Workers

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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Cabinet Out In France

Blum Tries To Form New Regime; Unrest Grows **Among Workers**

After several months of manuov ering against each other by the three main components of the People's Front, the Radical-Socialists, the socialists and the communists, the Chautemps cabinet fell on January 14, officially foundering on the question of exchange control, which the communists and sections of the socialists demanded and which Finance Minister Bonnet strenuously opposed. When the communist deputies refused to sign the statement of confidence in the government's financial policy, the crisis came to a head; the resignation of the nine socialist ministers signalized the collapse of the second People's Front cabinet and the rupture of the People's Front

For months previously, the Radical-Socialists, and Chautemps in particular, had striven to oust the communists from the government alliance and to reorganize it to the right so as to include the Flandin elements and even more conservative groups. The financial question provided an opportunity far from unwelcome to Chautemps. Behind the unexpectedly unyielding position of the communists is probably their strong dissatisfaction with the cabinet's foreign policy, especially its increasingly cool attitude towards the Soviet Union.

Within a few hours of the resignation of Chautemps, negotiations for the construction of a new cabinet began. First, Georges Bonnet, the reactionary ex-Finance Minister, and then Leon Blum, the socialist ex-Vice Premier, were entrusted by President Lebrun with this mission. Because of socialist opposition, the former failed in his efforts to form a right coalition excluding the communists; the latter is still engaged, at the time of writing, in trying to "reestablish on a broader basis" the People's Front regime of Radical-Socialists, socialists and communists. Dissolution of the Chamber and new elections are not altogether excluded as a possibility.

Meanwhile, unrest and discontent are spreading very widely among the French working masses, finding expression in a renewed strike wave and in growing hostility to the policy of compromise and surrender followed by the socialist and Front.

Police Threaten Harsh Picket Ban

A threat of increasing difficulties for labor unions in New York City in their conduct of strikes was indicated by Police Commissioner Valentine's instruction to officers of the Police Department on the restriction of picketing. While the right of peaceful picketing was not denied, police officers were warned that picket demonstrations and mass picketing must be prohibited. The officers were told to determine what constitutes mass picketing on the basis of the location and traffic conditions at the scene of the strike. These new restrictions will mean that effective picketing will be forbidden on busy streetsprecisely where pickets must ap- with labor votes.

PRES. DUBINSKY AND C.I.O.

an editorial statement

binsky at the special meeting of the I.L.G.W.U. executive boards in New York last week, raises a has the interests of the C.I.O. and the labor movement at heart.

Was Unity Possible?

It is our opinion that President Dubinsky is entirely too optimistic in his belief that there ever was any real possibility of sound unity emerging from the recent A. F. of L.-C.I.O. negotiations at Washington and that these prospects were blasted by the irreconcilable attitude of the C.I.O. leaders. From the welter of reports and counter-reports as to what actually developed at these conferences in the way of proposals and concessions, we are still unable to extract a consistent story but one thing seems perfectly clear from the very nature of the situation: However ready they may have been, for strategic reasons, to allow Green, Harrison and Woll to "negotiate," the real powers of the A. F. of L.—the craft-union chiefs

Wharton-never for a moment wavered in their determination to block any unity that did not mean number of vital questions of the the capitulation of the C.I.O. and greatest concern to every one who the destruction of the industrialunion movement. The signed editorial of Daniel Tobin, himself an Executive Council member, in the January issue of the Teamster, states categorically that the A. F. of L. negotiating committee did not have plenary powers, did not, in fact, have the "power to make any kind of agreement without reporting back to the Executive Council." The strategy of the craftunion leaders was plain enough almost from the very beginning Their whole effort was to reduce the issue from the broad question of industrial unionism to a series of involved jurisdictional disputes, each considered in isolation, and thus to break the common front of the C.I.O., so that each section could then be smashed separately. Negotiations would be dragged out interminably — any agreement reached would be ultimately voided at some essential point by the die-

THE address of President Du-| headed by Hutcheson, Frey and | hards in control of the Executive Council-and the C.I.O. would be left holding the bag, its ranks torn with speculation and confusion because of the uncertainty of the settlement. It seems to us. therefore, that the C.I.O. was fundamentally correct in insisting on a three-point minimum program as the basis of unity: industrial unionism for the mass-production and allied industries; free admission of all C.I.O. unions into the A. F. of L., with any conflicts to be adjusted thereafter; and some guarantee of security for the C.I.O. affiliates once inside the A. F. of L. from any reprisals or discrimination on the part of the craft-union officialdom.

The Tactice Of The C.I.O.

Such is our conviction based on our view of the essential situation. But, at the same time, we cannot ignore the fact that the tactics pursued by the C.I.O. in the course of the negotiations were little calculated to bring out the real strength of its case or to throw

(Continued on Page 4)

Dubinsky on Union 'Peace'

The criticizing the policy and strategy followed by the C.I.O. in its recent "peace" negotiations with the A. F. of L., David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, emphatically declared last week that his union would remain in the C.I.O. and continue to give its best support to the industrial-union movement. Mr. Dubinsky spoke at a special meeting of 1,200 members of the executive boards of the New York locals of the ladies garment union. The I.L.G.W.U., with over 250,000 members, is the third largest C.I.O. affiliate and is one of the most powerful and progressive unions in the country.

The burden of Mr. Dubinsky's criticism fell upon the conduct of the C.I.O. leadership in the "unity" negotiations at Washington some weeks ago. He insisted that the concessions the A. F. of L. was ready to make went a long way in communist parties in the People's meeting the vital demands of the C.I.O. and might have led to unity had the C.I.O. shown a greater readiness to come to terms. At the same time, Mr. Dubinsky emphasized that he had "never been for peace at any price" nor did he take such a position now. He referred again and again to the disastrous consequences of the division in labor's ranks, especially in this period of economic depression, and urged the speedy resumption of 'peace" negotiations as well as the cessation of mutual "raiding," sug-

> pear in larger numbers in order to be seen or make their appeal heard.

Coming on top of the Mayor's disregard of labor's protest against the promotion of the notorious anti-labor police officer, Lobell, these regulations point to a dangerous tendency in the policy of the city administration, elected

STALIN CULT SUPREME!

THE diplomatic correspondent of the London Daily Herald, Labor Party paper, reports that, at or immediately after the present session of the Soviet "parliament," Stalin intends to bestow upon himself the dignity or title of "Father of the Peoples" or "First Citizen of the Soviet Union."

Indeed, a worthy culmination of Stalinist "democracy"!

gesting that the C.I.O. confine itself to the organization of the unorganized and to expansion in the mass -production industries where it would have a clear field.

Quoting from a recent editorial in the Daily Worker, Mr. Dubinsky sharply denounced the unprincipled conduct of the Stalinites, who combine general phrases about "unity" with underhand intrigues calculated to intensify friction and promote dissension in the ranks of the C.I.O. and labor generally. He also pointed to the damage done to the C.I.O. by the Communist Party publicly parading as its authorized spokesman and representative.

"Altho we have not been consulted and have had no say as to its administration and policies," was Dubinsky's conclusion, "we will not withdraw from the C.I.O. because no good will be served the general labor movement by such action. The principle of industrial unionism would not gain in the least. Secondly, we will not withdraw because of our definite conviction that peace will have to come in the near future and we want to stay in the C.I.O. to make our contribution to achieve it.'

President Dubinsky's remarks were followed the next day by a the very closeness of the vote, debrief interchange of press state- spite tremendous White House ments between him and John L.

(Read the editorial statement on this page—The Editor.)

Big Vote for Ludlow Plan

The Ludlow resolution, providing for a national referendum to be taken before the declaration of a foreign war, was headed off by the administration in the House of Representatives last week after a hard battle and a very close vote. By this action, the House refused to release the war-referendum proposal from the Rules Committee, hoping to kill it there. Supporters of the measure declare, however, that the fight has only just begun and that, for the time being, the battle will be transferred to the Senate where a similar resolution was introduced some

time ago by Senator LaFollette. Representative Louis Ludlow ponsor of the measure, had desired to postpone action on the question for some weeks in order to obtain adequate time for preparation and to allow popular sentiment to register fully. Thru the manipulations of Congressional leaders. however, the matter was hurriedly brought up on January 10. Thereupon, a special communication from Bankhead, impassioned addresses by leading Democrats and Republicans and considerable behind-thescenes intrigue, were brought into play in order to swing the House and even then the vote was 209 to 188, so that a shift of only 11 would have changed the outcome. bitterness and fury of the attacks

on the Ludlow proposal, from Bankhead who charged that it was a "radical, revolutionary assault" upon the "American system" to the Daily Worker which branded it as 'fascist," shows how seriously the pro-war elements regard the referendum idea as an obstacle to their plans of driving the country along sin and the five Farmer-Laborites the road to war. On the other hand, pressure, indicates how powerful and widespread is the mass anti-Amendment. It is noteworthy that, the elections this year

FDR Consults Big Business

President Confers With **Industrial Magnates** On "New N.R.A.

Following a meeting with five outstanding industrialists, President Roosevelt last week invited 46 other big-business leaders to confer with him on January 19 for the purpose of developing a plan of "cooperation" between business and government. The five "economic royalists" with whom Roosevelt met in the preliminary session were Alfred F. Sloan of General Motors, the notorious Ernest T. Weir of the National Steel Corporation, Lewis H. Brown of Johns-Manville Corporation, M. W. Clement of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Colby M. Chester, board chairmain of the National Association of Manufacturers. Chester, Weir and Sloan were closely identified with the American Liberty League. Present were also Secretary of Commerce Roper and Donald Richberg, once head of the N.R.A.

Three days later, President Roosevelt met with another group, this time a mixed aggregation, consisting of business men, Owen D. Young, Thomas W. Lamont and Charles Taussig; labor leaders, John L. Lewis and Philip Murray; and "brain trusters," A. A. Berle and Rexford Tugwell.

It was unofficcially indicated that these conferences were the preliminary steps towards the drafting of some sort of post-N.R.A. device by which business would be enabled to engage in "self-regulation" and "self-policing" with government sanction and without regard to the anti-trust laws. Some such program was suggested in the President's message recently.

It is clear, as has been repeatedly emphasized in these columns, that for the last two years the administration has been moving in the direction of reestablishing the essential features of the N.R.A. piecemeal. The Wagner Act, passed shortly after the nullification of the recovery act by the Supreme Court, reconstitutes Section 7a in a new and stronger form. The wage-hour legislation now pending is intended to replace the minimum-wage and maximum-workweek features of the N.R.A. codes. And the plans for the "self-regulation" and "self-policing" of business, supplemented perhaps by some scheme of federal licensing of corporations, obviously correspond to the regulation of trade practises and production policies that formed such an essential feature of the N.R.A. code system.

while the demand to bring the measure out on the floor of the House came from Democrats and Republicans alike, the big leaders of both parties rallied behind the President in the intensive drive to prevent consideration of it. It was a vote cutting across party lines indeed, with the official spokesmen of both parties joining together to keep the road to war open and clear! The entire delegation of eight progressives from Wisconin the House, however, supported the proposed amendment.

After the vote, Representative Ludlow and his supporters declared that the fight for the warwar sentiment expressing itself as referendum proposal would be consupport of the LaFollette-Ludlow tinued in Congress as well as in WORKERS AGE

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WAR AND DEMOCRACY

THE furious campaign conducted by the war party of this country, headed by the Roosevelt administration and vociferously seconded by the Stalinites, against the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment is a significant foretaste of what is going to happen to our much-vaunted American democracy once the country gets involved in a war. What democratic rights, what civil and political liberties, will remain in the hectic days of war when already today a simple proposal to give the people the right to vote on whether to declare a foreign war is so frantically denounced by those in authority primarily because of its essential democracy? War is the continuation of politics and, precisely for that reason, the politics of the period of war preparation already moves in the dark shadow of the war to come.

Let us recall that, in the President's reply to Alf M. Landon's telegram some weeks ago, he expressly endorsed the latter's sharp reproof of those who dare to question the administration's policy on the field of foreign affairs. "Politics ends at the water's edge" has become the formula under which virtually any critical discussion of the course of the American government abroad, certainly any expression of opposition to the war-making diplomacy of the State Department, becomes "politics" and "obstruction" perilously close to "disloyalty." In this land of "democracy," foreign affairs seem to be the concern not of the people but of a small clique of administration leaders and State Department "career men" (read: burocrats), who, apparently, are alone capable of dealing with such "delicate" matters. Add the War and Navy Departments—and they are, of course, represented in the secret councils of the administration on questions of foreign policy-and you have the war-time setup with its "obey the law and keep your mouth shut!

The hysterical campaign against the LaFollette-Ludlow amendment has been conducted in the same spirit. It would "destroy" our "representative system," declares the President, and Chairman O'Connor of the House Rules Committee amplifies: it would be a move "towards pure democracy and away from representative government." Apparently "pure democracy" is an awful menace in the opinion of our fervent apostles of the next war to "make the world safe for democracy." It is quite all right for the people to vote on some new bond issue or tax levy but to let them decide the question of a foreign war-why that would "undermine the very foundations of our government"!

Democracy, it seems, is like religion, an article for export only. How often have we seen our highminded statesmen raise their hands aloft in virtuous indignation and exclaim: "If only the Japanese (or the Italian) people could speak out on the question of war. . . ." But how about letting the American people speak out on the question of war? That's something else again.

The LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment-we are told by the New York Times, which has already devoted five editorials to denouncing it-would permit the "expression of elements of national disunity" in a war crisis. In such a crisis, it would make it easier for the anti-war elements to speak up, to raise their voice against a course leading the country straight to disaster. That, of course, must not be permitted. Even before war breaks out, all opposition must be silenced and suppressed. Just imagine what's going to happen after war breaks out!

But we need not imagine—we know only too well. With war will come a military dictatorship far more ruthless and totalitarian than anything experienced in this country during the last war. With war will come the certain destruction of all civil rights, of all protective legislation, that labor may posses at the present time. Under cover of a war of "democracy against fascism," a regime will be established in this country virtually indistinguishable from fascism in its operations.

The struggle against the war-referendum proposal is part of the campaign to prepare the way for such a military dictatorship in war-time. By the same token, the movement for the LaFollette-Ludlow Amendment is, therefore, also a movement | may be.

French Left Socialists on S.P.-C.P. Unity

ion on "socialist-communist unity" introduced by the Revolutionary Left (Pivert) group at the November 24, 1937, session of the Administrative Council of the Socialist Party of France. The Council, it will be re- ing class. membered, decided unanimously to 'interrupt" the negotiations for organic unity with the Communist Party.—THE EDITOR.)

THE minority of the Socialist Party (Revolutionary Left endency) associates itself with the resolution intended for the Comnunist Party with the purpose of informing the latter exactly as to the unanimous state of mind of the socialist militants on the question of unity.

But we cannot ignore the fact hat such a document, just as the document of Dimitrov (attacking the French socialists—The Editor) annot be arbitrarily separated from the actual policy pursued by the two big proletarian parties.

It is the orientation of this actual policy, rather than the declarations of principle, that aggravate the difficulties within the proletarian movement, retard its organic unity and compromise the cause of ne socialist revolution.

That is why the minority beeves that it can serve this cause est by emphasizing the mistakes and deviations that the working class must liquidate if it wants to make an end of the capitalist reg-

Pretension to hegemony in the

Crushing of revolutionary min-

(We publish below the declara-, Compliance with the Church, militarism, bourgeois democracy and the National Front (Union sacree). Methods of bad faith, calumny and physical violence used in relations among members of the work

On the side of the Socialist Party (majority)—

Revisionist and ministerialist tactics, without regard to the necessities of the class struggle. Concessions to the establishe

Desire to restrict its efforts to the reform of bourgeois society.

Continued preference for compromise solutions altho historic circumstances demand the direct and systematic struggle of the masses

On both sides—

What the former reproaches the latter with ("social-democracy"), it practises itself. In Spain, the C.P. revives the capitalist regime and tries to crush the revolution-

What the latter reproaches the former with ("French front"), it practises itself-military credits and lukewarmness towards anti-

The same opportunism in fact, masked by theoretical declarations of fidelity to revolutionary Marxism: the same docility before social forces foreign to the proletariat (London, the Bank Lazard)—such are the faults of which the labor movement must rid itself by a de termined effort of reflection and self-criticism, by a resolute will.

In order to assist this process to the degree that its resources permit, the minority (Revolutionary Left) joins this declaration to the unanimous vote of the Administra tive Council.

Greetings from Prison!

(We publish below a letter from a People's Front has given rise, for nember of the I.C.L.L., now serving example, to the peculiar "interprison sentence for his activity pretation" of the role of the imin the labor movement, to the recent perialistic fleets in Chinese waters plenary session of the National Coun- and those instruments of plunder cil of the I.C.L.L.—THE EDITOR.)

THRU you, I send my greetings I to the members of the National Council now meeting in plenary session. I need not tell you how intensely I wish I could be there with you contributing my part, small and insignificant tho i may be. But that cannot be done so I just send you my greetings of

Never before was there a greater need, a more imperative necessity for a clearly defined working-class policy. The Communist Interna- to stay. All the wise doctors looktional, once the guiding star of ed very grave and predicted a slow, millions of toilers everywhere and lingering death. But we lived, and the inspiration and hope of mil lions of others, has, under the policy was a policy tried and tested leadership of Stalin and Stalin in the struggle; our conclusions sycophants, degenerated into a were conclusions arrived at after mere tool serving the needs of the having been carefully tested in the nation's foreign policy. Its various laboratory of true Marxism. Our sections, as a consequence, have sunk beyond any hope into the mire of the most unbelievable opportunism. The insane policy of the

for the extension of the democratic rights of the masses precisely where democracy counts most. Just because America's involvement in war would bring something very like fascism in its train, for that very reason, our struggle against war is necessarily also a struggle for the preservation of the democratic rights of the masses. Whoever takes his stand for war, as do the Stalinites and the Nation "liberals", takes his stand for fascism and against democracy as well, no matter what his intentions

now guarding the investments of Standard Oil have suddenly become -in the eyes of the Daily Worker

-"ships on a mission of mercy!" I repeat, never before was there greater need, a more imperative necessity for an organization with clearly defined working-class policy, with a real understanding of the need for sound policy and the ability of applying it.

Some years ago-a few short years ago-our group was but a tiny voice crying in the wiledrness. We were given but a short space influence in the various trade unions today is a living proof of the correctness of our policy, a vindication of our faith during the dark, struggling days gone by. And so, with communist greet-

ings, I remain, Fraternally yours,

BOSTON

WILL HERBERG will speak on "What Is Behind The Russian Executions" Sunday, February 6, 3:30 P.M 6 BYRON STREET BOSTON, MASS.

By Lambda

WORLD TODAY

FAI Congress in Paris; Spanish Minister Of Justice Is Removed

London, Dec. 27, 1937.

F.A.I. CONGRESS IN PARIS

THE Spanish anarchist organization, F.A.I. ▲ (Federacion Anarquista Iberica) recently held its convention in Paris. As a result of the terroristic activities of the Spanish government, a large number of Spanish anarchist emigrants are now in France. The overwhelming majority are opposed to the leaders of the anarchist movement in Spain. The mere fact that the convention is being held outside of Spain shows to what extent the policy of the anarchist leaders has led to the weakening of their forces in Spain.

The Communist Party of Spain has come out for new parliamentary elections. Its object is, among other things, to force the right wing socialists to bring about unification with the C.P. during the election campaign.

IRUIO REMOVED

TRUJO, Minister of Justice of Republican Spain, I right-wing Socialist, has resigned from his post. His place was taken by a Left Republican but he remains minister without portfolio. In all probability, he resigned because he objected to the travesties on justice perpetrated by the Stalinites. International protest against the Stalin terror is taking effect and must be continued even more vigorously.

THE END OF THE R.I.L.U.

THE agreement reached in Moscow between the A representatives of the Amsterdam Trade Union International and of the Soviet trade unions provides for the entrance of the Soviet trade unions into the Amsterdam International and spells the formal dissolution of the R.I.L.U., the Red International of Labor Unions. In actuality, the R.I.L.U. ceased to exist when the C.G.T.U. joined the C.G.T. in France. The entrance of the Soviet trade unions into the Amsterdam International was an inevitable consequence. At the negotiations, the R.I.L.U. itself was not represented.

What role will the Soviet trade unions play in the Amsterdam International

It is certain that they will not play a revolutionary role as long as the present regime of the Stalin burocracy continues. The Soviet trade unions are today 100% Stalinite organizations in which the mass of workers are deprived of any voice. As such, these unions will merely serve as the tool of Soviet foreign policy. Nor will matters be changed until the Stalin burocracy is overthrown and inner-union democracy is restored. It will be the task of genuinely revolutionary forces now affiliated with the Amsterdam International to try to influence the Soviet trade unions along the above lines. The entrance of the Soviet unions into the Amsterdam International signifies not only that the Soviet unions will influence the international trade union movement but that some reverse action may take place.

(According to a recent Associated Press dispatch from Paris, negotiations between the Soviet trade unions and the I.F.T.U. were suddenly broken off last week.—Ed.)

ITALY LEAVES THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

TTALY'S resignation from the League of Nations during Delbos's diplomatic tour was not the work of accident. Germany lent its weight to the act by officially stating that she would never return to the League of Nations. The Nazis are quite frank about their objectives. Italy's move was calculated to increase the bargaining power of Germany and Italy at the coming negotiations with England and France for which Delbos's tour was a preparatory step. Delbos's trip worked out to the advantage of the two fascist allies, inasmuch as it revealed how shaky French alliances have become in Central Europe.

Italy's resignation from the League of Nations and Germany's official declarations on the subject will serve further to disrupt the League and to accelerate the affiliation of the smaller nations to the "anti-League" coalition of Germany, Italy and Japan. The effect on Switzerland along these lines is quite discernible

On the other side, we have the Anglo-French alliance and the makings of an Anglo-American

Knitgoods Union Measures Up to Problems of Crisis

WORKERS AGE

separate locals and separate classi-

At present the Joint Council is

working out new demands to be

presented to the employers in our

and mobilizing the active elements

and general membership of our

The Internal Situation

union is much healthier now than

at any time before. It is true that

the policies pursued by the Com-

munist Party and its followers

iust as a mosquito annoys an ele-

(Continued on Page 4)

The internal situation in

(We publish below an article by existence in New York City, to win ment, one agreement and one con-Louis Nelson, manager of the Joint improvements in conditions for the trol, the activity of our union was mentally with the craft union leader- that general strike than at any ship rights to all the workers in ship of the A. F. of L.—THE EDITOR.) time before and the drive of our the knitting industry given to the

By LOUIS NELSON

THE present industrial situation in the knitting industry, which is part of the textile field, is the same as that of so many other industries thruout the country-very little work, thousands of tactics of 1936. Altho unemploy- from floor girl to main mechanic workers unemployed, new machinery coming in daily to add hundreds of workers to the list of

Fortunately, the last convention of the International Ladies Gar- both morally and organizationally, ment Workers Union decided to start an organization campaign in support of our International Union, the knitted outerwear centers, Immediately after this convention in May, the drive began with full force and many centers were organized. Prior to the convention the only organized knitgoods center was the New York market and the competition from non-union markets was such that, in 1936, the knitgoods manufacturers refused to negotiate with the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union for a renewal of their collective

Achievements Of The Union The Joint Council, however, man- local unions were under one lead-

aged, during the five years of its ership, one treasury, one manage-

By M. B.

tary dictator of the nominal Re- duals.

public of Santo Domingo, decided

to clean up his part of the island

of Haiti of "dogs, hogs and Hai-

tians." The scope of Trujillo's

announcement was not lost on his

alone, 1,900 Haitians, resident for

wounded and dying moving across

the border to Haiti and of hundreds

of dead lying in a single trench,

indicate that at least 12,000 vic-

Misery On The Island

vative estimate.

Council Knitgoods Workers Union of knitgoods workers. In the 1936 hampered to some extent. In De-New York. It will be evident to our general strike, despite the hard-cember 1937, an agreement was readers that we do not quite agree ships with which the union was finally signed between representawith the formulation on the question confronted at that time—unem-tives of the U.T.W.A. and the I.L. of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. unity in the ployment and financial difficulties G.W.U. whereby the two local last paragraph of this article. We be- the knitgoods workers succeeded unions in New York, as well as lieve that the responsibility for the in smashing the Metropolitan thruout the country, merged into original split and for the subsequent Knitted Outerwear Association. one union, with full jurisdiction and failure to achieve unity lies funda- The union emerged stronger from control and with complete member-

International Union in other knit- I.L.G.W.U. Dual jurisdiction in the goods markets was of great help knitting industry has been abolishto the knitgoods workers thruout ed and there will be no more the country.

Our present agreement expires fications. The Joint Council now is in July 1938, but we are confident practically the only industrial that the employers in our industry union in the needle trades, with one will not dare to repeat their local controlling an entire plant, ment in the industry today is so and machinist. This will make it great that only a very small per- much easier for the Council in its centage of the knitting mills are coming struggle with the employoperating, our union is better pre- ers for further improvements in pared now than at any time before, conditions. and, with the assurance of financial prepared to face the employers industry at the expiration of our

should they make any attempt to agreement. We are also preparing smash our union. When the knitgoods workers in New York started to organize their union for this purpose. union, there were already four unions in the field. The Joint Council succeeded in liquidating the other unions and brought about one union in the industry. However, even as late as December 1937 there were still two Internationals in the field, the United Textile Workers of America and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. While it is true that both

grown, bloody, unscrupulous butcher of the first rank. "We" no longer have troops on the island of Haiti; but "we" have With God and Trujillo! 30 million dollars there. Trujillo,

we take it, is expected to "stabilize" the labor problem. At the present moment, however, his ordinary long-range methods for sup-Negro agricultural workers have pressing revolutionary sentiment settled in the fertile, unoccupied are apparently inadequate. The ap-A FTER requiring more than a land on the Dominican border. Life is miserable enough with unemployproaching "elections," rumors of growing dissatisfaction, plots and censorship, news finally reached ment and the mercilessly high costpossible revolt, are turning Trujillo the U.S. concerning the atrocious of-living created by private monoto foreign difficulties as a safetymassacre of Haitians in Santo Do- polies of salt, meat, milk, shoes valve. Another reason for the latmingo last October. The most sober and tobacco. Trujillo regularly est expedition seems to be Trujilsifting of news reveals at least adds the appropriate condiment to lo's increasing intimacy with Nazi the following: On October 2, 1937, this monotonous dish with minor Germany. Hitler could use a convenient base of operations near the Panama Canal. And Trujillo has already completed plans for a land settlement of 40,000 Germans along the Haitian frontier. Many of the Haitians recently killed were squat-

and banditry; in his early twenties, troops. In the town of Santiago he already had a none-too-modest record for robbery, forgery and several decades, were rounded up cattle-rustling. But his vital nuand wiped out. In Monte Christi, triment was suckled at the poisonat least 50 were killed and thrown ous breasts of American imperial into the sea. Various eye-witness ism. On his release from jail in accounts of the truck-loads of 1918, Trujillo joined the National mingo. To expect anything but a remove the many obstacles to a week but no less than 40. Fol-Guard, love-child of our occupavice agent. Except for a short pe- gotiations with Germany are of a take care of all conditions above cisely those industries where wage tional Marines, as a secret-serriod during which he had to leave serious nature, our State Depart- the minimum, and the problems standards are the lowest and theretims would probably be a conser- the National Guard (he rejoined as ment knows how to substitute posed by the administration in Sec- fore where the need for wage-hour an ordinary recruit), Trujillo work- Realpolitik for humanitarian self- tion 5 will completely disappear. ed his way up by means of graft, righteousness. Trujillo, we submit, robbery and rape. When the Amer- has no more, if not less, pride than rect in opposing Section 5, if not with any of the above-mentioned The island of Haiti proper is ican Marines were withdrawn in Batista. And if our State Departdivided into the two nominal re- 1924, he swung into stride with the ment knew how to handle Batista, publics of Haiti and Santo Domin- good old double-cross. One after a few dollars more or less should publics of naiti and Santo Domin- good old double-closs. One after go. Haiti has one-half the area another, his superiors were swept not stand in the way of a friendly mit the government to set an ar- spies was also excluded. As the bill go. Halti has one-half the area another, his superiors were swept and more than twice the po- away until he became head of the —a "good neighbor," if you will! bitrary upper limit of \$1,200 a year staggered from committee to comand more than twice the po- away until he became head of the pulation of Santo Domingo. It is whole National Guard. He changed and Dominican democracy. Certain-universally poverty-stricken. Many the name to "National Army." In universally poverty-stricken. Many the name to invational Army. In last more with the ser- congress to the next, it lost more vice rendered," is an invitation to of its pro-labor features which in the Cuban sugar fields at har- business in Santo Domingo. With vest time. But now Batista is deporting them in hordes, further created and made efficient by the The vertical time. aggravating the unemployment U.S.A., he took over the govern- mingo has an electric sign on his this connection, to recall labor's ration of policy in the bill "to

General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, waves of terror and free-lance atronominal president and actual mili- cities against particular indivi-Trujillo Makes Good Trujillo was undoubtedly born with native gifts for gangsterism ters on lands which Trujillo in-

Another Whitewashing

and Mexico in mediating the dis-

aggravating the unemployment U.S.A., he took over the govern- house which reads: "God and Tru- complaint against this very condimaintain, so far as and as rapidly problem. In eastern Santo Domingo ment and made himself President. problem. In eastern Santo Domingo | ment and made minisen Freshdent, | ideas and as rapidly also, the large American sugar | Since that time, his early U.S. | jillo"—in red, white, and blue. We | tion under the N.R.A. as expressed | as is economically feasible, minisent reshdent | ideas | idea plantations import Haitian labor training and nourishment have during the harvest. Thousands of borne their deserved fruit: a full-

Beware of War-Makers!

"TF the administration mouthpieces in Congress become much more hysterical in their attacks on the Ludlow war-referendum proposal, they are going to . . . make thinking people wonder if they want leaders like that to decide whether this country is to go into a foreign war. . . . In fact, the popular force which has developed behind the war-referendum idea probably is not due to much knowledge of how it would operate but rather to a distrust of Washington, a fear that the administration is manouvering the country toward war or at least toward involvements which might lead to war. Mr. Roosevelt's Chicago speech alarmed many persons. Enough letters have come

into Washington to indicate that a considerable number of persons fear that the administration and Congress may be drifting down the same kind of course which led us into the European war. ... It (the Ludlow proposal) is significant because the strong popular support which it has received makes the whole incident in itself serve as a kind of crude referendum on war. A large number of persons, lacking some better method of expressing themselves, by endorsing the Ludlow proposal, have said in effect to Washington that, as conditions stand today, they don't see any need for the United States to go to war." - Raymond Clapper, New York World-Telegram, January 8, 1938.

What Kind Of Wage-Hour Bill?

By M. PETERS Concluded from last week)

ABOR'S aspirations, tho they run parallel with the aim of the administration a portion of the way, are nevertheless distinct. What labor wants in minimumwage legislation may be summarized as follows: a set of standards drawn up in such a way as to wages of the skilled groups to hinder our work to some extent, really protect the millions of underpaid workers, including, unlike of the unskilled." The experience even the original bill, workers in of the N.R.A. proved that, only the domestic service, agricultural where trade unions fixed the wages workers, transient workers, etc. Such a measure would furthermore, have to abolish the "Southern differential," Roosevelt's "wise statesmanship" notwithstanding. A measure which calls for standards modified according to "the cost of living" is only a justification for, and perpetuation of, the miserable conditions of life in the South. And finally, a standard of wages based consider a minimum annual wage,

> for a single hour, which frequently A bill with such provisions Wagner Act be properly enforced | S101

"Minimum wages fixed in the codes were to apply only to the least skilled workers in the industry, to those performing common labor. It has been clear from the beginning that, without some protection extended to the skilled workers, the tendency on the part of employers would be to make the minimum wage the maximum and to reduce compensate for increases in wages of the workers by collective bargaining, was the tendency toward leveling downward of wages coun-

The Bill As "Modified" Whatever the faults of the orig-

inal bill may have been, and we have shown that they were many it nevertheless contained some measures of benefit to labor. But upon minimum requirements for after the months it has spent in health and decency would have to the two houses of Congress and the committees, the bill has a totally different aspect. The first change and not limit itself to a minimum that took place at the end of the bears no relation to real income. last regular session of Congress, was a remarkable transformation would be of benefit not only to the of minimum standards into maxilowest-paid workers but to the la- mum! In the original bill, the bor movement as a whole, since it Board could set hourly standards would remove the pressure of low upward of 40c an hour but not bewages upon union standards and low it. As the bill was revised in permit the raising of all wages. In the Senate, the Board was perother words, labor's alternative to mitted to set hourly wage stan-Section 5 must be: Let the govern- dards anywhere up to 40c an hour ment set adequate minimum stan- but not above it! Likewise. the tended to give the German settlers. | ment set adequate minimum stan-dards of wages and hours; let the | work-week in the original bill government provide adequate re- could be set by the Board at any lief for the unemployed and raise limit with a maximum of 40 hours The U.S. has agreed to join Cuba the social-security benefits; let the in any one week. The Senate reviwhitewashing is, in our opinion, unionism that still exist; and then lowing this, scores of amendments unmitigated optimism. If the ne- the unions will be able to properly were introduced, exempting prelegislation is the greatest. Section John L. Lewis was thus cor- 5 was, of course, excluded but not entirely clear in his line of argu- provisions that would be needed to ment. Labor can yield to no one its replace it. The prohibition of the right to set "fair" wages. To per- use of strikebreakers and labor wages of the skilled and better- a positive menace to labor. In this The vice-president of Santo Do- paid workers. It is worth while, in class must be considered the decla-

Auto Union Adopts Anti **War Resolution**

unanimously adopted by the International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union at its session at Detroit on January 13. —THE EDITOR.)

WHEREAS, an attempt is now being made by the organized press of the country to involve the American people in a conflict with Japan merely for the purpose of protecting the vested interests of a few large-scale American corporations in China, such as the Standard Oil Companies, and for the protection of such interests, American Magines and soldiers have been dispatched to China to remain in the war area; and

WHEREAS, labor is most vitally interested in any policy of this country which may involve the people of this country in a war with another nation, because of the fact that in a war labor does most of the dying; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this Executive Board does hereby give its wholehearted endorsement to the constitutional amendment as it was originally introduced by Senator LaFollette and Representative Ludlow in Congress requiring a national referendum on the question of whether this country should engage in any war other than one of defense against invasion of this country; and be it

RESOLVED, that the President of the United States immediately issue a warning to all American citizens and their families in the war area that an opportunity will be afforded to them to be removed from such war area and that, unless they afford themselves of such opportunity, no further protection will be given them by the American government and that, after having given full opportunity to all such American citizens and their families to be removed from such war area, the President withdraw all of the armed forces of the United States from China; and be it further

RESOLVED, that it is the expression of this Executive Board that the foreign policy of the United States shall not be form-

Wages-and-Hours Needed by Labor

(Continued from Page 3)

standards, at levels consistent with health, efficiency and general well-being of workers and the maximum productivity and profitable opera-tion of American business." Not pitifully low standards of the bill forcement of even these standards should it be shown that they would cut into profits.

This provision, together with others of the same kind forbidding enforcement of the minimums where they "curtail opportunities for employment" or "curtail earning powers"-and together with the amendments added in the House requiring each order to be made as near as possible to the premises of the employer and delaying enforcement until after a waiting period of ninety days—all go to make of the bill at its present stage almost as much of a danger as an asset to labor.

The Machinery Of Administration

Not only has the character of the Black-Connery bill been amended beyond recognition but its machinery of administration has been months. The administrative machi- campaign for it.

was | ulated or made dependent upon the protection of the vested or property interests in foreign countries of the large corporations in this country but rather that such foreign policy should express the whole-hearted desire of the Amerpeople for international ican peace, and be it further

RESOLVED, that, consistent with this position, we oppose the militaristic and war-like aims of the fascist countries and their aggressor policies against other nations and propose the strengthening of the popular boycott of Japanese goods and support direct aid to China; and be it further

RESOLVED, that this Executive Board is opposed to any attempt to mask military expenditures for weapons of aggression under the guise of bringing a return of prosperity to this country. We believe the needs of the working people in this country require expenditures by the government for low-cost hailed "with ringing acclaim" only housing and relief expenditures for the unemployed. Armament, if any is necessary, should only be on the basis of protection against invasion and not to protect profits of United States big-business interests ab-

THE DEPTH OF **DEGRADATION**

TN a leaflet recently issued by the Communist Party, full of frantic but impotent abuse against the "Lovestoneites," we find the following:

"In the auto workers union, Lovestoneites have caused unauthorized strikes. Witness the Lansing, Michigan, general strike, playing directly into the hands of the reactionaries."

On June 9, 1937, the Daily Worker, official organ of the same Communist Party, declared in an enthusiastic editorial:

WORKERS "LANSING'S BLAZE THE TRAIL.—From every town in America, there comes this riging acclaim today: 'Three cheers for the workers of Lansing,! The 25,000 C.I.O. members in Michigan's capital showed conclusively what the workers can do when they move together, as one man. The one-day 'labor holiday' . . . achieved results."

What words are there to describe the degradation of creatures capable of turning what they themselves yesterday, a one-day "labor holiday" that was authorized by the union, into an "unauthorized general strike, playing directly into the hands of the reactionaries"and all for the sake of some filthy factional end!

Knitgoods Union Meets **Problems of Crisis**

(Continued from Page 3)

phant-it is annoying but there is no danger. Their policy, of trying eliminate from the union active members who differ with them politically, has met with much opposition on the part of our union membership. The result is that these people are becoming an isolated little group, just as they were when they maintained their dual unions. They are operating today as fractions of the Communist Party, issuing leaflets and literature from the Communist Party to the members of our union as well as of other unions. The workers are very resentful of outside political parties attempting to solve their inner-union problems in such a manner. Altho the Joint Council Knitgoods Workers Union tolerates all political views and opinions, the Communist Party leadership is mistaken if it thinks that it will make any headway by attacking the leadership and active members o fa union by calling them "fascists" and "enemies of the working class" without proof of reasons.

Recently, the Communist Party members adopted the policy of boycotting all union activities, such

as picket lines, etc. The only thing they will do is come to membership meetings and make noise. The membership of our union, however, knows who they are. Previously, they paraded under the name of so-called "non-partisan" groups. Today, they act officially under the C.P., so that it is much easier for our members to realize from where all their disruptive activities

The Joint Council has succeeded in mobilizing the best elements among the knitgoods workerselements who defended the union against these people when they had their dual union three years ago and who will also defend their union from its enemies outside and from those who attempt to weaken it from within.

Today, the knitgoods union is firmly established and is known as a progressive trade union, participating in all activities of the working class, nationally and internationally.

The Educational Department of our Union is functioning well and has established classes in which a great number of our members participate. New recruits in the labor movement are being educated to know what a labor union is and what it should be.

Toward Labor Unity

The economic crisis thruout the country and the present split within the labor movement weaken labor. The knitgoods workers paid a price for this internal strife, especially in Cleveland, for many years one of the most outstanding openshop centers in the knitted outerwear line. In Cleveland, we had to fight on the picket lines against members of the A. F. of L., instead of against the employers and scabs. Due to that internal split, the Cleveland situation did not materialize as it would have had unity been maintained in the ranks of

We are convinced, however, that unity will be established within the American labor movement despite the opinions of the leadership of both organizations, the C. I.O. and the A. F. of L. The pressure and needs of the lower ranks will force them to establish unity and, when this is done, not only the knitgoods workers but the general labor movement thruout the the country will be the gainer.

possibility of effective control and direction; they will be overcome with the stabilization and consolidation of the movement that is now beginning.

In and thru the C.I.O., the American labor movement has risen to a new, higher level of workingclass organization and unity from which there can now be no rethreat. When sound unity is achieved—as it must and will be. sooner or later-it will be achieved on the basis already firmly laid down by the C.I.O.!

PRES. DUBINSKY AND C.I.O.

(Continued from Page 1)

the responsibility for disunity where it really belongs, on the shoulders of the craft-union diehards dominating the Federation. Indeed, it has been our opinion for some time that the C.I.O. has not given enough thought to developing a really long-range policy on the "unity" question; nor has it, it seems to us, made enough effort to unite its own ranks on such a policy. On this, as on other ques-

nery outlined in the original bill was similar to the enforcement procedure of the Wagner Act. The Labor Standards Board was to issue orders and regulations which were to be enforced thru the courts. The Board was to be "quasi-legislative," like the National Labor Relations Board. According to the latest revisions made in the House during the special session of Congress, all this is done away with by entrusting the whole job of administration to a single official in the Department of Labor. This step was taken under pressure from certain A. F. of L. leaders who are only does this sentence declare the at heart against minimum-wage legislation and have been trying to to be consistent with health and block such legislation for some in this particular case, they see well-being of the workers, but it time. It is not merely the con-I great advantage to themselves in permits any court to refuse en-forcement of even these standards of such an enormous problem which I.L.G.W.U. and the C.I.O. To them, of such an enormous problem which would in itself condemn the idea of leaving it to the Department of Labor. Effective administration obviously requires that those who violate the labor law should be prosecuted by those friendly to labor. Leaving it to the Department of Labor places prosecution in the hands of the Department of Justice, which has never been noted for its pro-labor sympathies.

The bill that is waiting in committee is today so confused, so complicated, so contradictory and in parts, of such dangerous implications for labor, that no good will come of it even if it should ever be reported out and passed by Congress. For labor, the problem remains one of working out a new bill—a simple, direct and effective program as outlined above-and of completely changed in the last few carrying on a vigorous and united

tions, there has been too much | the C.I.O. It is playing right into drifting in the sea of events, too much insufficiently considered action in a crisis, too little deliberation and consultation, too little regard for appearances and public opinion. . . . Insofar as President Dubinsky's remarks were directed against such shortcomings in the C.I.O., we feel that his criticism was quite in place.

Stalinites In The C.I.O.

Especially timely was Mr. Dubinsky's denunciation of the sinister role played by the Stalinites in the C.I.O. Within the last few weeks, it has become apparent that the Communist Party is engaged in an elaborate intrigue in the C.I.O., trying to foment dissension and, if possible, to provoke a split. Suddenly, out of the clear sky, after years of servile fawning, it has turned its fire upon Dubinsky and I.L.G.W.U.—an editorial in the Daily Worker, a cartoon in the Freiheit, the mobilization of "its' unions and, most contemptible of all, poisonous slanders "unofficially" spread thru every channel at spread thru every channel at its command. The Stalinites thrive on chaos and dissension generally: the interests of the C.I.O. and of the labor movement mean nothing; their own narrow factional interests are supreme.

As we have indicated above, we do not see entirely eye to eye with President Dubinsky on how tradeunion unity may best be achieved. Such differences are quite legitimate and should be cleared up by discussion conducted in a constructive and fraternal manner. But it is nothing short of a crime against the C.I.O. to question Mr. Dubinsky's loyalty to the movement, to attempt to launch a heresy-hunting drive against him and the I.L.G.W. U., or to carry on a whispering campaign for the purpose of stirring up dissension and setting off one section of the movement against another. It is playing right into the hands of the A. F. of L.

the hands of the open-shoppers, all of whose efforts are also aimed at undermining the unity and fighting power of the C.I.O.

For United Action

It is hardly necessary to say that we agree entirely with the warning given by President Dubinsky as to the disastrous consequences of an unbridled civil war in the ranks of labor, bringing with it inter-union boycotts (some craft unions are at it already!) as well as mutual "raiding" and strikes. Perhaps most serious is the alienation of friendly public opinion that is likely to occur and the encouragement of the campaign for regulatory legislation now beginning to get under way, with implied administration support, under the pretext of protecting the "public interest" from the damage done by "jurisdictional" conflicts. The C.I.O. should certainly take the initiative in trying to reduce to a minimum the scope and intensity of interunion struggle. Some months ago, John L. Lewis made a strong plea for cooperation of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions on the economic field; this plea is even more pertinent and vital today. Now is the time for the C.I.O. to come forward again as the champion of united action in the ranks of labor.

The development of the C.I.O. in the last two years has undoubtedly been accompanied by a considerable number of shortcomings and deficiencies in policy and leadership, among them many of the points referred to by President Dubinsky. But these negative features must be seen and estimated on the background of the great historical mission and the unparalleled achievements of the C.I.O. The C.I.O. came into being because it was fundamentally necessary for the further progress of American labor. In the short period of its existence, it has already become the main stream of the labor movement of this country, embracing millions of workers in the basic industries of the United States. The shortcomings that have made their appearance are, obviously, the officialdom, all of whose manouvers result of the phenomenally rapid are also directed towards splitting growth of the C.I.O., beyond the

CIVIL WAR IN **SPAIN**

a pamphlet by Bertram D. Wolfe

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