word "sacrifice," however, seems to have no place in the vocabulary of those who are engaged in the hopeless task of endeavoring to make a Utopia out of what God intended should be a period of probation and trial which might merit an eternal reward, concerning which St. Paul wrote: "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come."

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WORLD TODAY

French C.P. Votes Against Wage Rise; Kalinin's Speech

London, December 20, 1937

THE final balloting in the Chamber of Deputies on the question of wage increases for government employees brought forth a bloc of 520 "national" votes against four. A section of the members of the Alliance Democratique, led by Flandin, voted with the government, while Flandin himself, Reynaud and several other leaders of this group abstained from voting. This circumstance was the first indication on the parliamentary field that the French bourgeoisie is setting the stage for the next political act, which will be the ousting of the C.P.F. from the government and its replacement by the Alliance Democratique, bourgeois twin-party of the Radical-Socialists.

The C.P. fraction in the Chamber abstained from voting in the committee but voted for the government in plenary session with the result that the party is being discredited both in parliament and outside. Characteristic of the situation is the following scene in the Chamber, related with glee in the Radical-Socialist magazine, *Marianne* (November 25, 1937):

"It has always been a very ticklish problem for government leaders, who have to reject all the reforms proposed by the communists, to do so with utmost courtesy, in view of the fact that 75 votes are at stake. Thus, M. Chaumets addressed M. Jacques Duclos with a smile on his lips: 'When I heard your speech yesterday, I said to myself, how nice it must be to be able to make such a speech. . . . But, you forget, my friend, that your demands are very expensive propositions to the government. If I were to ask M. Duclos himself to add up the expenses which the realization of his demands would entail, he would be horror-stricken at the enormous costs of his generosity.'

"Duclos himself gave the signal for general laughter."

The trade unions have been losing membership very rapidly. Fascist company unions are gaining ground; estimates are as high as three to four hundred thousand. These unions include not only foremen and technical personnel but, to a large extent, also workers.

The Cagoulard conspiracy, fomented by the more adventurous elements in the ranks of the fascists, has worked out in favor of Colonel de la Rocque, inasmuch as he was able to denounce these people to the government and is now regarded as the "savior of the Republic" by his fascist followers.

Assistance for the P.O.U.M. thru an international center supported by all revolutionary socialist sections.

5. Contact with movements for national freedom in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and particularly with their working-class sections.

6. Methods to bring about the establishment of a workers front (as defined in 7 above).

7. The stimulation and organization of all forces in the working-class movement which are making for the establishment of a working-class International which shall be truly revolutionary.

THE of Kalinin's recent election speeches made in Leningrad is extremely enlightening as to the attitude of the working masses to the election campaign. Kalinin referred to the fact that many workers questioned the sense of going to the polls, since, in many districts, there was only one candidate on the lists and not several, as Stalin had originally promised. Kalinin asked his audience to vote anyway in order to demonstrate the strength of the Soviet government. He tried to justify the system of one-candidate elections as appropriate to the present stage of development of the Soviet state. The only puzzling thing now is why Stalin promised a democratic election in the first place!

Kalinin's remarkable speech makes it quite clear that the elections were intended simply as a demonstration of Soviet power to the world. Stalin's terror campaign continued unabated during the election period; in fact, it was stepped up a bit. In the White Russian and Ukrainian republics, three or four layers of leaders, both in the government and in the party, have been executed or demoted within the last few months. A veritable avalanche has hit the diplomatic staff of the Soviet Union. It would take us too far afield to recount details. Soviet diplomacy, based as it has been on winning over the "democratic" nations, is completely bankrupt. It is by no means unlikely that another turn will be made if the situation continues which, in turn, will entail a change of policy in the C.I. We are firmly convinced, however, that a return to a genuine communist policy both in Soviet foreign policy and in the C.I. is impossible unless the Stalin clique is removed. Any attempt to correct the line without eliminating the bureaucrat must fail. It is becoming more and more evident every day that the solution of Soviet problems lies in the progress of Soviet democracy.

SOME PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZING FORD

Ford Anti-Labor Strategy Being Met by Vigorous U.A.W. Campaign

By GEORGE F. MILES

ONCE again unionism has received a powerful stimulus thru the slashing attack of the National Labor Relations Board on the labor policies and practices of the Ford Motor Company. This decision has aroused considerable new interest in the conduct and progress of the drive to organize Ford, especially its gigantic unit—the River Rouge plant. However, any super-enthusiastic belief that Ford can now be organized practically overnight, is doomed to disappointment, for the problems and difficulties are both great and unique. The difficulties would be great for unionism even were it possible to confine the organizing drive to River Rouge alone. But this, Ford has carefully tried to avoid. The union's resources are being divided thru flank attacks by the Ford Company in St. Louis, Kansas City, etc., in an effort to have the union fritter away its energies fighting lockouts, frame-ups and court cases. But the union is wise to these tactics and, while meeting the issues as they come, the main attack is being centered upon that sprawling monster at River Rouge, employing a capacity force of some 100,000 workers. With the River Rouge fortress taken, the union knows well, the rest of the Ford pill-boxes will surrender without much trouble.

Some Special Difficulties

What are some of the problems faced in the course of this most dramatic struggle?

I recall that, during the sit-down strike in Flint, the liberal, Robert Morris Lovett, visited the occupied shops and then wrote a pamphlet called "A Stockholder Visits Flint," in which he sharply attacked the labor policies of the firm in which he held stock. Without creating the impression that such opinions are necessarily decisive, it nevertheless illustrates a fact and that is that the management of General Motors was responsible to thousands of stockholders and therefore could not hold out indefinitely against a well-organized and well-entrenched union membership. Such is not the case where Ford is concerned. This firm is unique in the sense that it is owned by the Ford Family. They can, if they so desire, close down for some time (they did on one occasion for almost eight months) in an effort to starve their employees into submission. Their liquid financial reserves are greater than those of General Motors. It all goes to provide the Fords with a mobility and freedom of action rare in American industry today.

As one of the few successful individualists in industry, Ford has attracted widespread attention because of his successful stand against a combination of banking interests which tried to force him to the wall. The resulting "success story" has been woven and re-woven into a Ford myth which has not been without effect among the mass of his workers. It is in an attempt to cash in on this myth that Ford challenges unionism, not in the customary manner of the open-shoppers, but by pretending that it is an instrument of the bankers in a conspiracy to drive up labor costs to the point where he could no longer compete in the automobile market.

The Ford Service Department

But Ford does not depend solely upon myths to keep his industry free from the taint of unionism. A great deal has been written on the Ford service-men—a combination

of any size. It has taken to the air with daily broadcasts and it now talks to the workers in their own homes, following this up with visits by organizers to the homes and careful contact work inside the shops. Even the distribution of material at factory gates has been prohibited by the Ford city authorities of Dearborn and many hundreds of workers have been arrested while handing out the official organ of the union.

Finally, the very composition of the workers presents difficult problems for organization. By means of a carefully supervised hiring policy, a working force has been collected consisting, in more or less fixed ratios, of foreign-born workers, native white Northerners, native white Southerners and Negroes. To these add a leaven of workers hired thru the local politicians and subsidized preachers and ministers and the result is a diversified collection of groups which Ford can use against one another or against the union with some success.

The Union And The Ford Drive

These are a few of the factors which have contributed to make the organization of Ford slow and difficult. But to fully answer the question why Ford has not yet been organized, a few more facts must be considered.

The policy of the United Auto- (Continued on Page 4)

Stalinists in ASU Force Repeal of 'Oxford Pledge'

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

THE third annual convention of the American Student Union, meeting at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., has repudiated the traditional anti-war stand embodied in the Oxford Pledge and has lined up behind Roosevelt's foreign policy as expressed in his militantly imperialistic Chicago speech. The adoption of the policy of "collective security" into the A.S.U. program marks the conversion of this organization from a force opposing imperialist wars into an instrument for the mobilization of the students behind American imperialism.

At the outset, it was apparent to all that the Young Communist League controlled the convention in the form of a well-disciplined group, docile, responding to the guidance of the Stalinist wire-pullers. Every attempt on the part of the various advocates of the Oxford Pledge to introduce substitute motions or amendments, as is done in all parliamentary procedure, was efficiently squelched by the Stalinist chairman, with the help of his glowing compatriots on the floor. Nevertheless, the opposition, consisting of young socialists, supporters of the I.C.L.L. and anti-war students generally, managed to carry on an extended and heated debate on the war question. So disturbed were many sincere pacifist and liberal students, who could not digest in one swallow, the crass, war-inviting "collective-security" idea as originally proposed by Joseph Lash at the "peace panel," that the Stalinites were forced, in the name of "unity," to deck out the same pro-war program with some decorative trimmings. As a result of this, the Stalinist voting machine recorded 382 for and 103 against the following declaration:

"We urge American leadership in warning aggressors, employing embargoes against aggressors and organizing these efforts thru international collaboration. Such embargoes should include war supplies, raw materials, loans and credits,

but these steps would definitely not include military sanctions. We also urge repeal or modification of the present neutrality act to allow discrimination between aggressor or attacked, and to give aid to the latter."

The "compromise" consisted in the agreement that the "steps" proposed "would definitely not include military sanctions." Celeste Strack, one of the Stalinist floor-leaders, explained, in answer to a question put to her from the floor, that, although she was in favor of military sanctions, yet she was willing, for the sake of "unity," to omit this part of the "collective security" program for the present. But in the repudiation of the Oxford Pledge and the endorsement of the "collective security" swindle, which is after all the main thing, there was no change. So the Stalinists prepare the student youth for slaughter in the war to defend "democracy" against fascism!

In the commission which met to pass on the resolutions on various topics, such as war, political action, trade unionism, etc., the Stalinist machine again worked like a steamroller in selecting "desirable" resolutions, and tabling the "undesirable" ones of the opposition. The commission on political action may serve as an illustration. After much debate, the resolution that emerged favored a national coalition of "progressive forces on the political field," thus defeating a motion by Ed Arm, student member of the I.C.L.L., favoring affiliation exclusively to labor parties based on, and rooted in, the trade unions. Furthermore, the Stalinist National Executive Committee was empowered to determine which political groups the local A.S.U. chapters might affiliate to.

This serious turn, transforming the "radical" student movement into a force for war, will undoubtedly provoke some fundamental reconsideration on the part of the progressive, anti-war students in regard to their future relations to the A.S.U.

Labor in the Provincial Elections in Ontario

By E. S.

Toronto, Canada.

IN the Ontario elections of October 6, 1937, the Liberal government of Premier Hepburn was returned with only a slightly reduced majority. In a house of 90 members, he now has a following of 63, whereas he formerly had 72. This loss was a gain for the Tories and raised their strength from 14 to 23 members.

The espousal by the Conservatives of the right of the workers to select a union of their own choice, apparently had little effect on the electorate and could not overshadow their former corrupt administration. The few remaining seats in the legislature were won by independents.

There is no direct labor representation. The one Canadian Commonwealth Federation member failed to retain his seat for East Hamilton and lost to a Hepburnite.

Hepburn's Program

In spite of the fact that the government had nearly two more years to run, its resignation was announced at the beginning of September. With only a month in which to campaign, Hepburn began a tour of the province and in his early speeches, outlined the issues on which he hoped for a return of his party, as follows:

1. A continued prosecution of estates that had evaded their full amount of succession duties.

2. Endorsement of Hydro policies and the cancellation of contracts (made by a previous administration) with the power companies of Quebec.

3. Endorsement of his policy against the C.I.O.

This last issue was one raised mostly for election purposes. It served to launch the campaign but later fizzled out like a damp squib. The premier aimed numerous blows at the shadow form of John L. Lewis. There has never been a better example of shadow-boxing since Big Bill Thompson threatened to put King George out of Chicago. The premier lacked any real authority to expel labor organizers, as only the federal government can grant or withhold permission for anyone to enter Canada. The failure of the federal authorities to cooperate with Hepburn on this issue, caused a temporary rupture in their relationship.

In towns like Peterboro, Cornwall, Oshawa, where C.I.O. strikes had been in progress, the premier was severely heckled, but his followers polled a fairly good vote, and one was elected in Oshawa. Two cabinet ministers who had resigned over the C.I.O. issue but had otherwise retained their Liberal connections, were returned with big majorities. The failure of the workers to register any gains undoubtedly reflects their political weakness and lack of unity. An increase in employment has given rise to a belief in returning prosperity.

The Communist Party In The Elections

The Communist Party virtually gave its support to the Liberal party. The Daily Clarion directed its attack only at the Conservatives. The latter had previously been denounced by the C.P. as "the germ carriers of fascism." The C.P. tried to distinguish between Hepburn Liberals and "progressive" liberals. In a front page editorial, the Clarion criticized the C.C.F. for "lumping" Liberals and Conservatives together. The Red-baiting attitude of Hepburn frustrated a

People's Front approach by the C.P.

Stewart Smith, provincial leader of the C.P., announced his intention to run in Bellwoods—a district being contested by Roebuck, a resigned member of Hepburn's cabinet. Within a few days, Smith announced his withdrawal. This clownish gesture could only demean rather than enhance the C.P. In other places, C.P. members tried to force the C.C.F. into a united front by announcing themselves as Labor-Progressive candidates. A call was sent to the constituency representatives calling for a joint convention. When this was refused, the C.C.F. was denounced as "splitting" and "against unity," etc. This mechanical attempt to form a united front is still typical of the C.P.

Early in the summer, the Labor Representation Association was formed by the Trades and Labor Council of Toronto. The president of the T. & L. C. is president of the L.R.A. Executive officials of the T. & L. C. are also on the executive of this new body. The purposes of the L.R.A. is not to organize a new political party but to "coordinate the activities of other political labor bodies." This is according to a pronouncement by the chairman, George Watson. Forty-one trade unions are said to be affiliated to it, together with other political and unemployed groups, including the I.C.L.L. and the C.P. The non-union groupings have a voice but no vote.

The L.R.A. is obviously controlled by the C. P. Stewart Smith, who is also a city alderman, is present at each meeting and, although he protests that he is only an observer, his recommendations are usually adopted.

At a meeting called to select candidates for the Provincial election, a letter was read from the C.P. advising the Association where best to place candidates and who they should be. The Association favored those nominees who had already received the endorsement of the C.C.F. A meeting was called between the officers of the L.R.A. and the C.C.F. to try to avoid duplication of candidates. The C.C.F. refused to withdraw any candidates because they said the L.R.A. was C.P.-controlled. This duplication undoubtedly led to the defeat of Joe Selzberg, who is active in the needle trades, and a prominent C. P. member. He was defeated by the Liberal candidate with a margin of only 179 votes, while the C.C.F. candidate in that district received 900 votes.

At the last meeting of the L.R.A., called to nominate for the municipal elections, Stewart Smith advised the Association of the selection of four C.P. candidates but they said "Don't endorse us but someone can move that the L.R.A. do not contest these positions." This was accordingly done. One of the selected is Tim Buck, who expects this year to win a seat on the Board of Control.

The Canadian Commonwealth Federation

The C.C.F. nominated 37 candidates to contest the provincial elections. None was successful. Sam Lawrence, elected C.C.F. member in the last house, was defeated.

The total vote polled by this party was 80,000, some ten thousand short of their total in the last election.

In many constituencies, the (Continued on Page 4)

Court OK's Race Lines

In a case brought before it by the National Mediation Board, the governmental agency dealing with labor relations on the railroads, the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals at Detroit recently took action that may prove of wide significance, especially in connection with the designation of collective-bargaining units under the Wagner Act.

On the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks had asked to be designated as the collective-bargaining agency for all clerks, office workers and other employees, over whom it has jurisdiction. The Brotherhood admits Negroes and a number of clerks on this Southern line refused to have anything to do with it for that reason, setting up instead a lily-white organization of their own. They demanded that this organization should be designated as a unit of collective bargaining separate and distinct from the Brotherhood. The National Mediation Board allowed the clerks to vote separately but reserved decision on the question itself.

The total vote was decidedly in favor of the Brotherhood by 409 to 243; but, among the clerks, the lily-white organization carried 233 to 170. After argument, the Board decided that all employees should form one unit, there appearing no reason, in its opinion, for any separation. The Brotherhood was certified; the company refused to recognize it; the Federal District Court at Nashville, Tenn., was asked to order it to do so; the court denied the request. On December 15, the Circuit Court of Appeals acted to uphold the lower court.

If the action of the Circuit Court of Appeals is not overturned, it means that a precedent is created for the legal certification of collective-bargaining agencies along racial lines. It is unnecessary to emphasize how disastrous this would be for the labor movement.

General Motors Lays Off 30,000

(Continued from Page 1)

Of the 30,000 to be laid off, 20,000 are in Michigan, half of them in Detroit, and 10,000 scattered throughout the rest of the country. The curtailment, Mr. Knudsen said, would be for an "indefinite" period, with some chance of rehiring should the Spring bring the "usual pick-up" in business.

The G.M. lay-offs are part of a general move throughout the industry. Production at Chrysler entirely ceased during the week before New Year's. In the Ford Dearborn plants, where a normal force of 87,000 is employed, about 40,000 are at work. Assembly lines are not working at all.

An effort was made by Mr. Knudsen to blame the bad business situation leading to the lay-offs upon "a too rapid increase in wages" brought about by the United Automobile Workers. He was answered by Richard T. Frankenstein, assistant president of the union, who declared:

"Whenever industrialists fail to solve the problems, which they themselves have created, their first step is to throw men out into the street, knowing full well that industry has not provided sufficiently for them to take care of themselves. Their next step is to seek an alibi for throwing their men out. The alibi of General Motors is 'higher labor cost.'

"The real fact of the matter is that labor hasn't received sufficient to purchase the products they are making. Mr. Knudsen knows

Austrian Socialists on U.S.S.R.

(For the information of our readers, we present below significant extracts from a declaration on the Soviet Union recently adopted by the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Austria. Preceding the paragraphs reproduced here is a section estimating enthusiastically the great achievements of the U.S.S.R. in the fields of industry and agriculture, social organization and culture.—THE EDITOR.)

AS we are not people who merely talk about socialism but fellow-fighters of the Russian working class, struggling for the conversion of capitalism into the socialist society and in this struggle daily compelled to make heavy sacrifices, we are estimating the Soviet Union and the present methods of the Stalin regime primarily from the angle of the revolutionary interests of the international working class. . . .

We acclaim all the positive achievements of the Soviet Union: the swift economic ascent, the notable successes in all departments of cultural life, of technique and of research, the assistance always given by Soviet Russia to the revolutionary forces throughout the world.

If the capitalist and fascist warmongers attack the Soviet Union, we shall defend it with all our strength. In that event, every revolutionary socialist will be prepared to sacrifice his life for the social advance achieved by the proletarian revolution in Russia and, by such sacrifice, will induce the working class as a whole to rise as one man in defense of the Soviet Union.

Our Viewpoint Must Be Objective

But, just because we acclaim the great feats of the Soviet Union, we reject the propaganda which represents the aims pursued by socialism all over the world as having been already realized in Russia, the propaganda which idealizes and glorifies everything, denies the social backwardness and want, calls terrorism freedom and extols, as an ideal, a condition which can be no other than a stage between the former slavery and the future perfected human emancipation.

This point of view preserves us from yielding to uncritical admiration, for we know that any working-class revolution in a country of high economic development and possessing a working class with an advanced intellectual and political training, would very quickly pass the standard of the Soviet Union. But, on the other hand, our standpoint preserves us also from any petty or spiteful criticism, because it instructs us that all the questionable and displeasing manifestations visible today in the Soviet Union have their deeper causes in the historical backwardness of the country, with its vast masses barely rescued from slavery by the revolution, and also in the perpetual menace to the Russian revolution from the rest of the world which has retained capitalism.

Source Of Russian Difficulties

In 1917, none of the essential objective conditions necessary for socialist construction was present in Russia; everything had to be created, even the working class itself which was to be the maker of the social change. A mass population straight from the village and

better than to say that the recession is caused by higher wages but we recognize he is only a mouthpiece for the anti-labor propaganda of the Manufacturers Association."

Mr. Frankenstein said the union would fight against wage reductions by General Motors or other corporations.

only vaguely familiar with technical production must today serve the needs of the gigantic modern factories and intricate machines. That is why the average results achieved by Soviet workers, that is why the productivity of labor in the Soviet Union, still stand far behind those in the advanced capitalist countries. Immense differences in wages, bonuses, competition and perpetual political pressure, are means used to improve this productivity of labor. The compulsion to industrialize speedily and to exercise state control over the whole of social life has brought into being a powerful bureaucracy holding great material privileges, and a class of highly qualified industrial managers, technicians and engineers, who also are highly favored economically. Functions which, in an advanced country, would be exercised from the outset by the masses in unfettered self-determination thru their free organizations, are, in Russia, in the hands of a bureaucracy which has become omnipotent. The unceasing menace from abroad has necessitated a one-sided development of economic life, a tremendous elaboration of industry for purposes of production and a neglect of parallel attention to the needs of consumption. And, finally, a great proportion of the national income has to be appropriated for armament and for the extension of the Red Army.

But, instead of frankly explaining the difficulties to the workers of the world, the official propaganda draws a picture of a paradise, which is in sheer contradiction to the facts; it asserts that, in Russia, there is no material want and no lack of political freedom among the masses. Yet the workers do understand the difficulties and needs of the Soviet Union, and frank avowal of them would not paralyze but rather rekindle enthusiasm for the Soviet Union and the determination of the workers to defend all that has been achieved in Russia with all their forces.

This propaganda is not a necessity for the Soviet Union but it is a necessity for the defense of the

special form of Stalin's regime, which does not shrink from making use of terrorism in its own party and against the working class in order to maintain its dictatorship, based on bureaucracy and lagging behind on essential points, against the pressure of wide masses of the people who are demanding a voice in affairs, against the demands for freedom coming from the developed forces of Russian society and against every sign of opposition within the Communist Party and other organizations.

Stalin Is Not Russia

For this reason, we oppose energetically the official lie that whoever criticizes Stalin and the present terror is an enemy of the Soviet Union. Stalin is not the Soviet Union; he is only the strongest holder of power in the regime today. It is not from a repudiation of the terror that serious dangers for the Soviet Union arise but rather from its reckless use. It is not the working class but only the bourgeoisie of the whole world who gain from the present terrorist system in the Soviet Union. Stalin's terror is the spectre with which fascists and capitalists are today terrifying millions of workers and peasants and which tends to make great masses of the people in the capitalist countries lose faith in the socialist revolution. The campaign of extermination practised by Stalin within the Communist Party and in the machinery of state, is a check to revolutionary development throughout the whole world; it is strengthening reformist illusions, engendering political apathy in the ranks of the working class and aiding the campaign of reaction against communism.

But reaction's charges against the terror in Russia leave us cold. . . . We oppose the Stalinist terror as socialists and revolutionaries.

We oppose the lying campaign against the Trotskyists; we condemn these lies for drawing the international labor movement into Russian domestic controversies and sensational propaganda myths. . . . (Continued Next Week)

Problems of the Ford Drive

(Continued from Page 3)

mobile Workers at the beginning of the year 1937 was to concentrate upon General Motors; that out of the way, to tackle Chrysler and, finally, to use the entire momentum of the growing union against Ford. While General Motors ran true to form and signed up finally with the union, the stubborn resistance of Chrysler was somewhat of a surprise and set the whole program of union activity back for some time. Where it was expected that Chrysler would make no fight at all, it was not until the latter part of April that Chrysler was settled and talk of tackling Ford was begun, and not until the union convention in August was the drive launched with any seriousness.

But certain unexpected difficulties had developed in the meantime. Between May and August 1937, Ford's share in the volume of sales gradually sagged from 24% to 17.75% and this condition was certainly not improved with the precipitate decline of auto production as part of the general depression, which became particularly noticeable in October. At no time this year did Ford approximate full

production and altho, upon going thru the River Rouge plant in November, the guide assured us that there were at that time 95,000 workers in the plant, 45,000 would have been much more accurate.

It becomes clear, therefore, that, under the circumstances in which up to half of the workers were unemployed, conditions for a whirlwind campaign did not exist. In addition, it must be recalled that the movement to organize Ford came at a time when labor generally had begun to slow down somewhat after its forced marches towards unionization under the banner of the C.I.O., especially after the first setback in Little Steel had been marked up.

Gratifying Results

While, therefore, these conditions have militated against a speedy victory in the organization of Ford, the results have nevertheless, been highly gratifying and will undoubtedly improve because of better morale after the N.L.R.B. decision. Figures cannot be made public but the result achieved to-date would surprise many. Director Richard Frankenstein and Assistant Director Sigmund Dobzynski have every reason to be proud of the accomplishments achieved under the most trying circumstances. They have proven that Ford can be and is being organized.

CONTRIBUTE TO THE \$10,000 DRIVE

War Mongers Talk 'Peace'

"This policy is a peace policy, the only peace policy, and not a war policy. . . . It calls for no military action by the United States itself or by the United States in conjunction with other powers."

Thus Clarence Hathaway attempts to justify the "collective-security" policy of the Stalinites in the Daily Worker of December 23, 1937.

Why, then, did the recent convention of the Stalinite-controlled American Student Union repudiate the Oxford Pledge declaring against support of the United States government in any war it may wage? If yours is a policy of "peace," contemplating "no military action by the United States," then why so eager to be free to support the American government in war?

The Stalinist demagogues stand self-exposed. Their little game is plain enough. They know that their policy leads to war but they don't dare to say so. Thru playing upon the phrases "peace" and "collective security," they hope to entice the workers along a road from which there is soon no turning back, the road that leads straight to war and military dictatorship.

Labor in Ontario Provincial Polls

(Continued from Page 3)

membership had shrunk to a baker's dozen and great difficulty was experienced to get a large enough working committee.

Some candidates polled as high as 7,000 votes. Arthur Williams of East York Workers fame, polled 6,000 votes as a C.C.F. candidate.

The C.C.F. has now adopted as a sub-title the name "Farmer-Labor Party of Ontario," evidently with the intention of forestalling a real federated farmer-labor party here.

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