

At First Glance

By Jay Lovestone

ALL the box-score statisticians who have been counting the cost of Roosevelt's losses in his "purge" campaign have missed the real significance of events.

The severe rebuke handed to the President in the Democratic primaries spells even more than the defeat of the most dynamic and capable Chief Executive since Lincoln. It involves the shattering of an idea—a smashing defeat to the notion that the Democratic party as such can be transformed into a truly liberal party. What is surprising is that so astute a politician as Roosevelt should fall for the self-outsmarting strategy of some of his younger set.

At this writing, it is too early to nominate the 1940 standard-bearers of the "Donkey" party. But it is already as clear as brightest noonday that, if its nominating convention were held today, the President's hand would be felt in the councils that count for less than it has been in years. His loss far exceeds what is indicated by the casualties. The President's setback is all the more costly because he still does not see the disaster that has befallen his idea of turning the party—so heavily committed to lynch-law, lowest wages, bigotry and backwardness, especially in the Southern tier of States—into a genuinely liberal organization.

One does not have to be a prophet to see that, if the President persists in this illusion, he will wreck his own political prestige and power rather than the party of Garner, Dies and "Cotton" Ed Smith. For all practical intents and purposes, the Dies Committee is an unexpectedly powerful auxiliary of the Republican National Committee. It is doing yeoman service for Roosevelt's Tories in this campaign. However, Garner is Roosevelt's vice-president and Dies and Smith and their ilk are much more the Democratic party than they have been in many a moon. We risk the guess that willy-nilly the fur will yet fly as a result of this committee's rampage.

STALINISM IN SPAIN

IN every possible way, we have tried to avoid hyperbole in our estimates and conclusions. No one in his sane mind can justly question our effort to be objective in judging the fundamentals of class and party relations. It is in this spirit that we call upon the Spanish Socialist Party to testify about its present political bed-fellow, the Stalinist police-agency in Spain. The latter still arrogates to itself the name of Communist Party.

To the Secretariat of the Labor and Socialist International we are indebted for some timely light on this all-vital question. We have at hand its International Information Bulletin of September 24, containing an extremely restrained, almost completely sterilized, report of the last sessions of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of Spain. This is the party of Negrin and Prieto. These right-wing socialists, thru no desire of their own, are terribly dependent on the owners and manipulators of the Spanish Stalinites for arms and

(Continued on Page 2)

Workers Age

A PAPER DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF WORKERS AND FARMERS

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UAW Begins Parts Drive

Destructive Competition Must Be Stemmed, Martin Says

In discussing the campaign of the United Automobile Workers to organize the automobile-parts industry, Homer Martin, president of the U.A.W., declared last week in a statement to the press:

"One of the fundamental problems in the automobile industry, as in other industries, is that of destructive competition on the basis of wages, hours and working conditions. While we believe that competition is a helpful thing in industry, we also believe that this competition should not be on a basis of low wages, long hours and deplorable working conditions, which lower the standard of living and purchasing power and adversely affect the general welfare.

"The problem, therefore, is the standardization of wages, hours and working conditions on a national scale. This is particularly true as it applies to the automobile-parts industry. In keeping with this general program, I appointed several weeks ago a committee from the International Union to make a study of the problem of standardization of wages and working conditions in the automobile-parts industry.

"The committee was directed to prepare a standard form of agreement to be presented to the International Executive Board. This agreement is to include classification of all operations in the automobile-parts industry with a mini-

(Continued on Page 6)

B. C. Vladeck

B. C. VLADECK, one of America's most outstanding socialists, died last Sunday of heart disease at the age of 52.

Vladeck was minority leader of the New York City Council, where he headed the American Labor Party delegation. He was high in the councils of the A.L.P. and was one of its most distinguished spokesmen. He was also closely identified with a great number of labor, socialist and anti-fascist causes.

His untimely death is deeply mourned by the whole labor movement as well as by all who knew him in whatever walk of life.

Workers Alliance Split in Harlem; New Group Set Up

Wide Resentment Against Stalinism Leads To Break

By CLARENCE JENKINS
(Former Chairman of Local 12,
Workers Alliance of N. Y.)

New York City.

MRS. Frankie Duty and Louis Campbell, Communist Party organizers of the Workers Alliance in Harlem, pulled three locals of the Workers Alliance out of the organization to form the Afro-American Union of Unemployed and Relief Workers. This break with the W.A. resulted from the widespread dissatisfaction among the Negro members of the C.P. with the Stalinist policies and high-handed bureaucratic methods of

France Heads for Growing Reaction

Radical-Socialist Congress Buries Popular Front And Plans "Collaboration" With Fascists

The far-reaching changes in French politics during recent months were clearly reflected in the sessions of the annual congress of the Radical-Socialist party held at Marseilles last week. In the key-note speech delivered by Premier Daladier as well as in other pronouncements at the congress, it was made plain that:

1. The French Popular Front is now not only dead, which it has been for some time, but also buried. Premier Daladier made a vehement attack on the Communist Party and announced the definite rupture of all political relations with it. This was simply the registration of an accomplished fact.

2. In foreign policy, France is driving for an "understanding" with Hitler and Mussolini, whom it is ready to "appease" at almost any cost. German hegemony on the continent is accepted as a matter of course. The Franco-Soviet pact, already a dead letter, will very likely altogether disappear in the near future. This orientation in foreign affairs implies, of course, even greater subservience to the British Foreign Office, the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and active hostility to the Loyalist government of Spain.

3. In domestic policy, Daladier is working for a "national-union" cabinet, dominated by the right-wing elements but including all parties except the communists, with Leon Blum rumored as Minister of Munitions. Altho the budget already reaches the stupendous figure of half the national income, the rearmament program is to be expanded and speeded up. An offensive to reduce wages, increase hours and slash social-legislation

(Continued on Page 2)

the puppet leadership of the party. Louis Campbell has been an organizer for the Communist Party in Harlem for eight years and Mrs. Duty for three. Mrs. Duty resigned from the C.P. because Campbell was expelled and because she could not stand the oppression, hypocrisy and intimidation by the party leadership. In a statement to the press recently, Mrs. Duty declared: "I resigned because I want freedom of speech and action, neither of which is permitted to anyone in the Communist Party."

The demoralizing influence of
(Continued on Page 2)

VOTE LABOR! SUPPORT A.L.P.!

Appeal of the Independent Labor League of America

TEN years have gone by since the great crash of 1929, the crash that ushered in the longest and worst depression in our history. During these ten years, six of which have been under the New Deal, mass unemployment and misery have become widespread. At this very moment, there are well over ten million out of work, with many millions more working only part time and not much better off. In spite of all of the manipulations of the Roosevelt Administration, in spite of all the ballyhoo about returning prosperity, there is still no likelihood that these millions of unemployed men and women will ever get jobs again under the present system.

The plain truth is that the existing social order has hopelessly broken down. Things have got to the point where the employing class can no longer control its own system of private property and production for profit. The system itself can no longer provide work and subsistence

for the masses of the people. And the only solution that the capitalists can think of is still greater exploitation and a strong reactionary government to keep the system going. In an effort to escape from the desperate blind-alley into which it has led the world, capitalism is driving with breakneck speed towards reaction, fascism and war!

All this is true of Europe, as everyone who has eyes can see. But it is also becoming increasingly true of our own country as well. The foreign policy of the Roosevelt Administration is bringing the United States into grave danger of being swallowed up in another world war which, whatever be the slogans under which it is fought, will bring reaction and dictatorship everywhere in its wake. And the coming war is already casting its dark shadow before it. Vast sums, running into the billions, are being spent or earmarked for war preparations, almost entirely at the expense of the social-reform program for which the New Deal

is supposed to stand. Huge armament expenditures inevitably mean retrenchment in relief, social welfare and useful public works. Reaction is mounting thru-out the country; the rights of labor are under fire; the Administration is growing more and more conservative as it is becoming more and more concerned with war preparations; the masses of the people are facing a future heavily clouded with threats of disaster.

LABOR MUST TAKE OVER

The one great, inescapable fact is that those who have lorded it over the earth for so long, the trust magnates, the bankers, the "economic royalists," have failed. They have brought mankind to the very brink of ruin. Today, the only salvation lies with labor. If the forces of labor can unite for determined, aggressive action, there is still hope mankind may yet be saved from the reaction, fascism and war

(Continued on Page 2)



VOTE THE FULL A.L.P. TICKET—ROW C



At First Glance

(Continued from Page 1)

technical aid. But, thru all this restraint and indebtedness, there break some significant findings anent the conduct of the Spanish Communist Party and its sinister agents who are pernicious practitioners of a technique reflecting the worst of Yezhov's G.P.U., Hitler's Gestapo, and Mussolini's O.V.Ra.

We are told that the National Committee of the Spanish Socialist Party has "made this regrettable admission only after ripe reflection" and that this admission condemning the true role of the Spanish Stalinists comes "in the light of obvious and repeated facts, which clearly reveal a spirit of exclusiveness, unjustifiable and destructive, to the interests of the Republic—which we are all bound to defend—and which cannot in any case be accepted or tolerated by the Socialist Party."

A more damning, tho diplomatic indictment, no one could make of "friend" or foe. We rest our case and count on the workers in all unions and labor organizations to review the activities of the American Stalinites in the light of the above verdict rendered against Stalinism in Spain.

LEAVE IT TO BRITISH IMPERIALISM

NEITHER the apostolic fervor of High-Priest Hitler of Nazidom, nor the diplomatic guile of "democracy's" champion, Chamberlain, can hide all of the very ugly features of the tragedy still called Czechoslovakia.

Blackest of all the roles played is the one filled by British imperialism. For instance, some Rip Van Winkle, in taking the sand out of his eyes, might ask: "Who first gave Hitler the idea of crucifying the anti-Nazis in Czechoslovakia? Who stimulated his thirst for red blood? Was it Goering? Was it Goebbels?" No, it was none other than Britain's "peace-maker," Runciman, who, in his report of September 21 on Czechoslovak "pacification," brazenly lied and said: "... that those parties and persons in Czechoslovakia who have been deliberately encouraging a policy antagonistic to Czechoslovakia's neighbors (that is, the attitude of the anti-Nazi parties toward Germany—J. L.) should be forbidden by the Czechoslovak government to continue their agitations, and, if necessary, legal measures should be taken to bring such agitations to an end."

British imperialism is great on precedents. Let no one make a mistake. This is not the end of such practices. It is only in its initial stages. If and when Chiang Kai-shek, very likely under British inspiration and cash pressure, should make a deal with Japan, then one of his first jobs will be to outlaw and butcher the most articulate opponents of Nipponese imperialism—the communists. Such an event could only add further strength to our oft-repeated conclusion that the bourgeoisie of the smaller countries and semi-colonial lands are today incapable of and unwilling to fight for national freedom.

Keep your eye on China. We are probably heading there toward a bigger and worse Czechoslovak excursion into the realm of capitalist 'democracy,' double-crossing and dirty dealing. However, in China, there are some elemental, tho still elementary, revolutionary forces that will make such "civilizing" performances very difficult and risky.

October 24, 1938.

VOTE A. L. P. TICKET ROW "C"

Workers Alliance Split in Harlem; New Group Set Up

(Continued from Page 1)

Stalinism in the Workers Alliance is leading to the rapid decline and disintegration of this once powerful and militant organization. In Harlem, this stands out most glaringly. The conditions of the unemployed in Harlem are most appalling. In 1935, it was estimated that nearly 80% of Harlem's population was unemployed. The upturn in industry has made some but very little change in this situation. It is fairly accurately estimated that in Harlem 40% of all of those who apply for relief are rejected. Over 75% of these are rejected because of insufficient residential verification and other flimsy pretexts. Before the amalgamation of the Workers Alliance and the Association of the Unemployed with the C.P.-controlled Unemployment Councils to form the Workers Alliance, these organizations had had some success in breaking thru the red-tape at the relief bureaus and in eliminating much of the abuse that the unemployed had to contend with. Under the domination and control of the Stalinists, however, the Workers Alliance became but an auxiliary of the C.P., concerned not with the needs of the unemployed but with plans to build a "people's front in the United States." The Stalinist policy in the W.A. has been to discourage all militant action to force the present Administration to grant more adequate relief to the unemployed. Instead of action that would "embarrass" the relief authorities and expose the retrenchment of relief because of the tremendous appropriations for war, the members of the Alliance are encouraged to contribute part of their meager relief funds to finance campaigns, organized by the C.P., to send middle-class lawyers and hack politicians to Congress. Demonstrations organized by the Stalinist leadership of the W.A., allegedly against the lowering of relief standards and the reduction of W. P. A. forces, were nothing more than partiotic demonstrations of the Communist Party's loyalty to the Roosevelt Administration. With such policies in action, the conditions of the unemployed on relief have become progressively worse. The relief authorities no longer respect or fear the organized might

of the Workers Alliance. All of the abuses and red-tape that the unemployed had to contend with at the relief bureaus are beginning to reappear. Thousands of members have naturally dropped out of the W.A. The organization is no longer recognized by the unemployed as a champion of their interests. Negroes in Harlem who once supported the Workers Alliance and the Communist Party feel that they have been betrayed because they are Negroes. Actually, of course, their betrayal is but a part of the betrayal of the entire working class by the characterless puppets of Stalin. Unfortunately, the Negro elements that have broken with the Communist Party do not always view the situation in this light.

The leaders of the newly formed Afro-American Union of Unemployed and Relief Workers realize that such an organization acting along exclusively racial lines cannot effectively eliminate the conditions and abuses that the unemployed Negro masses are forced to endure. These leaders have expressed a willingness to cooperate with any unemployed group on an equal and mutual basis. They feel that organizing the Negro masses along racial lines will protect them against domination by white political groups and parties and enable them to stand on an equal plane with any group that they may cooperate with. Those who understand their experiences understand and sympathize with this attitude even tho they may not fully share it.

FRANCE HEADS FOR GROWING REACTION

(Continued from Page 1)

benefits is also implied as a way out of the impossible financial situation. Fernand Gentin, Minister of Commerce, strongly urged a "steered economy," defined as an approach to the "directed economy" of the totalitarian states.

It was clear at the congress that France is rapidly developing towards a reactionary authoritarianism very close to fascism and perhaps verging as a transition to it. The regime of government by

VOTE A. L. P. TICKET

VOTE LABOR!

(Continued from Page 1)

that are born out of the rotting away of the capitalist system.

Labor must organize to save itself and the world from disaster. In this country, labor has made great headway on the economic field in the last few years, especially in the mass-production industries. But economic organization is not enough. Labor must organize its forces independently on the political field as well. A strong, united trade-union movement—a strong independent labor party: these are the vital needs of the day!

In the State of New York, labor has the foundations of such a political organization in the American Labor Party. Of course, there are many in the A.L.P. who have all sorts of false ideas as to how grand the New Deal is or as to how far the so-called "friends of labor" in the old parties can be trusted or relied upon. But the main thing is that the A.L.P. is a real labor party, a party based upon and taking its strength from the trade unions. Whatever shortcomings and mistakes there may be today, the A.L.P. will surely outgrow them as it becomes stronger

and gains experience and as the masses of the workers who really are the party bring their wishes more and more clearly to expression.

RECORD OF THE A.L.P.

In the two short years of its existence, the A.L.P. has already more than proved its worth. It has given labor a new outlook and a new hope. Its spokesmen elected to office in the State Assembly and New York City Council have made a brilliant record, both for what they have done or attempted to do on behalf of the masses and for what they have prevented the reactionaries of both parties from doing. The party has established itself in the confidence of large sections of the working people of this state as an organization sincerely devoted to their interests.

In the elections this year, the A.L.P. comes forward with a platform that answers the immediate needs of the great masses of the people. Organized labor, the unemployed, the farmers, the tenants, the impoverished middle class—all find in the A.L.P. their political champion. With its representation in the councils of the State and nation increased by a big vote in the elections, the A.L.P. will be in a

The I.L.L.A. at Work

by D. Benjamin

CALIFORNIA ELECTIONS.

Our California organization has prepared an excellent statement on the election situation in the state. Our organization there, along with the rest of the organized labor movement, while critical of Culbert Olson is supporting his candidacy for governor as a means of helping in the campaign to free Tom Mooney. It hopes thru the organization of labor forces politically, especially in "Free Mooney" and "Protect Labor Clubs" based on the trade unions, that labor will be able to defeat the vicious reactionary anti-strike and anti-picketing legislation sponsored by the employing class and meanwhile, utilize such organization and struggle as a step towards the development of a labor party. At the same time, we support the candidacy of the socialist, Lillian Symes Clement, for Senator.

Toronto—A report from Toronto indicates that this organization is on the job as usual. A new class in the "Principles of Socialism" is under way and the organization is actively engaged in trade-union, unemployed and other work.

Anti-war leaflets—Twenty thousand anti-war leaflets have already been sent out to various branches throughout the country and orders are still coming in. We regret that we cannot meet the request of some branches for additional quantities.

The Armistice Eve mass-meeting of the K.A.O.W.C.—The New York organization is cooperating with the local K.A.O.W.C. in the large public meeting it is conducting at Hotel Center, November 10. Five thousand leaflets are being distributed by the various branches of the I.L.L.A. to help make this meeting a success. Among the

decree will continue, Daladier pointed out, especially in view of the "critical financial situation." Restrictions on the labor movement, above all of the right to strike, are also indicated.

From all appearance, the four-power combine formed at Munich will next turn its attention to Spain in order to crush the anti-fascist struggle and set up some puppet regime, perhaps even a restored monarchy.

speakers are Jay Lovestone, Norman Thomas, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley and Joseph Schlossberg.

The "Vote Labor" leaflet—Ten thousand copies of the leaflet "Vote Labor"—"Vote the American Labor Party Ticket" have been published by the New York organization. This leaflet presents the position of the I.L.L.A. on the present elections in New York.

We have just received a letter from a Michigan worker. The letter speaks for itself:

"I have just received the excellent October 22 Age and have read with interest your mention of a youth magazine. I would appreciate your sending me a copy so that I may know more about it. If its quality in any way approximates the Age, its success should be assured. In an otherwise conflicting maze, it is encouraging to get a weekly survey and analysis of bewildering events. The 'I.L.L.A. At Work' by D. Benjamin is very good and I hope you continue this feature."

Court Hits Hague Civil Rights Ban

The C.I.O. and the American Civil Liberties Union scored a partial victory in their fight against the dictatorial regime of Mayor Hague in Jersey City last week when Federal Judge William Clark issued an injunction ordering an end to Jersey City deportations and restraining the mayor and other city officials from interfering with the rights of speaking in the public parks, distributing leaflets in the streets and carrying placards.

The Clark decision was not all in favor of civil rights, however, since it specifically makes possible a "modified form of censorship"—a requirement that an advance copy of the speech must be furnished to authorities in cases where "the particular persons applying for permits had on previous occasions addressed similar audiences with resulting disturbances." It is obvious that such a procedure may easily be turned into an iron-clad censorship; all that is necessary is for the police to provoke a stage

(Continued on Page 5)

PROSPECTS OF A.L.P. IN UP-STATE N. Y.

By CHARLES W. McDOWELL

A big increase in the vote of the American Labor Party in the Capitol district of upper New York state, is predicted in the coming election, after a careful survey recently made by the organizer. Almost every city and town has a thriving A.L.P. club, with workers enthusiastically carrying out the many tasks of an election campaign.

That the A.L.P. is here to stay and that it will not be long before it is a major party in New York State is proven clearly by the fact that workers everywhere are showing their intention of voting for the American Labor Party.

There are, of course, many shortcomings, but these can be attributed to the fact that the A.L.P. is but two years old and the people who are doing most of the work are as yet politically inexperienced. This weakness is being overcome, however, by the campaign work itself.

Chances Of Election

The chances for the election of several A.L.P. candidates are very bright. In Columbia County, the A.L.P. candidate for the Assembly, Leila V. Stott, a member of the Teachers Union, has been endorsed by the Democratic party and has an excellent chance of defeating the ultra-reactionary incumbent, the Republican, Frederick Washburn. A vigorous campaign is being waged in Hudson, where the A.L.P. has opened a headquarters on the principal street, and a plan to carry the fight into upper Columbia County, where the Republicans usually roll up a huge majority, is being put into action. That the Republicans are definitely worried can be testified to by the rumors, quite well-founded, that a huge slush fund will be used in Columbia County to try to stem the sentiment against Washburn. There is also a good possibility of electing Edward Thompson, a member of the International Typographical Union, A.F. of L., to the post of Coroner.

Campaign headquarters have also been opened in Troy, a center of the garment industry, and a large A.L.P. vote is expected there. The leaders of the Troy A.L.P. are able and active, and Troy should soon be one of the strongholds of the party.

Difficulties In Albany

In Albany, where the O'Connell machine, the counterpart of Tammany Hall, is in power, the prospects are not so bright. The view held by some of the leaders of the Albany A.L.P. that to fight the O'Connell machine would divert some votes to the Republicans, is a serious misconception. The O'Connell machine must be fought in the same manner that Tammany was fought in New York City. If the A.L.P. does not take a lead in this fight, the Republicans will be the gainer of the honest voters who are disgusted with the crookedness of the local political leaders.

Schenectady, once a socialist city and home of the gigantic General Electric plant, has the opportunity of showing a huge gain over the excellent showing of the last two years, but, up until this week, the club has been very inactive. For some reason, the workers who carried on the campaign the past two years are not as active as they should be, and, unless this is corrected between now and election, it may result in a decrease instead of an increase in the vote.

In Amsterdam, which has a Democratic mayor, elected by a small majority, the A.L.P. club is only in the process of formation. A number of influential, energetic people have been active in the past two weeks, however, and the

possibilities of polling a sizeable vote are quite good. The T.W.O.C. officers are giving the A.L.P. their wholehearted support.

Home Of The Glove Industry

Gloversville and Johnstown, the home of the glove industry, the scene of much industrial strife in the past few years have the possibility for one of the strongest A.L.P. clubs in the State. The leadership, however, has not been of the best, and, as a result, the workers in the glove industry have not been attracted to it. The two glove cities have more than 7,000 organized workers, almost the entire working population, and they are quite militant and class-conscious. With proper leadership, the A.L.P. can grow rapidly into a real power, with the possibility of actually electing a Labor mayor in next year's city election. Many changes have been made in the past three weeks and the officers and executive board are now almost exclusively made up of the leading trade unionists of the two cities.

There is an excellent opportunity to elect C. Dorothea Greene, Democratic and A.L.P. candidate for Congress from the Congressional district which takes in Schenectady, Montgomery and Fulton Counties. For much too long a time, the reactionary Republican, Frank Crowther, has gone to Washington to vote against every measure to aid the workers and the farmers, and the feeling is growing that this is the year to defeat him. Mrs.

DIFFERENT ROADS

BY LUIGI ANTONINI (State Chairman, American Labor Party)

"I WISH to reiterate that the American Labor Party has nothing to do and will have nothing to do with the Communist Party. It will not be beguiled into becoming their 'fellow-travellers.' Our roads are divergent and lead to opposite goals."

Greene is a splendid woman, progressive and with a broad social outlook. The A.L.P. can be proud of the fact that she is on the party ticket for election.

The platform of the A.L.P. seems to have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many workers who have for a long time been dissatisfied with both the Democratic and Republican parties. These workers feel that the A.L.P. is their party and their devotion and untiring efforts demonstrate their sincerity. The number of workers offering to contribute their time and energy to build the A.L.P. is a testimonial to the need of such a strong new party, a party of the workers, by the workers and for the workers.

The support and cooperation of (Continued on Page 4)

Stalinist Purge in Ukraine

Best Bolshevik Cadres Destroyed By G.P.U. Machine

(Continued from the last issue)

WE mentioned above that Skrypnyk, one-time People's Commissar for Education in the Ukraine, committed suicide. Skrypnyk, an old Bolshevik, was a Ukrainian who had never belonged to any Ukrainian party. At Lenin's suggestion, he became chief of Bolshevik propaganda in his native land. Very well acquainted with Lenin's position on the national question and convinced of its correctness, he rejected both "Shumskiyism" and Pan-Russianism. That the latter had won a rather large number of adherents in the C.P. in and outside of the Ukraine, Kossior admitted. Skrypnyk succeeded in winning the support of the Ukrainian intelligentsia for the Soviet government. In commenting on the national question, he wrote: "From the standpoint of practical politics, the national question must be subordinated to the theory of the class struggle but forms an integral part of it."

Skrypnyk was very much averse to half measures and the constant shifting from one point of view to the other. In his speech at the twelfth congress of the C.P.S.U., he said the following: "How is it that we haven't been able yet to settle the national question in practice altho it was solved in theory. In my opinion, our vacillating policies prevented us from accomplishing anything. Whenever we deal with the question, it is made the object of controversy between two factions which accuse each other of chauvinism, pan-Russianianism, and regional nationalism of one brand or another. There are also those who ardently strive to find a solution which would be acceptable to both warring groups. . . . An attempt at dissolving pan-Russianianism is immediately discredited. In spite of his independent position, Skrypnyk was accused of having favored "Shumskiyism." Postysheff, who now lives in exile in Samara, once had the impudence to besmirch

Skrypnyk's name by declaring: "Skrypnyk tried to drive a wedge between the workers and peasants of the different nationalities in the U.S.S.R. He wanted to disrupt the brotherly bond which was formed in the interest of economic reconstruction and thus worked into the hands of people like Yavorski, Badan, Ritshsky, Slipanski, Konovaletz, Skropopadski, and the agents of the imperialist powers."

According to Kossior, a new counter-revolutionary organization was discovered early in 1933. Among its leaders were Spitz Maximovitch, Shumsky, Solodub, Bilenki, and others who received their pay from Polish landowners and capitalists. The head of that organization was Konovaletz who has for years been "in the service of the German Reichswehr as a spy."

The group Kossior mentioned in this passage was the one Grinko referred to in his confessions at the last Moscow trial. Shumsky had joined the party in 1920 and at one time been a member of the Central Committee of the C.P.U. From 1921 to 1923, he served as Soviet ambassador to Warsaw and later became People's Commissar of Education in the Ukraine.

Maximovitch joined the party in 1919 and was Soviet consul in Warsaw in 1921-23. Shumsky, Maximovitch, and the Communist Party members, Polos and Bara, were shot.

In 1931, Paul Ladan, a West Ukrainian, was accused of espionage and executed in Moscow.

In 1933, Krilyuk, Thurynski and Nyunyk, who had up to 1928 been in the leadership of the C.P.U., were shot.

In 1934, Fedy Bei, Kossar and Baraba, members of the Central Committee of the C.P.U., were shot after "confessing" that they had belonged to Konovaletz's military organization.

After the Kirov murder, thirty Ukrainians in Kiev alone were (Continued on Page 5)

Reaction Wins in New Constitution

Big Business And Boss Politics Write Amendments

By M. PETERS

THE work of the constitutional convention, in the form of nine separate propositions, on which the voters in New York State will be called upon to pass judgment on November 8, should be an object lesson in politics for every worker. Constitutional conventions in New York State come only once in twenty years and are expected to bring the basic law of the state up to date with current political thought and progressive developments. As such, they are far more important than any session of the legislature. The present constitution has undergone no change in forty years, since the proposals of the convention twenty years ago were rejected at the polls. And now the recent convention has done a job that is so reactionary that, altho there is some slight difference of opinion among progressive and labor forces as to the value of one or another proposition, the slogan of all seems to be: "If you're in doubt, vote NO."

Who Wrote The Constitution? The present amendments to the constitution were written at great cost by Republicans and Democrats exclusively, some of whom, in the hallelujah atmosphere of political trading before the 1937 elections, were endorsed by the American Labor Party. On close examination, however, it is plain to see that it was only formally and technically that the amendments were written by these delegates. Actually, they were written by the powerful utilities in the state, the railroads, the Catholic Church, the real-estate interests and the corrupt political bosses.

Before the delegates assembled, there were high hopes for the outcome. The American Labor Party had submitted a program thru Charles Poletti, the present Democratic-A.L.P. candidate for lieutenant-governor. This program included emphasis on the rights of labor, the abolition of child labor, civil liberties, social security, and a new and very important proposal for the organization of a Department of the Consumer, to function in a similar fashion to the Department of Labor. Of this program, there is not a trace to be found in the results of the convention. With no delegates of its own, the A.L.P. had to depend upon Poletti. The A.L.P. proposals were introduced but they could get no further, for in their way stood the spokesmen for the reactionary interests.

Amendment No. 1—No!

The constitutional changes as they are being presented to the voters this November 8, are divided into nine separate articles. The first is the so-called "catch-all" amendment. For a very mild restriction on illegal search and seizure, the voters are asked to accept an amendment freezing pension funds to the advantage of office-holding grafters and an amendment making permanent the present tax exemption of the church, one of the biggest real-estate owners in the State. In addition, this "omnibus" first amendment would restrict home rule of cities in many important respects and would introduce certain practices that would tend to tie religion closer to public education. All progressives are agreed that, in spite of the sugar-coating of a few mild reforms,

which could be enacted by the legislature, the first amendment should be voted down.

Amendment No. 2—No! This proposal reappropriates State Senators and Assemblymen in such a way as to be very disadvantageous to New York City. This clause was written in by the up-state Republicans for obvious reasons, and the reasons for labor's opposition are equally obvious.

Amendment No. 3—No! This was written in by the railroad interests. It amounts to a free gift of several million dollars to the railroad companies in the matter of grade-crossing elimination.

Amendment No. 4—Yes! This amendment, dealing with housing, establishes the right of the state to use public funds for low-cost housing and a slum clearance and authorizes a bond issue of \$300,000,000 for this purpose. But the real-estate interests saw to it that the levying of taxes against real estate for the purpose of housing should be forbidden in the same amendment, thus strengthening the tendency toward sales taxes and other types of taxes which bear most heavily on the low-income groups. The housing amendment is full of other technical limitations and "jokers" which reduce its effectiveness. Yet it does recognize the right of the State to go into public housing, and for that, it should be supported at the polls.

Amendment No. 5—No! This is the so-called judiciary amendment. In addition to creating many unnecessary complications, it would have the effect of strengthening the power of courts over the quasi-judicial administrative agencies that are so important today. While the National Labor Relations Board is not directly involved, its difficulties, as a quasi-judicial agency, with the courts should show why the courts should not be endowed with still more power. The answer is no.

Amendment No. 6—Yes! This is the "labor's rights amendment." It bears no resemblance to the amendment labor asked for, but it does establish an 8-hour day and a 5-day week at prevailing wages on public works. It also guarantees labor's "right to organize and bargain collectively thru representatives of their own choosing." It does not, however, place upon the employers the duty to bargain collectively, as the Wagner Act does. Furthermore, keeping in mind the experience with the famous Section 7a of the N.R.A., under which the same phrase was interpreted to be also a protection of company unionism and the open shop, one cannot help but be apprehensive of the possibilities for reactionary interpretation of this amendment. The American Labor Party and the trade unions and liberal elements in general favor the adoption of this amendment in spite of its faults.

Amendment No. 7—No! The most vicious of all acts of the constitutional convention is the ban on proportional representation in the state. This is, of course, aimed directly against the American Labor Party and is an insult (Continued on Page 5)

WORKERS AGE

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FACING THE ELECTIONS

THE situation confronting the class-conscious worker in the present elections is, indeed, a difficult one. Political relations are by no means identical throughout the country, nor are the dominant issues the same. The movement for independent labor political action is very unevenly developed, both in its organization and its policy. Party labels have come to mean less than ever today, as the Roosevelt "purge" well shows. And Labor's Non-Partisan League, thru an ill-conceived policy of indiscriminate fusion with the Democrats, has in many cases ceased to be a reliable political guide for the awakening forces of labor. Under the circumstances, it becomes necessary to examine each type of situation on its own merits in the light of the immediate objectives of the labor movement on the political field.

In New York State, labor has a party of its own—a party with a strong independent organization, a party with an increasingly independent political course. Every worker who is at all class-conscious will naturally support the A.L.P. and vote a straight A.L.P. ticket, even though he may strongly doubt the wisdom of certain of its tactics or disagree with the selection of some of its candidates. Support of the A.L.P. is not so much support for the particular candidates as for the party itself, for the idea of independent labor political organization. The stronger the party grows, the broader the sections of the working class it succeeds in winning to its ranks, the less difficult will it be to overcome its present shortcomings and mistakes, the greater will be the drive towards increasing independence and aggressive action. A vote for the A.L.P. is a vote for organized labor solidarity on the political field!

In Michigan and California, on the other hand, the situation is considerably different. In neither state is there a labor party in existence or a Labor's Non-Partisan League that is much more than a Stalinist-New Deal outfit. Yet in both states, the forces of employing-class reaction are operating thru the Republican party in a determined effort to smash the labor movement and rob it of its gains of recent years. In Michigan, they have launched a savage attack on Governor Frank Murphy under the slogan of "outlawing the sitdown strike," which in their mouths means outlawing any sort of strike, outlawing virtually any kind of effective labor action. In such a situation, we believe that the policy of the U.A.W. and other unions in Michigan of conducting their own "Murphy for Governor" campaign by means of their own committees, quite independent of the Democratic party and endorsing no other Democratic candidate but Governor Murphy, is a sound one. If the movement is properly directed, it can very well prove the starting point for a permanent labor party organization in Michigan, something that is very badly needed in that state.

In California, the Democratic candidate, Culbert L. Olson is campaigning on the issue of freedom for Tom Mooney and opposition to the vicious anti-labor legislation that big business is trying to put over in that state. The Republicans, on the other hand, are taking a stand that is deliberately and provocatively reactionary, especially in its hostility to labor's rights of self-organization and collective bargaining. Here, it seems to us, the Michigan policy is also quite in place: independent labor support of Olson, looking towards the organization of a state-wide labor party just as soon as possible.

In Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, the situation is again very different. In the former state, the Kennedy forces went in for a costly and futile experiment trying to "capture" the Democratic party from within thru the primaries. They failed, but they did not draw the lesson of their failure. Instead of striking out independently with their own labor ticket, they are calling for the support of the Democratic nominee, a reactionary nonentity by the name of Jones, a veritable Pittsburgh Coolidge, who, if half the things Kennedy said about him in the primary fight are true, does not deserve the vote of any decent man or woman. Here there is neither a decisive issue nor a decisive difference between the candidates to justify a choice between them. Here, in our opinion, labor must oppose both the Democrat,

The Job Has Only Just Begun

Wage-Hour Law Brings New Tasks to Unions

LAST week, the new wage-hour law went into effect. We have already noted in these columns the shortcomings and inadequacies of this law—certainly, such standards as 25 cents an hour and the 44-hour week are not going to have any far-reaching economic consequences. But, in spite of everything, it establishes the principle of wage-hour regulation as a legitimate function of the federal government. This is a big step forward and one that offers great possibilities for the future, if labor proves capable of using its organized power effectively.

The employers in the substandard industries, backed by large sections of the employing class as a whole, are already beginning their offensive against the new law. They threaten mass lay-offs, the closing down of plants and factories, widespread industrial chaos. They even defy the law and proclaim in advance their refusal to obey it. They are determined to cripple and paralyze it, to destroy it altogether. If organized labor does not get into action immediately, the law itself may come to mean very little and may even, under certain circumstances, turn into a boomerang. Real enforcement is possible only thru the vigilance and energetic action of organized labor. In the first place, the sweated industries must be organized and organized immediately. The rising sentiment in these industries, accompanying the introduction of the new standards, should make

for an eager response to the appeal of unionism. Without unions, the workers are helpless against the powerful employers and are pretty sure to be cheated or robbed of the benefits to which they are entitled under the law. Labor organization is their only protection.

To a great extent, this applies also to the other groups of workers. The tendency is showing itself everywhere to force down wages in the higher brackets to minimum levels—in other words to make the minimum into the average and, in some cases, even into the maximum. Here, too, only the organized power of unionism can offer the workers any protection.

In other words, the wage-hour law makes unionism even more essential than it has ever been. Without strong trade-union organization, the law can be made to mean a good deal, even in its present inadequate form.

But we must not remain satisfied with the law as it is. Labor should immediately begin a drive to get the next session of Congress to raise the shamefully low wage-and-hour standards of the present act to decent levels. Our slogan must be a 40-40 basis to start with—40 cents an hour and 40 hours a week—with a minimum wage of \$16 a week, should hours be further reduced.

The big job is only just beginning!

A.L.P. Prospects Upstate

(Continued from Page 3) The trade unions, both C.I.O. and A.F. of L., for the A.L.P. is most encouraging. The statements of William Green and George Meany have had some effect on a few A.F. of L. job-holders, but the sentiment of the rank and file of the A.F. of L. is solidly behind the A.L.P.

While getting as large a vote as possible this year is important, the major task confronting the A.L.P. and its organizers is to emerge from this election with a strong, well functioning, permanent organization which will begin immediately after the election to lay the foundation for next year. Next year, there will be no state ticket to help roll up the vote and the A.L.P. will be more on its own than it is this year. Next year it will be the great test as to whether or not the A.L.P. has actually become a power outside of New York City.

Jones, and the Republican, James. Here the best thing to do is to cast a vote for the only working-class party in the field, the Socialist Party.

In Massachusetts, the Democratic ticket is headed by the notorious Curley, about whom the less said the better. He is a reactionary of the deepest dye, with hardly even a pretense at being a New Dealer. Here, too, there is no choice for labor as between Curley and his Republican opponent. In Massachusetts, as in Pennsylvania, we urge voting for the Socialist Party.

But, after all, the November election is only a passing episode, however important it may be. The real task, the vital task will remain, whatever may happen in the elections, and that is: the formation of independent labor parties based on the trade unions in the various states on the way towards a national labor party in this country.

We Appeal...

P.O.U.M. Prisoners Ask Labor Aid

(We publish below the most important paragraphs of a stirring appeal issued by the P.O.U.M. prisoners in the State Prison at Barcelona and published in the August 30, 1938 issue of La Batalla, underground paper of the P.O.U.M.—Editor.)

IN Spain, the land of our birth, where we have lived and struggled for the freedom of the working class, we are today denied any means of defense at the behest and command of a foreign dictator. We have no alternative but to turn to international public opinion and to that we must appeal.

This is our case. We are old and tried leaders of the labor movement with a historical knowledge of the struggles and sacrifices of our class. In 1921, we organized the Communist Party of Spain, and later on, when the Communist International ceased being a communist force, we left it. In December 1930, we fought for the Republic and, in October 1934, we fought against the reactionary forces that dominated that Republic. The first anti-fascist to die in Barcelona on July 19, 1936 was the general secretary of our youth section. The first one to die in Valencia was also a member of our party. Afterwards, we gave our best blood to the war against fascism. Who, then, dares to question our right to the title of anti-fascist and revolutionist?

What has happened? At a critical moment for the anti-fascist cause, when the international working class still had complete confidence and hope in our unity of action, the Communist Party, under orders from Moscow, did not hesitate to break that unity—and, for this purpose, to use their official positions, obtained thru certain clever maneuvers with help received from Russia, precious help, but well paid for with gold and a pledge to destroy our party. On July 16, 1937, after a preliminary campaign inspired by the Soviet ambassador and consul, the Stalinist police arrested us and threw many of our leaders in their dungeons. They suppressed our social clubs, ransacked our private homes, took over our punishing houses and seized as "Trotskyist" thousands of the best works of Marx, Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin, Bebel, Kautsky, etc., which they then sold for waste paper! They suppressed our five daily papers, our thirty-two weeklies, our theoretical magazines and our foreign-language bulletins. They moved to dissolve our heroic division with its seven thousand fighters, who in the early days of the war occupied the most advanced position a few miles from Huesca. And now they blame us for the defeat on the eastern front! But even this was not enough, the repression had to be bloody. Nin was arrested and murdered in Alcala de Henares (Madrid); Kurt Landau was arrested and murdered in Barcelona; and the same fate also befell Mark Rein, the son of Raphael Abramovich, as well as the anarchist Berneri. Many of our best members fell at the front, shot in the back; others were shot down in the fields while working. The systematic terror against the P.O.U.M. has been so great that the party is beginning to be known as the "the martyr party of the civil war."

We, the leaders of the P.O.U.M., have been in jail for fourteen months. Three months ago, another campaign of repression was unleashed against those members of our organization who were still free and many of these have already been added to the list of those in jail. The Stalinist press, of course, has the right to spread the vilest and most despicable calumnies against us day in and day out, to accuse us of the most heinous crimes, but we are prohibited from defending ourselves publicly or from bringing proof to refute their ridiculous charges. As a matter of fact, there is a general prohibition against anyone who attempts to defend us. The censorship, as well as the police, is controlled by the Stalinists. And even more scandalous is the Stalinist manipulation of the machinery of the Department of Justice. Stalinist publications have even been able to get hold of documents in our case that by law are supposed to be secret and confidential!

Under such circumstances, what can our trial mean? What guarantees will they give us? We have asked for a foreign lawyer. Such a procedure is even accepted by Horthy in Hungary and by Hitler in Germany, as the cases of Rakosi and Dimitrov show. The government of the Republic has denied this to us, Our lawyer, a deputy to the Cortes as well as president of the Advisory Judiciary Committee, an office

LOVESTONE CLASS BEGINS ON NOV. 3

The opening of Jay Lovestone's course of lectures at the Independent Labor Institute will take place on Thursday evening, November 3, at 6:15 P. M. Lovestone's course, probably the most important scheduled by the school this season, is entitled "Towards a New Labor Movement," and will deal with present problems as well as future trends. The course consists of six lectures, given on Thursday evenings, 6:15 P. M., at the school headquarters, 131 West 33rd Street. It is still time to register.

VOTE A. L. P. TICKET

Reaction In N.Y. Code

(Continued from Page 3) to all progressive and liberal opinion. The defeat of this amendment is a major objective in this campaign.

Amendment No. 8—Yes!

This amendment establishes the right of the state to contribute from its funds toward unemployment insurance and other measures of social security. It, too, represents a watered-down version of what labor wanted, but it should be adopted for the little good it does. Immediately after adoption, the Laborites in the Assembly should try to amend the New York State Unemployment Insurance Law so that contribution by the state becomes an actuality as well as a legally established principle.

Amendment No. 9—No!

This amendment would authorize New York City to purchase the privately owned transit lines for about \$350,000,000 in order to unify them. A few years ago, a plan was worked out to buy the same lines for \$416,000,000. The Transit Commission refused to permit that plan to be carried out. There is every reason to believe that this present price, still fantastically high, would come down considerably in a few years if this amendment is rejected. It must be borne in mind that the expenditure of this huge sum would not add a single seat in the subways or a single train on the tracks. Furthermore, it would spell an increase in fare, since it would mean the abrogation of the contracts by which the private companies now operate the lines at a five-cent fare. Taken all together, it is not worth the price, and this amendment should be voted down.

The sad story of what might have been done in the way of constitutional amendments should convince every worker that the old parties are hopelessly reactionary, too tied to vested interests and the political machines to undertake anything progressive. Only labor, thru its own party—in New York State, the American Labor Party—can undertake and carry thru a consistently progressive program and thus win over to its side all liberals and progressive elements.

Stalinist Purge in Ukraine

(Continued from Page 3) "justify" Lyubtshoko's suicide, the execution of Konor (1932) and Kociubinski (1937) and the arrest of Satonski and Porayko. The above-mentioned people had joined the party in 1919 or 1920 and fought in the civil war. All of them held important positions in the party and the Soviet state.

After the campaign against the Right and Left oppositionists, the drive was started against party members who were 100% Stalinites. A few weeks ago, Kossior, general secretary of the C.P.U. since its inception, was removed from office. At the annual convention of the C.P.U. in June of this year, Chrustsheff, Kossior's successor in office, made a speech which revealed the reason why the party was deprived of its best cadres. He said: "Our enemies wish to tear the bond which ties the Ukrainians to their brother nation. This explains why they are opposed to the movement for the spread of the Russian language thruout the whole Soviet Union. This they do at the time when the most advanced elements of all nationalities realize that they have to study Russian, the language of the Russian workers, the workers of Moscow and Petrograd, who permitted the 'modified censorship' raised the banner of revolt in October 1917. The Russian workers have shown the workers and

peasants of the whole world how to destroy their enemies and to win freedom and liberty. The Bolsheviks studied German in order to be able to read Marx in the original. The teaching of Marx and Engels was further developed by Lenin and Stalin who wrote in Russian. The people of all countries must therefore study Russian so as to acquire a knowledge of Lenin's and Stalin's speeches in order to learn how to destroy their enemies."

This is how the Stalinites interpret Lenin who advocated the right of self-determination.

We Must Not Lose Our Bearings!

(On September 27, a press statement was issued from Washington by the officers of the National Council for Prevention of War, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Keep America Out of War Committee. This statement contained a number of ideas and viewpoints going beyond the six-point program forming the basis of the K.A.O.W.C. movement and in violent conflict with the attitude of some of its constituent organizations. Bertram D. Wolfe thereupon wrote to Clarence Senior, national secretary of the K.A.O.W.C., protesting against this procedure and calling attention to the false and dangerous character of many of the ideas contained in the press statement. We publish below both the press release and Bertram D. Wolfe's letter to Clarence Senior.—Editor.)

THE PRESS STATEMENT

FOLLOWING Hitler's citation of German willingness to abolish air fleets and bombing, to outlaw poison gas and reduce armies, peace forces today demanded that governments which have repeatedly asserted their willingness to join in disarmament moves, act now in this direction, with first emphasis on elimination of bombing from the air.

On the 16th of last June, the Prime Minister of Great Britain stated in the House of Commons that Great Britain would renounce the practise of bombing outlying territories, if "this practise was agreement to abolish bombing from the air." In San Francisco on last July 14th, President Roosevelt declared: "We stand ready to meet them (other nations) and encourage them in any efforts they may make toward a definite reduction in world armament."

An understanding now that a conference for general reduction in armaments, which must for success be combined with adjustment of pending economic and political questions, would immediately follow the settlement of the present European situation would go far toward making such a settlement possible. It would correct the failure, responsible for so much of the present situation, to live up to the pledges given at Versailles for general disarmament. It would reduce the difficulty created by the question of who is to control, under the terms of any settlement, the Skoda munition works in Czechoslovakia.

The initiation of such a move at this time would be in line with the welcome and admirable sanity of President Roosevelt's appeal for

negotiation of the present conflict, for the exercise of reason not of force. Events are in the saddle in Europe. The American government and the American people must see to it that here, at least, intelligence continues to function.

The basic principle of democracy is reason as opposed to force. If democracy is to survive, war and the instruments of war must go. America's position in the world give it a special responsibility for the maintenance of democracy. Twenty years ago we tried to fulfill that responsibility by taking part in a foreign war. Today we know we must seek and find some other way. It is America's duty today to make every effort to preserve and bring about conditions in which democracy can survive. This means America must keep out of war. This means America must press for world disarmament.

BERT WOLFE'S LETTER

SOME of the releases sent out by the K.A.O.W.C. have been excellent, and the constant activity of this character has served to keep its name before the public, which is all to the good. But, occasionally, there creeps into them a note which goes beyond the six points to which we all subscribe and expresses views which some of the component elements hold but others specifically reject. This is unfortunate, for by implication all the members of the governing committee and all the affiliated bodies are responsible for statements to which they may not subscribe. As a case in point I indicate the release dated September 27, 1938.

I think the release was unfortunate in pretending to take seriously Hitler's declaration of willingness to disarm, also the British and American declarations of the same type. This can only sow il-

lusions about these governments and lessen the real pressure for disarmament. Rather should Hitler's statement have been utilized to generate some sane scepticism about these cheap words of all the leading statesmen about disarming the other fellow, and thus to generate firm pressure upon our own government and, by contagion, on the other governments involved.

Precisely because the Versailles pledge was a false pretense, and Roosevelt's and Chamberlain's and Hitler's remarks were also false pretenses, made to cover one's self with the mantle of peaceful desire at the very moment of increasing the military budget and preparing for war, Hitler's classic example of this trick should have been used to expose the whole series. A little hard-headedness, frankness and clarity wouldn't hurt among the advocates of peace. Such subtle maneuvers neither serve to embarrass governments—rather play into their hands—nor to arouse the mass of the people nor enlighten them. All governments proclaim themselves desirous of disarmament at the very moment when they are arming most energetically. All governments favor disarmament conferences to lessen the category of arms most advantageous to the other fellow. Such conferences in the past have yielded no real advantage to the opponents of war. Nor will they till these opponents make it harder, not easier, to get away with such speeches as Chamberlain's, Roosevelt's, and, most classically, Hitler's—which we here pretend to take seriously.

COURT VOIDS HAGUE CIVIL RIGHTS BAN

(Continued from Page 2) a "riot" on the first occasion.

Nevertheless, the general effect of the ruling will undoubtedly be to facilitate labor organization in Jersey City, which had previously been made well-nigh impossible under Mayor Hague's ban. Judge Clark's decision was therefore hailed in C.I.O. quarters. Mayor Hague, on the other hand, declared that the upholding of the ordinance requiring permits for public meetings and the "modified censorship" permitted by Judge Clark was a "victory" for him and would be used by him to continue his anti-C.I.O. drive.

Cooperation For War

From the October 17 issue of the United States News: "National defense appears to make ready bed-fellows. "Signs that business and government are cooperating to prepare the nation's industry for war-time demands increased last week. "In continental Europe, it is a familiar spectacle for all political factions and national groups to drop their quarrels when the country faces a threat of war. This happened in France and Germany in 1914.

"The American edition of this emergency cooperation is now being written in a distinctly American way. Cautiously, officials in Washington and in the country's industrial centers are making a start at cooperation, though the United States faces no immediate danger from abroad.

"First steps have been taken in three large industries—utilities, railroads and aviation—and lesser efforts are under way in scattered industries related to defense. "The movement was spurred last week by Bernard M. Baruch, a trusted friend and adviser of President Roosevelt, and chairman of the war-time War Industries Board.

"Predictions are that expanded war preparations will bring still closer cooperation between government and industry."

standing historic service to humanity." Wilson was much more cautious in his moves in 1914-16 towards American involvement in European war than has been Roosevelt in the partially analogous years 1937-38 (since the Chicago speech). John T. Flynn sums it up nicely in the New Republic:

"What has changed is that the Administration has been acting in concert with Britain in the moves that canny bargainer has been making on the European check-board."

The release could at least have warned of that aspect of the President's note in place of giving naive, one-side, unqualified endorsement.

The release by implication endorses America's alleged crusading intentions in the last war—the same slogans with which it was made popular. I quote: "Twenty years ago, we tried to fulfill that responsibility (for the maintenance of democracy) by taking part in a foreign war." Did we? Even those who invented the slogan no longer pretend that America was "trying to fulfill that responsibility." Can we fight the present false slogans by pretending that the past subterfuges were seriously and honestly meant?

Disputed Questions 4. As you know there is a fundamental difference between the National Council for Prevention of War and my own organization on

(Continued on Page 6)

VOTE A. L. P. TICKET ROW "C"

Maybe you don't understand the

FARM PROBLEM

But that has nothing to do with the Big Barn Dance on Saturday, November 5, at Rivea Hall, 131 West 33rd Street. Come and have fun. Virginia Reels! Square Dances! Songs! Games! Schnitzelband! Gayety unfurled! Graced also by the presence of Frieda Rivera. Tickets (at the door) are 49 cents (worth 50 cents). Auspices: Independent Labor Institute.

The Place is the Picket Line!

The N.M.U. Is Making a Big Mistake in Depending on Lobbies

By JACK SODERBERG

October 13, 1938.

IN contrast to the class-struggle policy of militant picketing of the Maritime Commission hiring halls on the part of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the National Maritime Union has followed a policy of walking thru these picket lines with the purpose of "packing the halls with union men."

In the current issue of the Stalinist-controlled Voice of the Federation, Bruce Hannon comes out with an editorial warning to the component unions of the federation that "before the water-front unions, as well as all organized labor is the battle yet to be waged against the Maritime Commission's fink halls."

Only a month ago, these same people found it paramount to point out that a "plot" was in the making on the part of the S.U.P. to wreck the maritime unions because it (the S.U.P.), thru a resolution, had made its position clear on the matter of shipping anywhere except thru the union hall. At that time, Browder's bright boys on the Voice outdid each other in their desperate attempt to pull the teeth from the S.U.P. resolution as well as in slandering Lundeborg and others who had sufficient foresight and adequate courage to face this danger straight and to take the necessary steps to protect the membership from a forced return to the days of fink halls and "deferred" lists.

Infantile Faith In Government

With the same infantile faith in government-appointed agencies that has characterized every action of these people since the "line" made their party a kite to the machine in power, Hannon offers as his remedy: "preparations for the coming Congress." He goes on to point out that the ship-owners have a powerful lobby in Washington and offers as a solution that the maritime unions depend upon competitive lobbying and, in this way, "force" the Commission to hire its crews thru the union hall. All this, presumably, under the Browderite theory that "you can't fight the government."

Of course, this theory flows from the false notion as to what constitutes the government. These people, immersed in the whirlpool of People's Frontism and "collective security," conveniently forget that behind the political powers-that-be are aligned the capitalist forces of the land, not the least of whom are the ship-owners, and that these ship-owners speak and act thru the Maritime Commission, in addition to being subsidized by it.

To prove his theory of the futility of picketing, Hannon takes us back to the 1921 strike. Those of us who took part in that strike—and some strikes before 1921—can

also tell a story and give the reason for the failure then. But that belongs elsewhere. At present, we need only go back to the glorious days of the struggles in '34, '36 and '37. At that time, the heavy artillery arrived from Washington, and bustling bureaucrats, big and little, came to Frisco to lay down the law. But the maritime workers, led by the renovated S.U.P., stood pat on their picket lines, and, at the end, hiring thru the union hall and the defeat of the fink book spelled victory for the seamen.

The line of the Stalinist misleaders and embryonic totalitarians has changed since then. But that is all. Certainly, the nature of capitalism hasn't changed, nor the method of the ship-owners attack against the unions. The problems that faced the seamen then are the problems facing them today. And the tactics that must be used to meet these problems today are the same tactics that were employed then. There is no short-cut. There can be no compromise.

A Plot To Break Solidarity

Let us be clear on this: The policy of the Maritime Commission to ship its crews thru its own halls is the tapered end of the marine spike being inserted between the wire strands of solidarity forged on the picket line during those unforgettable days of '34, '36 and '37. In some unions, there are those who may be relied upon at present to cooperate in this attempt to destroy this solidarity thru the criminally stupid action of packing these fink halls with union men. On the West Coast, in some unions, the Stalinite misleadership can also be relied upon to foster the same notion upon a membership whose heads are still bloody from the battles against these very forces they are now being asked to cooperate with. On this coast, New York and Baltimore are outstanding examples in this respect. In Baltimore, the little shrimp at the head of the seamen, another stooge of Browder's, does not hesitate to call the cops to march his children thru the S.U.P.-M.F.O.W.W. picket line. This is "twentieth-century unionism" with a Stalinite interpretation.

But let these Moscow ambassadors ponder long and carefully—the Hannon, the Stacks, the Bridges, the Whalens, the Curran. The determination of the S.U.P. and the sea-going members of the M.F.O.W.W. is that the fink halls and crimp joints are gone forever, and no one and no force that the powers-that-be can muster, shall ever again be able to break down the resistance that these men stand ready, prepared and willing to offer.

Years of misery and want, years of toil on old, rusty hulks misnamed "ships," years of sleep-

ing in crummy, vermin-infested, ill-smelling focsles, endless months of hanging around a fink hall or crimp joint trying to ship, only to be informed that your name has been placed on the "deferred" list, have taught these men something. They fought in '34, '36 and '37 and this struggle taught them something in addition: reliance upon their own organized might, realization of the potent power in the hands of united rank and file. This rank and file are not going to allow a few people who rode in to power by accident, to take them away from the battle and make them chase the elusive shadow in the legislative chambers and lobbies.

The point of exploitation of these men is the waterfront; the place of struggle is the waterfront. The S.U.P. and the M.F.O.W.W. have shown the way. The place is the picket line!

We Appeal.

(Continued from Page 4)

second only to the minister of Justice, has been hounded by Stalinist threats of violence and has had to resign and flee to a foreign country. Other lawyers, even tho they manifested great sympathy for us, did not dare undertake our defense. One of them accepted upon the condition that we guarantee the safety of his family! That is how far fear of the Stalinist terror has gone. So it is obvious that if the trial does take place, it will be left to us to defend ourselves, a thing that we feel fully confident in undertaking.

We are in jail, paying the bill, paying it in part, for the help Russia has given to the Spanish government. If we have not paid with our lives yet, we owe this to the solidarity of the international labor movement. Fortunately, the working class of the world understands. They know what is at stake.

Since we have been deprived of all means of defense in our own country, for whose liberation we have made the biggest sacrifices and given so much of our blood, we address ourselves to the workers of other lands. Comrades—defend our cause; it is your own! Help us first to defeat Franco and smash fascism and then help us to resist the attacks and intrigues of Stalinism, which discredit our cause and endanger the goal for which we are fighting!

UAW Campaign In Parts Plants

(Continued from Page 1)

imum hourly rate set for each classification.

"The minimum rate for the lowest classification of work performed would not be less than 65¢ per hour in any parts plant anywhere in the United States.

"These conditions shall apply also to women employees.

"It is our opinion that this stabilization can best be achieved thru this standard agreement written between the International Union and the parts manufacturers. It is our opinion that this will go a long way toward eliminating industrial disputes, in bringing about proper labor relations and generally guaranteeing uninterrupted production in the automobile industry, which is so vital to the national welfare."

CIO Convention in N.J. Betrays Stalinist Grip

Unhealthy Condition Is Great Danger To Labor

By J. VAUGHAN WILCOX

Newark, N. J.

FOLLOWING right on the heels of the recent C.I.O. New York State convention, the organizations affiliated to the C.I.O. in the state of New Jersey held their first convention in Kreuger's Auditorium, Newark, on October 8 and 9.

There were 16 international unions officially represented, along with several of the twenty-odd local industrial unions the C.I.O. has established in New Jersey. The total membership represented at the convention was officially announced as being 175,000, an obvious exaggeration tho perhaps a pardonable one.

Complete C.P. Domination

What was not and is not, pardonable, however, and what represented an extreme example of what has become an acute problem thruout the entire C.I.O. nationally, was the complete and absolute domination the Communist Party exercised over this significant portion of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

From start to finish, this convention was a Stalinist affair, as much of a Stalinist convention in every sense of the word as any of the phoney "congresses" and "conferences" the C.P. has been running these many years. It differed in one very important particular, however, from the usual Stalinist "congress" or "conference"—this convention did represent thousands of organized workers!

The fact that the delegates and officials representing these many thousands of workers could have been so largely composed of Stalinist party members and stooges, largely because of the indifference, ineptitude or even direct connivance (in some instances) on the part of leaders of importance in the C.I.O., is a crime against the American labor movement the final, bitter results of which we have not yet seen.

The most shameful part of the entire convention was the passage of the resolution on "collective security," "democracy" and "defense of Czechoslovakia." What was to happen in this regard might well have been anticipated, after the Greater Newark Industrial Council had sent a telegram to President Roosevelt on September 27 to "reaffirm our pleas to you to put into action your policy of quarantining the aggressors." After the Munich "agreement," however, one questioned the likelihood of the Communist Party plugging for "collective quarantine" with quite the usual vigor. But no, the Stalinists went right ahead with their stereotyped resolution, slightly altered so as to fit the Czechoslovakian events.

Two delegates spoke against the resolution and denounced it for being a fake anti-war document. One of the speakers was roundly booed when he attempted to suggest that the United States does not have as much democracy as it could and should have. The resolution was adopted by acclamation, amidst great shouts of jubilation by the assembled delegates.

Stooge Organizations Active

Len De Caux, the Stalinist-minded editor of the C.I.O. News, addressed the convention. John Brophy, whose leanings are equally notorious, also spoke. The convention was typically Stalinist-conducted in that all kinds of C.P. organizations and institutions were given publicity in one form or another. The Stalinist "People's Bookshop" from Halsey Street set up its wares in the hall, as it al-

ways does at C.I.O. gatherings in New Jersey, and sold the Stalinist "line" from a literary point of view. A telegram of greeting from, and an invitation to participate in the coming convention of, the American League for Peace and Democracy, was read and applauded. The district organizer of the Communist Party in New Jersey, some one by the name of Davis, sat in the back of the hall during the entire convention with arms folded, smiling at her brood as they went thru their paces, and sending occasional words of advice (via a former Trenton T.U.U.L. organizer, whose name then was "Murphy" but who has since been a C.I.O. organizer working out of the Newark regional office, mostly in Jersey City) to Katharine Hoffman, the Stalinist executive secretary to William Carney, who promptly leaned over and buzzed Carney's ear with the "party line."

This convention clearly showed the concentration of Stalinist forces in New Jersey that has been brought in from outside the state. The man who has become the first vice-president of the New Jersey State Industrial Union Council is Milton Abramson. Abramson, a Stalinist lawyer from New York, was brought in to Patterson some time ago to act as sub-regional director of the T.W.O.C. in that city. Another prominent Stalinist coworker who is now in New Jersey is Robert Travis, formerly prominent in the "Unity" caucus in the Flint U.A.W. A new addition is a Lynn Goldsmith, whom nobody but the Stalinist high command knows much about. He was placed in charge of the arrangements for the convention and is slated to become the executive secretary of the State Industrial Council, the only paid official, thru appointment by the incoming Stalinist-controlled executive board.

Outstanding among the many remaining Stalinists at the convention who hold office of one kind or another, mostly thru appointment, is Neil Brant, regional organizer for the United Electrical Workers. Brant is an old-time Stalinist and a member of the incoming executive board of the State Council. William Carney was elected president of the State Council. It is safe to say that of the twenty-three officers elected, the Stalinists absolutely control the votes of at least twelve and can count on the votes of a few more stooges.

A Great Danger

The question now arises, in summing all this up, what the purpose has been in retailing this information. There are several reasons: (1) to show that the Stalinists have a grip on this important section of the C.I.O.; (2) that they have used, and intend to continue to use, this power to further their own pernicious factional ends; (3) that they have reached this power, not because the masses of the members in the C.I.O. want them to have it, but because—in most instances—they have been allowed to obtain it by certain prominent officials of the C.I.O., whose aims in so doing can no longer remain unquestioned; (4) that the time has come to speak out openly and expose this situation, for plain speaking alone can benefit the C.I.O.; (5) that only thru a thoro cleansing of the Stalinist poison from the C.I.O. can it hope to grow; and (6) that a loud clear voice of protest from those who truly seek to advance the cause of the C.I.O. and the labor movement generally, is absolutely essential—while continued silence on the part of those who know the facts would be an inexcusable crime.

Let Us Keep Our Bearings

(Continued from Page 5)

the theory of "appeasement" of the hungry imperialist powers. I do not believe that colonies, peoples nor raw-material centers with their populations, can or should be handed about without consultation of those populations. Nor that there can be any planned distribution of such materials except on the basis of a non-capitalist world-planned economy. Mr. Libby and I have had this out several times in committee and agreed to disagree. He has as much right to his viewpoint, which I regard as mistaken, as I to mine. But releases for which we are all responsible should not appear to accept his as against mine, or vice-versa. Yet that is the meaning that will be read into

the fuzzy wording of paragraph 3. Better not to say anything about "adjustment of pending economic and political questions" or else make it explicit and free from possibility of misunderstanding. No one release can handle everything. A separate release could make clear what we agree on, or Mr. Libby's organization could properly push its own program, as we ours, where we differ so fundamentally, without involving each other in mutual responsibilities on these disputed matters.

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