Vol. 7, No. 5.

NEW YORK, N. Y., SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1938.

5 Cents a Copy

# In France

#### Radical-Socialist Regime Gets Huge Confidence Vote In Chamber

By an almost unanimous vote of 502-1, the new Chautemps cabinet won a vote of confidence in the French Chamber of Deputies on Friday, January 21. The extreme right-wing elements abstained from voting, while most of the bourgeois groups, conservative and liberal alike, supported Chautemps, as did also the socialists. The Communist Party ran true to form: after loud grumbling and threats of opposition, it capitulated and voted confidence, but this time its votes were no longer necessary to assure a majority.

After five days of political shuf-fling, the Radical-Socialists finally succeeded last week in putting over their carefully conceived plan of reorganizing the Chautemps cabinet to the right by squeezing the communists out of the coalition supporting it, reducing the role of the socialists and rallying behind it conservative elements outside the People's Front altogether. To achieve this end, the Radical Socialists had gone to the point of precipitating a cabinet crisis over financial policy and achieve it they did, at least for the time being, when Chautemps announced on January 18 that he had succeeded in forming a new government composed exclusively of Radical-Socialists and allied groups, with himself as premier and Bonnet, former Finance Minister, as Minister of State "for coordinating economic and financial action.'

Despite Leon Blum's plea, the the new cabinet but they pledged it support in the Chamber. The Communist Party declared its opposition to the new regime but nobody took this threat seriously.

Immediately after assuming power, Premier Chautemps announced that he would follow the general line laid down by the preceding cabinet, especially on financial policy, precisely the point on which that cabinet had broken down because of communist and, to some extent, socialist opposition. But, under present circumstances, Chau-

(Continued on Page 6)

## **UAW Advances**

Plans for bringing to a speedy conclusion the negotiations with General Motors for the renewal of the collective-bargaining agreement, were laid last week at sessions of the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers of America, held in Detroit.

The board went on record unanimously reaffirming the stand of the union on its responsibility in abiding by the agreement and on its opposition to unauthorized strikes, as embodied in the letter sent by the U.A.W. to General Motors on September 16, 1937. In the communication to G.M. announcing this decision, Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W., called attention to the fact that "the carrying out of the agreement between the union and the corporation is a mutual responsibility and that effective handling of any unauthor-

## New Cabinet French People's Front After the WAR At End of Its Rope

(AN EDITORIAL)

WHEN, over two years ago, the People's Front policy was first enunciated by the Communist International, we were assured that it was merely a manouver of transition to the "struggle for soviets," for such horrendous phrases were still used by the Stalinites in those days.

Somewhat later, when the first People's Front government was set up in France as a socialist-Radical communist coalition, we were assured that this regime would accomplish great things: it would wipe out fascism, reform the army bestow on the workers all sorts of social and labor legislation, give French political life a lasting impetus to the left, aid the forces of "democracy" against fascism in Europe and convert the Franco-Soviet pact from a mere declaration to a "real alliance."

What has been the record of the People's Front since then?

Under the People's Front, the fascist leagues have been permitted to continue their activities unhampered; they have merely changed

the shingle under which they operate. Fascist sentiment has grown among the lower middle classes and peasantry, as the Stalinist Humanite frequently admits with groans.

Under the People's Front, the reactionary and fascist officers clique dominating the armed forces has not been disturbed because
—God forbid!—that might "undermine the defensive power" of the country.

Under the People's Front, the achievements of the great strike wave of June 1936 were, indeed, "recognized" by the government in the famous "social laws." But they have since been largely nullified by the devaluation of the franc and the consequent rise in the cost of living, by constant "compromises" forced by the government and by administrative restrictions on trade-union action that would not be tolerated in this country. What the workers have won, the government has undone.

Under the People's Front, the treacherous "non-intervention" policy, carried out by France under (Continued on Page 2)

## TO "END WAR"

1918-1919: Polish-Ukrainian war for Eastern Galicia. 1919: Counter-revolution and Allied intervention in Soviet Russia.

1919-1921: British "Blackand-Tan" war in Ireland.

1919-1922: Spanish war in the Riff (Morocco).

1919-1926: Wars among the Arabian states. 1920: Soviet-Polish war,

resulting from a French-inspired attack by Poland on Russia.

1920: Turkish - Armenian war.

1921-1922: Greek-Turkish war.

1925: French war against the Druses in Syria.

1925-1935: Prolonged Bolivian-Paraguayan war over

1931-1932: Japanese invasion of Manchuria. 1932: Japanese attack on

Shanghai. 1935-36: Italian attack on

Ethiopia. 1936-1937: Fascist uprising

in Spain. 1937: Japanese invasion of

North China.

### Big Business Gives 'Line'

#### President Hints At New N.R.A. And Anti-Labor "Regulatory" Laws

Addressing the forty-nine members of his business Advisory Council, which functions under the Department of Commerce, President Roosevelt declared last week that he was considering the establishment of a permanent, non-statutory group of about twenty-five men to represent the various interests involved in the country's economic life and to "coordinate" production and business policy under governmental supervision. There was no intention, he said, of reviving the complicated administrative machinery of the N.R.A. but the general objective would be more or less the same. He also indicated that he was contemplat-ing some sort of "regulatory" legislation for trade unions.

The President's remarks came as a commentary on the council's statement read by its chairman, W. Averell Harriman, chairman of the board of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. A summary of the recommendations of the council follows:

1. Wage-hour legislation: A "fresh study" of the subject, that is, indefinite delay.

2. Business practises: Revision of the anti-trust laws so as to retain "much that is desirable to preserve" of the "cooperation within inndustries . . . under the N.R.A."

3. Holding companies: "Any general move to outlaw proper holding companies" deplored.

4. Public utilities: "Disturbed" over the existing relations between the administration and the publicutilities industry.

5. Labor relations: Legal regulation of trade unions, in line with Roosevelt's hint in his recent message to Congress. On this point, the President indicated his general approval, adding that the problem should be worked out by "common consent."

6. Housing: General approval of administration policy.
7. Taxation: "Modification" of

the undistributed-profits and capital-gains tax.

8. Railroads: General approval of administration policy.

9. Annual wages: General endorsement of the President's recommendations.

10. Social security: Amendments

"Sympathetic Agriculture: with the protection of farm incomes thru federal legislation."

12. Monetary policy: No further cheapening of the dollar and no further "pump-priming," that is, federal spending in order to encourage recovery.

ister an economic activity below the pre-depression levels.

#### Inescapable Conclusions

The meaning is inescapable: Our economic system is afflicted by a permanent economic crisis that marks the decline of American capitalism-a crisis and decline that makes it impossible normally to restore full prosperity in terms of continously higher levels of economic activity and comparatively complete employment.

The conclusion is inescapable: If and when this recession is (Continued on Page 2)

## WHAT MEANS THIS CRISIS?

### *By Lyman Fraser* =

duced a sharp downward movement of economic activity and has added three or four millions to socialists refused to participate in our unemployed. That has created new problems and new tasks for the labor movement, shaping its immediate strategy and tactics. This is of great importance in itself but still greater is the larger meaning of the recession in terms of the immediate future of society and labor.

> It is true, as capitalist economists and apologists say, that this is the "usual cyclical recession" that comes after every recovery of prosperity from depression. But, in making that argument, the apologists admit that crises, recessions

> ized action must eventually depend upon cooperation between the union and the corporation."

With the declaration on respon-On GM Contract sibility confirmed, the resumption of negotiations with G.M. was expected within a few days. Asked if the U.A.W. would call for contract changes with G.M., Mr. Martin replied: "The only contract changes will be those to make collective bargaining more effective.'

Reports given by regional directors at the U.A.W.'s board meeting indicated that the union was in a strong and stable conditions and was weathering the depression very well, despite heavy unemploy-

The business recession has pro- and depressions are inherent in capitalism; they admit that it is impossible, in spite of all the New Deal "planning," to control and the midst of an incomplete prosregularize economic activity. Underlying the argument of the apologists is the fatalistic (but correct) conclusion that capitalist society must always move toward another great economic crisis and depression.

#### Two Fundamental Differences

But the capitalist economists and apologists are only partly right when they say that this recession is the "usual cyclical" affair. They are thinking only of customary developments, of what happened in the past; they are not thinking of new developments, of what is new and of peculiar historical significance in this recession. There are, however, two decisively new aspects that distinguish it from all previous recessions:

1. Never was the decline of economic activity as swift and sharp as in this recession. Within a short period of six months, economic activity has fallen around 30%. That is much greater than in any previous recession that took place immediately after the recovery of prosperity from depression. The fall in economic activity has even been swifter and sharper than in the crisis and depression years 1929-30.

2. As a part of that development. but still more significant, is the fact that this recession has occured in perity. Every previous recession of this type occured in the midst of a prosperity that had gone beyond the pre-depression levels, with unemployment having moved downward to the comparatively small minimum of "normal" unemploy-ment characteristic of capitalist prosperity. But the "new prosperity" was still below the 1928-29 levels when this recession began, with around 8,000,000 workers still unemployed. This time, capitalism was unable to restore full prosperity!

The chronology of events makes the meaning of those developments still clearer:

1930-33: four years of the worst depression in American history. 1933-35: nearly three years of to the law urged.

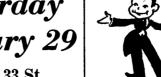
1936-37 not quite 2 years of an incomplete, fitful prosperity—for the last five months of 1937 experienced recession.

1930-37: more than eight years during which economic activity was below the older levels, in which economic activity did not move to higher levels—the longest period of its kind in our history. The eight years, moreover, are a minimum, for this year also will reg-

**SPANISH** 

## CARNIVAL DANCE

Saturday January 29



MARIMBA BAND 131 W. 33 St.

Arranged by: Independent Communist Labor League (Dressmakers)

= Bv Politicus =

THE rapid alternation of conciliatory conferences with the "leaders of industry," and the hysterical jeremiads of the week as legal by a unanimous decipopulist front crusaders against Monopoly, has been the ad- sion of the Court of Appeals of ministration's astute game thruout the past few weeks. Note New York State. The question came up in connection with a plea how the schedule has been cleverly calculated to maintain the for an injunction made by six non-New Deal's popularity in the face of an increasingly severe union employees of the New York

crisis: Ickes and Jackson sound their trumpets, like the dragonslayers of 1933, at monopolistic price-increases, after the government does nothing about the crisis except to revive certain aspects of Hoover's methods. Roosevelt, in two different speeches, assures business that the campaign is directed only against a handful of calls fly thick and fast for coninclude such notably reactionary the British example.' representatives of the employing class as E. T. Weir.

#### "Listening To Both Sides"

It was hoped that this strategy would give the appearance of a deliberative, temperate policy, moving with wisdom and foresight, flattering, however, since most ob-

Our impression leads us to give little credence to this pathetic porright, towards which the New Deal has been feeling its way for the less of reactionary Tory diplomacy.

#### The New Deal Way

The last crisis led to the reawakening of labor and the modernization of governmental policy, ical relations in France have moved especially from the point of view steadily and uninterruptedly to the of social and labor legislation, and right. From a Radical Socialistseemed to fuse these two manifes- socialist coalition, with a socialist the new Trotskyist Socialist Worktations, so that labor came to ap- (Blum) at the head, supported by ers Party, Albert Goldman pours economic activity and profits; it pear as an integral part of the the communists—to a similar co-typical Trotskyist scorn (half-will move toward war. New Deal. Today, it is the avowed alition, with a Radical Socialist digested super-"revolutionary" aim of the employing class at first (Chautemps) at the head, also supto chip away, and then to blast ported by the communists—to the way, labor's gains of the past few present straight Radical-Socialist war-referendum idea and our sup- and struggle for higher wages and feats Hall." years. There are two ways of do- government supported by the soing this: the traditional way of re- cialists but "opposed" by the compression, legislative and physical; munists: this has been the line of and the New Deal way of cultivating labor's dependence on it for and the story is not yet told. The the bright idea of abolishing war protection and then standing by, meutral," as others do the re-transition not to a "soviet France" by referring the question of the existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war existence of capitalism to a referring the question of the it will oppose armaments and war in the properties are the properti pressing-meanwhile approaching, or a "labor government" but to an rendum vote." step by step, the great goal of the increasingly conservative regime On December 1, 1916, Lenin, governmental "control" of union-

#### The Reality Of The New Deal

In this present program, the conthe nation with a heavy blanket of shoddy phrases.

"Everything for the sake of the shoddy phrases.

Apparently Goldman's scorn is italism means that the struggle for cialist struggle against capitalism.

### Court OK's Closed Shop

The closed shop, as part of a Rapid Transit Corporation and three other subsidiaries of the B. M.T. system, to restrain the enforcement of the closed-shop agreement that the companies have with the Transport Workers Union, C.I.O. affiliate.

The anti-union elements claimed that the contract constituted a "monopoly" and was "against pubic policy." The court denied this claim, declaring that this was a matter for the Legislature and not thru this means of contracting and bargaining."

### by sending a diplomatic agent to to the question the other side be- strengthen their representative Local 222; Jas. Haxton, member of ferences at the White House and insurgent territory, thus following ing that the labor organizations, bodies and to effectuate collective the U.A.W.A. Local 222; W. H. J.

**ANOTHER 'GREAT** 

**DEMOCRACY** 

The French People's Front What Means (Continued from Page 1)

the tutelage of Tory Britain, has the bourgeoisie! still out to make business rational substantially aided the fascist And now the People's Front has but not to be hurried to any rash clique of General Franco and has reached the end of its rope—the or precipitate step. The effect of very seriously hampered the loyal- coalition is broken, the socialists movement of recovery in the spring this carefully staged "listening to list government in the Spanish civ- out of the cabinet and the comboth sides" has been far from il war. Thru French pressure, the munists dragging miserably be- not much greater than in 1936-37; Czechoslovakian government has hind, their votes no longer required it may move higher, normally, but servers are now under the impres- been "persuaded" to yield to many to make a majority. The French not much higher, with unemploysion that the administration is of the demands of Nazi imperial- bourgeoisie no longer needs it, for ment ranging from 6,000,000 to floundering about in critical des- ism. As a result of French foreign now it can again, for the moment 8,000,000. That is not a cheerful peration, seeking any policy at any policy, one after another of the at least, rule thru its own traditionold French allies has been driven al parties. The People's Front has into the arms of Hitler or Mus- served the employing class only end of its economic rope. Capitalsolini. In fact, under the People's too well and therefore it has been ism must expand or contract: ex-Front much more than under Laval, dismissed. contrary, there is being prepared the French Foreign Office has If the French workers learn cumulation, upon increasing op-

Under the People's Front regime, coalition politics and the class col- fully mechanized, new industries only has the sharpened interna- the Franco-Soviet pact has been laboration it implies, if the French are not developing and the export tional situation sucked in the reduced to hardly more than a labor movement now at last of capital is not being resumed. United States more deeply and scrap of paper and official rela- strikes out on the path of militant launched the government on a de- tions with the U.S.S.R. have been socialism, rallying the masses of termined war policy but the growing cooler and cooler. Things the lower middle classes and peasdomestic situation aggravates con- have reached such a pass that Del- antry behind it, then France may ditions, drives the imperialists bos was able ostentatiously to ig- still escape reaction and fascism! nore the Soviet Union on his recent Eastern tour, neither including i in his itinerary nor consulting with it as to his mission.

Under the People's Front, politnd the story is not yet told. The the bright idea of abolishing war dominated by the Radical Social- then at Zurich, wrote to A. Schmid ists, the traditional party of the that "the idea that the specific French bourgeoisie.

feature of Switzerland consists. For the sake of this People's among other things, in its greater moves within an historical circle history. It is significant that the Front, the French labor movement democracy (referendum) and that that determines its character and same meeting of the Trades and Laferences with the Youngs, the has surrendered its independence this specific feature should be used outcome: the permanent economic bor Council was the scene of an Weirs and the like must be con- and freedom of action. The two also for propaganda . . . is im- crisis and decline of capitalism inglorious defeat for the "People's sidered the reality of the New Deal big workers parties, the socialists portant and, in my opinion, quite means that there is no way out Fronters" when the results of a program, in which housing will be and the communists, have convert- correct." Lenin then proposed "a within the relations of capitalist referendum vote withdrew the meager and functioning primarily ed themselves into mere auxiliaries referendum placing the question production; If labor limits its Council from the position of being for private profit and wage-cutting; of the bourgeois liberals, doing their thus: for or against the confisca- struggles to immediate demands, if parent to the L.R.A., the Stalinitein which the administration's dirty work for them in the ranks tion of big capitalist concerns in it listens to the false prophets who controlled political agency. wages-and-hours bill will be largely of the workers. The trade-union industry and agriculture as the urge that the economic problem can a sham and a mockery; in which movement, under the C.G.T., has only way of eliminating militar- be solved within the limits of capimmediate demands, a wholly nelabor will find its hard-won rights in been hamstrung with restrictions ism." And he suggested that it italist democracy, then labor must cessary and creative struggle, must danger of being gradually whittled imposed upon it by itself as well might be done "in the form of a meet defeat, for capitalism in de- be animated by the understanding down by "amendments" and restrict as by the government, all accepted direct federal income and property cline will increasingly resist labor's and the will to transform that tions. As a smokescreen for this program, the fluent demagogy of Front"—that is, to keep the bour-Ickes, Jackson and Roosevelt covers | geois partners from breaking away. | ate the capitalists."

A New York Times despatch from Prague, dated January 22, "It was officially announced today that the Czechoslovak govern-"bad" monopolists. The President ment intended to recognize the the judiciary to deal with and that, attacks holding companies. The Spanish insurgent regime de-facto furthermore, "there are two sides

Trotskyist Ire

Strikes Lenin!

In the January 15 issue of the

Socialist Appeal, official organ of

phrases imbedded in super-"revolu-

port of it. Sarcastically, he sneers:

"Possibly the pacifists of the

### This Crisis? meant everything for the sake of

(Continued from Page 1)

Is This What We

Must "Defend"?

FROM the January 13, 1938 issue of Pravda, official

paper of the Communist Par-

"In capitalist countries,

parliament is an arena for

chatterboxes and advocates

of the bourgeoisie, a screen

for all kinds of backstage

manipulation by the real

rulers, the capitalists and the

landowners. . . . Bourgeois

parliaments are afraid of the

very shadow of the people."

Is this the "bourgeois par-

liamentary democracy" that

Stalin wants us to cherish

and "defend" even at the ex-

pense of our struggle for so-

negotiating, are enabled to

cialism?

ty of the Soviet Union:

vercome-there may be an upward -it will bring a new prosperity prospect but it is inescapable because capitalism has reached the pansion depends upon capital acthe whole discredited system of limited because old industries are ganizations for a common purpose

> The permanent economic crisis and decline of capitalism means lower levels of production and lower levels of living, enormous disemployment, the sharpening of class-economic antagonisms.

Capitalism will seek its own way out of the crisis. Capitalism will seek to break down labor resistance and organization in order to lower wages; it will arouse the worst reactionary passions; it will encourage armaments and imperialism as a means of increasing

tionary" snobbishness) upon the of the crisis. Labor will organize "Oshawa Gives Labor Sweep, Delower hours; it will demand relief for the unemployed; it will broaden

Socialism The Only Way Out

crush labor. The permanent eco- bor is slowly acquiring the underitalism means that the struggle for cialist struggle against capitalism.

### Labor Wins In Oshawa

By FRANK KING

Toronto, Canada

OSHAWA, the scene of the General Motors strike in April 1937, where Local 222 of the United Automobile Workers of America scored a major C.I.O. victory for Canadian labor, was again the scene of a great C.I.O.-labor victory on the political field in the elections in that city. The results speak for themselves. Elected were the following: Mayor -Alex McLeese, honorary member of the U.A.W.A.; Council-Cliff Harmon, member of the U.A.W.A. Local 222; F. Dafoe, charter member of the U.A.W.A. Local 222 and president of the Oshawa C.C.F. Club; Ed Bathe, vice-president of the U.A.W.A. Local 222; William Walker, member of the U.A.W.A. Harmer, secretary of the U.A.W.A. Local 222; Board of Education-Wm. Naylor, labor candidate.

A victory parade of U.A.W.A nembers celebrated the election of a labor Council and Chas. Millard, president of Local 222, declared 'Oshawa has given the lead to all Canada!" Following the results of the A.L.P. and the L.N.-P.L. in the United States, in their bid to gain political voice for labor, these results would indicate that the tendency towards independent political action is making headway in Can-

Backed by A.F.L. and C.I.O.

The labor slate of 11 members was backed by A. F. of L. unions n Oshawa as well as by the C.I.O. affiliates and the delegate commit tee that conducted the campaign of action on the part of labor or-Contrast the set-up and the results with the L.R.A. in Toronto, as referred to in the article in the Workers Age of January 8, 1938. It is also significant that three of the successful candidates in the Oshawa victory were C.C.F. members

Plenty of opposition was in evidence and Mayor Alex Hall, who was prominent in the 1937 strike events, went down to defeat as a reward for his action in turning against the C.I.O. and the so-called "foreign agitators" when his G.M masters cracked the whip behind the scenes. The Toronto Globe and Mail, which attacked the C.I.O. so viciously during the strike and during the last provincial elections, was forced to headline its article Labor will seek its own way out on the Oshawa civil elections:

#### No People's Front

At a packed meeting of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council vide jobs and homes for workers; on Thursday, January 6, the report as a threat to labor and to pro- U.A.W.A., was greeted with thunderous applause and the president. Geo. Watson, tendered congratulations from the Council as a body to the Oshawa union on its histori-But this immediate struggle cal achievement in labor political

## THE NATIONAL FRONT IS FORMING

= By Bertram D. Wolfe =

of the series based on the stenogram the Panay films. of the report on "Problems of Strarecently.—THE EDITOR.)

CINCE the report on the war mained that they were doing so remaining. fashion the warnings and the pre- ful enough to get a gunboat convoy his defenseless victims, the Chin- come so shameless a lackey of dictions that were made at that time. The Chicago speech of President Roosevelt has proved indeed to be a call for rearmament. Roose velt chose the Christmas season, December 28, to issue his request for a larger navy. The Communist Party, in a Daily Worker editorial on December 31, handles the question in characteristic fashion. First, it blames Roosevelt's naval program on the Tories-who are also for a larger navy. The politics of the Communist Party today brings it strange bedfellows and it might as well get used to embracing them without such protests of innocence and virtue. At any rate, having blamed the Tories, it proceeds to endorse the proposal. The only questions it raises are: "Who is to pay for the navy?" and "Who is to control the enlarged navy?" We know the answers to both of those

### Who Will Pay For The Navy?

questions.

Who is to pay for the increase in the size of the American navy? Housing will pay! Already the Roosevelt administration has offered a scandalous scheme for private construction, for government interest bonuses to the construction corporations, and for wage-cuts in the building trades. And the Daily Worker has endorsed this scheme!

Relief will pay! The future will Finance has just issued a report on the size of the public debt saddebt per family in the state.

pay, with poverty, with sweat and which, it seems to me, we can exile—adopted a hostile attitude

The Roosevelt proposal involves an addition to an already enlarged taining absolutely intact his funnaval budget of over a half-billion damental principles, aims and ob- which the Menshevik, Zborovski, dollars for next year, by supple- jectives. mentary naval estimates th amount of which Roosevelt refuses

to state. It involves a strengthening of the Hawaian and Philippine naval bases. Therefore, you can say goodbye to freedom for the Philippines. cepts the new logic for its "communo"-imperialism and already James S. Allen has written an that the advocates of Philippine independence are Japanese agents.

#### Developing The War Morale

(The following article is the first the dramatic method of treating from the U.S. Navy. And now, a ese people. The certain interests imperialism that a proposal to short time after the August warnare big business interests. What withdraw the big business in-What are the facts? The Panay ing, Secretary Hull has declared interests have the American peoterests and the gunboats and tegy and Policy in the Struggle was a U.S. gunboat engaged in that "our 7,000 soldiers, sailors ple in China—or what rights? The Marines from China is denounced Against War" made by Bertram D. escorting three Standard Oil tank- and marines will stay in China. We certain obligations are the obliga- by the C.P. in the words of Mor-Wolfe to the plenary session of the ers. At the end of August, the have developed during a century tions that an imperialist govern-genthau as a "scuttle-and-run" National Council of the I.C.L.L. held President officially called on "all certain rights, certain interests, ment contracts with its ruling proposal. the 7,780 Americans in China to certain obligations and certain class, and the certain practises

THE AMERICAN EMPIRE

Question at the October ses- "at their own risk." The Standard | That is well put. The certain terror, the practises of the gangsion of our National Council, Oil Corporation is powerful enough rights are imperialist rights: the ster on an international scale. events have confirmed in fearful to ignore the warning. It is power- right of a bandit with a gun over | The Communist Party has be

get out" and warned any who re- practises," which require their that Hull refers to are the practises of sharpers, the practises of

EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS

force for the further development

confirmed by history in 1917.

War And The Socialist

(Continued on Page 5)

Workers Party, 1906.

Arousing A War Fever Since the Chicago speech, the

resident has lost no opportunity to arouse a war fever in the United States and, to the Daily Worker's "credit," the same can be said of it. The Panay incident is only one example. Take the President's public order on spy photographs. Take the declaration of the head of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Robert Fechner, on the fact that the C.C.C. now has 2,300,000 youths trained for war. quote: "Their training is such that they are about 85% prepared for military life." Take the letter of Roosevelt to the chairman of the Appropriations Committee on the enlargement of the navy. Take the letter of Roosevelt to Landon. What is the purpose of all these declarations of the President of the United States? The purpose is to create a fever condition, to

> that leads to fascism. And what shall we think of a one-time revolutionary party that hurls the word "fascist" at those who oppose this step towards fascism?—that hurls the words "militarist" and "war-monger" and "Tory" at those who oppose this militaristic, war mongering and Fory step toward armament, war and reaction? Is this not the standard, old-time tactics of the thief crying: "Stop thief?" The Communist Party today has become not the most powerful but certainly the vilest, and most vociferous enemy of peace, freedom and working-class independence and consciousness, not to mention of the proletarian revolution.

arouse hysteria and panic. The

purpose is to ask the American

people to stop discussing, thinking and resisting; the purpose is to

build up the familiar "Stand be-

hind the President" psychology

Let's see how the Daily Worker carries out the line of the President. Since the Chicago speech they have not let a day pass withgested, in the "new" Iskra, the to the workers movement and out some incitement to war formation of "organs of revolu- adopted an outlook and an attitude psychology. I pick at random two tionary self-government." The Bol- far more in harmony with the new weeks apart, the December 14 and December 28 issues of the Daily Worker. "JAPAN ORDERS DEATH TO HOSTILE ALIENS," The idea of soviets had originated with the Mensheviks but, sigis the main headline all along the front page in one of them. Sublarged navy? The Daily Worker insists that it should not be Adamiral Stirling! Are the other adamirated in its essential meaning, because assembly of the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in Stake in New Nippon Destitutions. It was Lenin, with his practise and called for the formation of a delegate assembly of the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in Stake in New Nippon Destitutions. It was Lenin, with his keen political insight and profound of the practical distributions are considered in the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in the role and meaning of the role and meaning of these missists that it should not be Adamirated in the role and meaning of the role and meaning o miral Stirling! Are the other admirals okay? We know, and the Daily Worker knows, that the admirals do not control the navy. The mirals do not control the navy. The main headling its really significant toon of a delegate assembly of workers in which one deputy should represent 500 constituents. Such a manifestation as the "peculiar or manifestation as the "peculiar

## Lenin's Political Genius

By Will Herberg

1924, fourteen years ago. The follow- of the newly born social-democratic Mensheviks), not only correspondwith fresh debts. The New York ing article is written in commemora- party striving to establish itself ed to the deepest needs of the motion.—THE EDITOR.)

T ENIN'S political genius is so dled on future generations. The New York State share of the nado not earn in a year of work nearly the amount of the per-capital eye out of the facts themselves and, in this article, I want to examine Who is to pay? The masses will and illustrate one such aspect, from

the 1905 revolution. Lenin had hammered away without cessation -first against the Economists and then against certain sections of viks, true to their pre-1905 doc-Again, the Communist Party ac the Mensheviks—at the primary trine, remained hostile to the new in Galicia together with Zinoviev necessity of developing the workers soviets and the idea underlying movement and its institutions along them. But, in November, Lenin reparty, along social-democratic turned to Russia. Literally one were all waiting to learn of the at- periences of 1917 and has come article in the Nation insinuating lines. The central nucleus of the glance at the situation was enough Bolshevik faction had been educat- for him; he saw that the moveed to look upon "non-partyism" ment had far outgrown the narrow more or less guided the policy of coming war. And that makes, with the greatest suspicion, as es- limits of former days and that the the Socialist International. Despite incidentally, a number of other sentially only a disguised form of non-party, soviets, with room for The Chicago speech, as we fore- bourgeois-liberal "laborism." And Socialist-Revolutionaries and unsaw, has been the beginning of the we cannot deny that, under the affiliated elements as well as for moral mobilization of America for circumstances and political relawar. Note, for example, the hand- tions of pre-1905 Russia, this atling of the Panay incident. Note titude of the Bolsheviks was thoro- pp. 76, 80.

(V. I. Lenin died on January 24, | ly justified from the point of view | social-democrats (Bolsheviks and as the true representative of the ment but constituted a powerful Russian working class. Then came 1905. The forces of of the revolution. Under his influ-

the rising strike movement, turn- ence, the Bolsheviks reversed their New York State share of the national, state and local debt amounts to \$3,000 per family, including the families on relief! The bulk of the families in the state of New York sheviks in Russia-Lenin was in situation. learn a great deal of infinite value to this idea, primarily because it to us as revolutionary Marxists presupposed non-party workers ornificantly enough, they never at-And who is to control the en- in America. I refer to Lenin's ganizations of a political character. tained to a clear appreciation of larged navy? The Daily Worker supreme capacity for instantly In October and November, the Mendoes the rest of the armed forces. abandonment of traditional views in Petersburg, primarily as a genwas the first, the non-party socialst, Nossar-Khrustalev, the second Soviets In The 1905 Revolution | and the independent socialist, Trot-1. During the years preceding sky, the third and last president. Similar bodies sprang up in other parts of the country.1 Even at this point, the Bolshe-

1. See Boris Souvarine: Staline,

### ary power, . . . organs of govern-

reiterated by the Bolsheviks in the ing line by which all movements years that followed and brilliantly must be measured, tested and judged. This is even true among the liberals. I want you to note the widening gap between the Nation and the New Republic. I erroneously reported at the October 2. In August 1914, Lenin was plenum that the New Republic living in a little mountain village would line up together with the Nation in the war party in this titude taken by the German social- out from the liberal standpoint democracy, which set the tone and as an active opponent of the all the recent falsification of his-differences in the whole tone of the magazine: the honeymoon between the New Republic 2. V. I. Lenin: The Victory of and the Communist Party seems the Cadets and the Tasks of the to have reached an end.

(Continued on Page 5)

War The Touchstone We have reached a stage where ship,"2 a point of view repeatedly once again war becomes the divid-

s opposed by the maritime unions

as well as by J. Warren Madden,

chairman of the National Labor

The effect of the bill would be to

take disputes between seamen and

shipowners out of the jurisdiction

of the N.L.R.B. and to leave en-

forcement to the district courts of

the United States. At present, labor

disputes in the shipping industry

are enforced thru the court proce-

compulsory mediation of disputes.

Alibi Itself

John Williamson, state secretary

of the Communist Party, was the

speaker here at a meeting called

especially to give the Stalinist

position in the United Automobile

Williamson assured the 50 per

sons attending (of whom only

"Those who do not act as good

communists we are not responsible

members carry out decisions which

asking this question: "Who is Wil-

liamson and what right has he to

Cleveland, Ohio.

CP Tries to

Relations Board.

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

January 29, 1938.

#### LABOR AND ARMAMENTS

TO the applause of the war-mongers, President Roosevelt is taking the first steps to launch an armaments program the vast extent of which cannot yet even be guessed tho it will unquestionably put the United States in the forefront of the world arms race. It is, of course, an inevitable consequence of the administration's aggressive foreign policy as enunciated in the now famous Chicago address. If we are going to defend "our" interests in the Far East-that is, the investments and privileges in China of certain American big-business groups-we must have a naval and military force "adequate" to the task, which means a force beyond all assignable limits. The imperialist arms god is insatiable!

Because the people want peace and are quite suspicious of the intentions of the government, an effort is being made to disguise the naval-expansion program as a recovery measure. We will reserve for a future occasion a systematic exposure of the economic fallacy involved in such a claim. Fortunately. the swindle of armaments as a recovery move is meeting with much healthy scepticism in the ranks of labor. The two big unions most directly involved, the steel and auto workers unions of the C.I.O., have both taken a strong stand against any arms-expansion program, urging instead a program of governmental low-cost housing. Perhaps things are not going to be quite so easy for the war-makers as they may have believed at first.

There is still another angle from which labor must view the arms program of the administration with the greatest hostility. This aspect of the case, we believe, can best be presented in the words of Aneurin Bevan, well-known British socialist, delivered at the recent congress of the Labor Party. With some secondary modifications, his remarks retain their full validity for the situation confronting us today in this country. Mr. Bevan declared:

"We may be told-indeed, we are told by Mr. Ernest Bevin-that it is necessary, in the existing situation, to have a strongly armed Britain in order to deal with the immediate dangers; that a strongly armed Great Britain is a bulwark for peace in a warlike world and that, therefore, the movement should support the government and its arms program because of the immediate situation. If that argument is accepted, certain grave consequences will follow from it. If a strongly armed British government is necessary, a united nation behind the government is also necessary. If the immediate international situation is used as an excuse to get us to drop our opposition to the rearmament program of the government, the next phase must be that we must desist from any industrial or political action that may disturb national unity in the face of fascist aggression. Along that road is endless retreat and, at the end of it, a voluntary totalitarian state with ourselves erecting the barbed wire around. You cannot collaborate, you cannot accept the logic of collaboration on a first-class issue like rearmament and. at the same time, evade the implication of collaboration all along the line when the occasion demands it. Therefore, the conference is not merely discussing foreign policy; it is discussing the spiritual and the physical independence of the working-class movement in this country....

"Mr. Bevin is an industrial negotiator and Mr. Walker is an official of the Iron and Steel Trades Federation. If they took the same conduct into industrial negotiations that they are taking into politics, they would be sacked, and they would deserve it, because the movement is handing itself over to the National government without even having its

These are true words. For labor to support the government's armament program means abject surrender to the forces of big business that are behind the arms program and the war aims with which this program is linked. For labor to support the government's arms program means for it to hamstring itself in the struggle not only for peace abroad but for higher wages and better conditions at home. For labor to support the government's armament program means for it to help open the way for the military dictatorship very like fascism that war will inevitably bring to this country.

### Anti-Fascist Prisoners Hail Nov. 7 in Spain

(We take the following items from | "International," "To the Barriovember 27, 1937 issue of La Ba- cades," "The Young Guard" and talla, the underground paper of the P.O.U.M., published in Barcelona. -THE EDITOR.)

Barcelona. elebrate with the means at their

isposal the aniversary of the two Russian Revolution and the victory of the Madrid defense. In the evening, our dear comrade Julian Gomez Gorkin, gave an exensive talk explaining the develoment of the Russian Revolution and its significance. It was a magnificent and instructive historic re-

ume, full of parallels with our wn revolution. He explained in detail the difficulties the Russian proletariat went thru until the conolidation of their victory as well as the role played by the Russian Bolshevik party, under the guidance of Lenin. Gorkin pointed out that one of the fundamental lessons that we must learn is the necessity of uncompromising defense of the principles and practises

workers democracy. In his historic analysis, Gorkin referred to the other significance that November 7 has, not only for Spanish proletariat but also the defense of Madrid. He concluded by urging everybody to dred-thousand pesetas car because strive ever harder in the armed fight against fascism and in defense of the socialist revolution.

There were present at this meet ing 400 comrades, members of difderent anti-fascist organizations, mainly C.N.T. and F.A.I., who istened attentively to Gorkin and

pproved his ideas. At night, all the anti-fascist prisoners gathered on the ground you ask? He is in the Soviet Union floor and in a chorus, sang the fighting Trotskyism!

other revolutionary songs. To the protest made by an anarchist comrade that they should not have sung the "Young Guard" because it is the "hymn of the tyrants THE anti-fascist prisoners in that are keeping us at present the Valencia Jail wanted to in jail," our comrade, Juan Andrade, answered by pointing out that "The Young Guard." the same

glorious dates: the triumph of the as the "International," belongs to the millions of workers all over the world and that is why the members of the P.O.U.M. claim it as their own. These words of Andrade were received with great applause and the anarchist comrades were the first ones to start singing "The Young Guard" again as a sign of solidarity of all the revolutionary

> The November 7 celebration in the Valencia Jail will live in the memory of all those present.

The "Senor" Minister of Public Instruction (a Stalinite—The Editor) recently bought for himself a car for the price of two hundred thousand pesetas! The Senor Minister seems to have forgotten the reports that used to run in Mundo Obrero (the Stalinist paper .--The Editor) with the pictures of the "splendid cars of the republican and socialist Ministers while the international proletariat— the people were starving." Now Don Jesus buys himself a two-hunthe people are presumably no longer hungry. At present, we have everything in abundance to the point of buying luxurious cars like

> The country is calling you, antifascist youth. Everybody to the front. . . The son of la Passionaria

those of the best ministers in the

United States!

### Jay Lovestone in Dress Market.

bor League, speak on "Labor and cent conferences. Present Crisis" at a meeting t Hotel Center in New York on Saturday, January 15.

He assailed the absurd theory of the Stalinites that the present slump was just a "sit-down strike of big business" and clearly indicated that such periodic depressions were inherent in the cap italist system, emerging out of its inner contradictions and antagonisms. Already there are more than 11,000,000 unemployed, he said, but the full severity of the decline has not yet been realized and the bottom not yet in view.

Lovestone described the historal significance and magnificent achievements of the C.I.O., declaring that the horizon of the international labor movement has been immeasurably widened by the new vitality and militancy that it has brought to American labor. In the present economic situation, the task of the C.I.O., the speaker stated, was to dig in and hold on "while the storm rages," preparing for future advance when conditions again permit. The C.I.O. policy in having its unions directly represent the interests of their bless members, also met with

Lovestone's strong praise. The speaker described in detail the destructive, factional role of the Communist Party in the labor movement and warned the workers present against the sinister intrigues of the Stalinist dema-

The great importance of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity was emphasized but Lovestone warned against making a fetish of "unity" in the ab-

A BOUT 500 needle-trades work- stract. He pointed out that rea ers, most of them dressmak- unity could be achieved only on the heard Jay Lovestone, secretary basis of the C.I.O. proposals, as of the Independent Communist La- advanced by Philip Murray in re-

A lively period of questions and discussion followed in which members of various trade unions took

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### **WORLD TODAY**

Behind The Panay Incident; China Needs Agrarian Revolution

London, January 8, 1937.

NUMBER of factors indicate that the sinking A NUMBER of factors indicate that the simulation of the Panay and the bombardment of British warships were deliberately planned by Japan to ascertain-before embarking on a campaign to conquer South China- whether the United States and Great Britain would send warships to the Far East to protect their interests. The repercussions lead us to believe that the United States and Britain will not send more warships to the Far East but that the American government in particular is utilizing this opportunity to arouse pro-war sentiment for future intervention. The initiative rests with the United States, England seconding her every move. In view of the prevailing anti-war feeling of the American people, it will take quite some time before a swing is effected. Moreover, time is needed to cement an alliance between British. French and American imperialism.

Japan may safely conclude that she has a free hand in South China. England has refused to evacuate Hongkong which the Japanese asked them to do before their contemplated attack on Canton. The Americans are very emphatic in refusing to withdraw their warships from Chinese waters. Anglo-American policy is guided by the fact that British naval rearmament has not advanced to the point where the British navy can demonstrate its superiority in the Mediterranean and in Chinese waters simultaneously. This does not necessarily exclude the possibility of military intervention in the Far East before 1943, the date set for the completion of the British naval program. There is the possibility that Great Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union will make military and political arrangements which would result in intervention at an earlier date.

Step by step, preparations are under way to turn the Sino-Japanese war into a world conflagration, while neither the Spanish nor the Ethiopian conflicts have been settled. The international working class has failed to outline any anti-war policy. As a result of the dominance of reformist and Stalinist elements, the international working class is simply the tail to British, French and American imperialism.

Japan itself is developing more and more into a totalitarian state. The "imperial command," established after some wrangling amongst the various tendencies within the Japanese ruling class, is arrogating greater powers to itself. The underground fascist "Black Dragon" movement has come out openly with the proposal that all political parties be dissolved to form a "unified national party."

Japan has never had a really constitutional government, not even to the extent of the German government under the Kaiser; yet even what it has is being undermined, on the one hand by the military achieving victory after victory, and on the other by the intensification of the economic crisis.

Agnes Smedley, well-known author, writing in the Weltbuehne of December 9, 1937, confirms the fact that the ruling class of China led by Chiang Kaishek, has made no concessions to democracy what-

"Chiang Kai-shek stubbornly refuses to arm the people. . . . He does not like our propaganda because he is opposed to anything that will arouse the masses. (Miss Smedley is at present in former Chinese Soviet territory.—Lambda.) China is still without a democratic constitution. The November elections for the National Assembly were a farce, since only the well-to-do were permitted to vote." And she reaches the conclusion that:

"China will never win the war if she continues her present policy. The army alone without the aid of the masses cannot defeat the Japanese. The ruling class of China is mortally afraid of mobilizing and arming the masses. . . . The masses of China have indeed little that is worth fighting and dying for-kept as they are in economic and political bondage. The capitalist class of China is well aware that the mobilization, training and arming of the entire people would threaten the very basis of its despotic rule. . . . If the Japanese continue their military successes and their intrigues with certain pro-Japanese groups, we are likely to develop a situation similar to that of Spain."

### Lenin As A **Politician**

(Continued from Page 3) tory, it is simply not true that, before the war, Lenin regarded and therefore advocated a split did, indeed, condemn very sharply and other trade-union leaders, but essentially he still retained his confidence in and respect for the party leadership associated with the "Marxist center" of Kautsky, even grant an injunction. with it on Russian questions.3

International, would come out properly before the court and the against the war. Zinoviev relates: | company could not be granted im-I remember having had a bet munity because no effort to enforce with him. I said to him: 'You will the law had as yet been made. see, the German social-democrats will not dare to vote against the war but will abstain in the vote on war credits.' Comrade Lenin course, fight the war but they will Company. The issue involved

... vote against the credits. . . . so was I. The European social of the total (in this case it is 39%) democrats . . . all voted for the war credits. When the first number of Vorwaerts, the organ of the German social-democrats, arrived with the news that they had voted the war credits, Lenin at first refused to believe. 'It cannot be,' he said, 'it must be a forged number. Those scoundrels, the German bourgeosie, must have deliberately published such a number of Vorwaerts in order to compel us also to go against the International!' Alas, it

No, it was not so! The German social-democracy and the International, as Lenin soon learned, had capitulated to chauvinism and had abandoned both their internationalism and their socialism in the crisis. Now, again, literally one glance past few years. The report states: was enough for him: he saw that the old party-vehicles of the movement had broken down and fallen to pieces and that a new movement, on a new political foundation, was historically necessary for the emancipation of labor. "When Lenin saw it." Zinoviev tells us. "his first words were: 'The Socialist International is dead." However that may be, it is a recorded fact that, in the November 1, 1914 issue of the Sotsial-Demokrat, published only three months ofter the outbreak of the war. Lenin concluded an article of his with the words: "Overwhelmned with opportunism, the Second International is dead! . . . Long live the Third International!"5 For the rest of his boration and realization of this

(concluded next week)

3. See, for example, V. I. Lenin: German Labor Movement, April 1914. 4. G. Zinoviev: Lenin, 1918.

sial-Demokrat, November 1, 1914.



### Labor Notes and Facts

THE first three cases involving the National Labor Relations
Act to be heard by the Supreme Court of the United States German and international social since its decision of last April declaring the statute to be condemocracy as utterly hopeless stitutional, were argued early in January.

and a radical realignment. He train N.L.R.B. proceedings. In two of the cases, the N.L.R.B. represented, for example, by Legien and other trade-union load and other trade-union load and in the mide range of samples, that, in general, collective bargaining

the he was very frequently at odds | Counsel for the shipbuilding company argued that the N.L.R.B. It was, therefore, natural that, had no jurisdiction in its case be in the Summer of 1914, he should cause its business was not interbelieve that the German Social-state. Counsel for the N.L.R.B. Democratic Party, and with it the answered that the case was not

> Another case, more important in its implications, that the Supreme Court has agreed to review is that of the Santa Cruz Fruit Packing whether a firm whose interstate business consists of less than 50% is subject to the National Labor Relations Act. The Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, accept ing the broad interpretation of in terstate commerce, ruled that the N.L.R.B. does have proper jurisdiction. If the Supreme Court reverses the decision of the lower

### Types Of Collective-Bargaining

THE Buro of Labor Statistics of bargaining agreements showing the progress of unionism in the "In less than five years, the picture markedly changed. By expanding first in industries only partially organized and then to the mass- about 10 were not C.P. members) production industries, collective that the C.P. stand for "unity" and bargaining thru trade union agree- that big business was on a "sitments has grown to a point where down strike." This is not a real it has now become the accepted depression, stressed Williamson. procedure in establishing wages, He was all for the Ford drive and

1. Blanket contracts between all or practically all employers organized into an association and a union life, Lenin's work was but the ela- or group of unions. Such relations exist in clothing, pottery, anthra- after sitting in a peace meeting lies, because of their growing Executive should be trusted with cite mining, railroads and West-Coast shipping.

3. See, for example, V. I. Lenin: union and one or more companies W.A. and was consequently sus- suppression of government licenses Wars! McKinley—who concealed 5. V. I. Lenin: Position and Tasks of the Socialist International, in Sot-U. S. Steel).

3. Industries where no single firm ion, typographical, theater and ractors for asbestos insulation and

uniformity in union contracts. the bag! These are: textile, certain branches of the clothing industry, lumber, electrical products, furniture rucking, and East-Coast shipping.

speak for the U.A.W.A.?" The pro-Tho there is some overlapping gressive unionists are interested in and the lines between the four building their International and groups are not always clear-cut, have no desire to see any political the report finds, on the basis of party get control of it. The C.P.

In these three cases, injunctions were being sought to res-

contracts fall into one of the between the "stuffed" beasts of Danger On The Maritime Front

OLLOWING upon recommendations made by the U.S. Maritime Commission for introduction into the maritime industry procedures for settlement of labor the backward peoples and who call disputes similar to that embodied Germany, Japan and Italy by the in the Railway Labor Act for em- lovely proletarian-sounding name ployees of railroads, a bill was introduced into Congress by Senator Copeland to that effect. This bill

court, it will be a serious limitation of the scope of the Wagner Act in some very important fields.

### Agreements

the Department of Labor has nade a study of sample collective-

following four general groups:

2. Model contracts between a so prominent in the field that all pended from the union. The only for exportation of military supplies the fact that he had in his desk, at contracts tend to conform to this. thing that Williamson had to say to those countries until further the moment, the Spanish apology The examples of this type of ar- was that the "Lovestoneites" were notice." cut-glass and flat-glass, and steel "smoked out" of the union. (the agreement of S.W.O.C. with

or group of firms predominates, but where union agreements tend to be in the Executive Board and in the er in the next war, whether Gergan: "He kept us out of war." If uniform, such as: boot and shoe, local unions, Williamson explained: leather, hosiery, elevator construcnotion picture production and confor"—which means that, when C.P. lath work. are exposed as anti-union, then the

### Is Being Rapidly Formed (Continued from Page 3)

tactical differences. The differences

re differences in attitude towards

the whole social order. The Comin

tern today wishes to distinguish

prey and the "hungry" ones. To

them, the beast of prey whose maw

at all. On the other extreme are

the bourgeois pacifists of a type

who propose to satisfy the "hun-

gry" beasts of prey-Germany, Ja-

pan and Italy-at the expense of

"Communist" Agents Of

The difference between the

courgeois-pacifist agents of the

'hungry" imperialisms and the

Imperialism

of the "have-nots."

many and England will be together In the labor movement, it is necessary for us to realize that Furthering Fascism Here the differences between us and the Communist Party today are not

The National War Front

Another slogan, more effective because it has not been disgraced and exposed as has been the slogan, "Make the world safe for democracy," is the slogan of the "war against fascism." which the Comintern offers us as justification for imperialist policies in the coming war. We cannot make too clear that, while fascism on the one hand is a preparation and driving force for war, war on the other hand is a preparation and driving force for fascism. The living body of Tom Mooney is still rotting in jail in this "free democracy" as the first victim of a mere preparedness campaign in 1916 prior to our entrance into the last war. Have we forgotten the censorship during the last war? The raids? The jailing of Debs, Ruthenberg and Bentall? All three are dead-but are their names so soon forgotten?

Comintern agents of the "satisfied" warfare. It must of necessity emmperialisms does not prevent us brace the entire population. And rom answering both of them alike n the words of Lenin: "It is not the business of Socialists to help the younger and strong- and is in full decay. Consequently, er robber to rob the older and fatimperialist war can only give us dures of the Wagner Act, which is ter bandits nor to help the older

a fascist state and a war in the much more favorable to labor. The and fatter bandits to guard their name of the struggle against fasc-Copeland bill also provides for loot against the younger and hunism must inevitably bring fascism grier ones . . . but the socialists to this land and to all other bourmust use the struggle between the geois participants. You can see it bandits to overthrow them all." coming at the present moment. Next, the Comintern wants us

to distinguish between large and small nations. Belgium is a small nation—the oppressor of the Con- say that the declarations of Lango. I want to ask: Is Poland a don, Knox and Stimson are little large or a small nation? It is big- short of terrifying in their sigger than Italy. Italy is a small na- nificance. They have come out for tion, smaller than England; Japan is a small nation compared with emergency." That means that, in We have to ask the Comintern the emergency is here.

China! and those who still listen to it Since when does honest analysis determine these political questions

with a tape measure? Next, the Comintern is ready t evive the shame-covered slogan of for democracy." Have we learned Poland and Rumania and Yugoours and working conditions in a was "against" factionalism. Then slavia democracies because they considerable part of American In- he promptly went into a rage are small and allied with France? against the "Lovestoneites" who In today's paper we read the fol-The types of employer-employee are "professional factionalists," lowing: "France to Refuse To Arm relationships where union agree- according to him. He had nothing Old Allies. A virtual embargo orments exist are divided into the to say about Pontiac, Flint, Lan- dered on armament supplies to Amendment and Roosevelt rightly sing; he had nothing to say about Rumania and Yugoslavia." And the replies: "Your pledge strengthens the Chrysler agreement and the article begins: "Officials said to the hand of the government." C.P. orders to defy the settlement night that the French government The Stimson letter also opposes made by Lewis and Martin. He had ordered a virtual embargo on the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment. had nothing to say about the armament shipments to Rumania demands full power for the Execu"unity"-caucus leader. Ryan, who, and Yugoslavia, long French al-

men, went into Lansing and redouard Daladier, Minister of President McKinley and President preached secession from the U.A. National Defense, has ordered the Wilson in the Spanish and World

"smoked out" of the union.

Upon being questioned on the matter of factionalism and on the wave of constant protests that the C.P. inspires in the Auto Council C.P. inspires in the Auto Council, gland and Italy will not be togeth- and ran for reelection on the slo-

leaders are showing a great deal executive head of a "democratic" of concern with the growth of the imperialist nation, McKinley and progressive group in Cleveland. Wilson give us that proof. They fear that as soon as the rank-4. Industries where there is no party leaders leave them holding and sheer dishonesty, it will shove and Standard Oil fame, Landon of and-file wakes up to their trickery been formed. Stimson of Hoover them out and never let them come the Liberty League (Browder's The progressive union men are back.

#### CONTRIBUTE TO THE Worker! \$10,000 DRIVE

Modern warfare is totalitarian

modern democracy is dictatorial "democracy" of a ruling class that has become imperialist, reactionary

War, like fascism, requires the myth of national unity to obscure political issues and class lines. I "national unity" in a "national the judgment of our ruling class,

Examine the Landon letter, also a "Christmas season" document, dated December 20th. It says: "Politics cease at the water's edge." That is a beautiful formula. It says: "There must be no demagogic the last war: "Make the world safe playing of politics at the expense of the country's unity in dangerous nothing from 1914 to 1918? Are situations such as now confront us." Landon even goes out of his way to attack the British Laborite members of Parliament who op-Britain into the war in 1914. He

between progressive and "unity" friendship with Italy and Germany. full power, cites the examples of for the blowing up of the Maine That indicates the instability of and their offer to withdraw from we need any practical proof on the danger of trusting all nower to the

> The national front for war has chief American "fascist"), Colonel Knox of the Chicago Daily News and Earl Browder of the Daily

> (The second article in this series will appear in the next issue. -THE EDITOR.)

### Trade Union Notes

= By Observer =

THE "unity" discussion goes on. Perhaps the silliest contribution todate is the unsigned article "Who Blocks Labor Peace?" in the January 15 issue of the Socialist Call.

The issue, we are told, is "not one of craft as against industrial unionism." Why? Because "the C.I.O. has chartered craf unions and craft unions of the A. F. of L. have organized along

industrial lines." Obviously, "more fundamental reasons exist. Of these reasons an important one is C.I.O. got 25%, the A. F. of L. the clash of personalities and even 24%, "independent unions" 29% the clash of personalities and, even more important than that, is the drive for power. The issue is not what kind of unions shall be built but who shall control the labor movement."

The C.I.O. is indeed ready to recognize that craft unionism has a legitimate tho secondary place in certain fields of American industry. And certain A. F. of L. craft unions are quite ready, as a war measure against the C.I.O., to grab off big groups of workers without any too much scruple about craftjurisdictional lines. Thus, at one time, the machinists union tried to grab up the transport workers; the carpenters union, the lumber workers of the Northwest; the electricians union, the radio workersall of them, of course, to be kept in a subordinate, "Class B" status, without rights or privileges or real possibilities of industrial expansion. To interpret these developments as a sign that the struggle over industrial unionism has come to an end and that the issue has disappeared, indicates an ignorance of the present labor situation that is positively hair-raising!

Among the "more fundamental reasons" is the "clash of personalities." But if Lewis and Frey (or Wharton, or Hutcheson) are so temperamentally allergic to each other, why didn't this constitutional antipathy show itself before 1934-1935? Why only in the last few years? Why now? Evidently, there must be reasons even more fundamental than the "more fundamental reasons" of the Socialist Call?

Ah, but it is all a struggle for power, we are told. Very well, but has the struggle for power no meaning in terms of labor policies and strategy? Would it make no difference to the future of the labor movement whether it falls under the control of Hutcheson and his group or Lewis and his? Would the cause of militant industrial unionism, upon which the whole future of American labor depends, fare equally well under the one as under the other? Isn't it obvious that the struggle for power is really a struggle for power for something-for the perpetuation of the craft-unionist stranglehold, in the one case; for the recognition of industrial unionism as the standard system, in the other? Evidently the "struggle for power" is something more than an empty clash of ambitious personalities.

### Unions In The Depression

THE report of the N.L.R.B. on collective-bargaining elections in the New York, New Jersey and Connecticut region for the few months since the new depression. should prove very instructive to all serious students of trade-union problems. In the four months since the slump made itself felt in September, only 7,324 employees in these states cast ballots in N.L.R.B. elections—as compared with 49,808, over six times as many, in the four-month period preceding September (May, June, July and August 1937). In November, furthermore, for the first time since the validation of the Wagner Act last April, the number of votes cast for both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. fell below 50% of the total, the rest going to "independent" unions (usually disguised company | Daily Worker?

unions) or to no unions at all: the and no unions 21%. In December, the proportions were substantially the same. But, in the June-July period, the C.I.O. obtained 67% of the vote, the A. F. of L. 8%—together 75%—"independents" 18%no unions 6%.

The point is obvious. In this, as in other periods of depression, trade unionism is on the defensive there is a decline in the demand for collective-bargaining elections, accompanied by a fall in the proportion of union victories generally and C.I.O. victories in particular.

Such is the fact and a realistic trade-union strategy will take it into full consideration. The Stalinist demagogues-who, in their 'own" unions, are ever ready to yield to the slightest pressure of the employers—may raise an hysterical alarm over the "Lovestoneite depression theory" for the sake of their own filthy factional ends but fortunately the responsible leaders of the C.I.O. pay not the least attention to them. The policy for the moment is, as defined by Lewis: Dig in—hold on to and consolidate what you have—and prepare for a new offensive when the time is ripe!

#### The Stolberg Articles

EVERYBODY'S talking about Ben Stolberg's brilliant series or articles, "Inside the C.I.O.," that has just finished its run in the Scripps-Howard papers. The historical significance of the C.I.O. and its unparalleled achievements receive enthusiastic recognition at his hands, while a fearless searchlight is turned on the dark intrigues of the Stalinites threatening the unity and stability of the movement. Stolberg's thumb-nail outstanding C.I.O. ketches of leaders are incomparable. gether, the articles constitute an invaluable guide -book of the farflung realm of the expanding industrial-union movement.

Naturally, the Stalinites have set up an ear-splitting shriek of interminable length, for no intriguer relishes having his sinister machinations dragged out into the light. They have suddenly covered that the whole thing is a 'Trotskyist plot." It means nothing to them that Stolberg dismisses the Trotskyites in a rather off-hand manner as "a tiny sect which plays no role in the C.I.O." -a curious way for a "Trotskyist olotter" to act! It means nothing to them that the one or two Trotskyites in the auto union find themselves in the Stalinist-controlled 'unity" caucus, which Stolberg exposes so effectively. It's all a 'Trotskyist plot' anyway—just like the substitution of a Jenny for a Jimmy in the Soviet movie version of "Treasure Island" or the poisoning of the animals in the Moscow zoc, about which we read so much in the press occently!

#### You Too, Harry!

"E VIDENTLY another economic crisis is in the offing," declared Harry Bridges at a maritime-workers conference at San Francisco the other day. So Harry Bridges, too, is falling for that damned "Lovestoneite depression theory"! Doesn't he know that it's just a "sit-down strike of big business"? Doesn't he even read the

### New Cabinet In France

(Continued from Page 1) temps does not have to pay the slightest regard to the desires of the communists. "In the Ministerial declaration," P. J. Philip reports in the New York Times of January 22, "almost every point of policy enumerated was satisfactory to the Rights and, at times, notably the passage referring to freedom of exchange, it was the Right which cheered and the Left which sat silent.'

Despite its big vote of confidence, the present Chautemps cabinet is obviously, a transition regime leading, very likely thru some intermediate stages, to a broad "national-union" coalition of rightwing bourgeois groups, under Radical-Socialist leadership, with or without the support of the socialists. To this has the now bankrupt People's Front policy led!

(Read the editorial on page 1.—The

#### FOR WAR-- AGAINST **DEMOCRACY!**

THE following from the January 15 issue of the 'liberal" Nation, in an attack upon the LaFollette-Ludlow war-referendum proposal:

"The assumption that the people as a whole are better equipped than their elected representatives, either in information or in native intelligence, to deal with the most vital questions affecting national policy is, to say the least, questionable."

So the Nation, too, joins the chorus of valiant defenders of "our constitutional system" against the menace of "pure democracy." no wonder: Once you take your stand in favor of the war-making policy of the administration, you must necessarily take your stand also against democracy where it counts most!

### Fur Union Progressives Call for United Struggle

(We publish below a declaration | mands, they aim to smash the recently issued by the Furriers Progressive League.—THE EDITOR.)

THE business recession in the country has thrown hundreds of thousands of workers out of factories and mills, adding more numbers to the roll of the unemployed. In times like these, it is to be expected that the big industrialists should attempt to destroy labor unions and rob the workers of their gains. On the other hand, organized labor must be on the watch to preserve the unions and maintain working conditions. Special care must be given to secure such conditions as will relieve unemployment and meet the high cost of living.

In this business recession, the fur workers are among the hardest hit. Since last August, when the fur workers were expecting the season, they have been laid off in mass. There is no hope for an immediate preparation for the new

#### The New Agreement And The Union Demands

On January 31, the agreement etween the manufacturers and the union expires. The old agreement never contained the point giving the worker security on the job. In spite of the fact that the fur workers fought for this demand, they could not get more than six months of equal division of work.

Because of the general critical situation, our union has put up demands aiming to solve to some extent the problems of the fur workers. Security on the job with equal division of work is a fundamental demand won by all the needle-trades workers long ago. It is no more than right that the fur workers, having been organized in a union for over 26 years, should by now have security on the job.

The demand for a shorter workweek would partly solve the unemployed situation.

Equally important is the demand for higher wages, condeming the high cost of living, rent and clothing.

Counter-Demands of The Bosses

The bosses in our trade, who but esterday were themselves workers, and who once suffered from the same plagues, know deep in their own heart that our demands are justified. But, instead of negotiating and reaching an understanding with the union, these greedy bosses put up their counter-

union and to wipe out all the gains that the fur workers have ever won.

The bosses, who are mainly responsible for violation of the agreement, have the nerve to accuse the union of irresponsibility.

They go even further, demanding a free hand to interpret the the agreement to their liking.

Amongst the 23 counter-demands put up by the bosses, we find such points as the demand to legalize contracting and over-time; to reduce wages; to reduce the number of legal holidays from 8 to 6; to reduce the time of equal division of work from 6 to 4 months; no responsibility for aged workers.

In putting up such counter-demands, our fur bosses are trying to imitate the steel barons and auto magnates; they go them even one better because even those big industrialists had to agree to security of the job.

#### The Bosses Have Learned Nothing

It seems that the fur bosses have not learned anything from the past. They build castles in the air and keep on dreaming of the wonderful" past. It is about time the fur bosses should know that, as a result of long years of struggle, the fur workers have attained a high level of class consciousness and militancy. The fur workers understand perfectly well the scheme behind these counter-demands. They see in it a fake manouver. It is equally clear to the fur workers, that, if the bosses want any profit from the fur trade, they will have to recognize the

iust demands of the workers The bosses may speculate on divisions amongst the fur workers Maybe they dream of another 1926. Let us declare right here that, if in those days the bosses were beaten, today they may expect to be smashed altogether.

The bosses may also speculate on the weakness of the workers, because of the bad season and continuous unemployment. But here, too, they are much mistaken. Embittaed because of misery and starvation, the workers will throw themselves with more vigor into the struggle to win their demands.

Hitherto our union leadership has been diplomatically mild in the negotiations. But the bosses seem to lack an understanding of mild language. The only language the bosses can understand is the language of power. If the bosses will SUBSCRIBE NOW continue insisting on their counterdemands. With these counter-de- | demands, the union will be forced

### Martin Hits War Makers

Strong opposition to the jingoist campaign now being promoted by the pro-war forces of this country was voiced last week by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, in a statement commenting on the anti-war resolution adopted by the recent session of the U.A.W.'s (The full resolution was board. published in last week's issue.—The Editor.)

"War fever is running high in Washington," he said. "It began with the bombing of the Panay and has not abated. The people ought to know that the Panay was escorting Standard Oil tankers 300 miles up the Yangtse River when it was hit. Three Americans aboard were killed after President Roosevelt ordered them out of China.

"The Robinson Crusoes, great adventurers and patriotic maniacs are trying to plunge America into war with Japan. Many of these war maniacs are people who think they can make double profits out of war by selling both to Japan and to the United States.

"An investigation should be made into the forces who are agitating for war. As far as I can influence the U.A.W., we are not going to fight Wall Street's wars.'

#### Stands By C.I.O.

The following telegram was sent on January 13 by Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers, to John L. Lewis, C.I.O. chairman:

"The International Executive Board of the International Union United Automobile Workers of America, in executive session today, reaffirmed their unwavering support of and loyalty to the Committee for Industrial Organization. The automobile workers of the nation realize that industrial unionism is the only basis for organization in the automobile industry and the other mass-production industries and reiterate their faith in the program of the C.I.O. and for organizing and maintaining organzation within the mass-production industries of America."

Questioned as to differences within the C.I.O. on the problem of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity, Mr. Martin declared: "The place to iron those things out is in a C.I.O. conference. We're part of the C.I.O. and we're proud of it. We make our statement clear and without equivocation that we're not going to fight with organized labor anywhere. We're not going to war on labor; we have no fight with labor and eventually those things will be ironed out."

to use the only sure weapon of the workers.

#### The Furriers Will Fight

Of course, we would like to gain our demands thru negotiations if possible, but we are also ready for a fight if necessary.

An end must be put to the irresponsibility of the bosses.

The furriers voted overwhelmingly for the security on the job and they mean business.

The Furriers Progressive League whole-heartedly supports these absolutely necessary demands. We stand ready to support our union in all preparations and mobilization of the fur workers. We stand ready to serve on all committees to which we will be appointed and to devote all our time and energy to help bring about a successful agreement for the fur workers.

We are convinced that, with united efforts for one aim, the victory of the fur workers will be

### TO WORKERS AGE