

# Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

Vol. 6, No. 52.

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## UAW Blocks 'Unity' Split

### Martin Names Washburn Administrator For Lansing Local

Lansing, Mich.

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

Upon appointment as administrator, Washburn readily assumed personal charge over all divisions and activities and issued a call for a joint council meeting consisting of delegates of all divisions. This conference, held last Saturday, and Washburn's detailed report and voted overwhelmingly to approve the report, to accept Washburn as administrator and to stand by the decisions and policies of the International union.

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

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

## Flint UAW Bans Local Break-Up

Flint, Mich.

The Buick division of the U.A.W.'s Flint local decisively defeated a proposal to break away from Local 156 and to petition the International Executive Board for a separate charter. The count, after the three days of balloting, showed the proposal to have been defeated by a 3 to-1 majority.

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

## "PEACE" TALKS HIT SNAG

Negotiations between A. F. of L. and C.I.O., resuming last Tuesday at Washington, faced a new deadlock in view of the continued refusal of the federation leaders to admit the C.I.O. as a whole without exceptions into the A. F. of L.

## House Kills Wages Bill

### Southern Democrats Join Republicans; Stand Of A.F.L. Helps Defeat

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

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

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

## New Deal Eats Crow

By M. S. MAUTNER

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

### The New Depression And The New Deal

Faced by a decline in industrial production symbolized by steel's toboggan slide from 90 to 35 within a few weeks, and the consequent increase in unemployment which brings back the days of 1932, the administration has completely reversed what the New York Times calls the "classic" New Deal policy in attempting to "meet" the situation. The artificial stimulation given to American capitalism by the New Deal had as its major feature the "increase of mass purchasing power," expressed in unemployment relief and work relief. That is, it sought to stimulate production by stimulating the possibilities of purchasing products. The institution of this policy coincided with a cyclical upturn in American and world capitalism and thereby appeared to be far more successful than it could have been by itself.

The policy of Hoover, which had failed not merely from the point of view of the masses but also that of the capitalists, who

## SWOC Holds Convention To Map New Pact Policy

### Phil Murray's Report

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

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

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

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



PHILIP MURRAY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Half Million in CIO Steel Union

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

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

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

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

The question of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity arose several times in the course of the convention. Mr. Mur-

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WORKERS AGE

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WHAT CAN WE DO?

THE bombing of the American gunboat, Panay, by Japanese aircraft, has naturally aroused a great deal of excitement in this country.

What is there we can do about the situation in the Far East? This is a question that increasing masses of American workers and middle-class people are striving to answer.

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

In the first place, we must demand a strict government ban on the extension of credits to Japan, on the export of arms, munitions or war supplies to that country.

But, in this field, especially, pressure upon the government is by no means the whole of our job. Much more central and much more vital is the task of mobilizing the workers for direct action to enforce such an anti-Japanese embargo, regardless of what the government may do.

THE London News Chronicle, with 1,335,000 circulation offered to run in serial form John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World," on which the Communist Party holds the copyright.

For our fight cannot be directed against Japanese imperialism alone, or rather, our fight against Japanese imperialism cannot mean very much unless we direct our fire also against American imperialism, the imperialism of our own ruling class, which differs from the Japanese variety in nothing but national color and practical position in China at the moment.

SORIA'S POUUM "STORY" IS BRAZEN FRAUD

A reader of the Workers Age sends us a letter enclosing the article by Georges Soria in the Daily Worker of November 26, 1937 ("Spanish Fascists Shielding Nin, P.O.U.M. Chief, Arrested by Loyalists for Trotskyist Plots") and requests us to answer it.

1. Every sentence, every word, or the article is a piece of brazen and deliberate fabrication. There is not a single fact brought forward that is not an unsubstantiated allegation, completely unsupported by any evidence.

2. The Workers Age has published extensive material to prove that the so-called "charges" of espionage and fascist activities on which the P.O.U.M. leaders were arrested, are taken seriously by literally nobody in Spain except the Stalinites themselves; they have, in fact, been repudiated, in one form or another, by representatives of every section of loyalist public opinion except the Stalinites, by the Republicans, by the socialists of every variety, by the C.N.T., by the U.G.T., and so on.

3. The articles by Georges Soria, of which only one appeared in the Daily Worker have an interesting history. These articles were first scheduled to be published in the Verdaz, Stalinist paper in Valencia.

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A Letter from England

(From a recent letter from an English correspondent, we take the following interesting excerpts.—The Editor)

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part of our struggle in defense of the Chinese people, we must demand the abandonment by the United States of all "our" imperialistic privileges and positions in the Far East and the withdrawal of all American troops and battle-ships.

A vigorous and militant struggle against Japanese and American imperialism alike, is necessary if we want to bring effective aid to the hard-pressed Chinese masses.

series of eleven articles written by a foreign journalist named Georges Soria, with the following titles: (There follows a list of the eleven titles, including attacks against the P.O.U.M., Nin, etc., as fascist organizations and agents.)

"We see no objection to the publication of these articles. But on one condition: that we be allowed our legitimate right of self-defense, that is, that our answers to this series of slanderous and insulting attacks be not vitiated by difficulties of pre-censorship.

"We, therefore, respectfully request that you give orders to the officials charged with the censorship, in case of the publication of the articles by the foreign journalist, M. Soria, that we be permitted to reply to these attacks by means of the press.

It is significant to note that these articles did not appear either in the Verdaz or in the Paris Humanite!

The efforts of the Stalinist murderers to absolve themselves of the responsibility for the assassination of Andres Nin (and who knows how many other P.O.U.M., C.N.T., and U.G.T. militants!) is on a par with the attempts once made by the apologists for Noske and Scheidemann to evade the responsibility for inciting the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

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By Lambda WORLD TODAY Halifax-Hitler Talks May Involve U. S. Credits To Nazi Germany

November 24, 1937.

LORD HALIFAX'S trip to Berlin and Berchtesgaden gave rise to various theories in the international press. It was rumored that England, with America's approval, had raised the question of granting credits and other facilities to Germany in the hope that a prosperous Germany, part and parcel of the Anglo-American business world, would be easier to deal with politically.

Immediately following the departure of Lord Halifax, Hitler made a speech at Augsburg in which he told his audience that Germany may have to wait five or six years before her demand for colonies would be satisfied—which leads us to conclude that Hitler was given promises of concessions along other lines by the British envoy.

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PRIETO AND THE C.P. OF SPAIN

HAVING done their share in stifling the proletarian revolution and in undermining the morale of the working class in its deadly struggle with fascism, the Communist Party of Spain is now being "eliminated" by the Prieto forces in order to pave the way for a "compromise" with Franco.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN MOROCCO

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

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

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

"What matter if, as class relations sharpen, the C.P., in an attempt to silence us, uses stronger means than slander or fist fights. (Pivert is referring to incidents at a joint C.P.-S.P. meeting which he attended.—Lambda.) Those who fight us in this way are discrediting themselves and sealing their own doom.

The Communist Party has addressed a letter to the Labor Party, virtually declaring itself ready to do anything if it is accepted into the Labor Party. But, of course, no one takes the C.P. seriously.

"The Flivver King"

A Review By D. S.

SIGNIFICANT of the unprecedented possibilities of mass education on a titanic scale latent in the C.I.O. unions is the fact that the United Auto Workers have ordered a special edition of Upton Sinclair's "Flivver King" for distribution to members—an edition of 200,000.

In "Flivver King," Upton Sinclair has, wisely, refrained from writing a volume of rank propaganda. Sinclair is not—never has been—a great writer or especially competent technically.

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People's Front and the Colonies

By CLARENCE JENKINS

RECENT developments in France's North-African colonies forecast coming events that will have tremendous influence on the future of the French working class and the international proletariat.

The mass resentment and unrest sweeping France's colonial empire exposes the imperialist character of the Popular Front government and the complete bankruptcy of the People's Front policy of the Communist International.

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

Betraying The Colonial Masses

Under the Popular Front regime, colonial conditions have become increasingly worse; the agitation for national liberation increasingly louder; and the oppressed nationalities have resorted to direct action to throw off the yoke of French imperialism.

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

The mind and body of Abner Shutt were Model T by-products. Abner was a contented serf in the Flivver King's suzerainty (starvation drove him to a moment of shame-faced revolt), joyfully accepting the omnipotence and benevolence of Ford, blaming all difficulties on the scheming Elders whose machinations the Dearborn Independent was exposing.

Many more good men are going to lie smashed in that yellow mud before the slogan "Organize Ford!" is changed into a mighty fact. To the Model T mind of Abner Shutt, to the minds of men like John and Hank Shutt, the blood of the martyrs calls in vain.

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The Road for The A.S.U.

(Concluded from last week)

THE main attack of the Y.C.L. however, has been centered on that section of the A.S.U. program which calls for the support of the Oxford Pledge:

"The A.S.U. accepts without reservation the Oxford Pledge 'to refuse to support any war conducted by the United States Government.' We will endeavor to win universal support of this pledge; we regard it not merely as a statement of conviction but as a powerful deterrent of government action; we believe that it will become the focal point for those hundreds of thousands of students who wish to join in exerting pressure for the maintenance of peace."

The sabotage of the Oxford Pledge by the Y.C.L. came into clear evidence at the City College of New York peace meeting of November 12th, 1937, where the Y.C.L. leadership of the A.S.U. fought against the Oxford Pledge, and refused to take it when administered. This betrayal of the A.S.U. program must be most vigorously fought and exposed.

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

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

The Student and International Solidarity

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

Democracy in the A.S.U.

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

Our Program

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

1. For cooperation with the or-

(Concluded on Page 4)

Portrait of America by Diego Rivera and Bertram D. Wolfe Publishers price \$3.75 BUT we are selling a limited number of copies at the special rate of \$1.50! AND if you take our special combination offer of this book with a year's subscription to WORKERS AGE ONLY \$2.00! You save \$2.75 from the list price in this combination! You get the WORKERS AGE at half-price in combination with our special offer on PORTRAIT OF AMERICA NEW WORKERS SCHOOL BOOKSHOP - 131 W. 33rd STREET, NEW YORK CITY

# French Colonial Policy

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

## Reaction In North Africa

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

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

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

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

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

"The political party which most sought the alliance with us, and on which many of us believed we could count, has become our bitter enemy and the accomplice of the government which has just dissolved us. . . . To prepare public opinion for the terrible blow which the government was getting ready to deliver to a Moslem workers organization. . . . the most stupid attacks were printed black on white in Humanite. . . .

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

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

"It is unheard of; many of us dare not believe their eyes. But each will be forced to give in to the facts. Each of us will find in it, too, a foretaste of the paradise awaiting us when you rule the roost.

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

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

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

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

## MURRAY'S REPORT TO SWOC STRESSES JOBLESS TASKS

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

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

The officers of your organization are cognizant of these facts and, recognizing the need of federal action being taken to protect the unemployed, have already suggested to agencies of the federal government constructive measures which might tend to offset unemployment at a very early date. . . . a program of public housing which might tend to restore employment at a very early date.

\* \* \*  
**W**E are projecting now a consideration of legislation which might be presented to the next session of Congress, contemplating an appropriation of nothing less than five billions of dollars that can be utilized for these constructive purposes (housing).

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

\* \* \*  
**I** DESIRE to ask from you your utmost cooperation during these deliberations. I want this country to know, despite the idle mouthings

## WOLFE'S PAMPHLET ON SPAIN READY

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

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

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

Order your copies immediately!

# New Deal Eats Crow

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

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

And then the Times points to Roosevelt's request for a cut in appropriations for federal road-building as an example of the "new line."

## What Will It Mean For Labor?

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

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

## SWOC Holds Convention

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

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

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

## CONTRIBUTE TO THE \$10,000 DRIVE

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

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

## WHICH WAY FOR STUDENT UNION?

(Continued from Page 3)

ganized labor movement on the economic front thru a student-labor coordinating committee!

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

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

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

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

6. For a democratic American Student Union!  
November 25, 1937.

Student Section  
of the  
Independent Communist Labor  
League

## MEMORANDUM for You & You & You

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## The New Deal And Big Business

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

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

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