

# IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

## How Daladier Was Really Welcomed in North Africa

Truth travels slowly indeed. When Premier Daladier recently toured French North Africa in a national demonstration against Fascist Italy's colonial designs, the press was full of accounts of the enthusiasm of the natives. Everywhere, every day of the tour, thousands of indigenous Tunisians and Algerians, it seems, manifested their loyalty to French "democracy." To the initiated, this was very strange news. Why should the colonial slaves pay such vibrant homage to their imperialist overseers?

Only now, a month after the event, the real state of affairs is brought to light, on the basis of reports carried in the local Tunisian press. Everywhere, in Tunis, in Bizerte, in Bardo, in Bab El Khadra, the natives demonstrated under the banner of their nationalist organization, the "Destour." Daladier was greeted everywhere with cries of "Long live the Destour," "Down with the privileges," "We demand a Tunisian Parliament." In other words, the demonstrations were really for national independence . . . and not for French "democracy."

The balance sheet: Two "Destourians" arrested at Tunis and sentenced to five years of exile. Mass arrests at Bab El Khadra with blanket sentences of one month and fifteen days for women and two months for men. Nine arrested at Bardo with similar penalties. And so on down the line. . . . Demonstrations for French "democracy"? Pure mockery.

Naturally the Stalinists go along the whole hog "for the safety of the empire." An indication of the success of their agitation for French imperialism may be gleaned from a recent election result in Algeria. In the vote for Municipal Councillor of Algiers, the candidate of the revolutionary Party of the Algerian People, Boumandje, received 2,074 votes against 659 for the secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, Boukhort, who was running against him.

## Sir Stafford Cripps Out on A Limb with his Popular Front

Sir Stafford Cripps, member of Parliament and of the Labour Party Executive, has been expelled from the British Labour Party for issuing a memorandum to local branches, over the head of the leadership, calling for a Popular Front policy "in order to oust the National [Chamberlain] Government."

Always considered a left-winger, the previous attacks of the reactionary Executive had raised a large following for him among the rank and file. His adoption of the Stalinist People's Front propaganda as part of his policy has reversed this relationship entirely in favor of the Labour party leadership. They now quote Cripps against Cripps and with especial effectiveness. What can

this latest convert to the People's Front reply to a quotation of his, which is constantly held up to him, such as this, in 1934:

"There must be no compromise over socialism, no coalition or arrangement with others who were not socialists. That way lay suicide." Or this, in 1935:

"The National Government had done quite well for a capitalist government. . . . There is really very little case at all for an alternative government within the capitalist system. I don't think we should fix our eyes on the ex-Liberals and the middle class people, but that we should fix our eyes on the working class."

His present position can only gain him the allegiance of the British Communist party, which has never amounted to anything and is now in even greater decline. Before the broad rank and file of the Labour party he appears, in view of his previous stand, as a ridiculous mountebank. Sir Stafford is out on a limb and so is his Popular Front.

However, as the reaction of British labor to the National Register (see the Socialist Appeal, Feb. 10) shows, the Labour Party Executive is not at all rid of healthy opposition to its reactionary policies, despite its advantage in combating Sir Stafford's somersaults. Quite the contrary.

In addition to the Trades Councils listed last week as opposing the conscription plan of the Chamberlain government and its Labour agents, the following, in more important cities, have joined forces with them: The Trades Councils of Bristol, Derby, Brighton, Chichester, Kent, Dartford, Slough and Dundee, aside from numerous local unions and the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants. A revolutionary group in the Labour Party can do tremendous work now as a leaven in the ferment.

## Glad Tidings: New Party of Fourth International Formed in Denmark

At the September Conference of the Fourth International, held in Geneva, Switzerland, there appeared among other representatives, those of the "Leninistisk Arbejdsgruppe," a group of Danish revolutionists who had recently broken with Stalinism.

Equipped with the program of action adopted there, the Danish comrades returned to their homes to expand their activities in Copenhagen and in the provinces. The result of this expansion of activity has culminated in the formation of the Internationalt Kommunistisk Parti (Internationalist Communist Party), Danish Section of the Fourth International. Our heartfelt greetings and pledges of the warmest solidarity to the new Danish section of the World Party of Socialist Revolution!

# On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

There are many workers today who believe that industrial unions were conceived by John L. Lewis and first organized by the C.I.O. This is far from the truth, however, and it would be well for workers who are concerned with organizing the unorganized or attempting to preserve the great gains made in the recent wave of the industrial union movement, to look back upon the early struggles of the labor movement for advice and inspiration.

The Knights of Labor in the early Eighties, was an industrial organization. It included all workers regardless of trade or skill. It carried on national campaigns to better the working conditions and to shorten the hours of the American working class. Despite the many faults of the Knights of Labor, it will always be remembered as the first national labor organization.

## The Knights Failed to Fight for Better Conditions

The eventual decline of the Knights as a force in the labor movement was due largely to its failure to conduct a serious fight for increased wages and shorter hours in the shop. It was far too concerned with improving the soul. The leadership of the Knights became involved in such schemes as co-operative gold mines, stores and farms. Powderly, the guiding spirit of the Knights, carried on a campaign for the eight-hour day but when the workers of Chicago went on strike to gain their demands, and when the Haymarket bomb was thrown by a provocateur, he abandoned the fight and deserted the cause of labor. The Knights gave way to the American Federation of Labor.

The A.F. of L. was a craft organization then as it is now, but many attempts to break up the crafts and form industrial or horizontal unions were made. In 1901 Daniel De Leon, a leading socialist of his time, split the labor movement and the Socialist Party on the issue of industrial organization and a revolutionary program could the workers achieve substantial gains. And he was, we will agree, correct. But his mistake, and the mistake of all the later attempts to split the labor movement, lay in the manner in which he proceeded.

## Masses Ignored De Leon's "Dual" Union

The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance organized by De Leon became a dual movement to the already established American Federation of Labor. The mass of workers stayed with the A. F. of L. and the S.T.L.A. was short-lived. The withdrawal of hundreds of able, experienced organizers and leaders from the A. F. of L. had its effect on the movement and the sharp fight between the A. F. of L. and the De Leon unions caused great disaffection in the ranks of labor. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance became known as a "dual" union. It carried on a fierce war against the A. F. of L. and it died within a few years.

The Industrial Workers of the World—the "Wobblies"—also an industrial organization, was formed in 1905. The hide-bound conservatism and the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. sent thousands of militant workers into the ranks of the I.W.W. For ten years the I.W.W. was a force to be reckoned with. It carried on hundreds of strikes and at one time claimed 100,000 dues-paying members. The I.W.W., although it made many mistakes will always be remembered by militants everywhere, as the most colorful and inspiring organization of

workers in American labor history. Its strikes and free speech fights were many times actual battles with the bosses as a class and with revolutionary aims as the immediate demands.

The I.W.W. too, however, could not stand up against the bosses on the one hand and the majority of workers who were not yet ready for the social revolution. It declined as a result of its failure to hold gains made in the struggle and the many internal factional fights which were but a reflection of the objective conditions in America. The I.W.W. today is but a shadow of a shadow of its former self.

## Bureaucracy and Stupidity Bore the T.U.U.L.

The fight for industrial organization went on. One of the most recent steps in its development was the Trade Union Unity League—the brain-child of the Stalinists. This sectarian set-up was the cause of some of the bitterest factional struggles ever recorded in labor history. The T.U.U.L. was an industrial organization and it was "revolutionary" but in no way did it represent, for instance, the tradition of the I.W.W. or any preceding split with the A. F. of L. The T.U.U.L. was the result of stupidity and bureaucratic misunderstanding.

It divided the workers, particularly in New York and Chicago, into two armed camps and the only gains made throughout the history of the T.U.U.L. were made by the bosses. It was a pure and simple Stalinist-controlled movement from beginning to end and the workers stayed away from it in immense numbers. The factional strife which ensued caused the death of several workers and only played into the hands of the red-baiting officials of the A. F. of L. After a few years of unsuccessful attempts to win influence and members the T.U.U.L. dissolved and its members went back to the A. F. of L.

## Industrial Unionism Is Basis for CIO-AFL Unity

What, then, is the difference between the C.I.O. and all other attempts to organize industrial unions? Why did the C.I.O. succeed in building a movement of millions of workers? Why has the C.I.O. made great gains where all other splits failed to win even a foothold?

The difference lies in the manner in which the fight against craft unionism and its leaders was conducted, and, what is more important, the C.I.O. was formed when the industry of America was predominantly a mass-production industry. Industrial unionism was not the result of John L. Lewis's decision to embark on a personal campaign against William Green and Matthew Woll. It was much more than that. It was the result of the obvious inability of the old craft unions to cope with the rapid growth of mass-production industries in America.

Lewis merely took advantage of the growing discontent of millions of workers. And further, the fight to establish industrial unions was carried on within the already organized labor movement. There was no split until every worker in the country was fully aware of all the issues and ready to take up the fight.

The C.I.O. did not break away from the A. F. of L. until it became large and powerful. And the question of unity between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. will be settled on the basis of industrial unionism—not on the mere dissolution of the C.I.O. as was the case in the other, futile attempts of the past.

# Britain, Playing Arabs Off Against Jews, Opens London Parley on Palestine Issue

Punctuated by seven death sentences against Arabs by a British court-martial at Haifa and a threat of punitive action against Arab strikers by the military commander of the Jerusalem district, the Palestine conference opened in London last week.

The seven Arabs were sentenced to die for the "crime" of resisting British troops with arms in hand. Arab shopkeepers were notified that future protest strikes would be punished by forcing their shops to remain closed for as long an additional period as the strike lasts.

Coercion and Cajolery These are not the only facts indicating how inequitable the "parley" at London is. The Mufti, undoubtedly the most authoritative Arab leader today, was not allowed to come to London. A number of his spokesmen came to London directly from the British jail in the Seychelles Islands.

Continuing to use the maximum coercion possible to force the Arabs to remain under British rule, the imperialist statesmen supplement the mailed fist with cajolery and horse-trading.

That the Arab leaders, all great landowners and capitalists, are perfectly susceptible to British bribery of one kind or another is an obvious fact. The problem confronting the British, however, goes much deeper. The present venal Arab leadership is infinitely preferred by British imperialism to a leadership that would honestly express the aspirations of the Arab masses for land and freedom.

The British must find some way, therefore, to reinforce the present Arab leadership by giving it some concessions which will enable it to regain the confidence of the masses.

Division of Spoils What concessions? Certainly nothing which will substantially reduce British domination of Palestine and the neighboring Arab states. Nor do the present Arab leaders desire an end to British domination; they prefer to continue the partnership of Arab landlords and capitalists with the British against their common victim: the Arab peasants and workers.

They want only a better division of the profits of the partnership, and this England, even if reluctantly, can give them. Through the continuation of this partnership, Britain hopes to have at its disposal in the coming war the services of 16 million Arabs, not to speak of the good-

## HAINAN SEIZURE GIVES JAPANESE STRATEGIC BASE

(Continued from Page 1) natures on its various pacts and assurances and occupied the island. French and British "protests" were brushed contemptuously aside.

Step Towards Indies For the Japanese imperialists Hainan is not only a supremely useful base for operations against the British, French, and Americans, but is also a stepping stone southward toward the rich oil fields of the Dutch East Indies which are definitely included within Japan's program of conquest. Thus the occupation of Hainan, coming at a time when the other powers are in no position to resist it, is in reality a preparatory event of the first magnitude in advance of the coming war.

This thrust comes at a time when the Japanese face mounting problems at home and on Chinese battlefields. The Diet is in the process of passing an all-time record budget of 3,894,000,000 yen, with a special military budget of about 6,000,000,000 yen still to come, making a total equivalent to the entire Japanese national debt as it stood 20 months ago.

In China the forces of occupation are trying vainly to cope with widespread guerrilla attacks throughout the "conquered" areas. The so-called "mopping-up" operations continue to call forth the utmost effort of the Japanese forces along the railways and on the outskirts of all the largest cities, including Shanghai and Canton.

Troops To Siberian Border Simultaneously, with an eye cocked on the developments in Europe, the Japanese still hope to extricate themselves from their predicament by striking at the U.S.S.R. The New York Times correspondent reported last week wholesale troop withdrawals from China for the Siberian frontier.

Although these have not been confirmed, it is definitely known that the government in Tokyo has been gradually concentrating at the capital all the ranking army and navy specialists in Russian affairs, has moved warships to the Rashin base, on the Korean coast near the Soviet Siberian frontier,

will of the rest of the Arab-speaking and Moslem world.

Jews are Pawns The 400,000 Jews living in Palestine, surrounded by a hostile Arab world, under their present Zionist leadership are nothing but pawns in England's maneuvers with the Arabs. The "Jewish national home," based on the League of Nations "mandate" for English rule of Palestine, serves England as a pretext for maintaining its iron rule of the Arabs in Palestine.

Subservient to this pretext, the Zionist leaders reject all roads to collaboration with the Arab masses against Britain, and seek instead to demonstrate their usefulness to imperial Britain.

Ben-Gurion, the Zionist head of the Jewish Federation of Labor, has put it crudely enough: The Jew who does not collaborate with the mandate power is a traitor to Zionism, he has said.

The very subservience of the Zionist leadership enables the British rulers to drag them deeper and deeper into the service of Britain.

MacDonald's Sneer Under-Secretary of State for Colonies Malcolm MacDonald demonstrated this on Feb. 9 when he contemptuously asked the Zionist delegation in London whether they expected Britain to continue to maintain the Jewish national home in Palestine at the point of a bayonet.

You Zionists are anxious to

serve us? Then understand that we need the collaboration of the Arab world more than we need you—this is what MacDonald is saying. And the Zionists, trapped in their false position, have no way of answering. The horrible truth is, that, having put their trust in Britain and turned their backs on unity of Jewish and Arab workers and farmers, they are dependent upon British bayonets.

The present conference is not really a conference. The Arabs will not meet with the Jewish delegation, and vice-versa. The British imperialists remain on top, "impartial" arbiters in a game in which all the rules are made by the victor.



Chaim Weizman



Malcolm MacDonald



David Ben Gurion

## Negrin Asks Franco for "Safe" Peace to End War

(Continued from Page 1) granted by Franco, means nothing to the masses. Are the workers of Italy and Germany less oppressed by fascism because those countries are independent?

This proposal reveals in the crudest fashion that Negrin is merely the puppet of the Anglo-French imperialists who don't care how bestial Spanish fascism is so long as it remains their sphere of influence and not that of the Italo-German bloc.

How much of a puppet of Anglo-French imperialism Negrin is was revealed clearly by the Minorca incident. In return for Franco's occupation of the island fortress with purely Spanish troops, thereby forestalling Italy's getting a grip on the island through occupation by Italian "volunteers," Britain urged the Loyalist government to surrender the island without a fight.

The Minorca Loyalist authorities did so, undoubtedly with the agreement of Negrin. For if it was against the will of Negrin, why did he not denounce the surrender as a betrayal?

How Minorca Fell Seeking to cover up this piece of treachery, the Stalinist Daily Worker had the effrontery to report that the British cruiser Devonshire "pointed its guns at Minorca" and the surrender followed. The faithful were thereupon to understand that Minorca fell, not because of treachery, but because of British guns! The Stalinists treat their following as if they were idiots, but no amount of blind faith can conceal from these misguided workers the ever-more clearly etched treachery of the People's Front.

While Negrin and del Vayo in Madrid did what they could to woo Franco for the Anglo-French bloc, the "great democracies" were wooing Franco on their own. British and French representatives were in the fascist capital,

confering with Franco's lieutenants, seeking to exchange generous loans for guarantees of curtailment of Italo-German influence in Spain.

That the Anglo-French moves were making headway was indicated by the bitter vituperation with which the Italian press commented on the successful British maneuver at Minorca.

Britain's Intentions Chamberlain bluntly made clear to the House of Commons on Monday that at the first opportunity he was prepared to recognize Franco's government as the ruler of Spain. Pressed by whining Laborites as to whether Commons would be consulted "before any such fundamental change in policy is taken," the Prime Minister declared that Commons would not be consulted. "The Government must take the responsibility."

Friction between the Anglo-French and Italo-German blocs has intensified during this wooing of Franco. The real course of the Stalinists and Socialists in France is indicated by the fact that they voted unanimously for Daladier's law renewing the two-year military service requirements. In the honeymoon days of the Popular Front, the Stalinists justified votes for military laws on the ground that the government which would carry them out was progressive. Now even this pretense is dropped!

Service to their own bourgeoisie by the reformist Socialists, service by the Stalinists to the same bourgeoisie in the hope that England and France will yet be found on the same side as Stalin in the coming war—these are the primary motivations of the Second and Third International. That course has now led them to covering up Negrin's traces as he seeks to make a horse-trade with Franco on behalf of Anglo-French imperialism.

and has concentrated heavy garrisons along the Manchukuo border.

All these moves suggest a plan for a military and naval demonstration this Spring in connection with the anticipated showdown over the fisheries dispute—the

Japanese claim to fishing rights in Siberian waters.

In other words, Japan is preparing itself on all fronts for the extension of imperialist conflict into a general war. That's what the occupation of Hainan essentially means.

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# LEFT JABS

Sprinting into "Communism" The N. Y. Times reports that Moscow streets are usually teeming but since the new labor laws on tardiness went into effect workers fairly sprint along in the morning hours. At the same time Premier Molotov announces: "We are now passing from Socialism to Communism." Bang, bang, another late-comer bit the dust.

Peace Loving "Give me three thousand—five thousand—ten thousand bombing and pursuit planes, battleships and cruisers by the score, pilots by the tens of thousands, billions for arms, the sky's the limit and our frontier is now in France." Boy, isn't it great to have a president who "hates war!"

Patience, Brother, Patience To those who may become impatient in the vain search for a job, we recommend the story of Leopold Desfourneaux of Paris, whose patience was finally rewarded when on the death of headman Anatole Leibler he became the official executioner for the French government and on February 4, at the age of 80, cut off his first head. To Andre Obrecht who also sought the job we offer condolences, along with the consoling thought that 80 is a ripe old age, man is mortal, and so for him also prosperity may be just around the corner.

Pillars of Society The Judiciary—The Stock Exchange—and Business fittingly represented by Judge Manton Richard Whitney, and Coster-Musica.

Union Wrecking Recipe To one dozen fat reactionary bureaucrats add a bunch of over-ripe Stalinists, season with Browderian advice, top the dish with an ex-preacher, and garnish with democracy a la Lewis. Serve with a shovel. Makes sufficient portions to satisfy all Auto Companies.

Insect Life Stalin's gift to Massachusetts, popularly known as "Filthy Phil," is now starring in a New England version of "The Informer." He is eminently qualified for the part.

Holding the Bag In the days when the "O" in C.I.O. stood more for "Organization" and less for "Orders" from above, trouble developed in a steel plant in New England. The youthful and enthusiastic local leaders sent a telegram to the C.I.O. local in a sister plant in Pennsylvania. "Planning strike, will you join with us, or leave us holding the bag?" Promptly came the reply: "Ship the bag to us, we strike tomorrow."

Burn War Lists Police in Northern Ireland and in Eire tore down the posters. In England to date at least 15 men have been arrested there and are being held under Section 4 of the Explosives Substances Act of 1883. The arrests followed a nation-wide hunt by Scotland Yard detectives and the police. In the London court were produced high explosives, pistols, a rifle, detonators and the "Proclamation of the Irish Republican Army."

Reports from Belfast, meanwhile, said that hundreds of copies of the British National Service booklets, part of Britain's defense program, (i.e. conscription flink-books) were burned in the streets of Londonderry, North Ireland. A house-to-house collection for the I.R.A. cause was said to have been made while the crowds cheered the blazing pile of burning booklets.

Stalinists Support Traitor These events and the development of a renewed struggle for the independence of Ireland from the British Empire have been received by the Stalinists with the charge that the wave of bombings and subsequent burning of National Service booklets are inspired by the Nazis and that, "all this is an attempt to further (sic) harass the 'democracies' at this time and are to be condemned by all lovers of peace and democracy!"

The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party frame-up gang, reprints the announcement of the passage of De Valera's reactionary bills providing for vicious repression of the I.R.A. without a single comment! In other words, when De Valera says, "There is but one government in Ireland and it alone speaks for the Irish people" the Stalinists rush to agree and to support this infamous traitor.

I.R.A. Motives Sincere All revolutionary socialists will disagree with use of individual terror and isolated acts of violence because such methods will win no real gains for the Irish people—or any people. Such methods only play into the hands of the reactionary police officials and the traitors like De Valera, who use the explosions to arrest and execute all true enemies of British tyranny.

But no revolutionist will doubt for one minute the sincerity or the motives of the Irish Republican Army. That is why the Stalinist attempt to connect the blasts with the Nazis is a criminal, vicious libel. Now the Irish workers can clearly see and understand the reactionary role of the Communist Party in its desperate attempt to lick the boots of "democratic" Britain!

The Socialist Appeal, in an editorial a few weeks ago, pointed out the only road by which the fight for national independence can be effectively fought and won. We of the Fourth International urge the workers and small farmers of Ireland to unite and to link their struggle with the oppressed people of all British colonies. Only through a revolutionary struggle in which the broad masses of the people are prepared to take part can victory be assured.

The criminal partitioning of Ireland is the historic tactic of perfidious Albion—"Divide and Rule!"—and in this particular case it means the virtual starvation of the people of Southern Ireland. Ulster, in the North, has been the pet of British industrialists and has been developed with large industries and continually subsidized in order to further the division between Ulster and the agricultural south. Now, in a fierce attempt to maintain the artificial division, a British army occupies the six Northeastern counties.

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