

Stalinism Self- Revealed

an editorial

THIS is an appeal to those who are members or supporters of the Communist Party because they believe that, despite everything, it stands for the Russian Revolution and the great tradition of militant, working-class socialism.

Comrades, are you proud of the testimony of your leader, Earl Browder, before the McNaboe Committee?

What do you think of his repudiation of everything communism ever stood for? What do you think of his pledge to support the United States government in any war it may wage, even a war against the Soviet Union? What do you think of his declaration of solidarity with the American Legion? What do you think of his shabby deceptions as to the relation between the American C.P. and the Communist International, deceptions which deceive no one but only heap ridicule upon the movement for which Browder speaks?

Do you think that all this is accidental? Don't you see that it is all the inevitable fruit of the new outlook that has gradually come to dominate the entire official communist movement, turning it into the living repudiation of everything it once stood for? Look at Browder—there you can see what the Communist Party has become under the new line!

Earl Browder was asked what he would do in case the United States went to war. Had he possessed one grain of communist principle, he would have replied: "Any war that capitalist America could possibly wage today would necessarily be a predatory, reactionary, imperialist war. Therefore, I would oppose such a war with all the resources at my command."

Of course, Browder did not say anything of the sort because the party he represents has long ceased being a communist party. Three years ago it became committed to the support of American imperialism in any war waged under the banner of "democracy," in any war of the "democratic" ("satiated") against the fascist ("hungry") imperialist powers. But even this was not enough for Earl Browder. Read and ponder his words as reported in the New York Post of June 30 and in the rest of the New York press of June 30 and July 1—albeit the Daily Worker cannot bring itself to reproducing publicly the words of its own party leader:

"If it came to a war between the United States and Russia, whom would you bear arms for?" McNaboe asked. 'I refuse to admit the possibility of such a war,' said Browder. But McNaboe pressed for an answer and Browder finally replied: 'Under any conceivable possibility of a war, I would fight for the United States!' 'That wasn't always your attitude, was it?' asked McNaboe. 'No, it was not,' Browder admitted."

Do you realize what these words mean? Browder declares himself ready to "fight for the United States" not merely in a "collective-security" war against Japan but in an outright interventionist war against the Soviet Union!

You have been told that the Soviet Union is the "fatherland of the workers." But Browder pledges—and, by his pledge, he binds you as well—to support an American imperialist war against the Soviet Union!

You have been told that it was necessary to shelve "temporarily" all revolutionary, all communist, all

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Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Our Convention

Forward With the Independent Labor League!

By WILL HERBERG
TO SAY that the seventh convention of the Independent Labor League of America, held on the July 4 week-end in New York, was the most significant in the history of our organization, would be understatement to the point of misrepresentation. Such a convention cannot be evaluated or even described in terms of any other convention of similar character. I know we said the same thing of our convention last year, and it was true then; but it is true in a new and even bigger sense today. In its political approach, in its composition, in its very mode of procedure, the convention represented something really new; there was in it that living, organic fusion of uncompromising revolutionary theory and flexible, realistic practice that has come to characterize so strikingly the organization whose highest will it expressed. In the convention were mirrored, in the most vivid form, the power and vitality, as well as the historical mission of the I.L.L.A.

Two Aspects Of The I.L.L.A.
Our organization expresses fundamentally the fusion of two distinct aspects that may at first glance appear mutually exclusive. On the one hand, in this country, we strive to operate realistically and effectively in a non-revolutionary situation as an organic part of a non-socialist labor movement that is just beginning to find itself. On the other hand, we are part of an international tendency working under circumstances where the labor movement must be revolutionary or nothing at all. How to combine these two aspects into a single integral whole, without the sacrifice of either one for the other, is our biggest problem, and the solution of this problem was the task of the convention. In the very order of business this double, yet single, mission was reflected: Jay Lovestone reporting on "The International Situation and Our Tasks" and Will Herberg on "Our New Approach and Our Program of Action."

From the very beginning the convention was permeated with the keenest consciousness of its international bonds. The letter of greetings from the Bureau of the International Communist Opposition, containing a keen analysis of the world situation and the problems of the labor movement, was followed by fraternal messages from Austria and Czechoslovakia; from the P.O.U.M. in Spain; from the German underground Communist Opposition and from the Italian Socialist Party (Maximalists), both of the latter delivered by representatives in person. But the high point was surely the brilliant address of Robert Edwards as fraternal delegate from the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain. In language eloquent with the sincerity and passion of the message it conveyed, Bob Edwards told us of the British labor movement and the splendid work of his party, of the advances recently made towards more effective international collaboration, of his own experiences in Spain where he fought for months on the Aragon front, of his first impressions of our movement

and our organization. My words are bare and colorless; they don't begin to give you an idea of the effect and content of Bob Edwards' remarkable speech. Fortunately, it will be reprinted in full in coming issues of the Workers Age.

Greetings, too, came from Tom Mooney in San Quentin and Jack Soderberg in Sing-Sing, both in prison for years because of their services to the labor movement. By unanimous vote, it was decided to send a contribution of \$100 to the Tom Mooney Defense Fund.

The report by Jay Lovestone presented a view of the world

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THE LIFE MORE ABUNDANT

According to the Monthly Labor Review, official publication of the U. S. Department of Labor, the average monthly wage of farm laborers for the quarter ending April 1938 was \$23.85 with board and \$34.80 without board. Remember, these are monthly wages—the weekly wages would be in the neighborhood of \$6 with board and \$8 without board. Apparently that is what President Roosevelt means when he speaks of the New Deal guaranteeing "a fairer share of the national income" to the farmers!

New Strife In Palestine

61 Killed, 169 Wounded In Bitter Clashes Between Arabs And Jews

Strife between Jews and Arabs as bitter and violent as any in recent years, threw all Palestine into turmoil last week. The week's toll was 64 killed and 169 wounded, 36 of the casualties being Jewish and 197 Arab. All available troops were massed by Great Britain to deal with the emergency; warships, planes, marines, soldiers and police were called into action and additional forces from Cairo were understood to be on the way.

The particular occasion for the new outbreak was not made clear but the conflict was being waged on all fronts. Terroristic attacks multiplied on both sides and a wave of Arab strikes spread thru Palestine. Numerous towns, including Acre, Nablus, Tul Karm, Jennin and Jaffa, were affected. In Jaffa, more than 100 people were killed and wounded in a fight between Jews and Arabs in the center of the city. Sabotage of railways, telephone lines and government services continued.

On the Trans-Jordanian border, there were persistent rumors of the massing of Arab troops. A battle between British armed forces and 600 Arabs took place not far from the frontier. At Shefram, near Acre, a uniformed Arab band stormed a police post, confiscated arms and raised the red-white-green Arab national colors. Later they were ousted by British reinforcements.

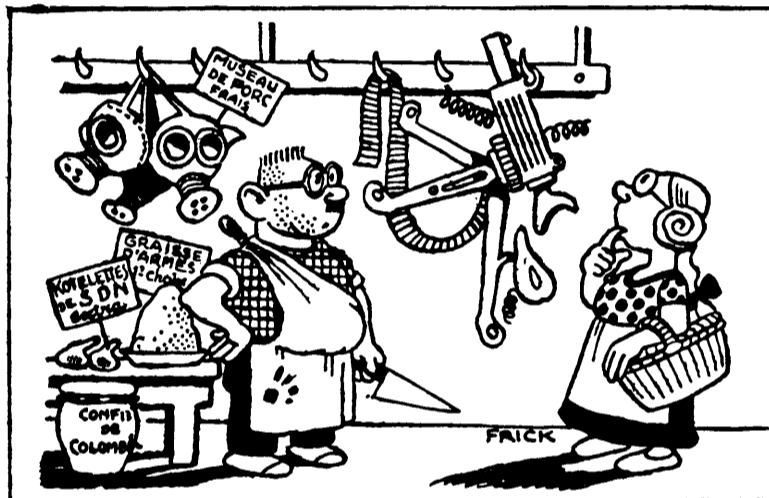
At the bottom of the strife that is tearing Palestine apart is the clash between Arab nationalism, fanned and exploited by reactionary leaders and Italian fascist agents, and the Zionist imperialism that is officially dominant in the Jewish community. Behind both stands the British mandatory power, intriguing with both, making promises to both, deceiving both, playing off one against the other according to the age-old maxim: Divide and rule! No solution of the conflict in Palestine is possible except in a joint struggle against British imperialism.

The charges having been sent to Addes, the Board went into session last Friday morning for the trial. The other four suspended officers asked to be given full rights as members of the Board and were turned down on the grounds of their suspension from office.

The five additional supporters of the "unity" caucus, present at the Board session, held up proceedings for hours by introducing all sorts of irrelevant matters. George Addes finally appeared, accompanied by Maurice Sugar, attorney for the suspended officers. The latter, apparently conscious of the weakness of his case, refused to present a defense and applied himself to making record motions. Mr. Sugar moved that the trial be conducted by a committee designated by the C.I.O., altho he knew full well that that was in violation of the provisions of the U.A.W. constitution. Mr. Sugar further insisted that he needed more time to prepare his case, altho it was clear to all that the nature of the case was such as

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"ARMAMENTS ECONOMICS"



from Le Rire (Paris)

HOUSEWIFE: Now, shall I take a gas-mask head, a cut of military saddle or a pound of mailed fists?

U.A.W. EXPELS ADDES FOR DUAL UNION ACTS

Former Secretary-Treasurer Is Ousted By Board

By GEORGE F. MILES
(Our Michigan Correspondent)

DETROIT, Mich. GEORGE F. ADDES, former secretary-treasurer and one of the five suspended officers of the United Automobile Workers, was placed on trial on Friday, July 8, by the International Executive Board for diverting union funds and was suspended from membership in the Board and expelled from the union.

Charges against Addes were preferred by John Schiefelbein, president of U.A.W. Local 283 at West Allis, Wis., and revolved around two letters sent over the signature of George Addes to all local unions. In the letter of June 23, Addes describes in the following words his attempts to tie up union funds:

"Out of fear for the union's funds, Secretary-Treasurer George F. Addes . . . took all steps in his power to protect those funds, warning the banks which held them that he could not be held responsible for any money withdrawn without his signature."

But the real reason for Addes' attempt to hamstring the union's activity by a financial blockade

was hardly the one he gave. Much more was it an attempt to set up a functioning center for the dual-unionist activity of the Stalinist splitters. The letter sent by George Addes under date of June 16 to all the locals, makes this quite clear. "You have undoubtedly been advised," says the former secretary-treasurer, completely disregarding his suspension by the International Executive Board, "to forward funds belonging to the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, to Delmond Garst. This is to advise you that the sending of any funds belonging to the International in this manner is illegal. . . ."

"In order to protect the funds of the International and to discharge the mandate of the constitution, all funds payable to the International Union should be directed to me, George F. Addes, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, 4263 Cass Avenue, Apartment 7, Detroit, Mich." (The address is that of Addes' residence.—G. F. M.)

It is upon the letters including the above quotations that the charges were based. The copy of

Viewed from the Left

By Politicus
Handling With Care

THE threatened investigation of monopolies is being handled with most delicate care. The former powers of "trust-busting" seem to have been lessened in the course of capitalist development. Above the dying clamor of the small capitalists against the big, rises the new voice of labor demanding not trust-busting but the opening of the factory gates. Even in the field of monopoly prices, the whole question is so intricately tied up with that of wages, that labor treads here with caution. Not only a correct strategy but an unbroken front is needed in the struggle to maintain wages and lower prices. Certain changes, arising from the long stagnation of the market, have been made in steel prices, decreases which immediately gave rise to rumors of wage slashes in the steel industry. It is possible now that the long-awaited upturn in the business cycle is beginning and may put an end to the immediate pressure for wage-cuts. But that danger is ever-present under the profit system.

O'Mahoney and Borah are most closely connected with the coming congressional investigation of monopoly practices. But they will hardly constitute another Pujoc committee, whose findings fortified the wrath of farmers, workers and small business men in 1913. Their whole approach is significant of the complete corruption of the very ideal, if we may use that term, of trust-busting. They represent the confusion of the old populist type in the period when nobody seriously expects to or wants to destroy large-scale enterprise. In their frantic, purposeless non-labor attitude, they do nothing but serve, first, the political schemes of the Administration, and second, the economic needs of the ruling monopolists against the real enemy of corporate oppression, the labor movement.

O'Mahoney has already pledged, in actual fact, that the investigation will accomplish precisely nothing. From the rip-roaring announcement of the investigation, in the very depths of the depression, the Administration's policy has gradually tapered down to O'Mahoney's notorious pledge of absolute harmlessness. This change has developed under two signs: one, war preparations and the consequent increasing conservatism of the New Deal; two, the increasingly clearer character of the New Deal as an expert utilizer of demagoguery, as a benevolent dictatorship for "the people's good." The New Deal once again plays with the theory of trade associations and the "regulation" of unions. Such a government moves closer to the concept of corporate government and domination of big business than away from it. O'Mahoney, it should be remembered, was the proponent of the Federal Licensing Bill.

EYES SOUTH
HARDLY a better illustration of New Deal policy, can be found than in President Roosevelt's discovery that the South is a mess. He posed, in his statement to the southern section of the National Emergency Council, the numerous economic problems that face the southern area, in relation to American capitalism as a whole. Be it noted, however, that he did not touch on social problems arising out of the economic situation, as for example the Negro question.

What does the "southern orientation" of Roosevelt indicate? Certain reforms in capitalist relationships to stimulate its workings. Actually, a plea for capital investment in the southern areas, for its further industrialization, as one way out of the new depression. And, finally, the penetration of the New Deal into the South as an organized force, independent of the Democratic party and its old type of capitalist politics there.

The South, backwater of capitalism, is an ever-present threat of social transformation in America. Only the most skillful handling can initiate some reforms without setting in motion uncontrollable forces. Roosevelt thinks his is the skillful hand. Roosevelt is wrong. It will be the unskilled hand of labor, unbound by fear of fundamental transformation, that will be able to effect the slightest changes. Such a movement will take place outside the Democratic party, outside the capitalist parties and outside the economic horizons of these parties and their politicians.

Stalinism Self-Revealed

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working-class principles in order to conciliate the "democratic" powers and thus strengthen the defense of the Soviet Union. But Browder pledges support to an American imperialist war against the Soviet Union!

From jingoism and patrioteering justified in the name of the Soviet Union, Browder is rapidly leading you to jingoism and patrioteering against the Soviet Union!

This is not even "collective security"! This is not even the "defense of democracy against fascism"! This is outright treachery! This is cringing, crawling servility to the powers-that-be!

A communist and internationalist would oppose any war that imperialist America could possibly wage. But even a sincere liberal, an honest progressive, would oppose a war against the Soviet Union. Such a liberal or progressive would say: "Whatever we may think about a war against Japan or Germany, a war against the Soviet Union is obviously imperialist and predatory. We will oppose such a war, just as the radicals and Abolitionists of former days opposed America's predatory war against Mexico in 1847!"

But such words are not for Browder. "Under any conceivable possibility of a war," he pledges support to American imperialism! It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he should take his stand also with the reactionary American Legion against its liberal critics.

A short time ago, Dr. William Gellerman published a careful and well-documented report, sponsored by Dr. George S. Counts, laying bare the dominance of reactionary and fascist influences in the American Legion. The Legion of fideism was naturally up in arms against Dr. Gellerman. The liberal press backed him up. And Earl Browder? He rushed to the defense of the American Legion! Listen to his testimony before the McNaboe Committee (New York Times, July 1):

"I think it is unfair to the large body of members of the Legion. . . The national policies of the Legion have been consistently democratic and liberal. . . We agree with the preservation of the United States government as the Legion does, and this applies to all who would subvert it. As a matter of fact, I think the Communist Party is the only one which does not have a major difference with the Legion." The American Legion refuses to

Where Your Wages Go

By A. E.

NOT only is the worker exploited in the shop but he is also set upon and robbed by the landlord and the innumerable merchants—big and small. Every worker knows that it is not what he gets in his pay envelope that counts but rather what he can buy with his money that is important. The Detroit worker knows this best of all, for costs are highest there.

It costs a manual laborer more to live in Detroit and less in Mobile than in any other of thirty-one selected cities, Harry L. Hopkins, W.P.A. Administrator, announced recently. A study on March 15, released by the administrator, showed the cost in Detroit for a year's maintenance was \$1,461.40; in Mobile, it was \$1,144.31. Figures for last December 15 showed living costs at a slightly higher level, ranging from \$1,154.50 to \$1,486.50 a year for the same cities. A survey of fifty-nine cities then between \$1,129.71 to \$1,414.54.

According to the report released today, the highest annual costs were in the following six cities:

Detroit, \$1,461.40; Minneapolis, \$1,447.64; Washington, \$1,441.04; San Francisco, \$1,432.53; Cleveland, \$1,429.67, and Chicago, \$1,413.34.

All the rest of the thirty-one communities were below \$1,400 in living costs, but Mobile was the only one in the \$1,100 class.

The fight of the trade-union movement does not end in the shop. It must be carried on also against high rents and the high prices of all consumers goods. Just as the union fights for the unemployed, so must the unions take up the fight against the high cost-of-living. It is to be noted that the standard of living of the workers is not only no longer improving but is actually falling and has been falling since 1929. Labor's job is to maintain and improve the standard of living of the workers through higher wages and lower living costs for the employed. The unemployed must fight for jobs and, where no jobs are available, for a living wage on W.P.A. But, in every case, the unions are the organizations best fitted for an effective fight in this direction.

ously no mere isolated incident or accidental outburst. It is the logical, inevitable consequence of the whole party course under the new dispensation. What conclusions can we, must we, draw from this testimony?

The People's Front course leads with implacable logic to the abandonment of every vestige of communist principle and working-class militancy. It leads straight into the camp of reaction and imperialistic jingoism.

The persistent replacement of inner-party democracy by an increasingly authoritarian regime has reached to the point where the Communist Party functions systematically as a machine for cynical double-dealing and political deception.

Do you doubt this? Recall Earl Browder's testimony before the McNaboe Committee!

Earl Browder's testimony dots the 'i's and crosses the 't's of the whole political development of the Communist Party in recent years. It is now no longer possible to ignore the fact that has been demanding recognition for so long: the Communist International—and the American Communist Party—and it has completely and irrevocably lost its character as a communist organization; it has abandoned socialism, abandoned the class struggle, abandoned democracy in the life of the party and the labor movement!

You who are members or followers of the Communist Party, what are you going to do about it? There is only one thing you can do: Break with the reactionary and authoritarian party of Stalin and Browder! Join the Independent Labor League of America, which holds aloft the banner of revolutionary socialism in this country!

Earl Browder's testimony before the McNaboe Committee is obvi-

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UAW Ousts Ex-Officer

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to require no further preparations. The whole case revolved around Mr. Adde's sending to the locals the two documents in question. But rather than proceed with any defense, Adde and Sugar walked out, followed by the five supporters of the Stalinists in the Board. Adde then proceeded to expel Adde from the Board and from membership in the Union.

This decision of the International Board is expected to meet with the approval of the vast majority of the membership, which has long clamored for drastic measures to end the state of perpetual faction warfare instigated by the Stalinists and their aides. Asked what the Stalinist supporters in the union are likely to do, union spokesman pointed to what they had already done as evidence that Stalinism had shot its bolt. There is nothing they can do now, it was said, that need be the cause of any worry for the union.

Union spokesmen also pointed, not without some satisfaction, to the difficulties that now beset the so-called "middle" group, of which the socialist, Walter Reuther, is the sponsor. The purpose of this group, which was to cover up the tracks of the Stalinist "unity" caucus, was frustrated when it was caught in the line of its own fire. Many of their supporters, who took seriously their leaders' pledge of neutrality, could not comprehend how that could be squared with the defense of the program of the suspended Stalinists. It was under the pressure of these rank and filers that the socialists leading the "middle" group have been forced to give ground. These have now come out against an emergency convention, which they themselves had previously proposed in common with the Stalinists. They also weakly deprecate the withholding of per-capita taxes as endangering the unity of the union. But on the central issue, on the suspensions, they still pursue a policy in common with the Stalinists—that of fighting for reinstatement.

What their attitude to the expulsion of Adde will be is unknown. Walter Reuther failed to attend the Board meeting and others closely associated with him stated that they were now considering the proposal of asking John L. Lewis to intervene—which, incidentally, is also the proposal of the Stalinists.

An additional factor in this situation is the more determined attitude which the Socialist Party is said to have taken with many of its members who flirt with the Stalinists. An attempt to enforce party policy in Wisconsin led to the resignation of Harold Christofel and Arthur Ludwigen, who found the Stalinists more to their liking. How many more of the same caliber are to be found in Michigan, it is difficult to say. Local rumors to the effect that charges had been preferred against Walter Reuther for playing the game of the Stalinists, have been denied.

The trial of the four remaining suspended officers is being prepared for the latter part of this month. The present activities of the four are best summarized in a recent letter to the local unions in which President Martin declares: "Had they been good union men, they would have waited for their trial, as provided in the constitution. However, instead of following this procedure, they immediately went to the local unions and to the public press, maligning and vilifying International officers and Executive Board members, breaking into local union meetings, and generally conducting themselves in a manner which demonstrates to all good union people their utter irresponsibility and viciousness."

NEW PROBLEMS FOR NEGRO, LABOR

By ERNEST CALLOWAY

DURING the past nine years of the economic crisis in the United States, we have witnessed many transitions and changes. One of the most hopeful is that of the Negro and his outlook and approach to his problems, his problems as a worker, a consumer, a voter and self-respecting member of American society.

Prior to 1929, the Negro problem rested securely in the hands of the Rockefeller-controlled General Education Fund, the Rosenwald Fund and the financially and politically controlled inter-racial commissions. The only challenge to this type of domination had come with the advent of the "uncouth showman," Marcus Garvey, and his "Back-to-Africa" movement. The escapist philosophy of this movement probably aroused more Negroes and took on the proportions of a mass movement to a much greater extent than any past or present movement among Negroes in this country. The secret of the success of the Garvey movement can be traced to the unadmitted chauvinism and racial glorification which was turned on with full steam ahead. Altogether, there were economic implications based on the unsound theory of economic isolation or the building of a separate, self-sustaining "black" capitalist economy outside the general framework of modern finance-capitalism.

Rise And Fall Of Garveyism
Garveyism failed because of the inherent weakness of any escapist movement or philosophy. No mass movement can possibly succeed without a deep consideration and examination of the broad social and economic forces of modern capitalist society. In any racial movement, conflict will inevitably arise. Class interest will assert itself over racial interest. The fundamental division in any capitalist society, whether black, white, yellow or all-inclusive, is class division and not racial division.

With the failure of Garveyism, the movement slowly petered out, and again Big Business set the pace and fashion of Negro thought in America. Entering the depression, the Negro was certainly subjected to much lower and degrading standards of living than any other group. Mass resentment took the form of a revolt against the clique, which had so long determined Negro attitudes and reactions towards social and economic problems. The year 1932 found the Negro making his first break with the Republican party. This disturbance in traditional Negro politics was not really felt or any effort made to analyze it until four years later, after the Negro as a group had completely repudiated the party he had supported for generations. In this process, the Negro to some extent developed a greater degree of social and economic consciousness. We should recognize this as an historically progressive step. The Negro's mass participation in the labor struggles of today is easily traced to this developing consciousness which caused the revolt against the entrenched reactionary thought of the so-called "race leaders" and their bosses.

As far as any definite line of activity among Negroes is concerned, our organization has been altogether too weak in this respect. We have maintained a very clear, wholesome position on the Negro question, but that position has been applied to a very limited extent to the field of everyday action. We have exposed the incorrectness of the "self-determination of the Negro in the Black-Belt" theory, as advanced by the American Communist Party. The National Negro Congress, with its hideous

attempt to emasculate the growing labor consciousness of the Negro worker, has very properly been rejected by us and by the responsible sections of the American labor movement. But, until recently, we ourselves did not go anywhere near what we might have in the right direction.

Towards A Program Of Action
I want to raise a number of points that might help towards a program of action.

At no other period in the entire history of the American trade-union movement has the problem of Negro integration had such a chance of being approached with any degree of clear understanding as in the period we are now passing thru. The reduction of both Negro and white labor to the lowest common denominator of present-day industrialization, the impersonal attitude of big business in presenting a united front against both Negro and white unionists, the dim realization that all living standards are affected by the same system of exploitation, and the beginning of a healthy desire to submerge prejudices in order to wage a common war against a common enemy, are all signs in the same direction. In the face of these new developments, how are we to utilize these changing attitudes towards creating a permanent basis for inter-racial labor solidarity? There are two decisive factors favorable to those working within the C.I.O. towards cementing race relations in the American labor movement. The movement for industrial unionism arose from a definite historical development of American industry and economy, and has within itself the necessary factors for the creation of greater racial labor solidarity. The base and leadership of the movement are utterly devoid of any racial complexes, and any infiltration of prejudices is foreign to the aims, ideas and desires of the leadership.

The Negro And The C.I.O.
The basic problem here is the building of a genuine collective leadership of Negro workers, which will go far in breaking the inflexible and domination of anti-labor forces and institutions in the Negro community. The work of the United Automobile Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers is a very healthy beginning in this direction. The U.A.W., especially in the formation of its Negro department, occupies an outstanding position in approaching the problem of working-class race relations. Here, the problem is and must be approached with a greater degree of determination and foresight than in the past. It would be greatly to the advantage of the C.I.O. that some co-ordinating body, council or committee be established to deal with these problems in a realistic and intelligent fashion—thereby moving into a position to strengthen labor inter-racial co-operation and, at the same time, waging a concerted educational campaign against prejudice, jim-crowism and other evils flowing from racial misunderstanding, within the main body of the organized labor movement.

It is necessary also to take an active part in the legislative campaign against lynching. While there are a number of shortcomings in the present campaign as conducted by the N.A.A.C.P., it is necessary to strengthen the movement. We know that lynching, vigilantism, etc., are not going to be eradicated solely thru legislative action. But, in the process of activating the Negro masses against these evils, our organization will slowly gain the respect and confidence of the Negro masses, thus paving the way for broader work in this direction. Altho the most persecuted and

Democracy Ends on M-Day!

(This graphic description of the operations of "industrial mobilization" in wartime is taken from Stephen and Joan Raushenbush's book, "War Madness."—Editor.)

A SIMPLE story may illustrate what may come.

Mr. Robertson of Middletown used to work at the same bench with Congressman Jones in the Bolton mill by the railroad tracks. He became president of the machinists union there and he helped elect Jones to Congress. He and Jones both registered on the day set and made themselves subject to the draft. Mr. Jones, of course, got deferred status because he was a Congressman. Mr. Robertson had a family. He was forty-two. He was also very necessary to the work in the Bolton mill, which was now busy making fuses for shells. He wasn't called.

One day, after a few months of the war have passed, the union men in the mill go to the boss and say: "The cost of living has been going up. With all these new men coming into town, rents are up. Our children are going to school in rags. We need more money. We're getting \$28.80 a week, and

it costs us 30% more to live. We need \$36 a week, at least."

The boss replies: "I can't do anything about that. Wages in this area have been fixed at 60 cents an hour for machinists and, on a three-shift basis, I can't give you more than 48 hours of work. Sorry, you have to go to the government."

Mr. Robertson writes to Congressman Jones about it. "That is bad. There's lots of money being made but, because everything costs more, the working men at the mill are actually taking a 30% cut. What can you do for the men?"

Congressman Jones replies: "I don't see why but the government doesn't seem to want the men to get high wages. It is using all the wage calculations made during the years of the W.P.A. and 60 cents an hour for machinists is what it established then. It figures also that, if it increased your wages 30%, it would have to increase them all over and that would add about fifteen billion dollars a year to the cost of the war. It hasn't go that much money."

The next news is that the men at the Bolton mill are out on strike, under the leadership of "one Ro-

bertson, alleged alien enemy and saboteger."

Robertson says he and his family have been in America for over a hundred years and all he wants is a fair deal. He adds: "Somebody is making a lot of money out of this war and it isn't us."

Congressman Jones gets worried and talks to everybody in authority in Washington. He finds out that this new Administration doesn't propose to let labor start anything. It had seen enough of sit-down strikes and other things like that. It knows that the companies have the right to put men out of work but that the men have no right to put the companies out of work. Anyhow, boys are being drafted for the trenches. Another draft is coming along soon. Everybody had to suffer in war, didn't they? Let labor suffer.

But how about collective bargaining, guaranteed in various laws? Oh, that? Those laws were suspended under Section 12 of the draft law. They got into the way of the war plans.

The next news was that labor leader Robertson had been called by the President into the armed (Continued on Page 5)

French S.P. Split at Royan Congress

By LEO POLLNAU
(Our Paris Correspondent)

THE Royan Congress of the French Socialist Party was from the beginning governed by a sharp conflict between the reformist and the revolutionary elements of the party, the latter represented by the Revolutionary Left. Not far from the congress hall, the Seine Federation, led by Marceau Pivert and expelled a few weeks before the congress by the leadership of the S.P., had established its headquarters. On the first day of the congress, members of the Pivert Seine Federation asked for admission to the congress hall but were not allowed to enter. Their cause, however, was defended at the congress by delegates of several provincial federations adhering to the Revolutionary Left. The proceedings of the congress showed that the antagonism between the Revolutionary Left and the reformist elements of the party had become irreconcilable, since no conciliation is possible between those who want to promote and practise class struggle against the bourgeoisie and those who have pledged themselves to a policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, collaboration the forms of which may change but which is considered by the reformists to be the permanent task of their party.

Anti-Semitism Among The Negroes

The growing anti-Semitism in the Negro urban communities presents a very serious problem. Chicago offers us a serious warning; on the South Side, there is a very sharp fight going on between Negro business men and white business men, a large percentage of whom are Jewish. Negro business is built and exists solely upon racial consciousness in the community. To the Negro business man, racial consciousness has its dollars-and-cents value. In fighting Jewish merchants, the Negro middle class deliberately arouses racial prejudice. The campaign in Chicago's South Side is very intense. With the publication of an anti-Semitic sheet, passions are running very high among the Negro masses against all Jewish people. In the heat of prejudice, no consideration is given to the fact that Jewish workers suffer the same fate as Negro workers, and at the hands of Jewish capitalists as well. This problem is a very delicate one, and must be approached with tact, intelligence and a clear understanding of the forces at play.

After the vote on the resolutions dealing with the political line of the party, the representative of the Revolutionary Left, Lucien Herard, declared that, by adopting the attitude recommended by Leon Blum and Paul Faure, the French Socialist Party had ceased to be a party of proletarian class struggle.

In speaking about the conflict between the party leadership and the Seine Federation, Blum admitted that its ideological roots must be sought in the very beginning of the "governmental experience" of the Socialist Party in 1936. Here, Blum said, a question of

"revolutionary morality" was raised, namely, whether revolutionary duty was paramount or whether it was necessary above everything to be faithful to the engagements towards your partners in the People's Front, meaning, of course, the Radical party. Before the People's Front had created for the socialist leaders what Blum calls a "moral duty" to become a mere vassal of the Radical party, which is nothing else but one of the political instruments of French big capital, the French Socialist Party had not associated itself permanently with bourgeois parties or bourgeois governments. After the 1932 elections, Blum and the other leaders of the party, altho they collaborated with the Radical cabinets then formed and gave them their support, had declined to participate in these regimes or to promise them permanent support. Now, the French Socialist Party is, as several delegates at the congress pointed out, a government party, a party which has to assume its "responsibilities" towards the existing bourgeois state, a party which has become "too strong" and "too important" to remain a "mere opposition." In fact, the reformist elements of the party want at all costs to avoid the policy of opposition, even of that modest kind which they stood for before 1936. This evolution explains why those who advocate revolutionary socialism in the French S.P. are so summarily expelled.

Tendencies At The Congress

There were three main tendencies represented at the congress. The vote on the political resolutions gave 4,872 mandates to the group led by Blum and Paul Faure; 1,735 to the group of Zyromsky; and 1,430 to the Revolutionary Left of Pivert. It is to be noted that this figure does not show the whole strength of the Revolutionary Left. The main (Continued on Page 6)

PUT THE DRIVE OVER THE TOP!

WORKERS AGE

Organ of the National Council, Independent Labor League of America, 131 West 33rd St., New York City.

Vol. 7 July 16, 1938 No. 29

HAIL THE I.L.L.A.!

By an overwhelming vote, the recent convention of the organization of which this paper is the official spokesman, decided to adopt the name: INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA.

Unanimously, the convention decided to drop the word "communist" from our name, altho it had always been included in previous years.

Our organization is not only in the labor movement but of the labor movement, an organic and inseparable part of it.

We stand for the independence of the working class from the employing class on every front—on the economic field, in the form of strong trade unions independent of the bosses; on the political field, in the form of a labor party independent of the two old-line employing-class parties and politicians;

INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA: what this name means cannot be told in mere words; this name takes on the full measure of significance only in the inspiring faith, in the devoted service, in the flaming class consciousness of the thousands to whom it is an inspiration and a banner!

New Constitution of the I. L. L. A.

(We publish below important sections of the new constitution adopted by the recent national convention of the Independent Labor League of America. The entire constitution will soon appear in pamphlet form.—Editor.)

ARTICLE I NAME, PURPOSE, AND AFFILIATIONS

Section 1—Name

The organization shall be known as the Independent Labor League of America (I.L.L.A.).

Section 2—Purposes and Objectives

The Independent Labor League strives to develop a powerful, class-conscious labor movement in this country and internationally. It stands for the principles of socialism and strives for the establishment of a workers and farmers government to bring about the replacement of the historically obsolete capitalist system by a socialist society.

Section 3—International Affiliations

The Independent Labor League of America is affiliated with the International Communist Opposition (I.C.O.).

Thru the I.C.O. and directly, the Independent Labor League of America (I.L.L.A.) joins with other working-class organizations throughout the world in the struggle against imperialism, imperialist war, fascism and capitalism.

ARTICLE II MEMBERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION

Section 1—Membership

A. Any person who accepts the program, purposes and constitution of the I.L.L.A. may, upon signing an application card so stating, become a member.

B. The application card shall contain the following pledge: "I, the undersigned, hereby apply for membership in the Independent Labor League of America. I pledge to help develop a powerful, class-conscious labor movement in this country. I pledge to help in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and for the establishment of a socialist society in this country and throughout the world."

Section 2—Rights and Duties of Members

A. The I.L.L.A. is based on the system of democratic control and disciplined action: (1) Full freedom of expression and of discussion of the policies of the organization is guaranteed to all members. Facilities for such discussion shall be provided by the proper bodies.

(2) All decisions as to the policy and activities of the organization are made, and all policy-making and administrative committees are elected, by a majority vote of the membership in accordance with the regulations provided for in this Constitution.

(3) Once a decision is reached by the convention or by a body endowed with power to make such a decision, it becomes a binding upon every member of the organization in his activities. Committees and officers chosen in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution have full authority within their jurisdictions.

B. Discipline is rooted, on the one hand, in the socialist consciousness of the membership and their confidence in the fundamental soundness of the principles and aims of the organization; and, on the other, in inner democracy, which guarantees every member full rights of participating in the formulation of policy and selection of leadership.

Any infraction of the rules or decisions of the organization or any conduct bringing damage or discredit to the organization or the labor movement, shall meet with disciplinary action (censure, warning, suspension, expulsion).

WORLD TODAY

By Lambda

The Anglo-Eire Agreement

By JACK CARNEY (Our Irish Correspondent)

THE astonishing part of the new agreement between the British government and the government of Eire (new name for the Irish Free State), is the lack of protest on the part of the people of Eire. Unfortunately, the effects of the agreement will not be understood until it is too late.

In the 1931 elections, Fianna Fail, Mr. De Valera's party, issued posters in which they appealed to the women of the Irish Free State to vote for them in order to "put their husbands to work."

Tariff legislation was to be enacted and all the goods the Irish people needed were to be made in Ireland. Agreements were to be reached with such countries as Spain and Germany, overtures were to be made to the United States, and eight million Irish exiles were to flock from overseas and help to rebuild their native land. It was an attractive picture of the future. It proved so irresistible that Mr. De Valera and his party were returned to power.

The trade unions supported Mr. De Valera. James Larkin, the well-known labor leader, urged the people of Ireland to hold up the hand of the President, recalling the biblical story of Joshua during the fight against the Philistines. Labor could not do otherwise. An agricultural country without an industrial backbone must be dependent upon other countries.

Consequently, under the administration of the Ministry for Industry and Commerce, various industrialists were to be encouraged to develop their industries; where no industries prevailed, they were to be organized and all Ireland was to be industrialized. The Minister stipulated that Irish industry would have to be decentralized. This was in line with modern development of power. The Shannon Scheme of hydroelectrical power made it possible to bring power to any part of Ireland.

Parallel with the move towards the industrialization of the Irish Free State was the deepening economic crisis in Britain. The astute Britisher saw in the move of the Irish Free State an opportunity to unload his superfluous machinery.

The procedure followed was to call a meeting in a provincial town, at which the local parish priest presided. Previous to the meeting, a British representative had approached the local T. D. (Irish member of the Dail). The latter was easily convinced of the vote-catching possibilities of the establishment of a factory. Women were gotten to invest money in the factory on the promise of getting their sons a job. Industrialization ran riot in the Irish Free State.

The first year of the existence of the factory, the British representative secured the value of his machinery, not on its depreciated value but as a new consignment. In addition, the British representative secured a good job as adviser to the new factory. Profits ranged from 25% to 50%. There were no reserve funds.

The result was that this machinery was soon worn out and there was no reserve fund upon which to draw to replace this machinery. And the Irish Free State found itself in the midst of an industrial crisis. This year 28,000 Irish workers have had to emigrate to England in search of work.

To give you some idea of how this industrialization developed, here are a few facts about factories in the Irish Free State. There are approximately 2,750,009 men, women and children in the Free State. There are 2,500 employers in the clothing industry. Back-rooms, empty houses and, in some cases, stables have been converted into factories.

In the boot-and-shoe trade, there were two large factories in Dublin, capable of supplying the needs of the Irish people. The government permitted other shoe factories to be erected. In 1936, there were a dozen large factories in Ireland. The same situation repeated itself in the rope, agricultural-implements and other secondary industries.

Obviously, the saturation point was soon reached. Unemployment figures rose to 150,000. Taxation that was to be decreased by £2,000,000 actually increased by £3,000,000.

In line with this situation was the refusal of the De Valera government to pay the land annuities to the British government. This began the economic war, and Irish agricultural produce was kept out of the British market by tariffs especially enacted, so that really the land annuities were paid to the British government thru tariff enactments against Irish agricultural produce.

(Continued in the next issue)

BOOKS

WHERE NOW, LITTLE JEW? by Magnus Hermansson. Bonnier, New York, 1938.

WHAT a pathetically appropriate title for a book dealing with the plight of a long-suffering people! The Jews, for two thousand years, have been a caste concentrated in the large cities of the commercial and industrial world. That they are not a nation is obvious and we have the word of the leading anthropologists, biologists and ethnologists that they are not a race. They ceased to be a racial entity long before they ceased being a nation.

But, if the Semitic race is as much a myth as the "Aryan" race, anti-Semitism itself is a horrible reality. The Jewish question is neither a racial nor national problem but it is an urgent social problem. The author, however, considers the Jewish question as primarily a religious one altho he admits the social aspect as a contributing factor. He mistakes the incidental features of the Jewish question for the fundamental causes when he maintains that the problem can never be solved satisfactorily so long as the Eastern Jews are dominated by Talmudism, which rests on the "isolating power of the Ghetto walls."

The Ort, the Jewish organization engaged in teaching trades to the Jews in the Eastern countries, shows by its activity that it is aiming at the root of the problem tho it may have no real grasp of its nature. Any special characteristics the Jew may possess are certainly not innate but related to his occupation and urban habitation. Upon examination, his traits turn out to be the traits of a city dweller who has been engaging in a limited number of occupations and has not been infused with peasant blood from the countryside.

The Jew was forced to leave his country while the Jews still constituted a nation, and the only occupation open to him was that of a merchant, which he practised in the nearby lands. A merchant dwells in the city and thus it came about that, from the beginning, the Jews in foreign lands collected in the great cities. As merchants, the Jews were invited and welcomed by the rulers of almost all lands. But the welcome did not last long in many instances because the Jew came from a weak nation and could not expect protection against his native rivals. The great concentration of Jews in cities led to their becoming a conspicuous and easy target in times of crisis.

Before the rise of capitalism, the amount of money in circulation was very limited. A person's wealth was measured by the extent of his land and other fixed property. It thus came about that the possession of what today would amount to pocket money was considered great wealth. A Jewish peddler or store-keeper with the equivalent of \$10 in his possession would be adjudged a rich man. Money rather than wealth was the sign of riches. Since the Jews were not permitted to own land, all their wealth was in money and they became identified with the rich. This identification has stuck to the present day altho it has been shown by the magazine, Fortune, that the average Jew in the United States is as poor as the average non-Jew.

But it is not enough to refute the arguments of the anti-Semite. The victims of anti-Semitism are in desperate need of a refuge. They seek a solution to this difficult problem. We agree with Mr. Hermansson when he considers the Zionist experiment as doomed to failure, for Palestine became not a Jewish state but an English colony and is "a potential lethal chamber

Democracy Ends on M-Day News of the AGE

What Industrial Mobilization Means

(Continued from Page 3)

forces, under Section 8, and was being escorted by military police to Camp Upton.

This made the Congressman's blood boil. He knew the Robertson family, liked the four children. He arose on the floor of the House and told the story. "What is this country coming to?" he asked. "When a man is sent off to be killed simply because he says his children are starving, that's not the United States, Mr. President. That's exactly the way things are in the nation we are fighting against. If this is allowed to go on, what kind of a country will our boys find when they come back here from the war? The very militarism they went abroad to defeat! I'm against it."

Clamping Down On The Press

Five papers indiscreet enough to try to publish his remarks were censored. The editors were told that newsprint was a luxury, that there was a shortage of it, and it might be necessary to cut off their priorities in rail shipments of the newsprint from Canada. The government had the power to put them out of business. They saw the point very quickly.

The other papers attacked Jones as a traitor. Some of them quoted the Attorney General as saying that, coming at this time, Congressman Jones was evidently trying to counsel others "to evade service in the armed public forces." Certainly, such treasonous remarks about the purpose and conduct of the war would have that effect.

Five days later, in the midst of the hue and cry, Congressman Jones was notified that his deferred status might be cancelled.

Meanwhile, the men on strike at the Bolton mill were finding out a few things. The labor dictator, a prominent industrialist with the title of War Labor Administrator, ordered the men back to work immediately. They had all been registered and were, of course, subject to draft. "Work-Starve-or-Fight."

Some of the union leaders went to the authorities at Washington and said: "This is bad business. If you carry this thru, there'll be no more unions in this country—or only company unions."

"Not a bad idea," they were told by one man.

Another one showed them a clipping with a picture of Robertson being led off to Camp Upton. "There's lots more room in the army," he remarked.

"You boys might have thought of that before we got into this war," another pointed out. "It's too late now. We can't have any internal disturbance. Democracy is a luxury now. The government will do your collective bargaining for you."

Still another said: "Of course, we believe in unions—but not in unions that want increased wages or shortened hours or collective

or guillotine" for the Jews who go there. Tho every enlightened person favors assimilation, we cannot look to this process as the immediate solution to the problem. The author approaches the whole problem from the point of view of a Swedish Lutheran and is quite provincial in his outlook.

When the reading is finished, one is inclined to favor the title which suggested the present one, "What Now, Little Man?"—for, in a real sense, the plight of the Jews is also the plight of humanity. And the hope of the Jews is the hope of mankind—socialism.

A. E.

UAW in New WPA Gains

A wage increase for more than 1,500 Detroit W.P.A. workers was announced last week by William Taylor, W.P.A.-auxiliary national director of the United Automobile Workers.

The 1,500 are employed on the housing-survey project. Their wages were \$66 a month. They were re-classified from clerks into a higher bracket and will receive \$95 per month.

Taylor said that a committee of stewards from the project headed by Bert Cochran, Detroit director of the W.P.A. union auxiliary, met Max Barton, local W.P.A. administrator, and pointed out that the 1,500 on the survey were entitled by the nature of their work to a higher classification and pay. After a conversation with L. M. Nims, state W.P.A. director, Barton said the request would be granted.

"This is the second important concession obtained for W.P.A. workers by the union," Taylor said. "A few days ago hourly rates of workers thruout the state were raised 4 cents and 4½ cents to 10 cents an hour."

ing eight miles to get a copy of our paper!

These boys left us lists containing hundreds of names of auto workers in the Michigan area who must have the Workers Age and under present circumstances cannot afford to subscribe. The same requests came from California, New Orleans, and Ohio. Our readers and friends can help us to substantially satisfy these requests and contribute to the job of building a progressive labor movement in America.

By ROBERT MACKLIN

THE experiences brought by delegates from all parts of the country at the national convention of the Independent Labor League in America just held in New York, are many and in some cases unique. They all bear out one important message among others, and that is, that the Workers Age is playing a vital and constructive role in the American labor movement. Some of them are worth recording.

THE LOWEST-WAGE TOWN IN AMERICA

A sailor from a boat plying the waters from New York to New Orleans handed a copy of the Workers Age to a shipyard worker in the Gulf seaport. It has sprouted, bloomed and sowed its seed in record time. Letters of inquiry about our organization began to bombard us, demands were made for back issues of the Age, for a bundle order and for all available literature. Today there is a healthy growing branch of the I.L.L.A. consisting of white, Negro and Chinese workers. The delegate to the convention told us that hell is

3,000 NEW READERS FOR WORKERS AGE

breaking loose down there in the lowest-wage town in America, as he called it, and that our forces are going to be felt, thanks to the Workers Age.

DARKEST CALIFORNIA

California is the land of Hearst, vigilantes, and the jailers of our own Tom Mooney. A working-class paper is far from welcome there. Exorbitant license fees are required before a paper can be sold. Many other obstacles are put in the way. Despite all that, the Los Angeles delegate informed us, the Workers Age is being distributed in increasing numbers.

THE HOME OF THE SIT-DOWN

The wide extent of unemployment as described by the Michigan delegation is almost unbelievable. The fierce loyalty of the auto workers for their union, however, remains unshaken. They are waging a terrific battle down there to save their union from the most insidious, treacherous (please ask the editor for his repertoire of fitting adjectives) bunch of union-wreckers that ever wormed themselves into a working-class organization—the Stalinists. The progressive auto workers need ammunition, information and they know where to get it. They've got to be watchful every minute of the day. It is no wonder that under no circumstances will they miss a single copy of the Workers Age. It has been told that one of the workers who had just lost an automobile to a finance company took the trouble of walk-

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Labor's Big Job Ahead

THE wages-and-hours bill, finally passed by Congress as the Fair Labor Standards Act, is on the President's desk awaiting signature.

Labor, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike, favor it. The employing interests of the country, some more vehemently than others, oppose it. It is the first federal piece of legislation ever enacted setting a minimum for earnings and a maximum to work hours. Definitely, therefore, it is a victory for American labor. What may we expect from it?

The enactment of the wage-and-hour law, contrary to guess-work indulged in in some quarters, will make the task of organizing the unorganized in the "forgotten" industries much easier for the trade-union movement.

It is wrong to assume that, because the new law prescribes a minimum wage and a maximum number of hours for all industry, the trade-union appeal to the sub-standard workers would lose in strength. Quite the opposite is true. The experience of organized labor has demonstrated conclusively that it is much easier to "sell" unionism to better-paid workers than to submerged, badly underpaid labor. It must also be borne in mind that American labor, even the unorganized and least articulate part of it, cannot fail to recognize that this law has come about chiefly as the result of the drive by the trade unions. This recognition should, and will, furnish a strong psychological background to the trade-union call for organization among workers who until now were either too timid or too browbeaten to pay attention to it.

There is another element—the factor of enforcement—that should not be overlooked as we attempt to gauge in advance the effect of the new Labor Standards Act on trade-union organization.

Under the N.R.A., it will be recalled, only such industries as had vital labor organizations functioning within them lived up to the work conditions and fair practices

prescribed under their codes. Only in such industries where trade unions eagerly and aggressively took advantage of the opportunities offered by the N.R.A., policing their production markets against code violators and side-steppers, did N.R.A. provisions help to regulate and stabilize work conditions.

It is all too evident that the enforcement of the new Labor Standards Act will, to a material extent, likewise depend on the vigilance of the trade unions operating within the industries most likely to be affected by the new law. Effective policing of minimum-pay and maximum-hour observance should be one of the duties confronting labor organizations in connection with the enforcement of the Act. What may be even more important is steady and relentless pressure on the part of the unions, in their capacity as participants in the various advisory boards to be appointed under the Act in each industry, for upward revision of the minimums to insure the workers equitable return for their labor to which industry conditions may entitle them.

The Fair Labor Standards Act, by far, not an ideal legal instrument. But, as we pointed out already, it is the first federal law ever passed by Congress to regulate wages and work-hours.

Notwithstanding all its shortcomings, the Act, therefore, is a milestone on the road of American labor legislation. It will devolve on the trade unions largely, individually and collectively, to forge this Act into a forceful weapon of defense of labor conditions in industries already organized and of trade-union advancement in industries where the influence of organized labor has until now been thwarted or silenced.

(These paragraphs are taken from an editorial in the July 1 issue of Justice, official paper of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.—Editor.)

Convention Of the ILLA

(Continued from Page 1)

situation in this period between two world wars. In graphic and incisive terms, he analyzed the tendencies of development in the international labor movement, the advancing political degeneration of the Socialist (Second) and Communist (Third) Internationals and the big start in the concentration of the genuinely revolutionary-socialist elements of the world made at the recent Paris Conference. A long and thoro discussion, participated in by nearly twenty delegates, led to the unanimous adoption of the resolution introduced by the convention's Resolution Committee fully approving the report and endorsing the proposals contained therein.

The second report, by Will Herberg, urged the adoption of a new approach by our organization; an approach that would signify a clean break with the sectarian and dualistic tradition of American radicalism; an approach grounded in the conception that the objectives of the working class, immediate and ultimate alike, can be realized only in and thru the labor movement as it is developing in response to the needs of the workers. He then proceeded to examine our attitude towards and relations with the Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Federation, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. He concluded with a general analysis and estimate of our most important activities during the last year.

Nearly fifty speakers took part in the nine-hour discussion that followed. Delegate after delegate arose, veterans of the trade-union movement and recent recruits already occupying important posts, leaders of big unions with tens of thousands in their ranks, active militants in locals and unemployed organizations, responsible organizers for C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, men and women from New England and Michigan, from Pennsylvania and Missouri, from Louisiana and California, from every front of the class struggle,

The N. Y. Times Lets the Cat Out of the Bag

Desire to Keep Popular Front in France Held Likely to Lessen Workers' Demands

July 4, 1938

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, July 3—The tendency of the stock market was decidedly better last week. The Spanish question is considered less pessimistically and, despite the latest events, it is thought there is no longer cause to fear grave complications.

From the internal political point of view it is noted that, although the Socialists and Communists, whose disagreement is increasing, may be agreed in criticizing the government sharply, they do not,

however, seek to cause Premier Edouard Daladier's downfall.

A significant fact was a speech made by Léon Jouhaux, labor union leader, who declared that it was absolutely necessary to avoid breaking up the Popular Front, because such a break-up would benefit the Fascists. It was concluded that the demands of workmen and civil servants would be less insistent henceforth and probably would not lead to strikes threatened if satisfaction were not forthcoming.

arose and recounted in vivid, yet sober and realistic terms their experiences and their problems, their successes and their failures, their plans and their proposals. You began to realize from their remarks that the new approach about which the reporter had been speaking was something already part of the life and functioning of our organization in many parts of the country. It was a discussion inexhaustible in its constructive contributions and inspiration.

The delegates had a number of very important documents to consider. First was the new constitution of the I.L.L.A., a document embodying in authoritative form the aims and purposes, the structure and functioning of the organization. With some valuable changes, it was adopted.

Drafts of a general manifesto and program of action, of an organizational resolution and a resolution on the Workers Age, were presented to the convention. Special reports by D. Benjamin and Lyman Fraser directed attention towards the basic organizational problems of the new approach. Here, too, there were dozens of amendments and suggestions but all documents were, in the end, adopted unanimously.

Basic Significance

In future issues of this paper and in pamphlet form, most of the

documents emerging from the convention will be published. But, taken as a whole, what did the convention show as to the fundamental political character of our organization, as to its role and mission in the labor movement? It showed that here was developing a new type of organization of class-conscious workers; an organization of the very flesh and blood of the labor movement; an organization truly on the road towards becoming the political concentration of the most advanced, the most devoted and the most militant elements in every labor organization and on every front of the class struggle. It showed a growing, thriving, healthy organization, well grounded in the tested principles and tactics of Marxism and able to work effectively under American conditions towards our great goal that is international—the achievement of political power by the working class and the triumph of socialism!

Perhaps the whole essence of the convention is best expressed in the new name it adopted: INDEPENDENT LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA—an organization in and of the labor movement, striving in every field for militant working-class independence!

(Read the editorial on page 4.—Editor.)

FRENCH SOCIALISTS SPLIT AT THE ROYAN CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 3)

stronghold of this group, the Seine Federation, headed by Marceau Pivert, was not admitted to the congress and therefore all the mandates of the Seine Federation (about 600) were represented by the so-called "reconstructed" Seine Federation, a split-off organized by Paul Faure and his friends, and thus went to the groups of Blum and Zyromsky.

The Revolutionary Left had won outside of Paris the majority in several federations (Meurthe-et-Moselle, Alpes-Maritime, Aigne, Cantal, Calvados, etc.), which, with the exception of the Federation of Meurthe-et Moselle, the center of iron-ore mines, represent mainly agricultural districts. By the way, it is not an accident that the Revolutionary Left has its stronghold, on the one hand, among the proletarians of Paris and its suburbs, who have always been the most class-conscious French workers, and, on the other hand, among agricultural workers and poor peasants. One must remember that precisely these most exploited strata of the toiling people have not obtained any benefit at all from the governmental experience of the People's Front. The new social legislation was not applied to agricultural workers and the famous "Wheat Board," so highly praised at the congress as one of the biggest achievements of the Blum government, is of absolutely no use to the poor peasants. It is, therefore, not astonishing that the

Revolutionary Left should find support among the proletarian, semi-proletarian and poor-peasant masses on the countryside, for these elements had ample opportunity to experience on their own backs the true meaning of the People's Front.

None of the speakers at the congress could deny that, among the broad masses of the working people, there is a growing mood of disillusionment and disappointment with the People's Front. Blum alone dared to say that, to a "certain degree," he was "satisfied" with the policy of the Daladier government but even Blum hastened to add that there was no reason to be enthusiastic about that regime. Jules Moch, minister in the two Blum cabinets, told the congress that the policy of the present government would lead to a grave financial crisis in the Autumn. Jules Moch is an extreme reformist but he is a serious economist and his remarks, indicating that there would be a further devaluation of the franc, are especially worthy of attention.

Blum's Arguments

Yet, in spite of everything, the reformist majority of the congress decided to extend further support to the Daladier government. In a series of articles written for the Populaire just before the congress, Blum tried to show why it was necessary to back Daladier. His arguments are not at all original;

indeed, they are the same arguments that were once used by the German social-democracy to justify support to Bruening and Hindenburg. It is necessary to keep Daladier in power, Blum insisted, because otherwise the Radicals would join with the parties of the Right! Yet, at this very moment, some of the parties of the Right are already represented in the Daladier government by people like Paul Reynaud and Georges Mandel. Nor are the other parties of the Right at all hostile to the Daladier regime. As a matter of fact, these parties voted for the law giving Daladier emergency-decree powers. The use the government has made of these powers shows, furthermore, that it is serving as the instrument of French big capital in pushing thru a program as reactionary as the country can stand at the present time. But, according to Blum, the workers should support even outright reactionaries like Mandel—whose name, by the way, was hissed at the congress—just so long as they are not fascists. Like the German social-democrats, Blum fears proletarian revolution more than anything else, more than imperialist war, more than political reaction which is preparing the ground for fascism. Blum is, as he himself said, prepared to assume the risk of war because he thinks that peace can be preserved "only if there is readiness to risk a war." He is thinking, of course, of a war serving the interests of French im-

perialism. But Blum vigorously rejects any risks if they arise from the revolutionary action of the working masses. He thinks that a serious fight of the French workers for their demands would create in France a "crisis of a revolutionary character" and that such a crisis would only "help international fascism and increase the war danger." Therefore, Blum proposes, instead of revolutionary class struggle, an alliance with reactionary bourgeois politicians in order to avoid fascism—a method that in other countries has never averted fascism but has led to it.

The position of Blum is, of course, the same as that of the Stalinites, when they say that, under the present conditions, proletarian revolution could only help fascism. It is important to note that, at the Royan Congress, there was a united front of the old-fashioned reformists, like Blum and Paul Faure, with the Stalinites against the Revolutionary Left. The Zyromsky faction, whose leaders are known as agents or sympathizers of Stalinism, supported Blum and Paul Faure in all important political issues. Before the congress, the Zyromsky faction had advanced a draft resolution in which they asked for the immediate overthrow of the Daladier regime, hoping thereby to win delegates that otherwise might have gone to the Revolutionary Left. At the congress, however, Zyromsky declared that his resolution did not

mean that the socialists should withdraw their support from Daladier immediately. He merely advocated the preparation for some other government at some future date. It is interesting to note that this declaration of Zyromsky was made after the Stalinist paper, Humanite, had published under the signature of Gitton, C. P. leader, instructions to the delegates of the Royan Congress not to make any decisions which would signify a break with Daladier.

In the conflict between the central officialdom of the S.P. and the Seine Federation, the leadership of the Zyromskysts also adopted an equivocal attitude, combining demagoguery towards the rank-and-file party members with subservience towards Paul Faure and his friends. Before the congress, the Zyromsky faction had advocated the abrogation of the disciplinary measures taken by the party leadership against Pivert and his colleagues. But, on the other hand, they actively participated in the "reorganization" of the Seine Federation, that is, in the splitting of the party; they even became part of the "reorganized" Federation. It is to be expected that some of the rank and file members who went with Zyromsky will now move leftward. They were for Zyromsky because he posed as a defender of party democracy and as a stalwart fighter against Daladier.

(Another article on the Royan Congress will appear soon. Editor.)